

The Nature and Significance of Boundary Negotiation
Between Teachers and Children from
'Non-School-Oriented' Backgrounds
in Early Reading Lessons

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ABSTRACT

Children from families which do not share the language, culture or social class of the teacher are often viewed as 'disadvantaged' when they enter school. It comes as no surprise to teachers when these children experience problems in beginning reading in the classroom. The teachers' expectations are backed up by statistics showing that children from 'non-school-oriented' backgrounds are less likely to succeed at all stages in their school careers. Explanations for lack of progress are sought in the children's linguistic, cultural or cognitive deficiency or, most recently, in their inexperience of narrative and literature from home. Within this framework, children from 'non-school-oriented' backgrounds who step quickly and easily into reading in school can be explained only as 'exceptions' whose progress is beyond the teachers' control.

In this study, I examine the origins of the teachers' beliefs. Using the example of two children from 'non-school-oriented' families who make very different progress in early reading lessons as a starting-point, I question the validity of explanations grounded in the deficit of the child and the home. I then propose a new focus of attention; the interaction between teacher and child and their negotiation of the reading task during

group and individual lessons. Through ethnographic and ethnomethodological approaches to studying the interaction between a group of children, their families and the teacher during the first eighteen months in school, I argue that a child's early reading progress does not depend upon entering the classroom from a 'school-oriented' home but an ability to engage in a specific pattern of dialogue and turn-taking with the teacher during early reading lessons. Ultimately, it depends upon the child being able to negotiate a joint interpretation of the reading task with the teacher.

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"And I don't want to listen to any more of your stories; they have no logic. They scramble me up. You lie with stories. You won't tell me a story and then say, 'This is a true story,' or 'This is just a story.' I can't tell the difference..."

Maxine Hong Kingston in 'The Woman Warrior: Memoirs of a girlhood among ghosts'

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INTRODUCTION

My Way into the Research

Travelling eastwards along the Commercial Road out of the City of London, traffic is channelled down a narrow path lined by uneven blocks of Victorian houses, shops, pubs and cinemas until it reaches the Iron Bridge over the river, gateway to Newham's docklands. Here it suddenly gushes out onto a huge dual carriageway, vast open spaces on either side, before being contained again a minute later by the neat rows of terraced houses beyond.

As a child, I was often taken this way to visit relatives in 'our' street in Plaistow, now in the east London Borough of Newham. I was curious and questioned why there should be such a gap of devastation around docklands. 'Bomb damage' was the answer, 'They should have made a proper job of it and flattened the whole lot. Open sewers, those houses had. They were always slums.' During the years that followed, comments traced a similar vein. As new tower blocks began to fill the open spaces, I questioned why the doors should all be painted the same garish green. 'They'll be slums before they're finished' was the unsatisfying answer, 'It's the people who make them what they are.' And we sped on to Plaistow in the north of the Borough, conscious of our 'differentness'. I

always wondered at the vindictiveness of feeling, at the sense of 'otherness' directed at those people in docklands, cut off from the rest of the Borough behind their shiny green doors.

Interest in this 'otherness', the theme of 'the stranger' and what is needed to belong was to permeate and become the focal point of my work when I returned many years later to teach in Newham. The Borough is still split but its division is now racial and cultural. In the north are children whose 'otherness' seems much more apparent than those in docklands. New to country, language and culture, coming mostly from the Indian sub-continent, they are 'strangers' in every sense of the word. Meanwhile, old docklands in the south remains almost totally white. Too far away to benefit from the City's halo of wealth, the skyline is dominated by high-rise council flats. One block collapsed during the sixties and has entered folk history. The others are slowly being demolished. The docks have closed; their workforce have found other types of casual labour.

Newham regularly holds the scarcely coveted place of lowest or second lowest in national school exam results (1) and most schools are classified 'social priority'. Children's problems are generally put down to socio-economic, or more specifically linguistic, disadvantage.

All this results in teachers being well aware that many of their children are likely to experience reading difficulties in school. However, this is by no means always the case. Teaching in various schools across the Borough showed me that some children stepped easily into reading in school apparently against all the odds. Particularly, I became puzzled by the success of some of the bilingual children whilst many white English-speaking children in docklands were experiencing greater difficulty in becoming readers before entering Secondary school. Locally, teachers talked of a 'south of the Borough syndrome' and believed individual successful readers to be 'exceptional' children. There appeared to exist a tradition of school failure which both teachers and families accepted.

This belief seemed all the more puzzling as it did not tally with research findings and expectations. A recent study (2) had shown that the docklands inhabitants were more affluent socio-economically than their Asian neighbours on the other side of the Borough. They also had the advantage of speaking English as their home language. In the teachers' eyes, then, there was obviously something more to poverty and its relationship to school reading success or failure than financial resources alone. The implications of being a 'stranger' seemed complex. I decided first to investigate further

the difficulties faced by the English speaking children of docklands (3).

Background to the present study

This took the form of a mother/child/teacher-researcher reading group one afternoon per week in a docklands school which is described in Gregory (1988). In this study, I proposed that we, as teachers, were locked into a stereotyping of the children we taught where the terms 'deep' or 'cultural' poverty symbolised children's failure to attain literacy in school and emphasised our feeling of alienation from the parents. The parents' own alienation was voiced by word and deed; the fear of being 'called up' by 'sir' (the Head Teacher) seemed enough to keep most permanently away from school. For most teachers, the area was a 'no man's land' to which they travelled each day from other, more favoured parts of London.

It was easy to fall back upon traditional explanations of 'deprivation' for failure, for, as teachers, we felt we were doing all we could. We had conscientiously attended In-Service courses and followed up suggestions on helping children become readers. Particularly, we had been influenced by research in psycholinguistics telling us how children are able to bring their knowledge both of

spoken language and of the world to predict written language (Smith 1978) and work showing the importance of story-reading from home for future school literacy development (Clark 1976, Wells 1985). We provided a wealth of good books and felt that we were encouraging children through enjoyment to find meaning in print. However, with many children our 'methods' met with little success. Children still responded to our efforts by 'doing runners' to escape the confines of school. Eventually, many of us began to dissociate ourselves from children's reading progress in school and concentrate on pastoral activities.

Work in this docklands school, however, led me to question our assumptions of cultural or linguistic 'poverty' as valid explanations for school reading failure. There was no denying the reality of the difficulties faced by many children in the classroom; however, the 'exceptional' successful children from 'unschooled' backgrounds, to which I had also belonged made me reject such ideas as the cause of reading failure and convinced me that the idea of any 'deep' poverty might well be a convenient myth.

Reading with a group of eleven year old 'non-starters' and their mothers reinforced this belief. What became clear was that the mothers and children did not share the

definition of 'reading' as held by the teachers in the context of school. The mothers, who themselves complained of reading difficulties, were bamboozled by the teachers' view of learning to read as 'enjoyable', 'natural' and 'easy' and the contradiction in their own school experiences of reading as a major and difficult obstacle; a task specifically to be 'taught' by a teacher and 'learned' by the pupil. The children themselves were flummoxed by the differing expectations of the mothers and their teachers. They were searching for their own definition of reading, yet had little idea of where to start.

It was not that the children lacked knowledge of narrative patterns relating to story-telling. During oral classroom events - 'newstime' or 'storying' - they had no difficulty in 'switching into' appropriate narrative structures. However, their skills in oral 'story-telling' abruptly disappeared when presented with a book and placed within the frame of 'reading'. Similarly, the logical reasoning which the children were capable of drawing upon during oral 'tellings' dissolved into nonsense when 'reading' from books. Basically, the book and its print seemed to stand between the children's knowledge of language and 'meaning'. They knew reading to be something 'special' or 'different'. But they could not work out what this difference was, became confused

and either read nonsense or else excused themselves by saying 'I can't read'. My conclusion was that, after six years in school, these children still did not know what they needed to do to become readers.

This was the problem taken from Newham. My question for investigation was: How do children from 'non-school-oriented' backgrounds actually learn what reading is in school? Specifically, I asked: Can the different progress of children from non-school-oriented backgrounds be systematically accounted for as they begin reading in school?

Evidence pointing to the importance of the child's first year in school for future achievement is considerable (Rist 1970, Pederson, Faucher and Eaton 1978, Gregory 1983, Tizard et al. 1988) and it is the children's first eighteen months in school which are taken as the focus for this study. In order to collect data, formulate specific hypotheses and to furnish an argument, it was necessary both to step outside the culturally familiar setting of docklands and to focus on classroom reading interactions between young children from different social and cultural backgrounds and their teachers on beginning school. An introduction to the classroom site chosen will be given in the next chapter. Fuller details of the wider setting in which the study

took place as well as the method of data collection are presented in Chapter 4 of the study. But first, an example is given which illustrates more precisely the nature of the problem and how it is expressed during the children's first year in school. The next chapter pinpoints instances highlighting the progress of two children and the questions which they raise.

CHAPTER ONE

Stepping into a strange new world: The Problem Exemplified

In this chapter, I detail the nature of the problem to be investigated. Using a series of 'vignettes', I pick out typical instances during the first year in school of two children whose social background is the same but whose progress in reading is very different. I then outline questions which the study will address.

1.1. The Setting

This reception class is in an inner-town Northampton school. It is a bright, modern building and the classroom is well equipped with literature of all kinds. The teacher is an avid reader, is knowledgeable on children's books and teaches reading through 'apprenticing' the children to herself as she shares stories with the class, groups or individuals.

Gillian and Tajul enter the school at four and a half. As many of the children in this class, neither has previously attended Nursery. Nor do they come from homes which own children's books or share the practice of story-reading with their children. As far as their

teachers are concerned, the orientation of their families is not one which places school at the centre of their children's lives. The teachers create this category and proceed, if only implicitly, to judge the children as 'non-school-oriented'. Gillian is an English child whose life outside school is at present divided between her mother and a children's home. Tajul is the child of Bangladeshi parents. His father works in this country as a waiter and his mother sews at home. She speaks no English and rarely leaves the house. Tajul, too, speaks and apparently understands very little English. For neither child is the entry into school an easy one.

1.2. Vignette One: The first few weeks

Tajul hangs onto his father's arm at the classroom door and screams when left alone. Ignoring the attempts of the Bangladeshi assistant to read him stories, he appears inconsolable. After three weeks, he disappears from school and returns only following a visit from the Attendance Officer. Gillian, too, cries from time to time, but has no difficulty in conversing freely with adults. Her curiosity draws her into school life and reading as it appears to her in the classroom. During storytime, she imitates the teacher by picking up a book and 'reading' to another child. From time to time, she

squeezes 'letters' on little scraps of paper into children's or adults' hands.

1.3. Vignette Two: One month later

Tajul is sharing "The Tiger who came to tea" (1968) by J. Kerr with his teacher. He has just heard the story once.

- Taj: Start again now, please. 1.
- T: Start again! (laughing) You tell me, this time.
(reads slowly) "The Tiger who came to tea." 2.
- Taj. joins in with 'Tiger' and 'tea'. 3.
- T: reads title again on next page. Taj. joins in with 'Tiger', 'came' and 'tea'. 4.
- T: "Sophie and her mummy were having tea. Suddenly, there was a ring at the door-bell." 5.
- Taj: That's not Daddy! (pointing to milkman) 6.
- T: (pointing) That's Daddy. That's the milkman and that's the grocer's boy 7.
- Taj: And that's mummy (pointing) 8.
- T: And that's mummy 9.
- Taj: There's tiger. (pointing) 10.
- T: Mmm. (reads) "And tiger started eating all the sandwiches." 11.
- Taj: You know, lion.... 12.
- T: They're like tigers, aren't they? 13.
- Taj. Yes. 14.
- T: But tigers have got stripes. 15.
- Taj: Yes. 16.

T.	Lions haven't got stripes.	17.
Taj:	And tiger...And lion is tiger's friend.	18.
T:	Yes, that's right. (reads) "And he ate all the buns."	19.
Taj:	Eeee	20
T:	"And he drank all the tea"	21
Taj.	Eeee	22.
T:	"And he had a look round the kitchen to see what else he could find."	23.
Taj:	And there tea (pointing to tea-pot)	24.
T:	There's the tea-pot	25.
Taj:	Yes.	26.
T:	"Then he ate all the supper from the saucepan and from the fridge"	27.
Taj:	And all the...	28.
T:	"And all the food from the cupboard."	29.
Taj:	And all the water	30.
T:	Mmm. "Then he said Bye-bye"	31.
Taj:	He said Bye-bye.	32.

Gillian is 'reading' two books of her choice to the teacher, "Mr. Bump" and "Mr. Jelly" (1976) by R. Hargreaves:

Mr. Bump

Meesta au zeezeewa womboli nada zjeezjeedu da aw an a Mr. Bump an Mr. Funny wasju. An eejuda. He fallin in de water. He got a bloody nerve. He said 'Good-bye', he go oozono eewsena dark eno e secoson awsen a bump. No, it's a apple. I not.

Mr. Jelly man.

Mr. Jelly bast sweet shop. Ah, Mr. Jelly nice jelly, yummy jelly, nice, nice jelly. He picked the jelly up, he did. He picked the jelly up. He was laughing at pie. Oh

you warp up. Oh, a new lot of pie. And now he's in a shed. Good.

The above examples show how both Tajul and Gillian are on their way towards reaching the first attainment target of the National Curriculum (1989) which stipulates that children should realise that print carries meaning and should enjoy books. However, they go about the task in very different ways.

Let us first trace how Tajul sees his way through the book. We observe him -

1) copying his teacher and reading with her (3,4,32)

2) partnering his teacher by showing a continuous response to the story and the text - either by repeating the pattern of what the teacher says and adding his own information (28,30,32), labelling the pictures (8,10,24), sharing an emotional response (20,22) or agreeing with the teacher (26)

3) sorting out who is who in the text (6,8,10,12) and beginning to make out the workings of the culture in which the story is set. In (6), Tajul may simply be asking for the word 'milkman' in a roundabout way, but in doing so, he learns both that in Britain, people

dressed like milkmen usually have a certain role to play in the story and that this is not the one of 'Daddy'. The exchange beginning 'You know, lion...' (until (19) is interesting. Tajul may well be wanting to make a comment about the tiger and just uses the wrong word - as he has before. The teacher, however, takes his words seriously and interprets what she thinks he might mean (or what he should know). Tajul listens to her and agrees with her until finally he gives his own interpretation 'And tiger... And lion is tiger's friend' (18). His comment shows that he has placed a completely different interpretation on the word 'like'. However, the teacher ignores her own earlier words and confirms Tajul's statement. This is the only occasion that they step out of the story and the text - though Tajul may be looking to find 'tiger's friend' within the text.

The teacher and Tajul appear to be working together on a joint task: representing the story and the text. I shall call their approach 'story-centred'.

The text of the book is central for Gillian, too, but in a very different way. How might we typify her way of gaining meaning from print? She is very aware that the language of the book is something 'different' for which ordinary spoken talk will not do. In other words, she knows that a 'special' or 'secret' code is needed for

'reading' a book. Whether she realises at this point that one particular special code is required or whether she believes that any special code is sufficient, is not yet clear. However, she is prepared to 'have a go' at inventing one. Unlike Tajul, Gillian does not see the teacher as a partner or scaffold but 'plays out' the whole reading event independently. She seems to be more 'performance' orientated than Tajul. I shall call her approach 'word-centred', since individual words seem to be the focus of her performance. But these are very early days. How has the process of making sense of print developed by the end of the year?

1.4. Vignette Three: After one year in school

Tajul is reading "The Hungry Giant", a Big Book from the Storychest series, to his teacher. He is familiar with the book from class 'shared reading'.

- | | | |
|------|--|----|
| T: | "The Hungry..." | 1. |
| Taj: | "...Giant." | 2. |
| Taj: | (turns page and reads alone) "The Hungry Giant." | 3. |
| T: | "I want..." | 4. |
| Taj: | (interrupts) "...some honey." | 5. |
| T: | "...bread" it is first. "I want some..." | 6. |
| Taj: | "I want some bread," | 7. |
| T: | "roared (Taj. joins in) the giant." | 8. |

Taj: (takes over) "Get me some bread, or I'll hit you with my bommy-knocker" (runs finger along print) 9

T: "So the people ran..."(Taj. joins in) 10.

Taj. "... and ran" 11.

T: "... and got the giant some bread." 12.

Taj. (points to bread) This not bread. These are finger. 13.

T: It's supposed to be bread, actually. Some bread looks like that. It's not supposed to be fingers, it's supposed to be bread. 14

Taj. It's not bread. 15

T: Well, if you go into Tesco's supermarket, you can find some long, thin bread like that. What does your bread look like? Does it look different from that? 16.

Taj: No. My bread is square 17.

T: Oh, your bread is square, is it? Well, some bread is long and thin and some bread is square. 18.

Taj: Yeah. 19.

T: You're right. But this is long, thin bread. It's funny bread, isn't it? special bread. Can you turn over? 20.

T. and Taj. together: "I want some butter..." 21.

Taj. (takes over and speaks in a 'giant-like' voice) "Get me some butter or I'll hit you with my bommy-knocker!" 22.

T. "So the people ran and..." 23.

Taj. "...ran" 24.

T: "And got the giant some..." 25.

Taj. (loudly) "Butter!" 26.

Gillian is sharing "If you were a bird..." (1985) with her teacher. It is a simple picture book which she is already familiar with from class readings.

- G: I can't even read yet. You read it and I'll listen to yer. 1.
- T: We'll read it together.
"If you were a bird..." 2.
- G: He's the one who's the bird, in't he?
(points to boy) 3.
- T: Mmm. (repeats) "If you were a bird..." 4.
- G: I wouldn't like to be a bird, would you? 5.
- T: No, not really. 6.
- G: 'Cos we're not real birds. 'Cos real birds
can peck off your nose. 7.
- T: Yes, they might peck off your nose. 8.
- G: But they don't peck people when they're in the
garden, do they? 9.
- T: No. "If you were a bird, you could fly."
(turns page) "If you were a bird, you could
eat crumbs or bath in a puddle. But the cat
might...." (pauses) 10.
- G: Birds. 11.
- T: What might the cat do? 12.
- G: Eat it. 13.
- T: Mmm. That's the trouble, isn't it, with
being a bird. The cats might eat you up.
We can't be eaten up, can we, by cats? 14.
- G: No, 'cos they're beautiful. 15.
- T: "You could be a..."(pauses) 16.
- G: "...dog." They can chase cats. 17.
- T: Mmm. 18.

G:	They could.	19.
T:	Mmm. "And chase the cats..." Would you like to be a dog?	20.
G:	No. Would you?	21.
T:	No.	22.
G:	I wouldn't like to be a cat as well ...and a dog.	23.
T:	(turns page but doesn't read. Refers to picture) Would you like to be a lion?	24.
G:	No. Would you?	25.
T:	No.	26.
G:	I wouldn't.	27.
T:	You might have to live in a zoo. I wouldn't like that would you?	28.
G:	No. Would you?	29.

These brief incidents allow us a glimpse into the early reading process of two young children from 'non-school-oriented' backgrounds. Have their ways of making sense of reading, the story and the text changed during their months in school? Tajul still copies the teacher (7), though this is rarely necessary with known texts. He still joins in with the teacher (8,21) and partners her in the reading, often interrupting boldly (5,9,11,22,24,26). Tajul still seems to be sorting out what belongs to the storyworld and what is real life. In (13), he states his case, 'This not bread. These are

finger.' His metaphor here is puzzling. He is already familiar with the story and must know that the object in question is supposed to be bread - whatever it may look like. Might he be testing what can out be 'brought into' the story from real life and what cannot be changed? His teacher tells him in no uncertain terms that it is bread i.e. it cannot be fingers because it is not your story but that of the book. She goes on to make clear that it might be 'special' or 'story' bread, but it is bread just the same. The story acts as a springboard for learning about the host culture. At the same time, knowledge of the host culture is necessary to understand the story and the text. At the end of his first school year, Tajul is seen by his teacher to be well on his way to becoming a reader.

But what of Gillian? Her earlier independence seems to have disappeared completely. Her opening words in this, as so many reading lessons are to tell the teacher that she cannot read, that the teacher should read alone. Yet this very reaction shows how aware she is of what she cannot do. On other occasions, her excuses for withdrawing from 'reading' are, 'I don't know what the words say...' and, after one reading, 'I didn't even see the words'. She still sees reading as a secret code but now realises that her own will not do.

Gillian does make an early attempt to get 'inside' the story (7). She also 'reads' the picture (17-20) which leads to her predicting the text without realising it. Her other prediction 'Birds' (10-11) makes no sense. However, when the teacher takes her outside the text into life afterwards with the same question (12), she offers a meaningful answer immediately. Indeed, her 'real-life' dialogue with her teacher shows her to be a lively conversation partner. Rather than 'word-centred' as in her early reading attempts, Gillian and her teacher's approach may now more aptly be referred to as 'life-centred'. It is in real life rather than the text where the focus of their attention lies and where Gillian and her teacher appear most successfully to communicate.

However, Gillian's opening remark (1) is becoming more and more common and sharing books is growing increasingly difficult. Gillian seems prepared to relax and listen only if she knows she will not have to attempt to 'read' with the teacher.

1.5. Questions arising from the problem

The question for investigation is why Gillian is unable to share Tajul's progress in early reading. She remains outside the story and the text, does not appear to

understand what is required of her and already uses 'I can't read' as an excuse not to attempt to share the reading with her teacher. Gillian's slow progress replicates that of children from 'non-school-oriented' backgrounds documented in a number of recent studies (Heath 1982a, 1982b, 1983, Tizard 1988, Wells 1985,1987). Reasons for difficulty have recently been put down to a lack of knowledge of literacy or lack of the cognitive and linguistic advantages associated with story-reading at home. Official Education reports during the last thirty years have translated the children's difficulties into models of cultural and linguistic deprivation. In other words, explanations are sought in the 'home background' which the child brings to school. Children such as Tajul force teachers like me to question the explanatory power of these theories. According to official reports, Tajul shares not only the social and cultural background which should signal early reading difficulty, but has what is considered the added drawback of being a stranger to the English language as well. Children such as Tajul have tended to be defined by teachers as 'exceptions' for whom they are not responsible, as they do not fit into accepted paradigms on who should step into reading easily and who should find it difficult in school.

But can Tajul's progress simply be dismissed as an exceptional case which tells us nothing generally about how young children learn to read in school? Or might there be patterns of interaction which he shares with the 'school-oriented' children? To what extent does a child's early reading progress lie in the home background and how far can existing explanations based on deficit explain this? If such explanations prove inadequate, where else might the locus of difficulty lie? First, an assessment has to be made of the ability of existing explanations to account for the early reading progress of children from 'non-school-oriented' backgrounds in school.

PART ONE: THE PRESENT STATE OF AWARENESS

Introduction to Part One

Chapter 1 presents opposite poles of the same question: how the very different progress of two children from 'non-school-oriented' backgrounds as they begin reading in school might be explained. Gillian's lack of progress can be said to conform to expectations. There exists a large body of literature accounting for why children from her background are likely to have problems with school learning. By contrast, Tajul's case remains 'exceptional' and receives little attention in research studies.

The two chapters which follow introduce two approaches to the problem. They reflect this duality of early difficulty and success, the 'expected' and the 'exceptional'. The shared starting-point of studies discussed in Chapter 2 is the child's failure; they locate the origins of reading difficulty for children from 'non-school-oriented' families in their home background. Theories of intellectual, cultural and linguistic deficit are discussed in turn. A common feature of these 'deficit models' is that they are static. They exclude the role of the school and the teacher and lock the child into failure presumed to come from the conditions of home.

Chapter 3 turns from a deterministic to an interactive view of learning. The survey widens the perspective from the home to the outside world and the classroom and discusses studies which perceive learning as actively negotiated between participants. From a review of the literature, two interpretations of negotiation emerge: negotiation as the subconscious sharing of implicit and tacit understandings, mutual intentions, beliefs and interests and negotiation as the conscious and explicit learning of particular and limited practices. Each interpretation is shown to have very different implications for the task of the teacher and the child in negotiating reading together.

CHAPTER TWO

Explanations of Intellectual, Cultural and Linguistic Deficit in the Context of Primary Socialisation

Introduction

This chapter examines theories of intellectual, cultural and linguistic deficit with a view to explaining why some children have difficulty with learning to read in school. The first section presents statistics drawn from demographic and large-scale studies and asks how satisfactory they are as a buttress for the theories of deficit which follow. The second part investigates the case for intellectual and cultural deficit which argues that a deficiency in the cultural milieu of the home is responsible for children's lack of progress in early school learning. The third section examines the links which have been made between children's language development and their learning potential as they enter school. It traces how the argument for linguistic deficit has taken different forms and how these are underpinned by research from a range of academic disciplines.

2.1. Statistical evidence relating social class to school achievement

2.1.1. Statistics on social class and backwardness

Attempts were made during 1950's to investigate correlations between social characteristics and general 'backwardness' or 'retardedness'. Burt surveyed backwardness according to location and district throughout the whole area of the London county, gaining an estimate of backward children in each electoral district and related these figures to a number of different material and social characteristics (e.g. poverty, overcrowding, number of children 'in care' etc.). A correlation between backwardness and poverty was found to be significant at 0.73. Burt's chief concern was to discover which children were incapable of benefiting from public instruction. With Burt, the I.Q. test became the standard measurement against which statistics were usually correlated.

Burt's findings were largely replicated in 1964 in Manchester by Wiseman who studied the distribution of 'backwardness' and 'brightness' in relation to ten environmental factors in each political ward. Figures by Cullen (1969) also pointed to a preponderance of 'retarded' children from families of low socio-economic

status. From initial tests of all 579 pupils aged between 10 and 13 in a small Irish town, her statistics showed that only 2% of the 60 retarded children had fathers in professional or managerial occupations as opposed to 55% whose fathers were unskilled manual workers. At the other extreme, 29% of the advanced children (i.e. those exceeding the average) came from professional homes in contrast with only 10% from unskilled workers' families.

Statistical evidence correlating 'backwardness' and low social class seems convincing because it is based on large numbers of children and often a range of standardised tests. But an examination of studies on 'backwardness' and social class shows that there was no unanimity in approach. First there was disagreement about what actually counts as 'backward'. The official definition given in the 1944 Education Act referred to 'backward' children as 'educationally subnormal' meaning all children whose attainments did not exceed 80% of an average child, regardless of the cause. However, each of the above studies defined 'backwardness' in a different way. Burt distinguished between 'dull and backward' i.e. low I.Q. and low attainments and 'merely backward' i.e. high I.Q. and low attainments but for his statistics referred simply to children in special classes at school. Wiseman gave reading, arithmetic and I.Q. tests

and correlated each variable separately with poverty. Cullen defined as 'retarded' children whose reading and arithmetic test scores were below 80% of the reading and arithmetic attainments of a control group but whose non-verbal I.Q. tests were average, thereby defining a narrower band of 'backwardness'.

Second, the above studies interpreted differently both the cause of 'backwardness' and its relevance for teachers in school. Burt believed the 'dull backwardness' of children with low I.Q.'s to be innate and therefore irremediable in school. Wiseman's tests for backwardness led him to a different conclusion. After discovering that I.Q. tests correlated much more highly with poverty than school attainment did, he argued that low I.Q. scores were largely genetically determined. However, poor inherited ability could, to a certain extent, be compensated for by the teacher to allow slightly better attainments than expected. His interpretation of the statistics led him, therefore, to conclude that poverty correlated strongly with genetically determined 'backwardness' in terms of low I.Q. This argument was refuted by Cullen who saw no relationship between low I.Q. scores and social class but a definite relationship in terms of low school performance.

Third, they assumed that 'backwardness' could be accurately measured through various methods, but each of the above studies used different forms of measurement such as I.Q. tests, reading tests, arithmetic tests or all three. These differences suggest that a personal interpretation and corresponding value judgement may be implicit in the use of the term itself. Thus, statistics on backwardness and social class are not as objective as they at first seem.

2.1.2. Statistics on social class and examination results

The statistics on exam results appear to throw more solid weight behind the notion of deficiency. Figures on poor exam achievement are considerable. In 1966 14.5% of manual workers' children passed the '11 plus' and were in grammar schools as opposed to 48.5% non-manual (Floud 1966). In 1963 children of higher professional families were shown to be 33 times more likely to be enrolled in full-time education at degree level than children of semi and unskilled workers (The Robbins Report, 1963). The Report illustrated the lack of progress between 1928 when 1.4% of manual workers' sons entered University compared with 8.9% non-manual and 1960 when the figures were 2.6% and 16.8% respectively. Little (1964) and Douglas (1964) reported similar statistics. Moreover, by 1983 these

figures were remarkably stable at 5% for children of semi and unskilled as opposed to 22% for middle-class homes (UCCA 1983).

However, statistics correlating exam failure and lower social class need not in themselves indicate that these children will necessarily have difficulty in early school learning. There may be other reasons why pupils do not take exams or wish to learn for them. Indeed, some of the above studies as well as official education reports brought figures to show that lack of good examination achievement did not necessarily mean lack of ability as far as intellectual potential was concerned.

This discrepancy between potential and performance is indicated in statistics from a number of studies showing that children of unskilled workers perform worse than their I.Q. tests forecast in school. The Robbins Report 1963) showed that children of semi and unskilled workers passing the '11 plus' with high I.Q. scores gained much poorer G.C.E.'s five years later than middle-class children with only marginal '11 plus' passes. Douglas 1964) reported a decline in school achievements between the ages of 8 and 11. Chazan and Williams 1978) showed that children from deprived areas had a similar I.Q. test score at 7 to middle-class children but still scored considerably worse at reading

in school tests. The Crowther Report (1959), the Newsom Report (1963) Little (1964) Douglas (1964), Floud 1966, Rutter (1979), ILEA RS 787/81 (1979-80), Halsey (1972,1980), UCCA (1980-1) and The Newham Inquiry (1989) also reported data showing that children of semi and unskilled workers performed worse in school tests despite a similar level of measured intelligence to their middle-class peers.

It may be seen from the above that statistics simultaneously stressed poor exam achievement and much better academic potential. Such evidence cannot, therefore, prove that the lower class child will inevitably find learning in school difficult. In any case, these statistics refer only to children during their later years in school and cannot necessarily be transferred to beginning reading.

2.1.3. Statistics on social class and literacy achievement

Statistics on literacy achievement and social class present a strong case that lower class children are likely to experience reading difficulties from the time they enter school or even pre-school. Douglas (1964) provided comprehensive data on the test performance of 3,297 children born during the first week of March, 1946.

Four N.F.E.R. group tests were administered individually (picture interpretation test, sentence completion test, reading and vocabulary tests). Children of semi and unskilled workers scored significantly lower at both 8 and 11. The National Child Development Study (Davie, Butter and Goldstein 1972) provided data on 15,000 children born during one week in 1958. It found that 48% of children tested of unskilled workers were poor readers at 7 as opposed to 8% of professionals. By 11, they found that the difference of one year and four months between the two groups at 7 had become 3 years.

Similar findings were reached by the Educational Area Priority Project (E.P.A.) set up in 1969 and reported by Halsey in 1972. This project was set up by the government to investigate ways in which to 'compensate' for poor achievement amongst children in areas of high social and economic poverty. Focussing on 45 Primary schools in 4 areas (12 in London, 7 in Birmingham, 6 in Liverpool and 10 in West Riding) its initial tests found that the children scored 93 against a score of 108 by middle-class children on Level 1 of the English Picture Vocabulary test at 5. A number obtained scores which would qualify them for places at ESN schools. On Level 2 of the same test, taken at 9, all the scores had deteriorated. In Birmingham, one fifth of the 9 year olds were classed on

the S.R.A. Reading test as 'non-readers' and 45% were 'virtual non-readers'.

These results were replicated by a study in Wales (Chazan and Williams (1978)). They conducted a project aiming to screen 690 pre-school children 'at risk'. The children were given a battery of reading tests and the N.F.E.R. Picture test A at 7. It was found that children in the 'deprived area' scored 1 to 11 months below their chronological age as opposed to the 'settled working-class' group who scored 1 to 6 months above and the middle-class group who scored 6 months to one year above. On the Burt Reading Test, twice as many 'deprived area' children had reading ages below 7 as the 'settled working-class'; 38% of the children had reading ages below 6 i.e. 18 months below their chronological age. This contrasted with only 12% in the 'settled working-class group'.

Recent demographic studies show no better results. The Child Health and Education Study (CHES) followed all British children born between 5th. and 11th. April 1970. At 10, the most socially disadvantaged had average reading scores one standard deviation (15 points on the Edinburgh Reading test) behind the most advantaged (Osborn and Millbank (1987)). In 1986, ILEA conducted a survey of 2,000 children aged 7 to 11 in 50 Junior

schools between 1980-84. Their statistics showed that at 7 there was a difference of nearly ten months in reading age between the children of manual and non-manual workers.

Some statistics are available on Asian children's reading performance. Early statistics on children of semi and unskilled workers of parents of Indian, Pakistani and Hong Kong Asian origin revealed even poorer results in tests than their English peers. In the E.P.A Project, 45% of Asian children in Birmingham gained no score at all in the Reading test at 9 and 75% were virtual non-readers (Halsey (1972)). In contrast to these, statistics of the same date on a national scale show a similar score to indigenous children (National Child Development Study (1969)). Such figures again provided evidence for the argument that occupational status of parents correlated with school reading achievement.

Some data show that Asian children of semi and unskilled^{parents} perform similarly to their English peers (Scarr et al 1983), SWANN 1985), ILEA 1986). Certainly, such data is used in a recent report showing the poor English language and literacy achievements by Bangladeshi children (Select Committee to the House of Commons (1986/7)). Data from the CHES (Child Health and

Education Study (1980) study, however, suggests that both Indian and Pakistani children are performing considerably less well in reading than their indigenous peers at all social levels. Its statistics show reading test scores at 10 of 93.1 for Indian and 88.6 for Pakistani children as opposed to 100.8 for indigenous pupils. This apparent deterioration between the NCDE and the CHES has been explained as an indication of deteriorating social and occupational status - particularly on the part of the Pakistani population (Mackintosh, Mascie-Taylor and West 1988). There are too few very recent studies on lower working-class Asian children's reading achievement for valid comparisons to be drawn between their performance and that of indigenous children from a similar social background. What is emerging, however, implies that Asian children of semi or unskilled manual workers may be in a worse position than their monolingual peers.

These statistics present powerful evidence underpinning notions of *difference*. First, the number of studies alone and the consistency of their results is considerable. Second, in a number of cases the children were still very young which *suggested* that they were failing to benefit from the most intensive period of reading teaching in school. Added to this, their scores deteriorated during this crucial time. Results from the E.P.A. study indicating that a number of the children

tested would qualify for places in schools for the educationally sub-normal at 5 provided further evidence that children were unlikely to benefit from ordinary school teaching.

However, there are some cracks in this mass of statistical evidence pointing to the inevitable failure of lower working-class children in learning to read in school. Some of the above studies themselves throw up anomalies in their different statistics. From his figures, Douglas (1964) concluded that lack of parental encouragement was an important factor in poor reading achievement. At the same time, however, he produced statistics showing that the good teacher in the Primary school could make up for deficiencies in parental interest. Despite test results showing poor reading performance throughout the Infant school, the E.P.A. study (Halsey (1972) showed that the lower working-class child's language scores leapt forward shortly after beginning school before falling back again by the next tests at 6. Likewise, Chazan and Williams (1978) put forward the unexpected evidence that children in one of their 'deprived area' schools consistently excelled over the others in their reading performance to the extent that their test scores actually approached those of the middle-class schools. Their tests also showed that of the 38% 'deprived area' 7 year olds scoring 18

months below their chronological age in reading, 36% had average or above average non-verbal intelligence scores.

This evidence shows that there is no inevitability that children from the lower working-class should find learning to read in school difficult. Moreover, the above statistics point rather to the possibility of reading success given the right teaching. Instead of emphasising helplessness, the figures can be interpreted as pointing to the teacher's crucial role in bridging the gap between potential and performance outlined above. Halsey and Chazan and Williams used their statistics to argue for recognition of the crucial period of the reception year to establish a child's relationship with school learning.

This conclusion was supported by the statistics of Tizard (1988) in a longitudinal study of ILEA working-class children. After testing 343 children from 33 schools on different literacy tests at the end of each of their 3 years in the Infant school, the researchers argued strongly that the amount of progress achieved by the children depended on the school they attended and that teacher and school variables were more important than home ones. Above all, the reception year was shown to be vital for school success. Children given a reading book early and a wide-ranging curriculum moved ahead in their reading attainments; the scores of those receiving

a narrower curriculum slipped back further. Thus the wealth of statistics illustrating early reading difficulty for lower working-class children may nonetheless be counterbalanced by some beginning to reveal a pattern for potential success.

2.2. Intellectual and cultural failing

2.2.1. Intellectual Deficit: Genetic and innate intelligence

The origins of the notion of intellectual deficit lie in the theory of intelligence as genetically determined. Herbert Spencer (1888) argued that attainment depends upon inherited intelligence. Those individuals and societies which more readily acquire certain 'higher' mental traits make the greatest social advances. Reciprocally, those individuals and whole societies which are most developed have experiences that further promote intellectual competences. 'Lower' mental traits or cognitive capacity typify both 'inferior' races and the lower socio-economic classes within industrialised nations.

Clinical research on intelligence corroborated these ideas which most were influential during the first half of this century. Vernon (1949) posited the existence of

three types of intelligence: type A which is determined by an inborn potentiality, a quality of the nervous system which is genetically fixed; type B which is all-round ability and largely dependent on social experience and type C which is the mental age obtained in standardised tests and also dependent on environment and experience. Vernon maintained that only intelligence types B and C were largely acquired; crucially, he inferred that the lower social classes inherit a lower type A intelligence which was likely to be reflected in their performance in school.

The intellectual deficit model of the 1950's and 1960's took these findings as a starting-point. Burt (1955) looked to Vernon's conclusions to explain his statistics showing more 'backward' children living in poor areas. He concluded from these that poverty could restrict potential but not fully account for backwardness and went on to posit that 'factor y', an innate and inherited intelligence must be partly responsible. A similar conclusion was reached by Hindley (1962) who claimed that the actual growth of measured intelligence from age 1 to 5 i.e. before school entry was both ^{partly} innately determined and strongly associated with socio-economic factors. Wiseman's statistics from a demographic 'social-class/backwardness' study (1964) suggested a more significant relationship between measured intelligence

and class than that with school achievement which he attempted to explain through a 'genetically determined factor'. Rossi (1965) threw doubts on the current interest in the importance of 'attitude' (Douglas 1964) for school performance. His research led him to conclude that the relationship between attitude and achievement was considerably reduced when intelligence was taken into account i.e. a 'good' attitude depended upon higher intelligence which was innate

These studies shared the premise that certain factors of intelligence were innate, and genetically determined. Further, they argued that there was a basic inequality of distribution of innate ability in favour of higher socio-economic groups. Their ideas were influential until the mid 1960's and they informed official government policy of selection for grammar or secondary modern school at 11. But not all of these researchers agreed that innate intelligence could actually be measured through the I.Q. test. On the one hand, 'innate' intelligence was referred to as impossible to measure through standardised tests (Vernon, Burt); on the other it was 'proven' as associated with low school attainment by children of semi and unskilled workers (Wiseman).

2.2.2. Intellectual Deficit: Socialisation and intelligence

From the 1960's, studies of intellectual deficit began to change. The emergent proposition was that the poorer I.Q. attainment of children from lower class homes might be influenced by a different socialisation process rather than in any innate or genetic endowment (Bernstein 1958). From statistical evidence showing a considerable disparity between the verbal and non-verbal intelligence tests scores of working-class boys Bernstein proposed that the mode of expression of intelligence was a cultural function rather than a genetic endowment. His work added to doubts on the ability of an I.Q. test to measure 'innate' intelligence.

This notion of a different socialisation process was turned into a 'socialisation deficit' explanation for school learning difficulty by the Plowden Report (1967). The Report reflected the uncertainty and confusion at that time as to how far innate intelligence could be measured in terms of a fixed, unchanging amount which is shown in its argument. The Report began by claiming that the I.Q. score represented an interaction between innate and environmental factors thereby implying that the 'innate' part of intelligence could, indeed, be measured. The authors then stressed the difference in I.Q. scores

between children with professional parents (average 115) and those of unskilled workers (average 93) and deduced that the 'innate' intelligence factor (factor A or y (Vernon and Burt) of unskilled workers' children was likely to be lower too. Children's attainments were then claimed to correlate even more with social class than I.Q. score. Finally, the Report cited the claim of 'most psychologists' that there was no sharp distinction between measured intelligence and school attainments.

This equation of school attainment with environmentally determined intelligence and social class was being expressed at the same time in studies relating to working-class black children in America. Poor achievement in school was being linked with a low I.Q. and a lack of 'cognitive flexibility' (Bereiter and Engelmann (1966)). Thus the socialisation of the lower working-class child was held responsible for 'intellectual deprivation'. However, there was a crucial difference between the assumptions made in the Plowden Report or Bereiter and Engelmann's work and that of Bernstein (1958) in the 'scope' assigned to the I.Q.. The former indicated a general or 'global' intellectual deficiency tied to low social class. In stressing the disparity between the verbal and non-verbal I.Q. scores of working-class boys, Bernstein was beginning to imply that intelligence might be 'context-specific' - in other

words that 'schooled socialisation' might be needed for both verbal I.Q. scores and high school achievement.

2.2.3. Intellectual Deficit: Bilingualism and Intelligence

One particular type of socialisation viewed as inadequate was that taking place in a low status language different from the school. Early evidence on the I.Q. test performance on children in possession of more than one language led researchers to claim that bilingualism resulted in intellectual deficiency and mental retardation (Jespersen 1923, Saer 1924, Goodenough 1926) (1).

From the 1960's, research studies highlighted the dichotomy of 'positive' or 'negative' bilingualism according to social class and the circumstances in which the second language was learned. 'Elite' bilingualism where an individual with a high status first language chooses to learn a new language was contrasted with 'folk' bilingualism in a diglossic situation where the first language is of low status and the new language has to be learned for survival in the host country (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981). Studies on 'elite' bilingualism claimed numerous positive cognitive effects. Young children were shown to perform better on concept

formation tests (Bain 1975, Ben-Zeev 1977, understand the arbitrary assignment of words to referents (Ianco-Worrall 1972), possess a greater analytic awareness and 'intellectualisation' of the language experience (Vygotsky 1962, John 1970, Feldman & Shen 1971). These studies assumed that bilingualism was 'additive' (Cummins 1976) where the first language was not threatened or lost in order for cognitive advantages to accrue.

In contrast with the studies above, research into 'subtractive' or 'folk' bilingualism taking place in a diglossic situation pointed to its negative cognitive effects. Children risked becoming 'semilingual' (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981) where neither language was fully mastered or only fluent in BISC (basic interpersonal communication skills) rather than CALP (cognitive and academic language proficiency) (Cummins 1976, Swain & Cummins 1982). Although the notion of 'semilingualism' and the division of BISC and CALP were criticised on the grounds that they suggest a full and perfect knowledge of language exists and can be measured through tests (Martin-Jones & Romaine 1985, Martin-Jones 1987), none of the above studies produce evidence to suggest that children living in a diglossic situation and forced to learn the host language in school, might be able to make similar cognitive gains to their 'elite' counterparts.

Nor do they propose that this type of bilingualism might give children cognitive advantages over their monolingual peers from a similar social background.

The dichotomy where the single common factor of bilingualism can produce highly positive or negative intellectual results according to whether the child is in possession of a high or low status first language again suggests that school failure might ensue from a lack of 'schooled socialisation' rather than any cognitive deficit.

2.2.4. Intellectual Deficit: Intelligence tests or tests of poverty?

A strong counter-argument was levied against those upholding the argument of 'low social class = low innate or environmentally determined intelligence = low I.Q. score = poor school achievement' from researchers who suggested that low I.Q. scores might be the result of material poverty rather than measured intelligence. Early American studies had suggested that the existing I.Q. test was a measure only of opportunity and attainment and that a fairer test needed to be found which did not reflect middle-class culture and handicap all children from lower socio-economic levels (Witty and Lehman 1930, Eells et al. 1951). From their own tests, Floud and

Halsey 1958 argued that the distribution of 'innate' intelligence (Vernon's 'type A') was not skewed in favour of the middle class, but was random across all social classes and that a significantly closer relationship existed between the father's occupation and school performance than the father's occupation and I.Q. score.

Later studies in Britain provide evidence indicating that I.Q. tests might be culturally biased. Haynes (1971) and Hegarty and Lucas (1978) showed how I.Q. tests favoured white middle class children. Dawson's (1988) study of the attainment of 5,000 British, Afro-Caribbean and Asian 12 to 16 year olds in north-west England and Mackintosh's study using NCDS and CHES statistics (1988) both showed that British children scored considerably higher on I.Q. tests. Mackintosh et al. (1988) found a strong correlation between the I.Q. score and socio-economic status. The relative fall in I.Q. score of Pakistani children, the authors claimed, may well be due to a fall in social and living conditions. The NCDS figures, on the other hand, noted that Asian children's scores improved according to the length of time they had lived in Britain. Such figures led Dawson to claim that the I.Q. test measured 'readiness for British education' rather than innate ability or intelligence.

Research projects taking place linking home and school showed that this 'readiness' could be context-specific to just one important aspect of learning and deliberately initiated by those working in the school (Morgan & Lyon 1979, Hewison & Tizard 1980). Hewison and Tizard's (1980) study of Primary aged children from 'non-school-oriented' homes in Dagenham, East London provided evidence to show that children's I.Q. test scores had risen in line with their reading achievements upon participating in structured reading activities with their parents at home.

Studies in 2.2.3 again lend support to the argument that, rather than intellectual deficit, school failure and low I.Q. scores might result from a lack of 'schooled socialisation', an inability to participate in the specific learning demands made by the school, either through material poverty or a lack of 'readiness'. Hewison and Tizard showed how results could rapidly be changed when parents and children were provided with the tools to participate in one important aspect of school learning; learning to read.

2.2.5. Cultural Deficit: Attitudes and motivation

A different argument was that children's school learning difficulties could be explained by a deficiency in the

cultural milieu of the home. The Plowden Committee (1967) cited as the most important educational question for investigation: What is it about families that is so important? The question had already been asked in a number of studies in relation to the poor school performance of lower class children and a general answer had been given in terms of 'imponderable cultural determinants' (Floud 1966). Other work during the 1960's and 1970's attempted to pinpoint these in terms of models of cultural deficit. Central to this approach was the argument that there existed a fundamental difference in attitudes between the middle and lower classes towards school achievement. Lower class parents were said to lack middle class aspirations for success (Jackson and Marsden 1962), suffer inertia and lack enthusiasm (Mays 1962), suffer from 'mobility pessimism' (Swift 1964) and generally to lack motivation (Floud 1966).

Douglas (1964) showed clearly the importance of parental interest and encouragement to enable a child to work hard which ultimately leads to school success. Those children whose parents encouraged 'overachieved' and improved their attainment score by 1.06 points; those whose parents showed little interest 'underachieved' and their score deteriorated by 0.18 points. Similarly, those children who worked hard got 12% more grammar school

places than would be expected for their ability; those who were poor workers got 25% fewer. At all levels of education, middle class parents showed more interest than the lower working class and this interest increased as the child grew older.

These findings by Douglas typified lower working class parents by certain attitudes towards school learning which were seen as being detrimental to their children's progress in school. Other studies generalised this negative picture to envelope whole behaviour patterns of semi and unskilled workers. Musgrove (1966) referred to families showing interest in the school as 'good homes'. 'Good' was taken to mean owning books, belonging to the Library, visiting the school to ask for homework, talking to the Head about the child's progress and attending Parents' Association meetings (Douglas 1964, The National Survey 1966). It meant giving the child access to all those activities and ideas available in the Community which included music, dancing, going to the pictures, theatre, museum, art galleries, exhibitions, shows, zoo, circus, football, Church, concerts (Newsons 1977) or simply visiting the school (Chazan and Williams 1978). In every respect, unskilled manual workers were shown to fare badly in comparison with professional parents.

Using evidence from the National Survey (1966) on 3,000 children and their parents, The Plowden Report stressed that 'parental attitude' was the most important educational variable, accounting for 24% of the variation in children's achievement scores. The Report concluded from this that many lower class families were 'culturally deprived'. Indeed, whole areas were claimed to be 'culturally impoverished' and immigrant children were viewed as even more impoverished through their lack of English. The Report went on to stress that school ideals were likely to conflict with those of the lower social class home and that children from impoverished backgrounds could not develop interest in the school for the parents could provide no stimulus or support. Teachers had to work 'in the face of adversity' attempting to 'compensate' for the severe handicaps of children needing 'enriched nourishment'.

Similar ideas were carried into the 1970's. The Schools Council Working Party (1970) whose terms of reference were to show the very powerful effect of parental attitudes on school progress as well as to highlight the problems of immigrant children referred to the 'cultural handicaps' of 'drabness and ugliness' where lower class children started with 'something akin to an organic defect' of 'massive disadvantage'. The authors claimed that immigrant families had introduced

yet another dimension of conflict and another problem for schools. As the Plowden Report, the Working Party praised schools for their 'remarkable understanding' in helping these children. The picture of an 'organic defect' where children needed 'enriched nourishment' was buttressed by Halsey (1972) in the Educational Priority Area Project who referred to poverty as 'an inherited condition'. Explanations of cultural deficit for children's difficulties in school learning stressed a vicious circle of deprivation; children were expected to achieve little and, if they lived up to expectations, were likely to stay materially impoverished and lower class.

2.2.6. Cultural deficit as a cognitive deficit

Cultural deficit did not indicate only poor motivation and lack of interest. Other research during the 1960's and 1970's concluded that the lower class also suffered from 'cognitive poverty' (Dale & Griffiths 1965, The Coleman Report 1966, The Plowden Report 1967, Cullen 1969). Explanations for learning difficulty based on cognitive deficit differed from those of intellectual deficit in that conclusions were not based on I.Q. scores but focused either on school performance or psychological aspects.

Members of the lower working class were seen to suffer from a 'defective attitude' which meant school performance would only deteriorate (Klein 1965) or they were typified as having a low level of imagination and aesthetic appreciation, a mistrust of the unfamiliar, a dislike of the abstract and a low rate of curiosity (Dale and Griffiths 1965). Sometimes this was referred to as a 'psychological poverty' (Coleman 1966, Plowden 1967, Bullock 1975) which could have 'disastrous results' (Plowden 1967). The Plowden Committee went on to stress 'We do not know at what age and to what extent this process is reversible by suitable experience or treatment' (para.70). Lower class children might find it impossible to cope with the new type of learning which school demanded leading to 'educational retardation' (Cullen 1969).

In fact, children might have such a low 'cognitive readiness' that failure would be more or less a built-in certainty (Schools Council Working Paper 1970). So the problem could be that cultural deprivation meant a child could not cope with school learning. Studies on cognitive poverty added a new factor to the equation relating lower class children and school learning difficulties. The case was now: material poverty and low social class → cultural deprivation ⇒ poor attitude and motivation →

cognitive and psychological poverty → poor school performance.

2.2.7. Cultural Deficit v. The culture of poverty

However, there are weaknesses in the logic of the above equation. Cultural deficit theories defined 'culture' in terms of a 'high' or 'ideal' culture in absolute and indivisible terms (Williams 1961) rather than considering culture to be a collection of individual practices belonging to a dominant sub-group i.e. the middle-class. From this, it followed that not sharing these practices implied deprivation or an absence of culture and an inability to share in the cultural norms important in the society in which one lived. Parental 'interest' in a child's education was measured in terms of participating in the cultural practices of the dominant sub-group e.g. number of books at home or time spent doing homework with children (National Survey 1966, Halsey 1972).

Lower class culture has been viewed differently from the deficit view in previous sections of this chapter.

. Lewis (1969) coined the term 'culture of poverty' in which he sees the lower class sub-culture as comprising a set of cultural practices alien to and at odds with that of the middle class. This sub-culture may become a political force (Fanon 1967) and certainly need not be seen only in negative terms. Vitally, it is shared

by the group. An important feature of the notion of 'cultural poverty' was to 'individualise' poverty and to make it into an illness, an 'organic defect', thereby throwing the responsibility for change upon the individual family rather than the school. This criticism was levied by Bernstein (1971) at the time of the Educational Area Project work.

Other researchers chose different criteria for determining interest and reached different conclusions. Young and MacGeeney (1968) found that three to four fifths of semi and unskilled workers wanted their children to do well in school; 30% wanted their children to have a professional job. Young and MacGeeney (1968) found that 59% of semi and unskilled workers saw a strong division between their role as teaching morals and the school's for teaching the three R's. The National Survey (1966) admitted that an almost equal number of parents from semi and unskilled as from professional occupations wanted homework for their children, but did not ask for it and were given less. In a study involving 33 Inner London Infant schools, Tizard et al. (1988) found that most of the lower class families in her study had a range of children's books, even if they had few of their own. Again, the findings of these studies indicate that it is

a specific 'schooled socialisation' which is needed for early school success, where 'motivation' means learning a set of 'situation-specific' practices or rituals as well as the correct behaviour or 'role' successfully to participate in them (Douglas 1970, Goffman 1974).

2.3. Theories of linguistic deficit related to social class and early reading

2.3.1. Linguistic Deficit: The Historical Background

It is not within the scope of this review to examine the detailed documentation available on the history of working-class literacy. For the present study, it is relevant only briefly to note that literature focusing specifically on social factors and literacy before the Education Act of 1870 does not indicate that spoken language was a decisive issue in learning to read (Webb (1955), Harrison (1961), Thompson (1963), Laqueur (1977) Graff (1979)).

Webb (1955), Harrison (1961) and Thompson (1963) bring ample illustration of the success of many of the poor in learning to read before the advent of compulsory schooling^{in spite of poverty and} regardless of the type of English spoken. However, some studies suggest that

their success may have hinged precisely on the fact that they often did not learn in official school institutions, and indicate that, if this had been the case, the result might have been different. Indeed, Laqueur (1977) and Levine (1986), maintain that the literacy learning of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century poor took place largely through informal, 'grass-roots' avenues because the free Church and charity schools were regarded as alien and oppressive and their teachers seen as self-consciously above and outside the community.

However, any rigid relationship between dialect spoken and social class is a comparatively recent phenomenon and 'spoken Standard English' meaning 'correct English' is claimed to be absent until the nineteenth century Williams (1961), Levine (1986). Others, notably McCrum, Cran and Macniell (1986) trace the history of Cockney which, until well into the eighteenth century, was simply the dialect of all Londoners regardless of social class. Poverty was first equated with inferior speech during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Thompson (1963), Graff (1979) and McCrum, Cran and Macniell (1986) document how in nineteenth century London, the rise of a new and larger middle-class corresponded with the sale of dictionaries and grammar books promoting 'polite pronunciation' and 'correct speech'. 'Polite speech' now became a hallmark of the

middle-class of West London, whilst the name Cockney was given to the mixture of dialects spoken by the poor in the East End and soon became synonymous with 'bad English'. This was soon transferred generally to apply to the language of the poor. McCrum, Cran and Macniell (1986) cite a number of novelists and playwrights whose work often critically reflected the late Victorian emphasis on 'correct' or 'pure' English as opposed to the 'low', 'ugly' or 'coarse' language of working-class speech.

It was into this climate that the Elementary Education Act of 1870 enforced compulsory elementary schooling for all. Grace (1974) provides detailed documentation showing how schools were under middle-class direction by the Inspectorate but that working-class children were usually taught by those elevated from their own social class. He goes on to argue that precisely these teachers placed a strong emphasis on the 'correctness' of spoken and written language because they, themselves, were frequently exposed to derogatory comments concerning their own 'lack of culture'. The elevation of such teachers from the ranks of the poor to a quasi-professional role gave them an almost missionary and heroic zeal as 'pioneers of civilisation' (Committee of Council of Education (1888) p.313). Civilising the

children in their charge meant also 'civilising' their language.

However, the equation made between language, social class and learning was very different from that in much later government reports of the mid twentieth century. Callous and uncouth behaviour as well as 'foul-mouthed' and 'blasphemous' speech typified the lower-class child whose reading and writing were poor. But it was by virtue of being lower-class that all the rest followed i.e. it was not directly because of 'poor language' that the child was a poor reader. The reading was poor because the child came from an 'wretched' in the sense of an 'illiterate' (Runciman (1887) home. Even in the Hadow Report (1931), the issue of language as a determining factor in young children's learning still received little attention and the reason put forward for low achievement was rather the Victorian one of poverty itself. The child from a 'poor home' was generally described as having a 'limited vocabulary' and 'an inadequate power of expressing himself' precisely because he had 'little opportunities for reading' at home (para. 48). No link as yet was made between language, cognitive ability and learning to read.

The question, then, is how the 'blasphemous' and 'indecent' language' of the late nineteenth century

turned during the twentieth into a 'linguistic poverty' reflecting a cognitive deficit which was to make learning to read very difficult. In the next three sections I trace the evolution of this major change in thought and assess its explanatory power for children's ability to begin reading.

2.3.2. Linguistic Deficit: Language and Cognition

The 'language-cognition' link was a vital turn in the argument explaining the future school learning difficulties of the poor. Compensatory projects during the 1960's were claiming that the lower-class child was entering school virtually without language and consequently cognitively deficient (Bereiter & Engelmann 1966, Deutsch 1967). By 1972, the 'poor language=inferior cognition' argument was claimed as 'conventional wisdom' (Ginsburg). The theoretical backing for this explanation is examined below.

The case for early school and literacy failure through linguistic deficit hinged on the central role given to spoken language which was seen as the symbolic manifestation of thought processes. The argument as expressed by the Plowden Committee (1967) ran as follows: Language is central to learning and becomes part of the child's internal equipment for thinking. The complex

perceptual motor skills of reading and writing are based in their first stages upon speech and the wealth and variety of experience from which effective language develops (para.54). Indeed, children need to be able to understand about 3,000 words in order to begin reading (para.55). Children from lower working-class families are often brought up where forms of speech are restricted; the children lack fluency and have difficulty in making themselves understood (para.55). Such children are unlikely to command the width of vocabulary necessary in order to start reading.

The link between experience, language and thought was at the centre of studies in psychology, anthropology and linguistics at the time of publication of the Plowden Report. Work in psychology posited the interdependence of thought and language:

"Thought is not merely expressed in words; it comes into existence through them" (Vygotsky, 1962, p.125)

Consequently, a child's intellectual growth was seen as contingent upon mastering language which enabled the systematising of direct experiences, the categorisation of objects and the formation of hypotheses (Luria & Yudovich 1959, Vygotsky 1962). This claim was illustrated by a practical experiment of Luria and Yudovich (1959)

with identical twins who, at the age of five, possessed only 'autonomous' or undeveloped speech and also lacked comprehension of ordinary speech. It was found that they were unable to participate in imaginary play, that their speech (as it existed) was tied to the present activity and that they were unable to follow any instructions directed at the future or to change their meanings. In other words, complex intellectual forms of communication as well as abstraction were inaccessible to them. Language learning by both twins led to a rapid increase in cognitive ability but this was increased in the twin given specific language training.

The argument that different linguistic and cultural groups had access to certain modes of thought and observation was emerging from studies in anthropology. Investigations made by Sapir (1949) and Whorf (1956) suggested that language predetermined certain modes of observation and interpretation and restricted vision through its grammatical forms. The 'real' world was said to a large extent to be subconsciously 'built up' upon the language habits of the group and no two languages could be sufficiently similar to represent the same social reality.

But the above studies did not furnish evidence for the argument that children from different social classes

should generally have different degrees of language development and corresponding cognitive abilities. To make this connection, the Plowden Committee drew mainly from quantitative research data comparing the vocabulary and syntax complexity between children from different social backgrounds during oral tests. A considerable amount of such data was appearing. Templin 1957, Stodolsky 1965, Stodolsky & Lesser 1967 used the Peabody Picture Vocabulary test or picture-cards and showed that young lower-class children recognised fewer objects or were less able to define their use than their middle-class counterparts. Other tests showed that lower-class children had a more limited syntactic range than the middle-class children and used fewer passive sentences or compound and relative clauses (Templin 1957, Loban 1963, Osser 1966).

Similar findings had been made by Bernstein (1958,1962) with school-leavers where middle-class boys were claimed to use a significantly higher number of uncommon verbs, adjectives and conjunctions, the passive voice, more complex verb stems and a greater use of 'I think' and other cognitive verbs. Bernstein (1958) had concluded that "...the emotional and cognitive differentiation of the working-class child is comparatively less developed" (in 1973, p.54). The Plowden Committee claimed that Bernstein's research

provided evidence to show that children lacking a wide and rich vocabulary would find it difficult to categorise, generalise or develop concepts and that these children were likely to be from working-class homes (para. 302).

This 'language deficiency → cognitive weakness → school failure' argument rested upon one basic assumption: that linguistic forms used in speech directly reflected intellectual capacity and that cognitive ability could, therefore, be measured by testing spoken language. The assumption that thought could be measured by testing speech reflected the confusion as to what was actually understood by 'language' as a symbolic system of signification and 'speech' in terms of the syntax and vocabulary of language use. Neither the Plowden Committee nor Bernstein's papers before 1965 entered the debate upon the distinction between language and speech or even acknowledged that there existed a distinction between the two.

The assumption that speech was synonymous with language and that language could be tested through speech was the centre of discussion in research studies in linguistics and sociolinguistics from the mid 1960's. In linguistic theory, a model was proposed by Chomsky (1965) in which language as a system had two parts :

linguistic competence (language) and linguistic performance (speech). Competence was concerned with the tacit knowledge of language structure i.e. knowledge that was not conscious or available for spontaneous report, but necessarily implicit in what an ideal speaker-listener could say. This competence was limited by psychological and social constraints which would affect the performance or what was actually said, but in no way detract from the underlying innate competence which is ^{a property of} being human. The important implication of this argument was that a child's knowledge of language (competence) could not simply be tested through speech alone (performance).

Bernstein made it clear in papers from 1965 that he was aware of this difference and that he was referring to speech or 'performance' in Chomsky's terms. In 'A socio-linguistic approach to social learning' (1965) Bernstein made the distinction between 'language' and 'speech' explicit: 'Speech' was the message itself whereas 'language' was the 'code' or set of rules and strategies governing any of a number of speech codes. As any 'code' comprises certain distinctive key elements and excludes others, so a speech code would encompass specific linguistic forms (lexis and syntax) within its frame of reference. Importantly, however, it was the social structure which generated the codes which, in

turn, essentially transmitted cultures. Which codes were generated, therefore, would depend upon the system of social relations. According to this interpretation, there was no reason why any one linguistic code should be superior to any other. It was simply that different forms of social relationships generated different planning procedures, speech codes and their corresponding linguistic forms.

This was a very different argument than the one for linguistic deficit. Bernstein stressed that "the verbal codes are nothing more than verbal planning activities at the psychological level and only at this level can they be said to exist" (1965 in 1973 p.154). His early interpretation of 'code' was, however, unclear. On the one hand, 'code' was viewed on a global level, typifying the language strategies of a whole social group; on the other it was used on the particular level to refer to particular language strategies used in specific micro situations as confined as story-reading. He also outlined specific grammatical structures typical of each code, simultaneously praising the metaphoric range of the 'restricted code' whilst at the same time stressing its rigid range of syntactic possibilities and high degree of repetition and redundancy as well as a large degree of dislocation. A possible reason for this lack of clarity was in the neglect of the effect of specific contexts

themselves upon codes which Bernstein was to focus on in later work.

'Performance' was the subject of a number of studies in language development and sociolinguistics of the time. A number of these questioned Bernstein's global interpretation of the context as the home and socialisation within it where speech or performance is learned. The global interpretation meant that children were assumed to learn only one way to speak which would be reflected in the same fashion at all times (Kagan 1967, Cazden 1970, Labov 1970). Hymes (1971) proposed the need to widen Chomsky's theory to account for the appropriateness of speech in different contexts i.e. the 'communicative competence' of individuals which might even mean speaking ungrammatically in certain contexts and which involved a knowledge of the situation as well as the linguistic form. Rather than a general 'code' by which a child interpreted reality, the focus from the late 1960's shifted to study different codings for different contexts.

The performance of children from the lower working-class was shown to be particularly affected by the context which meant the setting and the role relationships in which they found themselves (Robinson 1965, Cazden 1967, Heider et al 1968, Lawton 1968, Labov

1969,1970,1972, Hymes 1971, Biondi 1975, Romaine 1975). In a case study of a five year old white middle-class boy and a black lower-class girl, Cazden (1967) showed how the boy made longer utterances in three task-centred situations: describing pictures about school; describing objects hidden; retelling the book 'Whistle for Willie'. The girl, however, made longer utterances during informal interviews. In contrast, a later study in Scotland suggested that six year old lower working-class children were able to use a range of appropriate forms from non-standard to standard according to the situation and role relationships but these observations were made outside the formal classroom setting (Romaine 1975).

Other researchers examined the part played by role relationships in affecting performance. Labov (1969) argued that the role relationship with the listener could seriously affect the performance. His tapes showed a black lower-class speaker who responded minimally to a white interviewer but had considerable verbal skill with a friend. Likewise, Heider et al (1968) and Williams and Naremore (1969) showed that although children from the lower working-class had a much greater tendency to give minimal responses to adults in formal situations than their middle-class peers, this tendency disappeared if the adult made a much greater effort to probe for more elaborate responses.

The above studies show the weaknesses in the 'language/cognition' explanation for children's early school reading and learning difficulties. The argument rested on the assumption that speech was the equivalent to language, was a fixed entity across all contexts and could be measured in formal tests. This assumption was under considerable attack even by the studies used to support the deficit claim. Ultimately, the evidence in support of the argument amounted only to the poorer achievement of children from the lower social class when tested on vocabulary and syntax in spoken language.

2.3.3. Linguistic Deficit: Forms and Functions

During the 1970's the prevailing argument for linguistic deficit changed to focus on children's differential mastery of language functions according to their home background. This argument was officially expressed in The Bullock Report commissioned in 1975 as the result of concern over reading standards generally, but particularly those of children from working-class families where measures of assessment were indicating deterioration. Its explanation of failure can be summarised as follows:

Language learning takes place through social interactions. Consequently, the parents play a 'vitaly important role' (5.1.) in extending and elaborating a child's speech. Whether a child grows up in an 'advantaged' or 'educative' family will depend upon the role relationships of the family and the home. 'Advantaged' homes where relationships are 'personal', relating to members as individuals are likely to use a wider variety of language functions than 'disadvantaged' homes where relationships are 'positional' relating to members in fixed roles. Children in favourable environments make earlier progress in learning plurals, past tenses etc. and this advantage increases throughout the years. Particularly, mastery of the heuristic and imaginative language functions are going to determine success in early school learning. Children from disadvantaged (sometimes used synonymously with lower working-class) homes are likely to enter school unfamiliar with these functions and have difficulty with school learning, especially learning to read.

The focus on the home 'environment' received support from work in linguistics, language development and sociolinguistics. In linguistics, the child was now seen as an active theory-builder, able to create an infinity of utterances rather than a passive imitator of the speech of the caregiver and thereby tied to the

vocabulary and syntax heard (Chomsky 1957). The role of the adult, therefore, was not to 'teach' vocabulary or syntax but to provide the quality of environment and interaction which would allow the child to deduce the appropriate 'deep structure' or meaning from the 'surface structure' or syntactic form.

Studies on early language development also emphasised the importance of the home environment in terms of the quality and quantity of verbal interactions given by the adult in making 'rich interpretations' (Brown 1973) of children's speech during Conversational Acts (MacNamara 1972). The adult was seen to act as a model of conventional interpretations of intentions which were signalled by vocalisations given (Newsons 1975, Clark 1973, Bruner 1975) and to show children the way others would interpret their intentions when they used particular words on particular occasions (Bloom 1970). These researchers highlighted generally the importance of the role of the caregiver in children's language development but they did not focus on the effect of socio-economic group upon quality of interactions.

The sociolinguists were more concerned with this. The notion that children have differential access to a range of language functions was drawn from Halliday's work (1973,1975) Halliday proposed a functional model of

language development i.e. the language system built up by a child was viewed in terms of its functionality. As the child learned the functions, s/he learned a system of meaningful behaviour or a semiotic system. The ways in which the child used the functions and the patterns of meaning built up were determined by the child's family within the subculture and culture through 'codes'. The code was defined as the general orientation to a selection and organisation of meaning and its realisation in speech. In other words, the child was seen to construct a semiotic or meaning system through interaction within the family and subculture. Halliday (1973) maintained that children needed to learn to use language for both personal (interaction) and heuristic (learning) functions in school, but did not claim that the lack of one of these functions upon school entry would necessarily hinder early learning or literacy development.

This claim was made by Tough (1976). She used a number of spoken language tests mainly based on answering questions on pictures given to children on starting school and from her results proposed that children from 'uneducative' (used synonymously with lower working-class) homes failed to use spoken language to explain, describe, hypothesise, deduce, inquire, analyse and compare. These functions were argued by Tough to be vital

for early school success, and consequently she made them into reasons why children from lower working-class backgrounds failed in early school learning and particularly in learning to read.

The argument for 'functional deficit' as an explanation for children's early school learning difficulties hinged upon certain assumptions: that lower working-class families were 'uneducative' where roles were 'positional'; that mastery of general language functions were necessary for early school learning and that a child's knowledge of language functions could be tested through specific oral language tests.

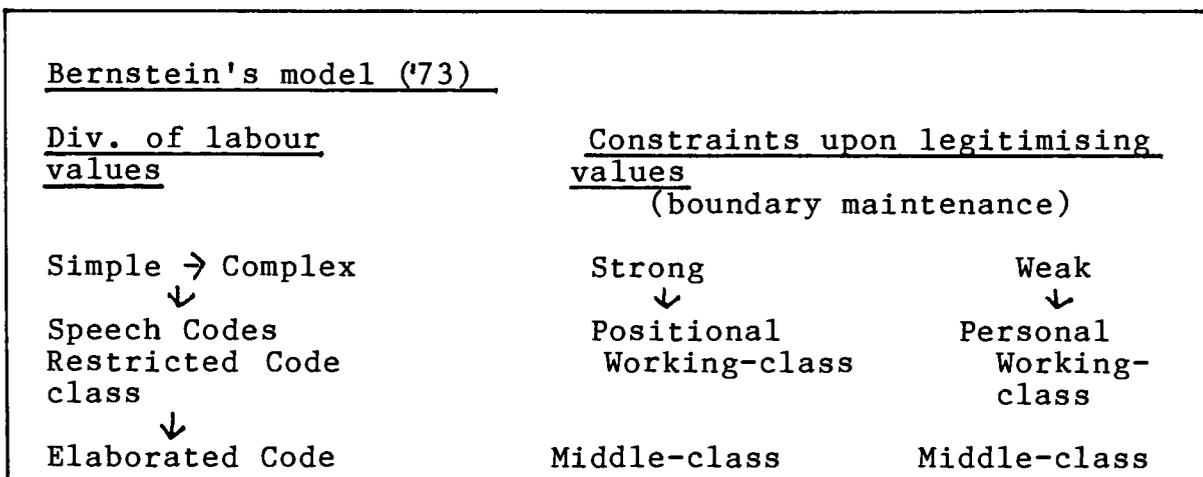
The Bullock Report proposed a simple model showing the difference between the 'advantaged' and the 'disadvantaged' family and their use of language functions important for school learning:

Bullock Report's Interpretation of the 'advantaged' family (75)

'educative'/advantaged
or middle-class
↓
personal
↓
elaborated
↓
wide use of
language functions
(including heuristic &
imaginative for school)

'disadvantaged'
or working-class
↓
positional
↓
restricted
↓
narrow use of
language functions
(lacking heuristic &
imaginative)

The authors claimed that this represented the model proposed by Bernstein (1973) in his explanation for children's failure in school. Examination of Bernstein's model shows that important changes had been made:



First, The Bullock Report made a direct link between social class, type of family and access to certain language functions. This 'individualised' families by viewing them as autonomous units existing outside social forces. Bernstein stressed that the speech form must be taken as a form of the social relationship, or, more generally, as a quality of the social structure. It was the class system which limited access to elaborated codes, not the family as an autonomous unit. Next, Bernstein argued strongly that 'there is more to socialisation than its forms of linguistic realisation' (1973 p.213). Consequently, the extended use of terms such as 'educative', 'favoured', 'advantaged' or 'disadvantaged' to refer generally to the socialisation

given by families would not be supported in his work. Finally, there was a difference in the use of the word 'code'. Bernstein and Halliday defined the code as the general orientation to the selection and organisation of meaning and its realisation in speech. the Bullock Committee confused 'code' with specific language functions.

The 'functional deficit' explanation also assumed that there was a direct link between language function and linguistic form. This left it unable to account for the question of 'latent' functions e.g. avoidance conversations which might exist beside the manifest function with a very different linguistic form (Ervin-Tripp 1973) e.g. 'It's cold tonight' might be a request for a coat or simply a statement of fact. If there should be no direct link between linguistic form, language function and social role, it would not necessarily follow that the failure of lower working-class children was a direct consequence of their lack of the spoken linguistic form. It could be that the social role determined mastery of linguistic forms instead of vice versa.

The omission of social role relations from the studies upon which it claims to call, presents a second major weakness in the functional deficit explanation for

children's school learning difficulties. Bernstein was arguing from quite the opposite direction: 'If you cannot manage the role, you cannot manage the appropriate speech' (1973, p.202).

As in the 'language/cognition deficit' explanation outlined in the last section, the functional deficit theory assumed that to learn to read children needed a mastery of spoken linguistic forms. Learning the social role of being a 'reader' within the specific context of the school was seen as unproblematic.

2.3.4. Linguistic Deficit: Narrative Inexperience

During the 1980's, attention turned from children's mastery of language functions and spoken linguistic forms to their knowledge of language in one specific context: written narrative. Children were now considered to be disadvantaged if they lacked narrative experience before school entry. This explanation of deficit was given official recognition in The Cox Report 'English from ages 5 to 11' (1988). It ran as follows: Learning to read demands the existence of certain cognitive and linguistic development gained primarily through a familiarity with written stories. Parents should read books with their children from their earliest days, read aloud to them and talk about the stories they have

enjoyed together (2.3.). These 'fortunate' children will become literate more quickly than those children whose only experience of books is in school. Children who enter school unfamiliar with stories and books will be unable to handle the symbolic qualities of language needed to learn to read; these children are likely to be from lower working-class backgrounds. Thus, familiarity with stories, cognitive and linguistic development and learning to read are inextricably and sequentially linked. Through a knowledge of the first, the rest should follow.

This 'narrative inexperience' explanation for the early reading difficulties of children from non-school-oriented backgrounds was grounded in research by linguists and psychologists into the different demands made by the spoken and written context.

The notion that written language made quite particular cognitive demands received widespread support from research studies in psychology. It was argued that children would need to learn to separate the processes of daily life from that of the acquisition of knowledge (Bruner 1983) so that they could gain a 'detached' relationship with language rather than a personal, interactive one (Olson 1977). This would involve learning to converse with an unknown audience, where the text

would be autonomous, presenting 'integrity' and 'detachment' as opposed to the 'fragmentation' and 'involvement' of the spoken word (Olson 1977). Children would need to learn to focus on the message itself rather than the messenger and move from 'context-bound' to 'decontextualised' or explicit language (Vygotsky 1962, Olson 1977), from a particularistic to a universalistic lexicon and naming system (Vygotsky 1962).

The cognitive demands of learning to be 'detached' from the listener or audience were widely investigated by psychologists. It was argued that children would need to step beyond the social and interpersonal functions of language and operate within the boundary of sentence meanings (Greenfield 1972, Goody 1977, Olson 1977) and the boundary of explicitly presented problems which would mean seeing the truth within the logic of the text itself even if this contradicted common-sense (Olson 1977). They would need to learn to derive rules from a 'theoretical synthesis' instead of practical experience (Inhelder & Piaget 1964). This would mean 'disembedding' (Donaldson 1978) or abstracting their thinking from the context of immediate knowledge which would involve calling upon quite different modes of thought (Goody & Watt 1968, Donaldson & Reid 1985), involving analytical action (Vygotsky 1962, Bruner 1986) and being able to switch from 'situation-dependent' to 'text-dependent'

thought (Simons & Murphy 1986). Outwardly, development of these features was likely to be signified by the use of verbs reflecting cognitive processes (Torrance & Olson 1985).

Those researchers who focused on the linguistic demands of written language did not propose that children should develop new cognitive structures, but rather that they needed to re-orientate linguistico-cognitive potential (Halliday & Hasan 1976, Perrera 1984). According to this view, children needed to see that written language involves carrying paralinguistic features into syntax (Hildyard & Hidi 1985) and understand an elaborate syntax containing complex nominal structures e.g. noun groups, noun phrases, nominalisations, relative clauses etc. and the use of passive and subject-predicate constructions (Halliday & Hasan 1976, Collins & Michaels 1980).

In addition, they would need to understand that the meaning of text is realised through cohesion and, therefore, learn to use accurately a variety of cohesive ties and understand how these may differ in oral and written language (Halliday & Hasan 1976, Simons & Murphy 1986). In practice, this would mean: first, recognising that the meaning of one element e.g. word, phrase, clause, element etc. cannot be understood in isolation

i.e. it must be related to another by a cohesive tie and, using prediction, learn to 'close' or 'bond' a tie through another and thus link the ties to form a chain of events, objects, people etc. in a text. Second, they would need to recognise that, in contrast to oral language which works mainly through exophoric reference (i.e. reference to shared information e.g. 'Will you put the cheese over there' where 'you' and 'there' are used exophorically), written language works mainly through endophoric reference or references within the text itself which may be anaphoric (backward references) or cataphoric (forward references) or collocation (word grouping) or ellipsis (omission of words e.g. 'John walked over to the table and (he) put the cheese on (it)' where 'he' and 'it' are used endophorically. Finally, children would need to work with longer 'idea units' or unit length (Chafe 1982), new discourse organisation involving explicit description and precise detail through varied adjectives instead of repetition (Brewer 1985, Hildyard & Hidi 1985).

Important evidence suggested that a familiarity with written stories from home enabled children already implicitly to have learned the above cognitive and linguistic features before they were even able to read a word (Wells 1985, 1987). From a longitudinal study set up in 1972 of 128 families from different socio-economic

backgrounds of whom 32 were followed up in depth between the ages of 1 to 11, Wells maintained that there were no clear differences between middle-class and lower working-class children in the range of meanings expressed or in the range of functions used upon school entry. The crucial difference was a familiarity with written stories. Of all the factors in pre-school literacy investigated, only listening to written stories at home had a strong correlation with early school literacy success. Children with a good knowledge of stories and high scores at 7 had parents who read more, owned more books and read stories to their children.

Wells concluded that the parents of lower working-class children place relatively low value on this type of activity, shown by an absence of books in the home and an infrequency of reading to children. Therefore, their children were likely to enter school with a very limited understanding of the purposes of literacy and how to gain meaning from print. Consequently, they experienced more difficulty in learning to read and write. Wells later referred to this as a cycle of disadvantage and went on to say that these children 'urgently need the experience of books and the pleasure of being read to' (1987 p.146).

The 'narrative inexperience' explanation of children's early reading difficulty rests upon the

assumption that becoming literate demands prerequisite cognitive and linguistic skills. Scribner and Cole's (1981) longitudinal study on Vai illiterates, 'unschooled' literates, Koranic literates and western English speaking literates led them to conclude that there was no justification in making a 'literacy/cognition' link and proposed the view of literacy as a set of social and cultural practices, which, in school, represent those of the dominant sub-culture. This argument is supported by longitudinal ethnographic studies into the literacy practices of different sub-cultures in Britain and the U.S.A. (Heath 1982,1983, Wade 1984, Dombey 1983, Cochran-Smith 1984, Payton 1984, Fox 1988, Hutchinson 1988) who show that story-reading is a prevailing literacy practice of the middle-class as opposed to the more functional literacy practices of the lower working-class (Anderson & Stokes 1984).

Viewed from the stand-point of this ideological model of literacy, story-reading may be one particular literacy practice, albeit that of the dominant ideological group in Britain and the U.S.A. and, therefore, highly important in school. If this were the case, the cognitive and linguistic advantages the practice offers may be i) limited consequences rather than pre-requisites of learning to read ii) learned

through other literate or non-literate activities. Scribner and Cole (1981) and Street (1984) argue that urban experience itself rather than literacy is a major determinant of taxonomic and classificatory skills. Work showing the successful reading of 'unschooled' groups in Morocco (Wagner, Messick & Spratt 1987), Iran (Street 1984) and South America (Freire 1970, 1972, 1973, Freire & Macedo (1987) without the back-up of story-reading from home and whatever the method of instruction employed also challenges Wells.

The assumption that learning to read demands only cognitive and linguistic skills which children learn by listening to stories neglects the social role which children might need to adopt in order to learn a new cultural practice in the specific setting of the school. An important point in the 'practice' model of literacy is that the setting itself will determine what is regarded as a valid literacy skill. Wells criticised Bernstein for his lack of naturalistic data, rejecting 'test-like situations' as having dubious validity. In comparing the quality and quantity of spoken language between different social groups, Wells himself concentrated only on naturalistic speech in the home, rejecting more formal visits e.g. to the doctor's etc. because both parent and child were then 'on show'. If the model of story-reading as a cultural practice is *adopted* then a context-

specific linguistic code of the group the practice belongs to would be likely to prevail. This means that it would be exactly language within this group and in formal situations which would be important. The nature of such situations and cultural practices of the dominant group and the process by which the group dominates formal settings is currently the subject of analysis (Bernstein 1981, 1990, forthcoming).

If experience with narrative is viewed as an important cultural practice of the dominant sub-culture, the task for the child is to learn how to take an appropriate social role within the practice of which learning linguistic forms is only one part. Bernstein now focuses on 'code' as a context-specific semantic. Within the context of the school, the code emphasises the relationship between meanings, realisations and contexts; it selects and integrates relevant meanings and their appropriate or inappropriate, legitimate or illegitimate contexts. The code generates principles for distinguishing between contexts (classification and recognition rules) for creating and producing the specialised relations within a context (framing and realisation rules). For a child in school differences in code now entail the different ways the recognition and realisation rules are interpreted (2).

An example given by Holland (1981) illustrates what this might look like in practice. A group of seven year old middle and lower working class children were given pictures of food and were asked to group or categorise them in any way they wish.^{ed} The first choice of the middle class children was to use general or 'context-independent' categories e.g. meat, fish etc. whereas the lower working class children chose a personal or 'context-dependent' use e.g. 'We had that for dinner last night'. The crucial point to this experiment was that the middle class children ignored a surface instruction which showed weak classification i.e. 'talk about the pictures in any way you wish' and produced the opposite i.e. they all categorised the pictures in terms of giving an indirect relationship to a specific material base e.g. 'They're vegetables' etc.

By behaving in this way, the middle class children selected strong classification and recognition rules which marked the context as being i) specialised ii) instructional and adult evaluated. Likewise, the framing value selected was also strong in that it excluded the realisation of other contexts e.g. home and friendly adult. In other words, the middle class children transformed what superficially appeared to be a weak classification and framing into the opposite. In doing this, they interpreted the situation appropriately and

adopted an appropriate social role. The lower working class children, meanwhile, remained within the weak classification and framing which was superficially requested by the researcher but not actually appropriate. The crucial difference between the two groups might not, therefore, be one of cognitive facility but a difference in the recognition and realisation rules used by the children to 'read' the context, select interactional practices and create texts (Bernstein, forthcoming).

Should this be the case, the difficulty encountered by the lower working-class children would be that they were not able to realise that the instructional context of school required specialised rules of communication and interactional practices. Quite the opposite of comprising explicit language forms, using the appropriate code would mean ignoring the explicit classification and framing rules and understanding the implicit demands of the situation. Seen in this light, the difficulty experienced by children from 'non-school-oriented' backgrounds could lie in their inability to see through to the implicit demands made by the situation and to adopt an appropriate social role and corresponding use of language rather than any cognitive or linguistic deficit.

Summary

This chapter examined the extent to which theories of intellectual, cultural and linguistic deficit explain why children from 'non-school-oriented' backgrounds might find difficulty in learning to read in school. The case for deficit as an explanation for difficulty rests upon the broad assumption that learning to read demands specific cognitive and linguistic skills which children from 'non-school-oriented' backgrounds are likely not to possess. Explanations of deficit are most precisely set out and given official recognition in the various Education Reports since The Hadow Report in 1931. These drew largely upon statistical evidence showing poor I.Q. and/or school performance to support their argument.

However, an examination of each of the deficit 'models' presented in the Reports revealed important weaknesses. First, a number of examples showed the danger in using such statistics in predicting a child's potential upon starting school. Contradictions within the statistics themselves were also revealed. A second serious weakness was that the Education Reports were shown often to misinterpret the research studies upon which they called to support their claims. The Reports, therefore, can be challenged as responsible for creating a myth of the 'deprived' child. The 'deficit'

caused by a lack of books reported in The Cox Report has remarkable similarities with the same explanation for failure in The Hadow Report nearly sixty years earlier. This suggests that the common factor uniting the children was that of poverty rather than linguistic, intellectual or cultural deficit.

A number of research studies were shown to dispute the assumptions made by theories of deficit. These provided evidence suggesting that 'schooled learning' demands the ability to use a set of context-specific cultural practices and their corresponding linguistic 'codes' of which learning to read is just one. These studies indicate that rather than a deficit in intellect, culture or general socialisation, it might be a lack of 'schooled socialisation' which is really at issue.

Research studies which view 'schooled learning' as a set of cultural practices for which appropriate behaviour must be adopted in order to participate as a member suggest that the child has a more context-specific task to learn. But they still leave the onus of responsibility for success or failure in school on the family within the social structure. There is a deterministic view that the official pedagogy, ideology, context and practice of the school need to be embedded in the local pedagogy of the family if the child is to

manage successful rules of communication and interactional practices. A pessimistic view prevails that the fate of the child might already be sealed by the coding orientation brought from home.

Important questions are still left unanswered: Why are children such as Gillian unable to learn the new coding orientation of the dominant group in school if it is being practised and taught? What differentiates them from those children from a similar home coding orientation who are able to learn the new one? For practitioners in schools, precisely the conditions under which some children are able to achieve this, need investigating. Bernstein's interest is in the nature of symbolic control and not the potential ability of individuals to break out of it and transform reality. Neither his method of data collection nor the large-scale projects of Scribner and Cole and Street allow them to focus on how individual children and their teachers might tackle entry for the uninitiated into a new literacy practice. The focus of the review needs now to turn to work seeing learning as action and interaction and to the role of the child and the teacher in this.

CHAPTER THREE

The Role of Negotiation in Early Childhood Learning

Introduction

This chapter takes an interdisciplinary approach to examining the role and scope of negotiation in the learning process. From the literature, two broad interpretations of negotiation are identified: negotiation as the subconscious sharing of implicit and tacit understandings, mutual beliefs and interests and negotiation as the conscious and explicit learning of particular, context-specific practices. Views are plotted along a continuum between the above definitions. The tensions existing between them as well as their value in interpreting teacher/child interaction in the classroom is assessed.

The chapter is divided into four sections. Section one examines studies which discuss very early negotiation between caregiver and infant in the home. It gives a cross-cultural perspective on negotiation during the pre-speech stage and early language learning. It then examines the nature of negotiation during the particular context of story-reading. The second section moves from

home to school, from the dyadic adult/child relationship to the family within a wider cultural framework. It explores different interpretations of negotiation and their implications for the child from a 'non-school-oriented' background upon entering school. Section 3 considers the position of the British Infant teacher and constraints which may be placed upon negotiation with children from 'non-school-oriented' homes. Finally, a section investigates the nature of negotiation in school, as it has been viewed through classroom studies.

3.1. Negotiation and early learning in the home environment

3.1.1. Pre-speech negotiation

The intimate link between interpersonal negotiation and the child's early learning is of central importance to studies in developmental psychology. These adhere to the view that,

"...knowledge itself originates within an interactional process. The child only achieves a fully articulated knowledge of his world in a cognitive sense as he becomes involved in social transactions with human beings." (Newson, J.& E. 1975, p.438)

Negotiation is viewed as an 'action dialogue' (Bloom 1973) or a 'social dialogue' between caregiver and child (Ryan 1974, Bloom, Hood & Lightbown 1974, Lieven 1976, Cross 1977, Snow 1977) which underpins and steers a child's learning almost from the time of birth.

Of key importance to the studies discussed in this sub-section is the view of the infant as a skilled partner who is equal or even dominant in initiating early 'dialogues' and conveying meaning. Such initiation may be accomplished through turning a gaze towards the caregiver (Scaife & Bruner 1975) and achieving 'joint attention' as early as two months (Schaffer 1984). At six months, infants are shown to look attentive when spoken to and to wait for an appropriate pause before making a pre-vocal or vocal response (Bower 1974, Lyons 1974, Scaife & Bruner 1975, Trevarthen 1974, Butterworth 1987).

The early relationship set up between caregiver and child has been characterised as showing rhythmic synchrony and complementarity (Condon 1974, Bruner 1979) During the first few months of life, this has been referred to as the 'exchange mode' (Moore & Meltzoff 1975) where caregiver and baby exchange facial and manual gestures or the 'primordial sharing situation' (Werner & Kaplan 1963). The 'exchange mode' later

develops into the 'reciprocal mode' with interchangeable turns and role reversibility (Garvey 1974). Here, the child may also play an important role as initiator. Bruner (1979) cites the game of 'Peek-a-boo' to illustrate this, where the child looks the caregiver directly in the eye for signals at crucial pauses in the play. During these early interactions the infant comes to learn an interpersonal concept or 'intersubjectivity' (Newson, J.& E. 1975, Bruner 1979).

Through 'exchanges', the caregiver also manages to draw attention to herself and, at the same time, shows how the infant's action may be mirrored by an adult (Newson, J.& E. 1975). There is widespread agreement that through this 'sharing of meanings' between caregiver and child the functions and forms of language emerge (Halliday 1975, Bates 1976, Snow 1977, Bruner 1979). A number of studies demonstrate ways in which the caregiver builds her talk around the infant's contributions. Investigations by Shugar (1975), Snow (1977), Lieven (1978) and Cherry (1979) show that at the pre-speech stage caregivers frequently build the early sounds of babies into their conversations and that they use turn-passing and not turn-keeping devices.

From a study of pre-speech 'conversations' between mothers and babies, Snow (1977) emphasises the way in

which any utterance of the infant is accepted as a word and an initiator of an 'adjacency pair' or vocal exchange. Through being prepared to follow up any opening made by the child, a 'real' conversation is initiated. In this way, 'conversation' gives the child a shared frame of reference. The adult realises that the child will interpret her correctly as her speech is derived from the interaction itself. The child understands the context of the interaction and has its understandings ratified through the interaction. The reciprocity between caregiver and child is such that a child has been said to possess a linguistic system in terms of being able to express and understand a range of meanings before s/he has any words at all (Halliday 1975).

In spite of the control generally allotted to the infant it is important to note that these very early 'conversations' or 'shared action formats' (Bruner 1979) are not seen as random or haphazard in their structure or form but as governed by certain rules. Bruner (1987) details these rules more precisely as comprising indicating, deixis and naming. The early following of a line of regard or indication eventually leads to decontextualisation; the symmetry of repetitive actions and games enables both naming and a grasp of deixis (the concept of 'I', 'you', 'here' and 'there', which, unlike nouns, cannot refer to a fixed objective notion). Some

studies point out that the 'reciprocal mode' itself is rule-bound and, therefore, constraining (Cohen 1974, Garvey 1974, Ryan 1974, Bruner 1979). Although the process of learning itself may occur through implicit sharing, rules and patterns governing communicative intentions are, therefore, being set up through 'habits' (Garvey 1974) or 'transactional situations' (Bruner 1987).

Paradoxically, then, the infant is seen as having the freedom to initiate 'dialogues' but within the confines of a specific frame or rules. Studies on the learning of intentionality illustrate this duality (Ryan 1974, Dore 1974, Bruner 1979, 1987). The caregiver attributes the infant with having definite intentions from the earliest age. S/he tries to 'read' a child's communicative intent and interprets a child's vocalisations and gestures in conative terms e.g. 'she wants...' etc. Thus the adult gives a crucially important 'model' of the conventional interpretation of intentions as signalled by the vocalisations given. The caregiver introduces the child to how others interpret his/her intentions in using particular words on particular occasions. Viewed in this way, it is the caregiver rather than the infant who exercises control by inducing in the listener the speaker's expectation. Eventually, this may mean that the

child adopts the adult's interpretation of the context and the activity (Dore 1974, Bruner 1979).

This example of unwitting control exercised by the caregiver points to the complexity in interpreting negotiation by adult and infant in terms of equality. Both partners may participate in an equal number of turns, but they have a very unequal knowledge. Although supporting the case for the 'competent infant' which is promoted in all the studies discussed in this section, DeLoache and Brown (1987) warn against the tendency of overemphasising the child's independence. Even during this pre-speech period, rules are emerging which act as a framing device on the infant's intentionality, gestures and corresponding utterances. At this stage, these rules and frames are generally viewed as implicitly conveyed by the caregiver rather than being explicitly taught. Nevertheless, they show that from the start of life, infant and caregiver interact within certain boundaries which limit their interpretations and intentions.

3.1.2. Negotiation and early language learning

The concept of negotiation as meaning equality and unconscious or implicit sharing is less common in studies

focusing on the child's language development. These focus more on the asymmetrical relationship between caregiver and child, where interactions are governed by rules (Shatz & Gelman 1973, Camaioni 1979, Corsaro 1979, Dore 1979). The caregiver is generally shown to give more explicit direction to enable the child to put a message into a verbalised unambiguous form. This type of assistance by the caregiver is sometimes referred to as a 'scaffolding' of the child's learning (Wood, Bruner & Ross 1976, Bruner 1983, Wells 1985, 1987) which indicates the dynamic nature of the support which is slowly removed as the child progresses. The adult guidance has also been referred to as 'pedagogical play' (Camaioni 1979) whereby the adult playfully controls and extends the child's knowledge relative to the social and physical reality or a Language Acquisition Support System (Bruner 1983).

This sub-section examines the extent to which negotiation is interpreted as explicit 'tutoring' of the child and ways in which this takes place. Specifically, it draws from studies focusing on children's learning of topic reference and question/answer exchanges. It then examines how the setting or context might influence the type of negotiation adult and child engage in.

i) The learning of topic reference:

A number of studies accept the 'task model' of learning to speak, whereby caregiver and child construct a 'task' or topic upon which to establish discourse (Brown 1973, Atkinson 1977, Ochs-Keenan 1977, Lieven 1978, Corsaro 1979, Dore 1979, Feldman 1987). Some researchers view this 'task construction' as mutually negotiated between adult and child (Brown 1973, Lieven 1978). Others argue that a considerable amount of adult assistance is needed for the child to construct a bank of topics or shared referents and that children first learn these from the caregiver before eventually being able to initiate negotiation for new items to be slotted into existing 'banks' of knowledge (Dore 1974) or 'ontic dumps' (Feldman 1987).

Other researchers describe the adult as 'steering' the child towards taking over a shared topic and illocutionary domain (Sacks 1972, Camaioni 1979, Corsaro 1979, Dore 1979). Corsaro's research showed how adults steered their children's early language learning by limiting the range of tasks or options provided. Once a topic was chosen, the adults gave a high percentage of 'TRA's (topic relevant acts) and controlled the pattern of response. In return, the children also replied with a high percentage of 'TRR's (topic relevant replies). Throughout the conversation, the adults constantly

repaired their children's pronunciation and word usage, whilst at the same time reformulating their on-going activity (Dore 1979).

The common store of shared referents is important for discourse to take place, for it provides a context in which even a one-word utterance can be understood as an appropriate contribution to the conversation (Scollon 1979). Through linking the holophrase and the context and understanding the child's intent, the adult is able to repeat, clarify and expand to form a sentence including the child's word. This type of feed-back is said to give the child a positive acknowledgement of the contribution made as well as an explicit sentential interpretation of the word (Dore 1979). Bloom (1970) provides an example of how this works at the 'two word' stage:

K. (child)	Mummy sock dirty
Mummy	Yes. They're all dirty
K.	Mummy sock
Mummy	There
K.	Mummy sock
Mummy	That's not mummy's sock. That's your sock. There.
K.	Kathryn sock.

The above example also illustrates how the child's repetition 'Mummy sock' provides a topic for the adult's next utterance. Repetition is generally viewed as an important device in focusing attention on the topic and framing interactions as a concluding remark (Brown &

Bellugi 1964, Slobin 1968, Corsaro 1975, Ochs-Keenan 1977, Ochs, Schieffelin & Platt 1979). Usually repetition takes place by the adult and functions as an immediate communication check (Slobin 1968), a question, an agreement or a counterclaim or to turn an utterance into shared knowledge (Ochs-Keenan 1977). Repetition of a child's remark by the adult using conventional syntax also serves the joint function of explicit tuition and feed-back of the child's efforts (Corsaro 1975).

ii) The learning of question/answer interactions:

A number of studies investigate the role of caregivers' questions in structuring a child's language (Berko-Gleason & Weintraub 1976, Bloom, Rocissano & Hood 1976, Atkinson 1977, Bruner in Ninio & Bruner 1978, Garvey 1979, Bruner 1983, Wells 1985). Questions have been found to constitute 50% of adults' utterances to young children (Ochs, Schieffelin & Platt 1979) and are generally agreed to assist children in becoming explicit. Questions have been viewed as 'attention drawers' to the topic in hand (Snow 1972, Shatz & Gelman 1973, Keenan & Schieffelin 1976, Atkinson 1977). When functioning in this way, they focus the child by requesting repetition, confirmation, specification or elaboration (Garvey 1979). Questions also enable caregiver to construct a joint proposition with the child (Ochs, Schieffelin & Platt 1979), or to

'tailor' a message presentation by providing new information which the child must act upon (Atkinson 1977).

Halliday (1975) refers to questions as 'scaffolds' by the parents: the parents' questions are embedded in the child's attempt to complete a new task; the questions implicitly model an appropriate structure of narrative; after the child's response the parent directly models the appropriate form without correcting the child; this is then internalised by the child. Although the adult is said to do this subconsciously, the pattern is unchanging and the repetitive tutoring quite explicit. Bloom (1977) stresses that the form and content of the question as well as the nature of the feed-back are just about the level the child can understand:

vocative	(child)	Oh, look!
question	(adult)	What's that?
label	(child)	It's a fishy
confirms	(adult)	That's right!

The above example shows how the adult 'frames' the interaction, keeping the child's attention on the task in hand and finally providing an evaluative feed-back. A number of studies indicate that it is usually the adult who initiates the question and provides the feed-back (Camaioni 1979, Corsaro 1979, Dore 1979, Garvey 1979) and

that this pattern is remarkably similar to that shown to be used during teacher/pupil interaction (Mishler 1975).

iii) The influence of the context on negotiation in early language learning

Evidence suggests that the explicitness of caregivers' tuition is increased as the situation becomes a formal one (Miller 1977, Bridges et al. 1981). Bridges studied the adjustment made by 32 mothers as their infants of 16, 24 and 32 months were engaged in object retrieval tasks. Results showed that the main object of the caregivers was to 'keep the child on course'. The mothers discouraged interest in non-relevant objects and prompted requests. Their own utterances were very explicit and divided the task up into stages. With the two year old, this was most likely to follow the pattern of i) specifying, identifying and fixating the object ii) giving the instruction. Important points to note are that the caregiver used fine-tuning to modify instructions in the light of feed-back from the child and that the fine-tuning generally meant becoming more explicit. Explicitness was also greatest with the youngest children who were judged least able to understand.

Bridges termed this type of 'teacher/learner' interaction the rehearsal of 'scripts' where the child

learns cognitive processes and corresponding linguistic formulae for different life situations. The context may affect how explicitly these are tutored. Ervin-Tripp and Miller (1977) discovered a particularly high frequency of ostensive utterances just as the child began to talk. Observation of four year olds revealed that they already gave more explicit directives when speaking to two year olds than to their peers (Shatz & Gelman 1973).

Some research shows that children initiate and control the negotiation of scripts when they are in 'natural' situations (Dunn 1987, Haste 1987) but receive systematic prompting from the caregiver when they are being observed in formal or 'testing' situations or where 'performance' is important (Nelson 1981, Romaine 1984). This may occur during 'training' where politeness routines are concerned (Bates 1976, Berko-Gleason & Weintraub 1976, Heath 1983, Romaine 1984). Hess (1979) who showed that middle-class American mothers in 'observed' situations were much more likely to become explicit in their instructions and their feedback than teachers.

The evidence in this sub-section points to i) the structured nature of adult support to the child during early language learning by 'framing' interactions and assisting the child to convey meaning ii) the increase

in explicit 'tutoring' when performance is important or when the situation is interpreted as a formal one. 'School-oriented' caregivers in one study were shown to give more explicit tutoring than teachers when they interpreted the situation as formal.

3.1.3. Negotiation and early socialisation: a cross-cultural perspective

The interpretation of caregiver/infant negotiation during pre-speech and early language development outlined in 3.1.1. and 3.1.2. is based on research studies conducted in Western societies, often with families from 'school-oriented' backgrounds. This sub-section calls upon research into child-rearing practices in different cultures. This research demonstrates the danger in assuming that Western patterns of infant care are universal and shows that different cultural practices have implications for both the interaction between caregiver and child and, consequently, the interpretation of negotiation in learning.

The first assumption made by studies in the last two sub-sections is that the early infant/caregiver transactions will be with one important person, usually the mother. The intimacy assumed from this relationship

is a basis for reciprocity and shared meanings. Evidence shows that in many cultures multi-party care-giving is common. On Samoa (Blount 1977, Ochs 1983), and in Guatemala (Larsky 1983) a number of different caregivers, above all older siblings, are responsible for the infant. On Taira, in the Phillipines, three-quarters of the young infant's time is spent with outsiders from the family (Whiting 1963). Consequences of this are that children older than five or six relate to adults from a role of responsibility and that continuous dialogue is rare. However, children observed during minding sessions engaged in similar 'tutoring' by their use of repetitions, expansions and elicitations as Hess (1979) found in their western counterparts (Harkness 1977, Larsky 1983).

A second assumption is that caregivers spend considerable time in interpreting the infant's early meanings and encouraging experimentation and responsiveness. Blount (1977) and Ochs (1983) show how Luon, Koyan and Samoan caregivers are not positive in their attitude towards language errors and that 'incorrect' utterances are often ridiculed or treated as a foreign language. Evidence on child care in Japan suggests that caregivers do not encourage speech production until they believe the baby is able to understand; they imitate the baby's sounds but they do

not converse (Romaine 1984). Heath (1982a, 1982b, 1983) also reports how children from a working-class black community in the Appalachian mountains are not included in conversations until they demonstrate appropriate speech forms and that they are often talked at rather than with. In contrast, the white working-class group places a high degree of importance on the teaching and repetition of politeness formulae from a very early age rather than experimentation. From their work on Samoa and New Guinea, Ochs and Schieffelin (1982) conclude that the child must adapt to the situation rather than the situation to the child as in 'mainstream' western societies.

The role of questions in caregiver/child negotiation is also shown to be culture-specific (Phillips 1972, Garvey & Jackson 1975, Goody 1977, Watson-Gegeo & Boggs 1977, Scollon & Scollon 1981, Heath 1983, Campbell 1986). Chipewyan parents believe their children only 'speak' at five and must grow up quietly and respectfully, refraining from asking questions (Scollon & Scollon 1981). Parents from Hong Kong and Korea, too, see silence as preferable to questioning and speech generally in young children (Garvey & Jackson 1975, Watson 1977). Phillips (1972) shows how question exchanges in an American Indian community are subjected to precise rules of status and roles. Children are expected to learn by

observation rather than asking questions and are trained early to attend to the command form rather than question form. Similarly, in the Phillipines, care-givers use directives rather than questioning their infants (Campbell 1986). Both Phillips and Heath (1983) in her work with a black working-class Appalachian community found that parents did not use questions to give children the opportunity of showing off their knowledge. Nor was it usual for caregivers to ask questions to which they already knew the answer.

The research discussed in this sub-section demonstrates that the strong emphasis on negotiation as taking place in a dyadic relationship through experimentation, simplification and question/answer routines is culture-specific and particularly representative of Western 'school-oriented' communities. In spite of this, a number of researchers have assumed that the quality of caregiver/child negotiation can be assessed using Western criteria. Children are judged to make faster progress according to the degree of encouragement they receive, shown practically by whether conversations are built around the infant's offerings (Lieven 1978) or whether the child receives immediate feed-back (Wells 1985). The way the adult structures a task is also seen as significant. As early as two weeks, repeated imitation by the adult has been shown to raise

the level of a child's ability to match an action (Rheingold, Gewirtz & Ross 1959).

Later, precise focusing or fine-tuning on the topic itself comes into play. Lieven (1978) shows how infants make faster progress when there is a long and extended conversation about the problem before the child is asked to respond. Cross (1977) and Ellis and Wells (1980) found that fast developers received more utterances related to the activity than slow ones. During the interaction itself, it appears that children made faster development who received more acknowledged corrections, prohibitions, imitations, repetitions, direct or indirect commands (Ellis & Wells 1980), fewer wholly or partly unintelligible utterances and fewer complex utterances before the main verb (Cross 1977). Rapid progress, therefore, is said to take place where a child receives more specific instruction in the form of a 'pacing' which means correcting a child's early problem-solving efforts and offering active suggestions (Bruner 1987, DeLoache & Brown 1987).

These findings present a dilemma when confronted with the child rearing practices of caregivers from other cultures who cannot satisfy these criteria. One solution is to conclude that these caregivers are deficient in negotiating meaning with their infants. A second

conclusion is that the caregivers being observed by researchers in the studies outlined above interpreted the situation as a 'testing' one, even in the home, and reacted in different ways. Caregivers from 'school-oriented' backgrounds shared the same criteria or boundaries for interpreting 'good child rearing' and 'framed' the situation in the same way as the researchers. If it is a shared interpretation which is being measured i.e. explicitness in 'testing' situations, ways of child rearing considered implicit and 'natural' in the research studies in 3.1.1. and 3.1.2. may be examples of culturally specific practices of a 'school-oriented' group.

3.1.4. Negotiation and story-reading

The nature of negotiation taking place during story-reading at home is the subject of considerable research. Longitudinal studies show how the story-reading event is an organised social routine, specifically framed and separated from other daily events (White 1956, Lowe 1975, Crago & Crago 1976, Graetz 1976, Butler 1979, Scollon & Scollon 1981, Dombey 1983, Baghban 1984). The separation is stressed by the terminology in analyses which refer to the activity as 'book-reading cycles' (Ninio & Bruner 1978). Within the cycles themselves, systematic rules and

patterns of discourse have been traced (Snow & Ninio 1986). Caregivers are said to 'tutor' their children into the special rules for literate encounters. Importantly, a very early stage of these involves teaching the boundaries between 'literate' and face-to-face encounters through 'lexical labelling' (Bruner 1983) e.g.:

Mother: Look!
R: (Touches picture)
Mother: What are those?
R: (Vocalises a babble string and smiles)
Mother: Yes, they are rabbits.
R: (Vocalises, smiles and looks at mother)
Mother: (Laughs) Yes, rabbit.
R: (Vocalises, smiles)
Mother: Yes. (Laughs)

This type of behaviour is claimed to be highly artificial (Snow & Ninio 1986). The authors go on to outline how children are taught and subscribe to a 'contract of literacy' which involves: accepting the symbolic nature of books; accepting that books represent an 'autonomous fictional world'; accepting the 'picture reading procedure' i.e. that an appropriate response to a picture is saying the name of the object; accepting the book as leader of the activity and the focus of attention and accepting that books are to be 'read' not just touched or looked at.

A number of studies illustrate ways in which the rules of the contract are quite explicitly taught (Scollon & Scollon 1981, Dombey 1983, Baghban 1984, Snow & Ninio 1986, Gibson 1989). They illustrate different ways in which the adult 'frames' the event, and shows the child what 'belongs' to story-reading and not conversation. Gibson (1989) gives the example from Baghban (1984) with her two year old daughter showing how the child i) echoes phrases ii) anticipates and supplies appropriate phrases, especially 'key words' iii) listens to the same story over and over again iv) 'reads' the pictures as the mother reads the print v) expands the story through the illustrations. Already, therefore, the child is said to be an 'accomplished picture reader'. Similar patterns of interaction are given in examples by Scollon and Scollon (1981) and Dombey (1983). Caregivers are shown often to introduce the event by saying 'Let's read' and often refer to the children as 'reading' (Snow & Ninio 1986, Gibson 1989) to emphasise yet further the parameters of the frame.

Other studies show how children themselves have learned to 'mark off' the boundaries of story-readings from as young as three (Scollon & Scollon 1981, Dombey 1983). Dombey shows how a child of this age is able to 'switch into' complex language structures involving appropriate story collocations, the use of ellipsis and

the use of deictic and anaphoric reference linking picture and text. That the child was incapable of producing such structures during normal conversation provides evidence of explicit teaching by the caregiver. Scollon and Scollon (1981) show how their daughter at three always marked the boundaries between 'reading' and 'talking' by standing to 'read' and sitting to talk. In addition, she always 'read' stories from a book rather than 'telling' them. This meant 'talking like a book' with a different intonation and style, seeing the text as inviolable and absolute and trying to create clearly bounded information or units characteristic for written text.

The above evidence supports the argument that home story-reading involves similar 'tutoring' by caregivers to that suggested by Bridges (1981) in formal situations outlined in 3.1.2. Children are shown as being taught above all to focus on the print, illustration, narrative and book and are being explicitly shown the boundaries between this and other types of knowledge. This evidence indicates that that skilled participation in the story-reading event is a practised phenomenon where the move between 'life' and 'text' is not an unproblematic one.

Most studies analyse home story-reading between caregiver and child from 'school-oriented' backgrounds.

Although these detail ways in which explicit 'tutoring' is taking place, a number assume that story-reading is a natural part of primary socialisation where learning takes place implicitly (Butler 1979, Applebee & Langer 1983, Payton 1984, Teale 1984, Baghban 1984, Gibson 1989). The few studies documenting reading at home in 'non-school-oriented' families show clearly that neither story-reading, nor if it does take place, the patterns of interaction within it are natural or universal (Scollon & Scollon 1981, Heath 1982a, 1983, Minns 1990). These studies generally show that the type of interaction during reading cycles differs from normal conversation but in other ways from 'school-oriented' families. Typically, the story-reading event is framed more precisely as 'teaching reading' by the caregiver and is more task than pleasure oriented.

The difference in approach between 'school-oriented' and 'non-school-oriented' children is documented clearly in an example given by Scollon and Scollon (1981). A ten year old Chipewyan child sits with her two year old sister and the Scollon's own daughter of the same age and is 'teaching' them to read:

Older sister: 'because'

Younger sister: 'because'

The 'single word method' continues throughout. When the older Chipewyan girl sits with their own daughter to do the same thing:

Older sister: 'because'
Rachel: 'because a goat might eat it for
supper'
Older sister: 'The whole thing!'

Similar 'word-for-word' or precise 'teacher/learner' dialogues are documented between a mother and her child in Western Samoa (Ochs 1982), a Kaluli mother and child learning through a Unesco project (Schieffelin & Cochran-Smith 1984) and a young black American high-school dropout and her child (Heath & Branscombe 1984). In a longitudinal study in Britain, Minns (1990) comments on the way an Asian father stays precisely within the boundaries of the story and text as he reads to his child. If story-reading takes place in these 'non-school-oriented' homes, it may therefore, be typified by being a 'task' where caregivers remain more closely within the text than teachers (Minns 1990).

Such examples lend support to the argument put forward in some studies that the 'school-oriented' pattern of story-reading is neither natural nor neutral. As such, it will not be absorbed implicitly by the child but will need to be explicitly taught as a cultural practice by

the adult (Rosen 1982, Heath 1983, Street 1984, Meek 1991). From her longitudinal study on two 'non-school-oriented' and one 'school-oriented' group in the Appalachians, Heath (1982a,1982b,1983) proposes that the story-reading practice as conducted by the 'school-oriented' parents provides the child with an infrastructure of the pedagogic practices and cultural assumptions which match those they meet in school. She details ways in which 'mainstream' children are first taught a highly interactive participant role in book-reading followed by the 'listen and wait for the adult to read' technique and claims that these features link the ideology of the parents and teachers.

Heath questions whether greater access to reading might be provided if 'non-mainstream' parents were encouraged to participate in pre-school story-reading (Heath & Branscombe 1984). From her project with a 'non-mainstream' mother reading to her infant, Heath suggests that the act of reading shifted the family's orientation from 'enabling to learn' to 'teaching'. However, the mother did not engage in the 'mainstream' pattern of extended narrative and wide-ranging questions but used a 'labelling' approach to words and objects. Heath's study reveals a paradox in that a 'non-mainstream' mother is expected to show familiarity with a 'mainstream' cultural practice without ever having been taught the rules. Like

research which attempts to assess the quality of early socialisation using Western 'mainstream' criteria, studies such as Heath's show how difficult it may be fully to escape the cultural assumptions of one's own group.

3.2. Negotiation and learning in the world of the school

This section moves from the private to the public world; from the shared culture of the family to the wider environment and investigates the way negotiation has been interpreted between those who do not share the same cultural background. Negotiation is understood as taking place within three frames which act in 'circularity' (Rommetveit 1985): the individual within the culture, the interpersonal between individuals and the intrapersonal within the self. The discussion in this study is confined principally to negotiation within the interpersonal frame, and focuses particularly on the teacher and the child from a 'non-school-oriented' home.

A common feature of the studies examined in this section is their view of negotiation as 'commitment'. In 3.2.1. the focus is on interpersonal and group negotiation as an unconscious and implicit commitment, an 'internalisation'

of the world of the school and its values. In 3.2.2. the implications of commitment to individual cultural practices is discussed. Finally, 3.2.3. examines negotiation as a conscious act where teacher and child have a joint commitment to the task in hand in a formal situation rather than to a wider set of values and beliefs.

3.2.1. Negotiation as a total commitment: Internalising the world of the school

The studies discussed in this sub-section focus on negotiation in terms of building a common world or understanding. The emphasis is on a commitment of the self by identifying with the beliefs and values of another individual or the new group or host culture one hopes to enter.

i) Negotiation as transmigration

The potential of interpersonal negotiation is ^{seen by some phenomenologists} strictly ^{as} limited on the grounds of different primary socialisation patterns (Mead 1934, Berger & Luckmann 1966), psychologists (Kelly 1955, Winnicott 1971, Biarnès 1987) linguists (Christian 1976, Lambert 1977, Scollon & Scollon 1981) and anthropologists (Whorf 1956, Hall 1959, Douglas 1970). Important in these

studies is the assumption that a child's world picture, definition of situations, rituals and language is learned ~~sub~~ consciously during primary socialisation, described as the 'biggest confidence trick' life ever plays (Berger & Luckmann 1966). Negotiation depends upon a shared participation in another's being (Mead 1934), sharing common 'core constructs' (Kelly 1955) or identification with 'significant others' in the home (Berger & Luckmann 1966). Inherent within this view is the belief that the individual is ~~sub~~consciously contained within one world and can only enter another by abandoning the first. Indeed, being in transition between two worlds can leave an individual in a dangerous 'marginal' situation, torn between two cultures, yet belonging to neither (Douglas 1970, Christian 1976).

Those adhering to this viewpoint impose considerable constraints upon negotiation for the child entering the classroom from a 'non-school-oriented' home. Problems are seen automatically to ensue when the sum of transmitted 'recipe knowledge' from primary socialisation does not correspond with that recognised by the school (Berger & Luckmann 1966). This results in the conflict of changing a language and ways of perceiving reality (Whorf 1956), 'switching worlds' (Hall 1959), abandoning a previous identity (Christian 1976, Lambert 1977) or changing a personality and corresponding discourse

styles (Scollon & Scollon 1981, Biarnès 1987). Negotiation for these children demands a metamorphosis or transmigration from the home values to those of the school and in the process the child is 'transformed' (Berger & Luckmann 1966, Biarnès 1987). The process of transformation is final and irreversible and may well have negative repercussions for the family the child abandons.

ii) Negotiation as a mutual understanding of experience

A second group of studies rejects the notion that commitment is fixed within the boundaries of primary socialisation and presents the possibility of a continuous and dynamic negotiation between individuals. These studies focus on the positive scope and potential for building a 'shared world' (Rommetveit 1980,1985) or participating in a 'joint culture creation' (Bruner 1986). Research is sited largely in social psychology (Bateson 1979, Bruner 1983,1986, Rommetveit 1985, Feldman 1987) and philosophy and philosophical linguistics (Wittgenstein 1953, Polyani 1958, Volosinov 1976, Eco 1984).

Within this view, there is considerable scope to generate a mutual understanding of experience which may potentially take place at any time and in any setting.

Indeed, the emphasis is on the ability of individuals to create a common interpretation of the setting in a way similar to caregiver and child. Individuals may be able to establish a common 'frame' of assumptions with shared boundaries (Bateson 1955,1979) which can take place through personal 'transactions' (Bruner 1987). The shared interpretation of the context often depends upon the using of common-sense. To illustrate this in its simplest form, Donaldson (1978) gives the example of an Arab family with a young child who speak no English and a young British woman who speaks no Arabic. The young English woman smiles and holds out her arms to the young child who understands immediately and runs to her. Negotiation in these circumstances means the mapping of subjective spheres onto each other.

Within this framework, participants have been compared with adjuvants in a chemical process, cooperating with the activities of another to produce a result neither could manage independently (Bernier 1982). On this personal level, they may jointly commit themselves to interpreting the 'ambiguous text' of culture by 'perfinking' (perceiving, thinking and feeling) (Bruner 1986). Individuals rework and incorporate the views of others which become part of their 'tacit knowledge' (Polyani 1958) or 'created

realities' (Feldman 1987) or their own future 'stories' (Bateson 1979, Bruner 1986).

These 'stories' often link individuals in a shared language and culture. Volosinov (1976) describes how one word 'Well' spoken with exaggerated intonation in a doctor's waiting room in May in Moscow demands an implicit understanding of the circumstances and the culture for appropriate interpretation i.e. it is snowing and winter should be over. As communication takes place, listeners and speakers work together to create a common 'frame' of expectations within their culture. Within this, they are able to establish and transform reality by creating an 'as if' which, for the partners, becomes a literal truth (Rommetveit 1985). Words are, therefore, meaningful only insofar as they call up a common understanding or shared frame in terms of sets of knowledge and beliefs about the world (Eco 1984). Within this approach, negotiation is implicit and the setting unproblematic.

iii) Negotiation and the constraints of language and culture

As soon as the individual is seen not as autonomous but as a member of a social and cultural group the focus is upon constraints impeding negotiation. Intercultural

studies detail ways in which ethnicity affects the level of commitment by individuals (Le Page 1968, Tajfel 1974, Cummins 1979, Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985, Hamers & Blanc 1989). These show that commitment is likely to depend upon being perceived by the host group as a 'member' (Tajfel 1974) or receiving positive feed-back (Le Page 1968, Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985). Studies using identification with dolls, role play with puppets etc. show that acceptance or rejection of different ethnic groups is already fixed before the age of six (Genesee, Tucker & Lambert 1976, Aboud & Mitchell 1977, Milner 1983). Work on speech accommodation theory shows children's early awareness of difference. Linguistic divergence is shown to occur in intercultural situations when a speaker feels that a cultural identity is threatened (Bourhis, Giles, Leyens & Tajfel 1979). Similarly, a listener will react more positively if a lack of accommodation by the speaker is judged to result from a lack of competence rather than a lack of effort (Simard, Taylor & Giles 1976, Giles et al. 1986).

Other studies focus upon factors affecting a whole group's ability or willingness for commitment to a new cultural setting (Driedger 1975, Ogbu 1978, Smolicz 1979). Lack of commitment is likely to ensue when a group feels that its 'core values' are under attack by the new culture (Driedger 1975, Smolicz 1979). Ogbu develops this

theme with reference to minority groups. He proposes that groups with 'primary cultural differences' i.e. cultural practices well established before migration and which are retained will not feel under threat whereas groups with 'secondary cultural differences' arising after and out of subordination to the new culture will have a low level of commitment.

Studies in sociolinguistics also emphasise the constraints upon different social and cultural groups in achieving a joint commitment (Gumperz 1972, Labov 1972, Schlegelhoff 1972, Sherif & Sherif 1973, Le Page 1975, Trudgill 1976, Ervin-Tripp 1979, Milroy 1980, Romaine 1982). These widely agree that group membership may impose strict and tightly-knit social rules which are reflected in the grammar, lexis and styles of speech as well as the interpretation of role relationships belonging to different social settings (Edwards 1986). Some see the taking over of a new language or new linguistic rules as involving a complete 're-identification' with the new group whence return is impossible (Labov 1970, Ervin-Tripp 1977).

A common feature linking studies discussed in 3.2.1. is their view of negotiation as involving an implicit commitment to the new world or group where entry is sought. This may be in terms of a transmigration or a re-

identification or a re-alignment of values and beliefs. Upon this metamorphosis to the new world, an implicit understanding of the 'cultural folkways' (Bernier 1982), or ways of communication and beliefs and values will follow. Negotiation between different ethnic and social groups is viewed as fraught with confrontation and conflict which can only be solved when the individual abandons one world for the other.

3.2.2. Negotiation as commitment to a cultural practice

A different approach is to see negotiation in terms of commitment to specific cultural practices rather than a whole new world. Within this framework, 'culture' is seen not as an indivisible entity comprising knowledge, values and language with which an individual must identify totally but a set of cultural practices some of which will be common to different cultures or sub-cultures (Gramsci 1971, Bauman 1973, Bourdieu 1973). The question examined in this section is what sort of negotiation learning a cultural practice involves. How far is learning seen to take place implicitly and unconsciously as proposed by the phenomenologists during primary socialisation and how far does the learning demand a more explicit tutoring of the type shown in the language development studies discussed in the first section of this chapter?

Intercultural ethnographic studies detail a number of different types of literacy practices and suggest that initiation into these takes place through tutoring by those who are already 'members' of the 'fraternity' or 'club' (Heath 1983, Anderson & Stokes 1984, Street 1984, Wagner, Messick & Spratt 1986). A large variety of literacy practices important to different cultural or sub-cultural groups have been documented. Some of these are: letter-writing for the Vai people in Liberia (Scribner & Cole 1981) and the Trackton people in the Appalachians (Heath 1983); list-making and market-place transactions in Iran (Street 1984) and for a group of black, Anglo and Mexican working-class in the U.S.A. (Anderson & Stokes 1984), 'playing' reading in an American nursery (Jacob 1984); practising words for Kaluli mothers and children in Samoa (Schieffelin & Cochran-Smith 1984), reading official documents for Vietnamese immigrants to the U.S.A. (Schieffelin & Cochran-Smith 1984) and reciting the Koran in Liberia (Cole & Scribner 1981), in Iran (Street 1984) and Morocco (Wagner, Messick & Spratt 1986).

Some of these studies also show that commitment in terms of identification with a practice will be of a context-specific nature as the same individual may well be familiar with very different literacy practices, often in different languages which are taught using

different methods. Scribner and Cole's study in Liberia reveals three types of literacy: Vai, taught in the home setting by a word decoding method and used primarily for letter writing, record keeping and stories written in a personal style; Arabic taught in a 'class' setting by a memorization method and used for prayer or moral story writing and English taught in the formal school setting by a word decoding method and used for formal letter writing and the reading of government circulars. Street (1984) depicts three types of literacy with different access in Iran: market-place in the vernacular, Koranic in classical Arabic and western in English. Wagner, Messick and Spratt (1986) document the way in which classical Arabic is now replacing French as the formal language of literacy and how this is affecting teaching methods. The memorisation of whole chunks method is used as well as the decoding of individual words in the formal schools and continues to University level whilst word decoding is also being used to read the ancient language of the Koran in Koranic school.

Others show how the successful participation in one or more kinds of literacy practice in the home or community context by no means provides access to the valued type in school (Fanon 1967, Akinnaso 1982, Pattison 1982, Anderson & Stokes 1984). This is well documented by Anderson & Stokes' (1984) study of white,

black and Mexican working class literacy practices. In spite of spending as long in literacy events (albeit of a different nature) as a middle class group, only one black child was 'doing well' with reading in school. The isolated factor held responsible was the family's active participation in reading in Church which Anderson & Stokes refer to as the 'primary broker' for schooled literacy.

In the light of the examples given in the studies above, it becomes clear that what is understood by 'reading' is going to be very different according to the social or cultural group defining it. It may mean understanding text without necessarily being able to read (decode) it, understanding text as well as being able to decode it or memorising text and being able to 'say the words' without understanding its meaning. The argument made in the studies above, therefore, is that each literacy practice is of a limited context-specific nature and that each involves explicit tutoring in terms of its 'boundaries' of what method and material belong within it in relation both to other activities and other literacy practices. Their findings reflect the type of tutoring taking place in home story-reading sessions described in 3.1.4.

A different interpretation of the nature of a literacy practice is given in studies in psycholinguistics (Huey 1908, Goodman 1965, Smith 1978, Holdaway 1979, Waterland 1985, Wells 1985). These also see learning to read in terms of joining a 'club' (Smith 1984). But they refer in general terms to a 'universal' fraternity of readers rather than specific and confined literacy practices. Moreover, it is a 'club' with open access to anyone able to learn their mother-tongue, as it involves the same ability of making linguistic, syntactic and semantic predictions (Goodman 1969, Smith 1978). Importantly, this type of early language learning is seen as implicit, taking place 'naturally' between caregiver and child. Transferred to reading, this means that a child cannot be 'taught' to read by a teacher. Instead, the teacher should take a similar role to the caregiver and make it possible for the child to learn (Smith 1978). By ignoring the specific nature of different literacy practices, this approach implies that there can be only one literacy 'club', that is the club of Western 'school-oriented' homes and that membership can occur 'naturally'.

Within this framework, a child learns the literacy practice of story-reading implicitly where the teacher takes on the role of caregiver and the child undergoes a process of 'enculturation' into the ways of the school which involves identifying with the teacher as with the

caregiver during primary socialisation. For the child from a 'non-school-oriented' home, this again implies the need to 'transmigrate', abandoning the literacy practices of the home if they contradict those of school.

As in Section 3.1. the assumption that early learning is implicit and 'natural' shadows studies which provide ample evidence for the opposite. The implications of this view of learning as taking place implicitly is important, for it means that the early success of some children still remains an enigma and outside the teacher's control. If the assumption is wrong, however, it means that these children must be finding other means to decipher the rules tutored and practised at length in the 'school-oriented' home.

3.2.3. Negotiation as joint commitment to a context-specific task

A third approach interprets negotiation as the joint commitment to the task in hand, rather than to the values or beliefs of the school. This view finds support from various academic fields, but principally from socio-cultural studies (Vygotsky 1962,1983, Freire (1970,1972,1973), Leont'ev 1981, Freire & Macedo 1987), psychology and social psychology (Wood, Bruner & Ross 1976, Donaldson 1978, Norman 1978, Walkerdine 1981,

Hundeide 1985, Blumenfeld, Mergendollar & Swarthout 1987, Brown, Collins & Duguid 1989) and studies on bilingualism and interculturalism (Ben-Zeev 1977, Bain & Yu 1978, Miller 1983, Ogbu 1985).

Within this approach, negotiation takes place when the adult explicitly tutors the child into a 'reflective awareness' of the task (Vygotsky 1962). The aim is to enable children to analyse or become conscious of what they can already do (Vygotsky 1962,1983, Donaldson 1978, Walkerdine 1981). Vygotsky (1962) explains 'consciousness' in terms of 'an awareness of the activity of the mind' (p.91) and argues that instruction plays a decisive role in actually leading development. To exemplify, Vygotsky cites the conjunctions 'because' and 'although' which can actually be used both consciously and correctly in scientific discourse learned in school before being used spontaneously. Negotiation understood in this way is where the adult acts as a 'guide' consciously planning and structuring the activity of the child who first imitates, then becomes aware of what s/he can already do and finally manipulates and uses skills consciously. Negotiation is the joint effort whereby the adult assists the child in bridging the gap between what the child can do alone and what can be achieved with

adult help (termed the Zone of Proximal Development by Vygotsky).

A number of studies investigate different forms of adult structuring (Wood, Bruner & Ross 1976, Norman 1978, Cook-Gumperz 1978, Brown 1978, Donaldson 1978, Hundeide 1985, Palincsar & Brown 1984, Brown, Collins & Duguid 1989). Wood, Bruner and Ross focus on individual 'tutorials' between an adult and three, four and five year old child asked to build a pyramid from blocks of wood. They found that the most successful tutoring comprised planned and systematic strategies geared to the reaction of the children as they carry out the task. These consisted of i) a recruitment of interest ii) a reduction in the degrees of freedom (reducing the size of the task) iii) direction maintenance (keeping the child 'in the field') iv) marking critical features (marking discrepancies in the child's actions and those needed to complete the task) v) frustration control vi) demonstrating or 'modelling' (not simply performing the task but 'idealizing' the action by consciously completing it or explicating it).

Other examples follow a very similar pattern (Freire 1970,1972, Norman 1978, Freire & Macedo 1987, Palincsar & Brown 1984, Brown, Duguid & Collins 1989) and involve the teacher in i) consciously breaking the

learning into stages ii) making explicit the children's tacit knowledge iii) modelling strategies for tackling the task iv) supporting children's attempts at the task v) empowering the children to continue independently. Some studies focus on the importance of challenging the learner's tacit knowledge with a view to extending critical consciousness. This may be through 'problematizing' the position of weakness experienced through illiteracy with adults (Freire 1970,1972) or challenging existing schema or tacit assumptions so that children may restructure them (Norman 1978, Hundeide 1985, Desforges 1989a). Others focus on the importance of 'proleptic' or 'reciprocal' teaching' (Palincsar & Brown 1984) whereby the adult deliberately models strategies of tackling a text so that children are guided into using context-specific relevant knowledge.

This framework potentially puts the child from a different cultural and linguistic background from that of the teacher in a position of strength. The examples of tutoring in the paragraph above indicate that it may be the deviation from an expected pattern which appears as a phenomenon of interest or a problem to be solved which sparks off a conscious interest in the child. In this case, children from 'non-school-oriented' homes may be in a unique position consciously to negotiate new practices and ways of learning. Schutz (1964) argues for

the strength of the 'stranger' upon entering a new situation. Instead of relying upon implicit assumptions and 'shared, trustworthy recipes' to interpret a situation, the 'stranger' has to place in question nearly everything that seems unquestionable to members of the approached group. The new situation becomes a field of adventure, a topic of investigation, where explicit knowledge is sought. Thus the newcomer is better able to distance him/herself from the host society and consciously analyse new cultural practices.

Intercultural studies also maintain that the 'stranger' has heightened analytical awareness. This may be through the ability to analyse the behavioural patterns of a new group (LePage 1968, LePage & Tabouret Keller 1985) or the ability to 'distance' the new culture so that it does not threaten identity (Schneidermann 1976). Such a relationship with the new culture enables a limited identification to the extent that the new language can even be preferred without it threatening a cultural identity. This 'distancing' and analytic competence may be greatly facilitated if the child comes from a group which has its own, very definite cultural practices prior to meeting the new ones (Ogbu 1985). It may be that the greater the gap between the cultural practices in different settings, the clearer the

boundaries between them, especially should they be delineated by a separate language.

This view also finds support from studies in bilingualism. Chapter 2 of this study cited research showing ways in which bilinguals potentially have a greater analytical awareness of language structure. Through the learning of two or more syntactic and semantic systems itself, the bilingual becomes more conscious of the differences between them (Vygotsky 1962, Segalowitz & Lampert 1969, Ben-Zeev 1977, Miller 1983). Others show how this linguistic awareness is extended into interpersonal negotiation (Ianco-Worrall 1972, Genesee, Tucker & Lambert 1976, Bain & Yu 1978, Skutnabb-Kangas 1981). Skutnabb-Kangas shows how bilingual children are more aware of facial expressions and other non-verbal communication; Bain and Yu describe how they are better able to adapt instructions when speaking to blind children than monolinguals. These studies all indicate that it may be possible to negotiate by the conscious use of appropriate paralinguistic skills even if linguistic ones are lacking.

The key differences between this approach and the two previous ones are that the child does not need to 're-identify' to the world of the school or individual literacy practices within it; nor does the teacher take

on the role of caregiver. Consequently, the child is not expected to learn implicitly, but through a careful structuring by the adult which involves showing the child the boundaries of the task, marking critical features and 'idealising' or modelling how the task may be completed. Given these conditions, discontinuity may be positive, enabling children who are 'strangers' to the school to benefit from their incipient analytical strengths. How far the teacher works within this limited view of negotiation and how far s/he is influenced by the 'transmigration' or 're-identification' explanations for children's success is the topic of the next section.

3.3. Negotiation and the role of the Early Years' teacher

The discussion in 3.2. took as its starting-point the task ahead for the child entering school from a 'non-school-oriented' home. This section turns from the child to the teacher. The literature examined below contributes to an understanding of the types of constraints upon the teacher in classroom negotiation. The section is divided into three parts: 3.3.1. focuses on the constraints imposed by the particular setting of the school; 3.3.2. examines the different interpretations offered on the part played by the teacher's social role in relation to the setting and the discourse or talk s/he engages in;

3.3.3. returns to the official Education Reports to discuss how the particular role of the British Early Years' teacher might 'frame' an interpretation of negotiation in school.

3.3.1. Negotiation, cultural practices and the institutional site

Section 2.2. of this chapter concluded with the puzzle as to why a cultural or literacy practice might be considered to take place through implicit learning in spite of ample evidence to the contrary. One explanation as to why this might happen is offered by research studies which claim that the institutional setting itself transforms 'real' cultural practices rendering them 'school'ed' or 'inauthentic' (Walkerdine 1981, Street 1984, Brown, Collins & Duguid 1989, Bernstein 1990). Walkerdine gives an example of this happening in an Infant school where children 'go shopping' but are expected to realise both that the prices are not realistic and that the amount of money does not get less after purchases but always remains 10p. Bernstein shows how the discourse of 'physics in school' cannot compare with that of real physics and refers to 'pedagogic' as opposed to 'real' discourse.

Other studies analyse ways in which the task itself might be transformed into an 'academic' task whereby children's main interest might be reduced to the form of the work i.e. 'completing' the task itself and concentrating on answering the question 'What do I have to do?' rather than the real content of the task (Doyle 1983, Blumenfeld, Mergendollar & Swarthout 1987). These authors go on to maintain that, working within this interpretation, the children never manage to understand what is expected of them and are subsequently not able to display cognitive skills which they possess. The studies referred to so far in this section imply that tasks and cultural practices are implicitly framed by the confines of the school but they omit to remind us that it is knowledge of the 'real' practice or 'real' task which is what the teachers aim to teach and what the children should eventually learn.

One classroom project takes up the challenge of changing the 'inauthentic' practice of Mathematics as it exists in school and making it real to the children (Brown, Collins & Duguid 1989). This involves the teacher first in making explicit the children's own tacit knowledge of a subject and then consciously analysing required aspects of the practice before modelling them in a structured, idealised way. In this way, the children learn through recognition and later imitation. This way

of working has strong similarities with that of caregivers in story-reading events at home in 3.1.4., caregivers and tutors initiating children into various other literacy practices in 3.2.2. as well as that of the researcher in the project of Wood, Bruner and Ross outlined in 3.2.3.

The key point to the studies in this section is that the children are confused when the teachers do not make explicit what is required of them. Doyle (1983) stresses particularly the confusion ensuing when the teacher accepts all answers as if they were correct. Section 3.1. showed how an important feature of negotiation between caregivers and infants was that they were able to build a common interpretation of the setting and the task. If it is the 'real' practice which the children are eventually required to learn, then it is likely to be those who are already familiar with the practice from home who will be able to transcend the 'transformed' practice in school. Those who are not are more likely to fall into the trap of following explicit instructions if they feel that this enables them to 'complete the task'. Holland's study of working-class children categorising the vegetable picture cards according to the explicit instructions they were given, outlined in Chapter 2, is an example where this takes place.

The question arises as to what constraints exist whereby the teacher is unable to see through to the 'real' cultural practice at all and why s/he might remain convinced that an inauthentic practice is, in fact, real. Studies on social role and discourse as well as those focusing particularly on the position of the British Infant teacher provide further explanation.

3.3.2. Negotiation, discourse and social role

It is widely acknowledged that playing a role within an institution is going to impose constraints of a localised nature. These have been widely documented and variously interpreted (Mead 1934, Williams 1961, Berger & Luckmann 1966, Goffman 1971, Bernstein 1972, Foucault 1972, Grace 1974, Sharp & Green 1975, Mehan 1979, Cazden 1988). Participants are forced to subscribe to a pattern of appropriate conduct and inducted into areas of socially objectivated knowledge (Berger & Luckmann 1966). They are seen to change from individuals into 'performers' to present to an audience a given definition of a situation (Goffman 1971) or into 'stage-directors' (Cazden 1988).

All of the above studies point to the constraints upon the independent subject or 'doer' of the activity when playing a social role. Foucault (1972) provides a framework for understanding the constraints upon an

individual in an institutional situation in which institution, role and discourse (meaning talk or writing) dynamically interrelate. Within the institution, subjects are no longer independent but take up 'positions' which lock them into certain 'orders of discourse' or discourse practices. To understand the discourse of, for example, the teacher, we need to know: the status of the individual (seen from an historical perspective); the institutional site in which the discourse is made (also seen from an historical perspective); the situation the subject occupies in relation to various domains i.e. speaking, listening etc and the group of relations i.e. the school as a place of learning, teacher's pedagogic or pastoral role etc. All of the above are affected by the 'discourse of the classroom' which establishes the system of relationships between all.

Within this relationship, teachers and pupils are constrained to work within their 'subject positions' of the 'discourse types' recognised by the institution. In other words, occupying a 'subject position' means saying or doing certain things appropriate to the rules and obligations of the setting. A number of ethnomethodological studies analyse the rule-governed nature of classroom discourse and examination of these is beyond the scope of this study (Bellack 1966, Flanders 1970, Sinclair & Coulthard 1975, Coulthard 1977,

Stubbs & Hillier 1983, Burgess 1984). Generally, these show that a strict pattern of 'Teacher/Question; Pupil/Response; Teacher/Feedback' is set up and that discourse often shares the rigid the command like nature of that used in the army (Sinclair & Coulthard 1975).

Within Foucault's framework, participants do not just passively occupy 'subject positions' but actively reproduce them. They do this by controlling both the rituals of behaviour allowed and by creating 'societies of discourse'. This means 'ritualising' certain expressions to which only the initiated have access. This type of 'exclusiveness' draws the boundaries between different institutional settings and their members. Willes (1983) gives examples from a British Infant school to show how even very young children are aware of the 'exclusive' nature of 'special' role relationships and discourse practices when they play 'teachers and pupils', although their reproduction was not 'historically specific' as Foucault would understand it, for it bore more resemblance to the institution many years earlier than the one they were now experiencing.

Foucault's framework offers a possible explanation of why the teacher may be locked into the accepted practices which are recognised by the school even if they are transformed and rendered inauthentic. It also accounts

for the way members of the institution are likely to work within a common interpretation of 'key words' which make sense to other members but are likely to remain a mystery for the uninitiated. Willes' example from the Infant school above, however, points to one particular weakness in the explanatory framework. Foucault does not specify where the boundaries of a setting, its apertaining 'subject positions' and discourse practices lie. If a whole institution at a specific historical point is included, there is a risk of losing the subject entirely or having empty 'subject positions' (Hall 1980). Burgess (1984) and Bloome & Theodorou (1987) provide examples giving subjects more scope by showing how, within the wider institution, each class may create a specific and dynamic culture expressed through its own discourse and stories.

The discussion above prepares the ground for a more context-specific questions: Are there certain key words, rituals or understandings which are important in understanding the way the British Early Years' teacher might interpret negotiation with 'non-school-oriented' children in the classroom? The next section investigates particular constraints imposed by the role of the Early Years' teacher.

3.3.3. Negotiation and the demands on the British Early Years' teacher

The last section provides evidence to justify examining the unique role of the British Early Years' teacher and its possible implications for negotiation with children from 'non-school-oriented' homes. The teacher's role is seen from an historical perspective and particular reference is made to the official Government Reports which were introduced into the discussion in Chapter 2.

Two factors from the teachers' history may contribute to an understanding of their present position. First, the dichotomous pastoral/professional role of Early Years' teachers which has existed since universal schooling from 1870; where on the one hand, they were elevated from the working-class to gain a quasi-professional status which needed justifying through gaining high reading and writing standards from the children, officially tested by the middle-class inspectors; on the other, they were assigned the quasi-caregiver or missionary role to 'civilise' the poor within their charge. Second, by this hybrid position of being between two social classes, teachers, themselves, were frequently exposed to derogatory comments by the middle-class about their own lack of culture.

The dichotomous role of Early Years' teachers during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is reflected in Government Reports. Pastoral care is emphasised above instruction for 'non-school-oriented' children in the Plowden Report (1967); the teacher is 'provider' of materials and experiences to children who suffer 'cultural deprivation' at home, and actual teaching is wasted unless a child is ready for it (para.75). The Bullock Report states the dichotomy more baldly: Every good teacher must be concerned with the social and psychological development of his pupils whilst at the same time controlling their growth of competence (1.9) as a professional guide and organiser (5.31) who is 'skilled', 'knowledgeable' yet at the same time can keep a 'meticulous check' on individual needs (7.7).

This duality between professional and caregiver or pastoral role runs through Government Reports preceding the National Curriculum Orders (English from ages 5 to 16 (1988) (2.5, 2.7,) and From Policy to Practice (1989) (2.1, 2.2, 3.7, 6.1, 6.2). It has also been long endorsed by teachers of young children who place the development of 'moral and personal values' on a par with the teaching of reading or language skills (Ashton, Kneen & Davies 1975). Running through the Reports, therefore, are implicit assumptions: first, that there is a fundamental difference between the 'pastoral' type of care provided

by the caregiver in the home and the teachers' 'professional' teaching; second that it is the 'pastoral' care, seen in this 'non-teaching' light which is particularly needed by children from 'non-school-oriented' backgrounds. The history of the Early Years' teachers explains the possible view that 'care' , particularly in the 'non-school-oriented' home, does not involve 'teaching'.

During the 1970's and 1980's, there were important moves to reconcile this duality of 'professional' and 'caregiver' role. First, there was a recognition of 'child-centred' approaches to Early Years' teaching which highlighted the importance of making a rich material provision from which children would be able to structure their own pace of learning according to their stage of development instead of receiving direct tutoring. Next, the work of the psycholinguists into beginning reading was highly influential. As outlined in 3.2.2. this emphasised the role of the teacher as 'enabler' rather than tutor. Further, it implied that language learning in the home took place implicitly and highly successfully and that reading in school could be acquired in the same way.

'Child-centredness' as a special form of 'professionalism' was needed as a weapon against

increasing attacks in Government Reports arguing that the Primary teacher was professionally inadequate and lacked 'adequate understanding of language development' (A Language for Life 75, 1.4.). Nowhere is this clearer than in the Kingman Report (1988) which stands out as stressing only the role of the teacher as 'expert, linguist and pedagogue' (ch.4) and where teachers' 'misunderstanding of the nature of children's learning' (1.2.) is constantly reiterated.

The evidence above suggests reasons why Early Years' teachers might be committed to a form of 'child-centred' education which rests upon the notion of learning through implicitly understanding and providing for the 'needs' of individuals rather than direct 'tutoring'. It explains why 'child-centredness' might become an essential part of the 'subject position' of teachers protecting them from outside attack on their 'professionalism'. It also explains why the term 'child-centred' might enter into the ritualising discourse of the 'society' of teachers if viewed within Foucault's framework.

Evidence shows that teachers perceive themselves to be under attack and often exhausted (Bennett et al 1984, Desforges 1989b) which might explain the need to use 'child-centredness' as part of their 'exclusivity'.

However, the above reasons do not unequivocally mean that teachers must choose an implicit or 'natural' view of learning. Historical constraints may be counteracted by considerable evidence from research in developmental psychology and early language learning as well as studies on literacy practices within a cross-cultural perspective which all pointed to the nature of finely-tuned tutoring by caregivers or other adults into context-specific literacy or other cultural practices. What remains to be examined is which interpretation of negotiation teachers actually work to in the classroom and what results might ensue for children from 'non-school-oriented' homes.

3.4. Negotiation in the classroom: Evidence from school-based studies

The final section of Chapter 3 turns to evidence from classroom studies on the nature of negotiation taking place between the teacher and children from 'non-school-oriented' homes. I identify features distinguishing successful negotiation and contrast these with studies which reveal a lack of negotiation taking place. I then ask how far these studies take us in understanding the specific problem of the two children outlined in Chapter 1 of this study.

i) The potential of negotiation in the classroom

Few studies document successful negotiation between the teacher and children from 'non-school-oriented' homes in the classroom. British examples principally describe home/school reading projects (Morgan & Lyon 1979, Hewison & Tizard 1980, Jackson & Hannon 1981, Hitchin 1984, Minns 1990) which do not take place in the classroom but have positive repercussions for the commitment of the child in school. From the U.S.A. come longitudinal ethnographic studies (Phillips 1972 with American Indian children, Au 1980 with Hawaiian children, Heath 1983 with groups from the Appalachians and Collins 1987 with Afro Americans).

Both British and American studies illustrate ways in which discontinuity in terms of 'difference' can be a springboard for negotiation. The American ethnographic studies start by analysing the different discourse and participant structures between the minority and the 'mainstream' groups and then go on to show how this knowledge enables the teacher to develop deliberate task-based strategies which highlight and build upon difference. Heath (1983) shows how the achievements of two 'non-mainstream' groups are increased during their first year in school. The teacher draws upon all the different uses of print by the children's families. The

responsibility for listing these uses rests with the children, who then discuss their purpose and value.

In a project to improve the performance of Hawaiian children, Au (1980) shows how the teacher and children create a three part structure to reading comprehension. During the first stage, the teacher relates the text, before reading it, to the children's personal experience. The second part comprises reading the text and answering questions on it. During this stage, focus is on the text alone. The third stage is where the teacher draws out relationships between the text and the children's experiences. The teacher makes the boundaries of each section of the lesson explicit, the children are aware of which stage of the lesson they are in and stay within the appropriate frame.

Collins (1987) outlines a similar strategy between the teacher and second year black children in a Chicago school. Here, the teacher comprehensively prepares the children by asking them to read a passage silently with the aim of discovering certain points. By the time they read out loud, therefore, they are already conscious of vital pieces of knowledge. Collins refers to this as 'stage-setting' as it heightens the children's awareness of what will be appropriate knowledge. This type of 'stage-setting' reflects that which is shown to take

place when children read at home to their caregivers (Wolfendale & Gregory 1985, Minns 1990).

These studies detail work showing a very similar pattern to that which took place with Maori children in New Zealand (Ashton-Warner 1963) and with Brazilian adults (Freire 1972) where reading was taught through a focus on generative words which were deliberately chosen and discussed. All these projects share in common the aim to 'demystify' (Freire & Macedo 1987) or 'demythologise' (Fairclough 1989) knowledge through explicitly showing the learner the boundaries of what is required. The commitment of teacher and learner is not to a common set of interpersonal values or beliefs, but is limited to a joint interpretation of a specific task. This type of structuring by the teacher shows remarkable similarities to that of the caregivers in Section 1.2. of this chapter when they felt the infants needed to perform. It is, however, only evidenced in classroom projects where the teacher interacts with one particular cultural group in a 'whole-class' situation.

ii) The constraints on negotiation in the classroom

Negotiation is generally seen to present considerable difficulties for the teacher and children from 'non-school-oriented' backgrounds. In the U.S.A., there is a

growing tradition of microethnographic studies which give detailed documentation of the extent and form a mismatch between the teacher and different ethnic and social groups might take. These studies all focus on the negative aspects of a discontinuity between the language, discourse, participation styles and culture of a particular minority group and those of the teacher in school. They analyse ways in which a mismatch of styles leads to a differentiation in instruction between the teacher and the two groups of children.

In a microethnographic account of interaction in one classroom, Michaels (1986) shows how important the participation structure of 'sharing time' or 'newstime' is for joining the classroom fraternity upon entering school. Michaels shows how a joint production takes place between the teacher and children who share her 'topic-centred' approach to telling news, whereas black children who use a 'topic-associating' approach are systematically corrected and excluded from 'membership' without being shown how they can join. These children later unsuccessfully attempt to imitate the 'topic-centred' approach through prosodically making what sounds like the expected structure, but do not actually manage it. Through interviews with the children a number of years later, the researcher shows that this early experience

in a child's school career is likely to result in a lack of later commitment to school learning.

A number of examples outline the differential instruction between teachers and groups of high and low achieving children (usually black lower-class American) during the particular participation structures of early reading lessons using basal readers. These show not only that low-ranked children regularly receive less time being taught than high-ranked groups (McDermott 1978, Collins 1982,1986) but that their instruction is of a different nature.

Significantly, analyses in these studies point to a different pattern of turn-taking between the high and low ranked groups. For the low ranked group, the pattern is likely to comprise interruptions at the time of error (McDermott (1978), a concentration on phonic teaching and pronunciation, particularly where aspects of dialect are concerned (Lewis 1970, Piestrup 1973, Collins 1986) and use of a different or unusual type of prosody (Collins 1982). In contrast, high ranked groups are allowed to finish sentences so that teacher and child can build on each others' utterances (McDermott 1978), the emphasis is on meaning and comprehension (Collins 1986). Collins also notes how identical errors can lead to

decoding corrections for the low-group and meaning corrections for the high.

Evidence also shows similar differential treatment for white lower-class poor achievers. In a study of three first grade repeaters, DeStefano, Pepinsky & Sanders (1982) found little difference between the interactions of the teacher and a white, black and Appalachian child. There was a consistent story of remarkably few 'open' bids; little cohesion of talk; the teachers asked questions with one word answers in mind and dominated the talk and the children volunteered no personal information. All of the studies above agree that when children use an oral discourse or a participation style different from the teacher's expectations, there will be a decline in the quantity and quality of interaction and that differential treatment and negative evaluation ensues.

Definite features typify the lack of negotiation taking place in all these studies and contrast with projects outlined in the previous section. Michaels' (1986) example of 'sharing-time' highlights the way in which the teacher is working within her own implicit knowledge of the rules, which the children are expected to know. These rules are never explained to those who are unfamiliar with them from home, whereas the 'initiated' receive

feed-back and praise for their knowledge of them. The 'secret' nature of these rules is particularly clear when Michaels interviews a 'non-school-oriented' child years later. Trying to imitate the required intonation, the child refers angrily to the 'bla,bla' they had to do.

The reading studies illustrate a second typical feature of interaction between the teacher and children from 'non-school-oriented' homes. Not only are the rules not made explicit, but the children are misled when the teacher wrongly models what is important in the reading process. Explicitly, therefore, the children are being told to do one thing; implicitly, the teacher expects something else. Finally, the teacher herself is unaware of the differentiation taking place. There is a strong resemblance in these studies to the example of Holland (1981) detailed in Chapter 2 where working-class children misinterpreted the instructions of the researcher by working to explicit instructions where the implicit ones were important. According to these examples, discontinuity is negative and negotiation is interpreted in terms of a commitment to wider values and beliefs. All the studies above imply that children must 're-identify' to the world of the school before successful negotiation can take place.

American studies explain the breakdown in negotiation between teacher and child largely by the teacher's lack of awareness of children's home discourse structures and to a subsequent differentiation in tuition between 'non-school-oriented' children and those who share her own 'folkways' (Bernier 1982). Researchers propose that the root of the problem lies in their system of rigid 'setting' of the children into ability groups for reading at a very early age and maintain that abolition of this should prevent differentiation (Collins 1986, Michaels 1986).

This may explain why there is no tradition of contrastive ethnographic or ethnomethodological studies showing differential tuition being given to young children in British Infant classes where setting is either hidden or does not take place. If 'difference' is stressed at all, the focus is on the children's different performance as in the study by Bernstein and Holland which was outlined in Chapter 2 of this study. However, this was in a controlled setting where children were removed from class. The notion of differentiation by teachers working with young children is one which contradicts the aim of 'child-centredness' and arouses hostility amongst some teachers.

One research project in Britain investigates particularly the entry of 'school-oriented' and 'non-school-oriented' girls as a group into the nursery school (Tizard & Hughes 1984). This focuses on the discontinuity between language and expectations between home and school for the 'non-school-oriented' children and generally notes their poverty of language use in school as opposed to home. Wells (1987) contributes excerpts of reading interactions between a 'non-school-oriented' child and two teachers and maintains that successful negotiation takes place when the teacher makes little reference to the book but draws constantly on the child's home life. The evidence presented is from the odd occasion and remains unconvincing, for the child is constantly 'bottom' in his tests until the age of 10.

In contrast with the American studies, which focus on differentiation between ethnic and social groups, work in Britain tends either to emphasise the deficiency of the child's language or to highlight the failure of the school to replicate patterns of discourse and participation structures of the home. Historical reasons for this have been discussed in both this chapter and Chapter 2. In each approach to classroom data, the starting-point is the home rather than teacher/child interaction in school.

The hypothesis that differentiation cannot exist when children of all 'ability' groups are taught together has not been investigated by American researchers owing to the structure of their system which centres both on the early 'setting' of children and structured tuition using basal reading schemes. If differentiation should occur between the teacher and the children in the classroom I focus on in this study we have no work to call upon showing the pattern it might take. Either we see examples showing how children from 'non-school-oriented' homes cannot 'transmigrate' resulting in a breakdown of negotiation or we witness rare projects where the teacher explicitly organises work using the participant structures familiar to one cultural group resulting in increased task-specific commitment.

What is missing are studies taking successful negotiation between the teacher and a child who shares neither the language nor the culture of the teacher as a starting-point. For, according to existing work, little successful negotiation should take place. Although the classroom studies outlined above all make a contribution to understanding the problem initiating this study, the centre piece of the successful 'non-school-oriented' child is missing and none can provide us with the 'pattern that connects'.

Summary

The words of Richard Howard are particularly relevant in understanding this chapter:

"We require an education in literature...in order to discover that what we have assumed - with the complicity of our teachers - was nature is in fact culture, that what was given is no more than a way of taking" (1974) in Heath, S.B. (1982) p.49

Section 1 documented how this applies to practices learned during early childhood in the home. Although the home always involves 'tutoring' of the child, the 'curriculum' (Dunn 1989) it offers will be culturally specific and may involve a number of different caregivers or quite different patterns of adult/child interaction from those used in Western 'mainstream' homes. What typifies the home curriculum is the 'finely-tuned' tutoring where caregiver(s) work together with the child on a 'real' task in hand and the joint interpretation of the situation, the boundaries of which are made clear by the caregiver. The attentive way the adult structures the task became particularly evident in studies showing the initiation of Western 'mainstream' children into their cultural practice of story-reading and the preparation of the children for 'performing' to researchers.

Section 2 examined negotiation in terms of commitment by the child when the shared setting was removed. It investigated the different implications if the child from a 'non-school-oriented' home needed to 'transmigrate' or could enter into a 'task-specific contract' of negotiation upon school entry. Examples illustrating what 'task-based tutorials' might look like were shown to be remarkably similar to those between caregiver and child during home story-reading sessions. Section 3 focused on the constraints placed upon the teacher playing a social role within the institution of school. Specific grounds rooted in the historical background of the British Early Years' teacher were brought to explain why s/he might choose to work within one specific interpretation of negotiation in school. Finally, a review of classroom studies of young children from 'non-school-oriented' homes starting school revealed largely a story of breakdown of negotiation between teacher and child. The few examples of groups of children where successful took place again bore a strong resemblance to the type of tutoring found in the home for 'performances' or during initiation into different literacy or cultural practices.

Throughout the discussion, my aim has been to show how the idea that learning might be 'natural' shadows the ample evidence illustrating that 'learning practices' are culturally specific in specific ways. Nowhere is this

more evident than during the initiation of children and adults into literacy practices across the world. The second part of this study turns to examine the nature of literacy as a cultural practice in one Infant classroom.

PART TWO: THE MAIN STUDY

Introduction to Part Two

Evidence from Part One of this study shows how children entering school from homes which do not share the culture, language or discourse practices of the school are generally viewed in terms of 'problems'. The focus in research studies is predominantly upon the difficulties these children will encounter as they begin reading in school and 'difference' is largely regarded as negative. In Chapter 2, the children's difficulties were seen as emerging inevitably from the social class and/or linguistic and ethnic background of the family. In Chapter 3, the child was allowed a more active role. But still the balance was largely in favour of the child's need to identify with the language and culture of the school as a prerequisite for successful negotiation to take place.

Classroom studies discussed in Chapters 2 and 3 showed a strong tendency to 'narrow down' explanations for the poor progress made by children from 'non-school-oriented' backgrounds upon school entry. Either responsibility is placed upon the child and the family which lacks familiarity with essential cultural practices or upon the teacher who gives differential tuition according to the social and ethnic background of the children. The few studies available showing successful

negotiation in school reading lessons where children do not share the language and culture of the teacher focus on specifically planned projects designed for a particular ethnic group.

The evidence presented so far does not tackle the problem exemplified in Chapter 1. If 'differentiation' is taking place in the classroom in this study, it is clearly of a more complex kind than that which is geared to the social, ethnic or linguistic background from which the child originates. If 'negotiation' occurs, it is of a different nature from that where the teacher consciously builds upon the discourse and cultural practices of a particular ethnic group. Nor does it depend upon the prior acculturation of the child into the language and cultural practices of the school. If cultural practices are 'fashioned' by the institutional site, work is not available to show us how this might be reflected in the interaction between the teacher and different children during early reading lessons.

Rather than 'stripping down' explanations for children's early reading failure to a single factor which 'blames' either teacher or child, my starting-points for investigation are the questions of what 'counts' as reading in the specific setting of one classroom and what differentiates children who are able

successfully to negotiate reading from those who are not. In the next chapter, I argue that a particular methodology provides scope for the 'fine-graining' needed for these investigations. An example then follows showing how the method of analysis chosen allows us to identify the rules for successful participation in group reading lessons. Chapters 5, 6 and 7 present different layers of analysis which together provide a framework for interpreting the problem posed in Chapter 1.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Design of the Study

Introduction

Methodology has been defined as concerning the problem of what to sample and how to sample it (Romaine 1982). In this chapter, I first consider the implications of 'experimentalist' and 'naturalistic' research traditions in enabling me to investigate the problem illustrated in Chapter 1. I then claim that ethnography and ethnomethodology step outside these traditional paradigms and should be viewed as separate investigatory approaches (Hammersley & Atkinson 1983, Heap 1985, Cazden 1988). In Sections 3 and 4 of this chapter, I outline the principles and procedures of ethnography and ethnomethodology and explain why they provide the best framework for investigating the questions initiating this study.

4.1. 'Experimentalist' and 'Naturalistic' Research Paradigms

The first approach has been referred to as 'quantitative' (Glaser & Strauss 1965, Romaine 1982, Silverman 1985), 'scientific' (Filstead 1970),

'normative' (Cohen & Manion 1980), 'positivist' (Hammersley & Atkinson 1983) or 'experimentalist' (Kamil, Langer & Shanahan 1985). The idea underlying studies following this orientation is that discovery or common-sense can and should be distinguished from work which can be shown to be scientifically justified and that only the latter is valid for research purposes (Hammersley & Atkinson 1983). Human behaviour is considered 'patterned' and, as such, can be investigated by the methods applying to natural science (Cohen & Manion 1980).

Research within this paradigm generally aims to produce results which can be standardised. This aim has important implications for what is examined and the types of analyses made. I outline these briefly below and then go on to discuss what they might mean for my particular problem. First, an 'experimentalist' approach generally implies a separating out of tasks and behaviour into 'components' for investigation and analysis in order to see how a particular piece might fit into the whole learning pattern (Hammersley & Atkinson 1983, Kamil, Langer & Shanahan 1985). To this end, distinct hypotheses and variables for investigation need to be decided at the beginning of the research, so that data collection can take place with these in mind. Next, the tasks and variables investigated generally need to be held constant for standardisation^{of results} to be valid, even if this means

manipulating natural behaviour. Finally, the detachment of the researcher is paramount in order not to influence results (Glaser & Strauss 1965, Filstead 1970). The implications of each of these three issues is discussed in turn below.

The issue of investigating predetermined hypotheses and variables is an important one. Markman (1977), Gipe (1978) and Beebe (1980) provide examples showing how valuable information relating children's reading comprehension and development with methods of instruction can be given using a relatively small number of variables as a base. But their frame of reference is deliberately limited. Researchers who step outside these narrow confines show how problematic the choice of variables might be. In a prelude to her ethnographic study on early caregiver/child interaction amongst the Kaluli of New Guinea, Schieffelin (1979) explains how a previous project using predetermined variables had been abandoned because the variables chosen were found to have no relevance in the Kaluli culture.

In Britain, two recent studies conducted on children's knowledge of literacy upon school entry compared with their reading achievement at seven exemplify a similar problem when predetermined variables are chosen (Wells 1985, Tizard et al. 1988). Wells' results showed that only a knowledge of story upon school entry was

significant in predicting high reading achievement at seven. Tizard et al, on the other hand, found that by far the strongest association of reading achievement at the same age was the pre-school child's knowledge of the alphabet (1). These three studies alert the reader to the danger of a cultural bias by researchers in their choice of variables to be considered, a criticism more generally made of scientific approaches used in educational settings (Baldo 1987).

It has been pointed out that 'experimental' studies using multivariate techniques for analysing data minimise this danger (Kamil, Langer & Shanahan 1985). These studies attempt to account for such wider issues as the effects of reading instruction (Leinhardt, Zigmond & Cooley 1981), the relationship of reasoning ability, oral language and home experiences on pre-school children's print awareness (Hiebert 1981) and teachers' judgement and grouping (Borko & Niles 1982). Nevertheless, variables are still decided upon by the researcher in detachment from the participants.

Next, the holding constant of tasks for standardisation means that this approach does not include the investigation of interactive processes in natural situations within its framework. Tizard's (1988) study is a good example of this. Some methods within this

orientation come much closer to accounting for process than the statistical surveys used by Tizard. One method which attempts to correlate children's performance in terms of the teachers' beliefs is Kelly's (1955) personal construct theory (Nash 1973, Wood & Naphthali 1975, Parsons, Graham & Honess 1983). These studies do not adhere strictly to the 'experimentalist' paradigm in that the teachers define their own variables by choosing adjectives to describe different children. However, most of these studies then go on to correlate 'positive' and 'negative' attitudes with the children's achievement. The actual process through which these attitudes are transmitted to the child and the way in which they result in good or poor performance is, however, not detailed within this method.

Tizard et al. sum up the difficulties inherent in combining a detailed examination of process with measuring a product. They conclude that 'to date, there has been next to no 'process-product' studies in British Infant schools' (p.19) (2). One longitudinal American study comes close to this by measuring on different occasions the consequences of teachers' beliefs during dyadic teacher/child interactions. A correlation was then worked out between the teacher's own data on 'high' and 'low' achievers, the amount and type of one-to-one interaction and the child's academic achievements in tests (Good &

Brophy 1971). Again, the actual process of interaction is not examined. The study does not detail any dynamic change occurring between participants as relationships remained static. Neither does it attempt to account for reasons why differential treatment might occur in the first place.

The third issue is the detachment of the researcher which plays an important role in the aim for standardisation and validation of results. However, understanding what 'folk beliefs' or myths are held by participants might well highlight which factors need be considered in understanding the interaction between teacher, parent and child (Barthes 1972). Detachment of researchers might invalidate the variables chosen for study and their consequent conclusions simply through a lack of 'folk knowledge'. A study conducted in the London Borough of Newham (Tunley, Travers & Pratt 1979) provides an example for this. The researchers attempted to show how the Council was spending more money on schools in the comparatively 'affluent' south of the Borough rather than the 'poorer' north. Variables such as overcrowding, lack of bathroom facilities, high percentage of free school dinners were taken as indices of poverty and correlated with low Council spending. Yet common-sense 'folklore' as well as a knowledge of the history of the area would have pointed to the irrelevance of such criteria in deciding

school success. Children in the north achieved more at school apparently in spite of lack of funding.

My aims upon embarking on this study conflicted with those within the 'experimental' approach outlined above. My initial question of why there might be such differences in the early progress of children from 'non-school-oriented' backgrounds in finding meaning in print originated in my own experience and those of the teachers I worked with. This question revealed assumptions which would be understood by the teachers involved, but were not necessarily generalisable; for example, what might be understood as a 'non-school-oriented child' and 'finding meaning in print' might be understood differently by other teachers or researchers outside this particular setting. My initiating question, itself, therefore, took participants' beliefs as a starting-point and could not lay claim to being scientifically justified.

My background in working alongside the teachers also meant that taking a detached role would not be possible. Indeed, getting to know the parents' and teachers' beliefs, and how these changed over time in the light of their interactions would be important for forming hypotheses. These beliefs would only be revealed through participating in events rather than withdrawing from them.

Finally, if the beliefs of the participants were to be seen as important, I would not be able to remain within the confines of investigating a limited number of predetermined variables within reading comprehension or instruction. Indeed, my intention in taking such a general point of departure was to spend considerable time in fieldwork collecting and analysing data and only then form hypotheses in the light of patterns found. Generalising conclusions was not my primary concern. Although I believed that findings might well be generalisable within similar contexts, no claim could be made for universal validity. An 'experimentalist' orientation would not have allowed me to exploit the potential advantages of being an 'insider' nor would it have enabled me to focus on the process of learning during day to day interaction between individuals as well as accounting for their cultural and historical background of which I shared a part.

An alternative orientation has been referred to as 'qualitative' (Glaser & Strauss 1965, Filstead 1970) or 'naturalistic' (Cohen & Manion 1980, Hammersley & Atkinson 1983, Kamil, Langer & Shanahan 1985). Researchers working within this paradigm argue that there is no such thing as 'pure data' within the social sciences where participants must be proven as telling the truth, but rather that a person's statements can be considered only in as far as what they reveal about the environment and their role in

it (Devereux 1970, Hammersley & Atkinson 1983). They argue, therefore, that situations can only be understood through studying the everyday lives of the subjects involved (Wirth 1949) and by gaining an insight through sympathy and concern for the individual (Bruyn 1963, Cohen & Manion 1980). Broadly, studies within this approach consider how the experience of an individual, group or society is influenced by, and, in turn, influences its surrounding context (Kamil, Langer & Shanahan 1985).

This approach appeared to offer greater opportunities for investigating my initial question because it allowed for a continuation of work in natural settings and an inclusion of participants' beliefs within its framework. But there are major criticisms. First, critics have argued that 'ecological validity' (Hammersley & Atkinson 1983) might be just as contrived as experimental settings owing to the effect of the 'Observer's Paradox' whereby the researcher has an unknown effect upon participants (Labov 1972). Next, this approach does not provide a wider explanation of social contexts or structures (Bernstein 1971, Bhaskar 1979, Hammersley & Atkinson 1983, Silverman 1985, Woods 1985). Silverman emphasises the dual need to understand not just the relationships and cultural significance of individual events but the causes underlying them which cannot be understood through everyday interactions. Third, 'naturalistic' studies have

been criticised as lacking rigour, by being too descriptive and subjective in presenting 'culture as snapshot' and telling anecdotal stories (Hammersley & Atkinson 1983, Woods 1985).

Hammersley and Atkinson argue that all three criticisms can be answered by ethnography, which should be regarded as a separate approach from 'experimentalist' or 'naturalistic' traditions. Defined in the section below, ethnography may include a number of different methods rather than being one particular method within a 'naturalistic' orientation. Ethnography has been chosen as the basis for investigating the questions of this study and I shall refer to ethnographic approaches rather than ethnography as one particular method. I shall now investigate how ethnography replies to the criticisms of the 'naturalistic' approach outlined above. I shall then go on to explain the principles and procedures it adopts and argue why it appears most suited for investigating the problem of this study.

4.2. Ethnography as a means of investigation

Ethnography is specifically characterised by the fact that the researcher must be part of the world studied (Devereux 1970, Geertz 1973, Hammersley & Atkinson 1983, Woods 1985). The essence of the ethnographic approach is

the method of participant observation which means both sharing in the life activities and sentiments of the participants, understanding their histories (Woods 1985) and remaining non-threatening (Hammersley & Atkinson 1983).

In this way, ethnography is claimed to counteract the first criticism of 'naturalistic' approaches outlined above and to prevent the danger of the 'Observer's Paradox' whereby subjects behave artificially with an observer. However, use of participant observation alone cannot separate ethnography from other 'naturalistic' studies working through this method of investigation (Becker & Geer 1965, Pearsall 1965, Bruyn 1970). What distinguishes this approach is that it is recognised that the researcher both changes the situation as a subject within it and is also changed. This means that the role of the observer in making the interpretations is seen as inevitable and vital. Geertz (1973) refers to this as 'thick descriptions' which are 'really our own constructions of other people's constructions of what they and their compatriots are up to' (p.9)

To promote the aim of understanding the words and behaviour of a group, ethnographic approaches may use a whole variety of different methods, including life-histories, informal interviews and occasionally

statistical data collection (Schieffelin 1979, Heath 1982,1983, Hammersley & Atkinson 1983). Ethnography has, therefore, been referred to as a holistic approach which aims to produce a 'cultural grammar' or a set of rules which one would have to know in order to become a competent member of the group (Erickson 1981, Romaine 1982). This goes some way in answering the second criticism made of 'naturalistic' approaches accused of not providing adequate linkage between individual meanings and social contexts. Many ethnographies intend to do this. Problems which they encounter are discussed later in this section.

In order to analyse and present the meanings held by members of a group, the researcher needs to make explicit what is already known implicitly by the group (Spindler 1982, Baldo 1987). This can only be done by remaining a 'stranger' to the situation (Schutz 1964). In contrast with the criticism of subjectivity and lack of theory levied on 'naturalistic' approaches, ethnography has a rigorous approach to both data collection and analysis. Glaser & Strauss (1965) have suggested one particular set of principles and a field-design outlining the stages involved in conducting an ethnographic study which is broadly accepted by a number of other researchers (Hymes 1979, Heath 1982, Spindler 1982, Hammersley & Atkinson

1983, Kamil, Langer & Shanahan 1985, Woods 1985). A brief summary of these agreed aims and framework follows.

Ethnography aims to produce 'substantive' theory, which is the formulation of concepts and their interrelation into a set of hypotheses for a given substantive area (Glaser & Strauss 1965). Fieldwork takes place through the following stages:

1) Data is collected during contextualised observations which disturb the interactions of the participants as little as possible. It must be prolonged and repetitive

2) Observations are guided by a well-defined set of assumptions or personal experiences. They begin with a problem or a set of issues but not preconceived ideas

3) During the fieldwork, problems are turned into a set of questions and hypotheses. Multiple hypotheses are followed simultaneously until a pattern is formed from the data to provide an analytic framework. Data may be collected in a variety of ways but, distinctively, each is used to interpret other and raise questions about them. Therefore, there is a continuous feedback of questions and interpretations between the various kinds and levels of research data which allows a continual reevaluation and reformulation of questions as the research sharpens focus

4) From the patterns observed during analyses, the focus is narrowed and a limited number of hypotheses or 'typologies' (Hammersley & Atkinson 1983) are generated which are then subjected to further investigation

5) Finally, writing up takes account of the fieldwork analyses as well as existing theoretical explanations. Various types of literature may be used in evidence as well as research studies. The aim is to produce 'trustworthy' evidence (Mishler 1990) through a full and explicit description of the social world in which events take place whilst realising that researcher and reader share a joint responsibility in building a common interpretation of events (Glaser & Strauss 1965, Mishler 1990).

Ethnography provided one suitable approach for investigating the questions initiating this study. First, it allowed me to begin with a problem rather than a hypothesis. Next, I felt in a position to fulfil the conditions of participant researcher as outlined above. As a recent teacher of young children in inner-city multicultural schools, I was able to understand the general 'folk history' held by teachers concerning their own role, the parents and their children. On the other hand, my present post as Lecturer at the local College of Education enabled me to remain detached from

the day-to-day events of the school. I was also a newcomer to the town and whole area which meant that I could still view events as 'anthropologically strange' (Schutz 1964, Hammersley & Atkinson 1983).

The recent influx of children from the Asian sub-continent which worried the teachers I began working with had already taken place much earlier in London and I was familiar with many of their concerns. To a certain extent, therefore, the situation shared similarities with that of inner-city American schools where teachers were suddenly faced with desegregation and teaching children from a very different culture from their own. Ethnographers here were focusing on widespread failure in school by children from ethnic minority groups owing to unwitting differential teaching taking place (Au 1980, Collins 1982, Heath 1983, Michaels 1986).

This focus on the failure of children from ethnic minority groups, however, pointed to a weakness in ethnography in tackling my questions and as a means of investigation in the school setting generally. Although researchers from various academic disciplines use ethnographic approaches, ethnography has its roots in anthropology where it is used as a means for understanding the ways of living of an unfamiliar group or culture (Malinowski 1922, Blom & Gumperz 1972). It is

ethnography in its anthropological sense which has generally been adopted to investigate the achievement of ethnic minority groups in the classroom. However, transfer of anthropological ethnography into school is, in itself, paradoxical insofar as participants are no longer in a natural setting (Romaine 1982). The result of using ethnography in studying school situations, therefore, has tended to mean a focus on the difficulties experienced by whole ethnic groups (Phillips 1972, 1983, Au 1980, Collins 1982, 1986, 1987, Heath 1982, 1983, Michaels 1986). It was exactly this that I wanted to avoid.

Ogbu (1981) blames the preponderance of microethnographic studies which confine themselves to the classroom for this slant. He stresses the importance of what he terms 'ecological ethnography' or macroethnography which goes beyond the school and home to consider

the role of the group in society at large; how the institution itself influences the teachers', parents' and children's actions as well as how the institution affects minority schooling. This wider perspective, he claims, would prevent the association of ethnic minority groups with failure. A few studies attempt this approach (Warren 1967 on a school in a German village, Grindal 1971 on a school in Ghana and, to a more limited extent, Heath 1983 on a school in the Piedmont, U.S.A).

The questions initiating my study could not fully be tackled by micro or macroethnography understood in its anthropological sense. My starting-point was what might happen in school which enabled children from 'non-school-oriented' backgrounds to succeed, apparently 'against all the odds' rather than the microethnographers' question of why children from particular ethnic or social minority groups were failing in the classroom. Macroethnography could have provided reasons in the particular historical background of the children's cultural group (Ogbu 1978,1985) but not allowed for individual children contradicting the expected pattern of their group.

Existing ethnographic studies of 'non-school-oriented' and minority group children in the classroom, therefore, do not include a careful analysis of how knowledge might be dynamically created between individuals in one-to-one situations. This type of knowledge has been referred to as 'situated knowledge' (Cook-Gumperz 1977) or 'negotiated knowledge' (Heap 1985), which has been contrasted with both knowledge as 'true belief' (Lewis 1946) (knowledge brought by children from home to be predicated or rejected by the teacher) and 'propositional knowledge' (knowledge transmitted to the child by the teacher through an IRF (Initiation, Response, Feedback) model (Bellack et al. 1966, Flanders 1970, Sinclair &

Coulthard 1975, Mehan 1979). The problem in this study demanded an additional approach which would allow the focus to shift from the group to the relationship between teacher, individual child and text.

4.3. Ethnomethodology as a means of investigating interaction between teacher, child and text

Ethnomethodology has its origins in phenomenology, symbolic interactionism and social psychology. It is claimed to be a distinctive approach from ethnography in that it provides the means for analysing the ways in which individuals construe or interpret events through interactions in social encounters (Heap 1985,1991, Cazden 1988). Thus the question considered by ethnography of 'What's happening here?' is rephrased by ethnomethodology into 'What are the structures which constitute the activity of interest and how do discourse formats reveal the production of knowledge?' (Heap 1985). The vital aspect of an ethnomethodological approach, therefore, is to show how teacher and child create 'cultural knowledge' in the classroom together, rather than viewing knowledge as preconstituted by cultural or social class background. The aim is to show how both teacher and child 'situate' themselves in the reading lesson (Heap 1991) and how they both participate in teaching and learning through interaction and negotiation (Farrar 1981).

An essential part of ethnomethodology is consciously to disrupt or question 'taken-for-granted' elements in situations to reveal the underlying processes at work (Woods 1979). Within ethnomethodology, three assumptions are generally agreed:

1) Human beings act upon a task on the basis of the meanings it has for them. 'Meaning' is the product of personal drives and social and cultural influences. It is these subjective meanings which are important.

2) The attribution of meaning is a continuous process, which is constantly able to be changed and modified through interactions

3) This process takes place in a social context where individuals align their actions to those of the other.

Analyses must take account of two principles:

i) indexicality or the ways in which actions and statements are related to the social contexts producing them and the way meanings might be shared between participants but not stated explicitly

ii) reflexivity or the way in which all accounts of social settings and the social settings occasioning them are mutually interdependent.

This approach offered to complement ethnography in addressing my problem in a number of ways. First, it provided a framework where it would be possible to account for the different progress of children from the same cultural or social class background. Second, using techniques from conversation analysis, it allowed the means of detailing the process of interaction and negotiation between teacher and the class showing how both might be responsible for the production of knowledge and for 'creating' the culture of the classroom (Baker 1991). Third, it provided the possibility of conducting analyses using concentric frames of interest so that what actually takes place between participants may be viewed within the wider frame of the social and cultural setting as well as the situation of the school.

But there are a number of weaknesses in the ethnomethodological approach generally as well as particular drawbacks when compared with ethnography for this study. Participation of the researcher is not inherently part of an ethnomethodological approach and data is often collected by observation and taping of conversations and lessons (Garfinkel 1968).

Ethnomethodologists, therefore, cannot address the problem of subjectivity of the researcher with as much authority as ethnography which places participant observation and the sharing of events with the subjects at its centre. Ethnomethodologists present the following argument to validate interpreting the meanings of others. It is, they claim, impossible to understand other peoples' acts without knowing their motives or sharing their cultural or individual life experiences. What can be done is to reduce behaviour to 'typifications' or general classifications of how we and others know we interpret events. The existence of a common scheme of reference for the acts of others can be presupposed. Within this basic premise, the interpretation of events is shared by researcher and participants (Schutz 1964, Garfinkel 1968).

A second problem concerns the validity of 'negotiated meanings' as worked out between individuals in particular settings. Critics of ethnomethodology argue that the interpretations individuals have of situations are a result of definitions imposed upon them by others in power e.g. the teacher is an excellent example where the institutional definitions of 'good teacher' and 'teaching reading' are imposed in this way. Likewise, they argue, the parents and ultimately the child's interpretation of the situation will be determined by the extent to which

the parents feel 'disempowered' by the school (Bernstein 1973, Cazden 1988).

Third, the explanatory power of ethnomethodology has been seen as limited as compared with ethnography because, whereas ethnography assumes variation, ethnomethodology frequently implies that the practices uncovered are non-contingent and universal (Cazden 1988). Ethnomethodological studies of teacher/child interaction during reading lessons tend to focus on the joint creation of culture by the teacher and the whole class and do not account for differential tuition given by the teacher which may partly be due to the individual's interpretation of what 'reading' means from home (Heap 1985, Baker 1991).

Finally, although classroom ethnomethodological studies argue for knowledge being 'produced' in the classroom (Heap 1985, Baker & Freebody 1986,1989) these researchers place such tight restrictions around the teacher/child relationship because of its assymetrical nature, that they allow others to doubt the whole concept of 'knowledge as production' in the classroom (Bereiter 1986). Bereiter refuses to recognise what takes place as 'negotiation', preferring instead to call the procedure a game, for which the child must learn the rules.

The general criticisms of ethnomethodology levied above would have serious implications for investigating my questions if this approach were not accompanied by ethnography. Although I needed to investigate interactions between teacher and child, it would be dangerous to interpret these without understanding the social and cultural framework within which they took place. The child's discourse and view of the reading task needed to be contextualised within the family's beliefs on what reading in school entails as well as their expectations of school generally and their view of what they thought the teacher believed them to think and achieve. The teacher's discourse needed to be contextualised within her role of being a 'good teacher' within the institution of school.

Bereiter's (1986) doubts as to whether 'negotiation' can exist at all in classroom settings suggests that a new definition of the term might be needed and needs be clearly stated. The asymmetrical relationship between teacher and child may be more evident between the teacher and class or group which is the case in Heap and Baker and Freebody's studies. Individual teaching of the children may allow for a different type of interaction to take place. My analyses cover both group and individual interactions and allow for some comparison between the two.

Finally, the problem of interpreting participants' meanings is important. It is particularly acute when the participants are young children just beginning to learn English whose life-space is very different from my own. As far as possible, I aim to overcome this limitation by i) grounding conclusions in the consequences or functions of the participants' discourse using techniques from conversation analysis ii) relying on a joint interpretation of events through the role of participant-observer where both teacher and myself are 'typical actors' in the 'typical situation' of the classroom (Schutz 1964). In the analyses following, I aim to show how both ethnographic and ethnomethodological approaches are necessary in investigating the problem.

4.4. The method of multiple layering

Multiple layering provides a method of analysing classroom discourse by unpeeling the different layers of interpretation of a lesson by the participants. The key questions asked by studies using this method are how interactions are negotiated throughout the lesson and why individuals negotiate in the way they do (Green & Wallat 1981, Green 1983, Bloome 1987,1989, Bloome & Theodorou 1987, Green, Weade & Graham 1988, Green & Mayer 1991). Multiple layering was chosen as a method for analysing the data I had collected because it allows a combination of

ethnomethodology within a wider ethnographic framework. Each 'layer' of interpretation may be as wide or narrow as is relevant to provide a full picture of what is to be examined. For example, Bloome and Theodorou's study (1987) set out to reveal the rules of participation in lessons through a five minute analysis of the discourse interaction between students and teachers in a 5th. grade English lesson. Their layers were, therefore, confined to an ethnomethodological analysis of discourse during teacher/student and student/student interactions. Had they wished to investigate further why certain individuals in the class had difficulty in learning the rules, a wider ethnographic layer would have been needed.

Following the example of Bloome & Theodorou (1987), I first needed to establish the rules for successful participation in reading lessons and whether differential instruction was taking place between the teacher and children according to whether the children understood these or not. My first example using the method of multilayering, therefore, takes an ethnomethodological approach to compare the interaction and discourse between the teacher and different children during a group reading lesson. Once the rules for successful participation are distinguished, the main study uses the method to combine three layers of analysis. The wider ethnographic layer of analysis investigates the frame of

reference brought by different children into the classroom which is likely to affect teacher/child negotiation of the rules. The ethnomethodological layer of analysis gives a structured analysis of discourse formats showing ways in which negotiation actually takes place between teacher and child during reading lessons. Finally, a third layer shows how a combination of ethnographic and ethnomethodological approaches are needed to answer the questions posed in Chapter One.

My data comprise tape recordings of the teacher and a group of nine children during reading lessons over their first 18 months in school as well as approximately 20 individual reading lessons with each of the children. The recordings were part of more general observations as well as work with the children during literacy and other activities in the classroom. Alongside work with the children, discussions took place with the class and English Second Language teachers and with the parents and caregivers during informal visits to their homes.

My analyses assume the same principles underlying the interpretation of the data as other studies following this method (Green 1983, Green and Bloome 1983, Bloome and Theodorou 1987). These are outlined briefly below.

Construct 1: classrooms are communicative environments; the lesson is a social and communicative event where demands made by participants shift according to the changing demands of the lesson.

Construct 2: classroom contexts are constructed throughout the lesson through teacher/child interaction.

Construct 3: teachers orchestrate different participation levels through academic and social demands and children are evaluated in these.

Construct 4: meaning is context specific: the degree to which teacher and child have similar interpretations of classroom tasks will depend upon the degree to which they share an understanding of the communicative context.

Construct 5: inferencing is required for classroom comprehension: the teacher and child's interpretation of the task depends upon both the frame of reference brought into the classroom and modification which takes place there. The analysis of the reading lesson which follows takes particular account of constructs 1 to 3. The wider ethnographic layer exposed in Chapter 5 is needed to explain why similar interpretations and frames of reference may or may not be shared by participants.

4.4. The Reading Lesson: An example of analysis.

Layer 1: The Setting

i) The wider context. Known as the county of 'spires and shires', Northamptonshire is something of an island of white, indigenous population. Embedded in the heart of England, equidistant from London and Birmingham, it is closely surrounded by areas of much higher ethnic minority composition - Coventry to the north-west, Leicester to the north, Luton to the south and Bedford to the south-east. Indeed, only 4.5% of the County's school population are from ethnic minority groups, including the islands of the West Indies (in 1983, 4,600 out of 97,000) (3). The south Asian families, too, are divided by area. Economically, the most prosperous group are the 800 Gujarati speaking families, mostly from East Africa or the Gujarat, of the Hindu religion and often owning their own businesses, who have settled in Wellingborough. They share little with the 350 Bengali families, many from the same village in Sylhet, strictly Muslim, who live in the tiny terraced houses around the old Race-Course in the centre of Northampton town. Many male members of these families began their career in this country as waiters, but are now unemployed.

During the 1960's vast redevelopment plans resulted in the degutting of most of the centre of the town which was shifted into huge new estates in the outskirts. Vivid personal memories document its recent history in written social accounts, 'The centre of the town is left with nothing but its centrality. It is an agglomeration of archaic buildings, overshadowed by a superior trading estate... As the streets are razed, they are thinly replaced with municipal housing. And the isolated pockets of houses that are left - truncated streets, marooned terraces - are the merest fragments of the living places they once were. As the people leave, the town centre becomes a place of windy corners and waste paper, left after six o'clock to the competitive control of guard dogs and the predatory young...' (Seabrook (1974) p.237). Into this area moved the Bengali families, their Imam and their mosque. They share the 'isolated pockets' with a number of Hostels for women and children or homeless families and the few professionals who are prepared to 'risk' the area in return for a large house backing onto the open parkland of the old Race Course.

Schools in this area unusually have children from very different social and ethnic backgrounds. The school in which this reading lesson takes place has the highest number of bilingual children in town; They join monolingual classmates from long and short stay hostels

and a sprinkling from professional families (mostly teachers and College lecturers) in a large reception class.

ii) The School The school is housed in elegant new bungalow-style accommodation. Hidden in an enclave between the old Race-Course and terraced houses, its presence comes as a surprise to the stranger. Its tiled roof and muted grey bricks contrast sharply with the surrounding Victorian buildings, uniformly clad in bright red bricks and black slate roofs. Indeed, red and black colours all the older building stock, from the tiny terraces to the used and disused shoe factories and the castle-like Territorial Army building which towers over this pocket of old Northampton. Military street names bear witness to the territory it once governed. Architecturally, the Territorial Army building and the school juxtapose past and present ways of life. But the unchanging outer fabric of the 'castle' and its domains belies the inner life within them. Only the most observant stranger may just catch the sound of Bengali music or spot the faded sign of a Chinese take-away.

The new school, however, openly proclaims recent changes in population. Outside, bright signs 'Cultural and Community Centre', 'Lending Library' announce the school's allegiance to its community. The foyer exudes both care

and generosity. Displays of exhibits from the children's countries of origin labelled in the appropriate language are regularly added to and changed. A Bengali ancillary worker, well-known in the Community, liaises between parents and teachers. English classes are held. A multi-lingual lending library is available to all, as well as the complete Qur'an on tape. As yet, few families take advantage of these facilities. Most reception-age children are brought by a father, grandfather or older sibling who disappears at the door. Distanced particularly by language from the parents, the teachers concentrate their efforts on initiating the children into the host culture. A love of stories and books as a way into literacy receives a special emphasis in their teaching.

iii) The Teacher Mrs. G. has just taken up the post of reception teacher in the school. She has previously taught for seven years in an inner-city multi-ethnic school in London. Mrs. G. believes that early school learning is best promoted through the provision of ample materials and through giving children the freedom to experiment and discover for themselves (Plowden 1967, Blenkin & Kelly 1983). Her classroom is well-equipped for this with an imaginative sociodramatic play area, plenty of large and small toys and a free choice of activities laid out for the children to choose from throughout most of the day. Mrs. G. is not a disciplinarian and there are few

occasions when silence is required of the class. Punishment is rare and consists of a sharp look or words of disappointment in a child's behaviour.

'Shared reading' holds a particularly important place in the curriculum, for this is how her reading instruction takes place. Mrs. G. sees herself as a facilitator in the children's learning and does this by providing herself as a model of the skilled reader whereby the children learn beside her as 'apprentices' (Smith 1978, Cochran-Smith 1984, Waterland 1985, Wells 1987). Throughout the day, individual children are free to come to Mrs. G. with a book to 'share' and they are encouraged to do so. She ensures that all children participate in this, although some children insist upon having more time with her than others. She also regularly shares stories with groups and the whole class.

iv) The Children The nine children chosen as the original focus group span the social and ethnic backgrounds represented in both the school and in this particular class of 34 four/five year olds. All started school together aged 4.4 to 4.10 three weeks earlier without the benefit of nursery school. Eleanor, Jessica, Scott, Martin and Gillian are monolingual English children. Jessica and Eleanor's parents are teachers in schools or at the College of Further Education. Scott's

father works in a corner shop. Martin's family lives in a short-stay hostel for the homeless. Gillian lives in a Children's Home and is awaiting adoption. Abdul Munaim, Fozia, Tajul and Tony are bilingual children. Tajul and Abdul Munaim are Sylheti speakers whose parents came to Britain from Bangladesh. Both work as waiters in Britain. Fozia is a Panjabi speaker whose family came from Pakistan. Her father works as a taxi-driver. Tony is a Cantonese speaker whose family came from Hong Kong.

Five group reading lessons were taped, transcribed and analysed during the children's first two months in school. This lesson has been chosen as representing typical patterns of interaction between the teacher and different children.

Layer 2: The Surface Level of the Lesson

It is 9.30a.m. on Tuesday, 23rd. September. A group of nine children sit down to one of their first reading lessons in the school they started only three weeks ago. The children sit on the floor around the teacher's chair in the 'story-corner'. As always, the teacher is concerned to create a 'special' atmosphere of quiet, to show the children they are about to share in a particular event and pleasure. She is careful to impress upon the children that

they are actively 'reading' with her, working as 'apprentices' from the very start. She knows that story-reading does not form part of the home cultural practices of most of the children and that they are likely to be unfamiliar with this and other traditional stories. With this in mind, she carefully avoids the ERF pattern of reading comprehension lessons, nor does she just 'read' the story. Instead, she frequently steps out of the text to invite the children to bring their own life experiences to understand the book and gain meaning from it. In this, as in the other group lessons, there is always a response from the group to her questions and events appear to end on a positive note. Her aim - to 'share reading' with the group - thus seems to be fulfilled.

A surface level description of this lesson shows active participation by most of the group as well as enjoyment which is seen as an essential factor. It does not show how different assumptions or interpretations of the task are being made by the teacher and different children in the group, nor how the teacher may be giving different or differential responses to the children according to the way in which they interpret the task.

Layer 3: The Reading Lesson

The story shared with the group is a simple 'read it yourself' picture book version of "The Elves and the Shoemaker". It has large, bold illustrations. As far as the teacher is aware, this is the first time the book has been read to this group of children in school. Knowing that most of the children may be unfamiliar with both the story itself and the English language, she tries to read as clearly as possible and to do all she can that the children gain meaning and enjoyment from the text. For the purpose of this analysis, it is important to distinguish what is actually the written text of the book and what is discourse - either about the story, text illustrations or the children's lives. For this reason, therefore, the page has been divided into three: the children's discourse, the teacher's discourse and her actual reading of the text. The starting-point is 1. /We're going to read.... After this, the transcript reads from left to right across the page.

The Lesson

For details on the method of transcription, see note (4).

<u>Children</u>	<u>Teacher</u> (non-text)	<u>Teacher</u> (text)
1	We're going to read a story together. This is a lovely one. Let's have this one. It's called 'The Elves and the Shoemaker' Actually it's called...	'The Shoemaker and the Elves'
J. I know that one		
2 J. I like that one		
3 J. I know that one (x4)	There's the elves and there's the shoemaker	
4 Sc. I don't		
5	Tony, sit properly when you're listening to a story. You must sit properly on your bottom, O.K.? Put your hands down. Put your hands down (WH)	
6 J. I know that one (x3) (WH)		
7	There's the title, isn't it? There's where you can see what it's called, the story	
8 J. I know that		
9	Do you? Well, you can help us tell the story	
10 Sc. I don't		
11 J. I do		
12 J. Once upon a time (WH) there was a poor shoemaker		'Once upon a time, there was a poor shoemaker and his wife'
13 G. This your grandad?		
14	Mmm. Can you see the shoemaker? (WH)	
15 J&E1 Yeah(WH)		

<u>Children</u>	<u>Teacher (non-text)</u>	<u>Teacher (text)</u>
16	Where is he? Up there What about his wife?	
17 J&EL THERE		
18	Mmm. There she is, there. Where do you think they live?	
19 (.)	(.....)	
20	In that house?	
21 ? Yeah (WH)		
22	Do you like that house?	
23 All. Yeah		
24 Foz. It's a big, big house		
25	It is a big house	
26 Ab.M. I like (x3)		
27 Ton. Big, big, big (WH) (x4)		
28 Ab.M. I like this one		
29	Mmm. That's a nice one, too, isn't it?	
30 J. I like that one		
31 Foz. I like that one		
32	You see that thing there Do you know what that's for?	
33 All. No		
34 J. Flowers on it.		
35	People used to have it to scrape mud off their shoes Sometimes you can see those things in front of old houses and that's where, if you've got dirty shoes, you can go ouw! (x3) and scrape the mud off them - so you don't bring the mud into the house. Oh look! there he is	
36 J. One day... found... leather...		One day, the shoemaker found he had enough leather for only one

<u>Children</u>	<u>Teacher</u> (non-text)	<u>Teacher</u> (text)
<p>37 El...with a special knife</p> <p>38</p> <p>39 Foz. Look! Look!</p> <p>40 El. Can't buy anything</p> <p>41</p> <p>42 J. Shoes!</p> <p>43</p> <p>44 Sc. Sweets!</p> <p>45 Foz. Apples!</p> <p>46</p> <p>47 El. Bananas J. Oranges Ab.M. or bubble-gum</p> <p>48</p> <p>49</p> <p>50</p> <p>51 J&El. Yeah</p> <p>52 El. Do you know, they have hard beds</p> <p>53</p> <p>54</p> <p>55 Foz. Why?</p>	<p>He was very poor. He's got no money at all and when that leather is ready and made into shoes, he's got nothing</p> <p>If you've got no money what can't you do?</p> <p>What can't you buy?</p> <p>Shoes! What else can't you buy?</p> <p>Sweets or apples. What else couldn't you buy?</p> <p>Or even bubble-gum. So he will be starving</p> <p>I like their beds, do you?</p> <p>Yes</p>	<p>pair of shoes. He cut the pieces out that evening</p> <p>So he and his wife both said their prayers and went to bed He would make the shoes in the morning, he said</p> <p>What a surprise! The next morning when he got up, he found a beautiful pair of shoes</p>

<u>Children</u>	<u>Teacher</u> (non-text)	<u>Teacher</u> (text)
56	Who can have made them?	
57 J. The shoe-		
58	Look, when he went to bed, let me turn back the page, he left it like that and went to bed. And when he got up in the morning, someone had made them	
59 Mar. Someone made them up		
60 J. It was the little elf		
61	Do you think it was an elf?	
62 J. Yeah		
63 Mar. Man made them		
64	Do you think that man in the picture made them? No, that man didn't make them. I'll tell you why. It says...	
65		Soon, a man came in. He was a customer. He wanted to buy the shoes. He said, 'What beautiful shoes! I will pay you twice as much money for them. So he gave the shoemaker 3 gold coins...
66	because they are beautiful shoes, aren't they?	
67 G. Yeah (WH)		
68	Look at them They're lovely. Can you see the ones with the silver buckle on them? I wouldn't mind having a pair of shoes like that, would you?	
69 All. No.		

Children	Teacher (non-text)	Teacher (text)
70	Those have got diamonds. Sit up, Tony (WH) Sit up properly. When you're listening to a story, you must sit on your bottom Well, I don't know who's making those shoes.	
71 J. I know 72		The next day, some more people came
73 J. Two people5 mins. break in text.....
74		He got quite rich
75	So was he poor and starving any more?	
76 J&E1. No 77	No. He's got lots of money now. What could he buy with his money?	
78 J. Some jeans 79	What else could he buy?	
80 Sc. Bananas oranges		
81 J. Sweets		

Layer 4: The teacher's interpretation of reading

Adhering to the principles of 'shared reading', the teacher aims to i) model what reading is and what the mature reader does ii) show the enjoyment which can be gained through story reading. In exposing this layer, I investigate both what the teacher explicitly asks the children to do and what she implicitly expects them to know to participate successfully in the lesson. I then discuss possible reasons for disparity in the teacher's aims and her actual instruction. The next layer will

examine how the children go about fulfilling what is required of them

1) The explicit definition and demands: The teacher 'frames' what is to take place as 'reading' from the start (1) and in so doing explicitly informs the children that the following event is what reading is all about. Her use of 'we' tells the children that they are actually going to 'read' too. Therefore, the children can be in no doubt that what is to follow will be 'reading' for all. Within this frame, the teacher includes a number of explicit instructions and demands which include the following:

i) directing the children's attention to and asking questions on the illustrations (14,16,32,35,50,67)

ii) pointing out that stories have 'titles' which is what they are 'called' (7)

iii) requesting comments on the illustrations by relation to the children's own lives and opinions (22)

iv) pointing out that a story needs to be 'placed' historically and culturally (35)

v) requesting appropriate behaviour (5,70)

vi) emphasising and requesting a positive affective response to the book and its illustrations (1,22,50)

Actual 'reading' of the printed text i.e. saying the actual words is neither instructed nor requested of the children at this point and cannot be included within the explicit frame

2) The implicit assumptions and expectations: As we study the discourse, we see that these explicit instructions and demands are only part of what the teacher is doing. She is also making tacit assumptions of the children's knowledge without giving specific instruction on what she actually requires.

The first major assumption is that the children will be able to decipher what is the text and what is comment. From the discourse, we see that very little of what the teacher does is actually 'reading the words' and that she jumps between text and comment. A breakdown shows this more specifically: (1 (text), 3,5,7 (comment), 12 (text), (14,16,18,20,22,25,29,32,35 (comment), 36 (text), 38,39,41,43,45,48,50,53 (comment), 54 (text), 56,58,61,64 (comment),65 (text), 66,68,70 (comment), 72,74 (text)). The boundary between text and comment will prove to be of importance when we focus on the children's response but in

the 'shared reading' event no explicit distinction is made.

Assumptions are also made that the children will know

i) which questions must be answered within the framework of the 'story' (18) and which need not (22)

ii) when information can be gained from the illustrations to 'read' the story and how (74) and when it cannot (64)

iii) what can be brought by a general knowledge of the culture to understand the story (38,39,76) and what may be of interest takes us no further in understanding it (35)

iv) when an opinion should be offered (22) and when agreement should be expressed with the teacher's opinion (29,66)

v) that certain interruptions are valid and accepted (8) and others are not (5,70)

vi) when the children, themselves, are actually reading or predicting the 'actual words' and when they are not

To summarize, tacit textual and cultural assumptions are made. Textually, the teacher assumes that the children will understand and have within their experience a knowledge of important boundaries - between text and comment, story and real life. Culturally, she assumes that the children share her understanding of what constitutes appropriate and inappropriate behaviour and valid or invalid opinions.

Discussion of the teacher's presentation of the task

The teacher's lack of explicit instruction on the above boundaries needs further expansion and discussion. A brief example may highlight the complexity of the task for the children in unravelling these: The teacher switches from reading the actual text (12) to requesting inferences drawn from the illustrations to the text (16,18) to asking for a personal opinion or judgement on the illustration (22). Personal interpretations of the illustrations are, however, often not valid e.g. when they concern the action (13,63). Here, as on a number of other occasions e.g. when she rereads the title exactly, the teacher refers to the 'authority of the text' (Baker and Freebody (1989)). Indeed, the question 'Who made the shoes?' - asked three times to stress its importance - can only be answered if the 'reader' has prior knowledge of the text. Some children might have this, as we shall see later.

So the children already need to know when personal

knowledge or judgement can be used and when it may not i.e. when the rules concerning when the authority of the text must be paramount and when they need not. This demand during 'shared reading' lessons is common. In her nursery study with 'school-oriented' children, Cochran-Smith (1984) refers to the switching between text and life, involving both text-to-life and life-to-text interactions, as being part of 'non-focussed' methods which she compares with the 'focussing' of essayist literacy. She argues that, through an unfocused approach, the teacher in her nursery 'mediates' between text and listener. The implication is that all children can distinguish the boundaries between text and life even when they are not made explicit. My argument is that this is not necessarily the case for children entering school unfamiliar with the story-reading practice from home.

What needs to be investigated is how far the teacher's unfocused approach presents the children with problems, how far different children work within the teacher's implicit or explicit expectations and whether the teacher gives differential tuition to the two groups of children.

Layer 5: The children's participation in the reading lesson

In this layer, I examine from the transcript how far

different children operate within the explicit demands or the implicit assumptions made by the teacher. Early group 'shared reading' lessons reveal very little difference in the responses of the two 'school-oriented' children and they will consequently be referred to together. Their responses are compared with the children from 'non-school-oriented' backgrounds.

I turn to the 'school-oriented-children' children first. J. makes 28 comments in the transcript; El. 7. Of these, only two by both (47,80) are in response to the teacher's 'life-to-text' (6) questions (45,79) 'What else couldn't you buy?'. All the other comments are directly related to the text itself. This compares with the teacher's 16 life-to-text questions, 15 comments on the text and 8 actual reading episodes. Of the children's comments, 14 are opinions on or about the text (including 11 by J. announcing her familiarity with the story - a common feature of both children in other transcripts) (1,2,3,6,8,11,30,51). Twice J. tries to read along with the teacher. On 5 occasions they answer questions the teacher asks on the text which involves either interpreting the story from illustrations (17) or drawing on their previous knowledge of the story from outside school. Importantly, in 56, 61 and 70 (an indirect question) the teacher's question 'Who made the shoes?' can

only be answered if the 'reader' has prior access to the events of the story. This will be discussed later.

'School-oriented' children insist upon remaining within the framework of the story and the book even when the teacher wants them to relate life-to-text (43,52). In (52), J. is projecting into the 'life' of the text, 'Do you know, they have hard beds', probably calling upon knowledge she has from home readings of the story. Three times the children predict and make inferences to the story from the illustrations (17,37,60) in ways that are only possible given familiarity with it. Little, if any, confusion is apparent in J. and El.'s response to the teacher's presentation of the lesson; J.'s inability to draw upon historical knowledge to explain an illustration is irrelevant to understanding the story.

Analysis of the children's words shows them ignoring certain explicit demands and instruction given by the teacher. Particularly, these are i) reference to their own lives and opinions - except when referring to 'knowing' or 'liking' the story (life-to-text interactions) ii) general cultural and historical questions. Point i) occurs only twice; ii) is misunderstood. If we trace these children's comments, it seems that they 'pick out' what actually belongs to the text and the story from the teacher's stream of discourse where very little actually refers

directly to the text itself. Figure I reveals this more clearly:

<u>Figure I</u>	<u>Context</u>
<u>J. & El.'s comments</u>	
I know that one (x9)	refers to story
I like that	
I do	
Once upon a time, there was a poor shoemaker	reads with teacher
Yeah	answers 'Can you see the shoemaker?'
There	answers 'What about his wife?'
I like that one	
Flowers on it	misunderstands historical question
One day..found. .leather	tries to read with teacher
..with a special knife	infers and predicts from teacher's reading
Shoes	in reply to 'What else can't you buy?'
Bananas, Oranges	as above)
Yeah. Do you know, they have hard beds	in reply to teacher 'I like their beds)
It was the little elf	in reply to teacher 'someone made them'
Yeah	reply to above
I know	in reply to teacher 'I don't know who's making those shoes'

Two people	ref. to teacher's reading 'Some people came'
No	in reply to 'Was he poor and starving?'
Some jeans, sweets	in reply to 'What could he buy with his money?'

The 'school-oriented' children's interpretation of the teacher's announcement of 'reading' is to stay close to the story and the text. They make appropriate inferences from the illustrations to predict the text, know which questions must be answered within the story framework, know when they are actually 'reading' and which personal behaviour is appropriate. In short, they sift their way through the teacher's deviations to focus on the text and story themselves. These two children, therefore, work within the teacher's implicit assumptions whilst largely ignoring both the type of reading she models in school and what she explicitly instructs.

The 'non-school-oriented' children use different strategies in making sense of the lesson. At this early stage, some children participate little in the discourse; Tajul not at all. This may be because they want to join in but have difficulty in learning 'initiation rights' i.e. how to gain the floor. In this lesson, Tony puts his hand up and wriggles around. In other lessons, Tony sings and Gillian coughs. More likely, the children find the

'shared reading' event unfamiliar and are unsure where or how their language and experience can fit. The bilingual children still in any case have a limited active knowledge of English. Their roles are played out in individual reading lessons. As with the 'school-oriented' children, I ask: What is the children's interpretation of 'reading' as evidenced in the discourse? Are they working within the teacher's explicit instructions or sifting through to her implicit assumptions? Figure 2 illustrates their comments:

<u>Figure 2</u>	
<u>Comment</u>	<u>Context</u>
I don't (x2) Sc.	response to J.'s 'I know that story'
This your grandad? G.	reply to teacher showing illustration of Elves and Shoemaker
Yeah (all)	reply to teacher's 'Do you know that house?'
It's a big, big house (Foz.)	indirect reply to above
I like (x3) (Ab.Mun.)	reply to above
Big (x4) (Ton.)	reply to above
I like this one (Ab.Mun.)	as above
I like that one (Foz.)	as above
Look! Look! (Foz.)	pointing to new illustration
Sweets (Sc.) Apples (Foz.) Bubble-gum (Ab.Mun.)	reply to teacher's 'If you've got no money, what can't you buy?'
Why? (Foz.)	reply either to teacher's reading of text, '...when he got up, he found a beautiful pair of shoes'

Someone made them up (Mar)	or J.'s comment, 'Do you know, they have hard beds' anticipates and in conjunction with teacher's reading of text
Man made them (Mar.)	reply to teacher's 'Do you think it was an elf?'
Yeah (Gill.)	reply to teacher's 'They're beautiful shoes, aren't they?'
Bananas, Oranges (Sc.)	reply to teacher's 'What else could he buy?'

A cursory glance at the above chart shows that the 'reading' emerging from the discourse here is of a different nature to that of the children described previously. I shall categorise the children's comments and actions under the following headings:

- 1) life-to-text comments
- 2) personal opinions
- 3) comments 'within' the text, illustrations and story

1) Life-to-text comments. The most frequent response by the children - either by individuals or in chorus - is to the teacher's 'life-to-text' questions e.g. 'What else couldn't you buy?' i.e. if you were poor like the shoemaker (39,46,79). Their responses here (44,5,7,80) show them drawing from their own experience, making no reference at all to the text. Gillian's comment (13) is

important, for it pinpoints these children's dilemma in drawing the boundaries between life and text as well as their difficulty in stepping across into the latter. What meaning is Gillian gaining from the 'shared reading' experience as evidenced in the discourse?

We need to look first at the context in which her words are placed. The teacher starts 'reading' which the children should share (1). Tony has been told how he can participate through appropriate behaviour. Eleanor and Jessica have made comments of 'knowing' and have been invited to help the others. J. has just 'helped' by reading alongside the teacher. During other 'shared reading' lessons, Gillian has seen how 'life-to-text' comments have formed an important part of the teacher's way of involving children in the 'sharing' and they take a major role in her explicit instruction. Copying what the teacher does with a sensible 'life-to-text' comment, making the text meaningful in a personal context, might well be seen as a way of 'helping' in the same way as J. But how far does it actually take Gillian in gaining meaning from print? If Gillian does not understand where the boundaries between text and 'real life' lie she is unlikely to realise that the old man in the illustration cannot 'step over the line' and be the teacher's grandad.

2) Personal opinions. A particular kind of comment which the children offer is that of personal opinion (23,26,28,31,67,69). This is in answer to a strategy often used by the teacher during group 'shared reading'. She asks 'Do you like?...' referring to the illustrations with the children. The phrase 'I like...' is one which the bilingual children have practised extensively with their language support teacher and it is repeated now at length (Ab.Mun.x4). The teacher herself introduces the story as 'lovely' and 'liking' the text or illustrations is a significant feature of her explicit reading instruction. On the surface level, their 'I like' might be compared with J.'s. However, it is important to note that these children are commenting upon the illustrations themselves not the text or their relationship within it. J.'s comment remains inside the story frame; theirs are outside it.

3) Comments 'within' the text, illustrations and story. These are few. Foz's question 'Why?' (55) seems to relate directly to the text as it comes straight after the teacher's reading (54) - although it may refer back to J.'s comment (52). In any case, it is left unanswered and will be discussed in the next layer. There are two textual comments by Mar. (59,63). In 59, he reacts spontaneously to the teacher's textual comment and the discourse indicates he is 'reading' or interpreting with the teacher. Somewhat pipped at the post by J.'s knowledgeable

explanation (60), he sticks to his own prediction (63). This is a sound 'common-sense' answer (albeit not correct) to the question. No introduction has hitherto been given to the elves and there is no indication from either the text or illustrations so far that they should be responsible for the shoes. These few comments are the only ones made directly 'within' the story or text.

In summary, these children's comments show them successfully imitating many of the explicit discourse strategies of the teacher, as well as answering her questions. Gillian directs the teacher's attention to and asks questions of the illustrations (13). Foz. points out items from the illustrations (39). The children all respond to the teacher's questions on their own opinions by 'liking' the illustrations and answer life-to-text questions (44,5,6). In other words, they are not 'filtering out' the teacher's explicit instructions as the 'schooled' children are but rather taking them at face value and 'reading' as instructed.

At the same time, we see them giving meaning to the 'shared reading' event but so far only on personal, common-sense terms. The monolingual children do this by relating characters in the illustrations to 'real-life' (13) and giving a common-sense interpretation of who should feasibly be occupied in making the shoes. The

bilingual children bring all their appropriate knowledge of English to bear by 'liking' when it is called for. The children are, therefore, both completing explicit demands and drawing specific meanings from the text. However, we see no indication that they understand the important implicit assumption made by the teacher; deciphering the boundaries between the text with the story and illustrations as they sit within it and 'real-life'. At this very early stage, they only model themselves upon what the teacher explicitly offers by way of instruction and demands.

Layer 6: The teacher's response to the children

In this layer, I investigate the teacher's response to the children's ways of taking meaning from the reading lesson and analyse the nature of the feedback they receive. I then assess whether the teacher gives different reading lessons according to the ways the children 'share reading' in this group event.

The terms 'text-centred' and 'life-centred' are used to refer to feedback given by the teacher. 'Text-centred' feedback is defined as comments which relate directly to the story or the text; 'life-centred' feedback relates to life generally and remains outside the text. These terms are cogent for both group and individual reading lessons.

1. 'Text-centred' feedback given to the 'school-oriented' children. This is typified by the following:

i) Comments which acknowledge the relevance of the child's offering and give confirmation that she is successfully 'reading' e.g.

Interaction 1

J. I know that one (x10)Teacher. Do you? Well, you can
help us tell the story then.

Interaction 2

J. One day...found..

.leather

Teacher. One day, the shoemaker
found he had enough leather for
only one pair of shoes...

Here, the teacher is giving feedback by allowing J. twice to 'read along' with her. In contrast, such behaviour would be an interruption during other oral events.

ii) Comments which support a child's accurate prediction of the story even though no information has been given in the lesson so far feasibly to enable the child to do so
e.g.

Interaction 3

J. It was the little

elf

Teacher. Do you think it was an

elf?

This prediction is going to prove to be right.

iii) Comments which collaborate and confirm information which might pertain to the story or text even though there is no 'evidence' to show it e.g.

Interaction 4

J. Do you know, they

Teacher. Yes.

have hard beds

Such an 'extra-textual' conclusion may well be from J.'s store of 'story knowledge' which both 'school-oriented' children display during other 'shared reading' lessons. Whatever may be the case, her opinion that the bed must be hard is shared and confirmed by the teacher. With this, she permits a 'story evidence' which may ignore common-sense in relevant situations.

2. 'Text-centred' feedback to the 'non-school-oriented' children. This is typified by very different features:

i) Comments which show an answer to be incorrect in spite of the fact that prediction is not possible without prior knowledge of the text e.g.

Interaction 1

Mar. Someone made
them up

Teacher.(reads)
And when he got up
in the morning, someone had made
them up.

J. It was the little elf Teacher. Do you think it was an
elf?

J. Yeah.

Mar. Man made them.

Teacher. Do you think that man in
the picture made them? No, that
man didn't make them. I'll tell
you why. It says....

This is an important episode. Mar. is involved in the story which is obviously new to him. He is, in fact, trying to predict what happens as he responds to the story. J. immediately knows the 'answer' from the text and says it. In common-sense terms, however, such an answer would be highly implausible and Mar. sticks to his guns in contradicting her. The teacher's reply before he says this is significant. By her 'Do you think...?' she implies that there might be some choice in the answer i.e. that it can,

perhaps, be answered using 'common-sense' knowledge and, indeed, Mar. responds to her in this way. She then goes on to tell him he is wrong 'because it says...' referring to the ultimate authority of the text. Later, he will see that J. was right from the very start. I suggest that a 'secret' is being shared between J. and the teacher which Mar. is not yet being allowed into. Indeed, quite the opposite of showing what 'reading' is, the teacher is blurring the boundaries of where textual authority must rule.

ii) Comments which ignore a child's attempt to 'make sense' of the text e.g.

Interaction 2

Teacher (reads) What a surprise! The next morning, when he got up, he found a beautiful pair of shoes.

Foz. Why?

Teacher. Who can have made them?

Foz's question here is difficult to understand. However, the teacher chooses to continue without reference to it.

Interaction 3

Teacher. (reads) Once upon a time, there was a poor shoemaker and his wife...

G. This your grandad?Teacher. Mmm. Can you see the
shoemaker?

.....

Teacher. Where do you think they
live?

Teacher. In that house?

Gillian Yeah

Teacher. Do you like that house?

We need to call upon two contexts to understand Gillian's comment. The first is the wider context of 'shared reading' lessons generally. These have been characterised by a number of 'life-to-text' interactions: Gillian is successfully copying exactly the strategy explicitly used by the teacher to facilitate 'sense-making' by the children. The second is this lesson itself. The children have already been told they will participate and J. has just been asked to help. Within this context, Gillian's question is an observant and astute one. Unfortunately, it belongs to the world of real life and is misplaced within the story frame. It could just be, too, that Gillian is confused by the teacher's previous invitation to 'tell' rather than 'read' the story. 'Telling' might well call up a different frame of discourse more related to 'newstime stories' than reading.

We see that Gillian, as Mar. earlier, does not understand the boundary between text and real-life,

between 'book-story' and 'life-story'. The teacher responds by signifying agreement 'Mmm.' but then ignores the question and replaces it with her own 'Can you see the shoemaker? Almost immediately after, she refers to the shoemaker and his wife as if they were alive and real (18). Gillian is given no explicit instruction as to why the authority of the text must be paramount here, making her question inappropriate. Again, the boundary between text and life remains blurred.

The brief analysis of 'text-centred' interactions can leave us in no doubt that those between the 'school-oriented' children and the teacher are much more successful in terms of collaboration and support given. This may seem self-evident in the light of our conclusion that these children focus upon 'text-centred' comments anyway. Nevertheless, the ways in which the teacher responds to attempts by the 'non-school-oriented' children to enter the text is highly significant. Such data provides strong evidence to support the hypothesis that differentiation is taking place in the feed-back given to the 'school-oriented' and 'non-school-oriented' children. 'Life-centred' children are being held outside the story and text whilst 'text-centred' children gain both new information on the text and confirmation of their own knowledge of it. Yet, ironically, it is precisely the

Interaction 3

Ab.Mun. I like this

one.

Teacher.Mmm. That's a nice one, too,
isn't it?

Interaction 4

Teacher. ...because they are
beautiful shoes, aren't they?

Gillian Yeah.

Look at them. They're lovely...

3. Establishing 'readerlike behaviour'

Interaction 5

Teacher. Al., sit properly when
you're listening to a story...

(also (70). Interestingly, J.'s interruptions 'I know that story' relate to the story and are taken up by the teacher with an invitation to help tell the story.

These examples show how two largely separate reading lessons are in progress - one based upon the story and the text, the other upon the children's lives.

In summary, we see a picture where the children who focus upon 'text-centred' comments are receiving different feedback from those who are following what they

are explicitly asked to do and copying the explicit model which the teacher presents. The teacher collaborates with the former group and confirms their knowledge of the text. At the same time, the 'non-school-oriented' children who focus upon 'life-centred' comments receive no explicit information of 'where the story is' and how it is separate from life. The teacher's 'Mmm.' to Gillian does not tell her what she needs to know. It must be clear to Gillian that her question is inappropriate but nowhere does the teacher tell her why e.g. we are now within the story and the text. This is a story written by someone I don't know and therefore that man cannot be my grandad etc.

Although the form of feedback by the teacher is much more subtle than the IRF model of classroom discourse analysis (Coulthard (1977) or the ERF pattern of reading comprehension lessons (Heap (1985)), the discourse quite unequivocally shows the teacher rewarding certain answers or behaviour rather than others. Interactions 59 to 74 are a good example of the way in which the teacher waits for an answer, pretending she does not know it herself. Yet a 'school-oriented' child is able to provide the answer immediately, long before the teacher even says 'Well, I don't know who's making those shoes' (70). To the child giving the common-sense answer (63), this might well seem like having access to a special 'secret' knowledge. Thus a 'magic' might be in the process of being made. Within

'shared reading' an understanding of implicit rules might determine the possibility of early membership.

Summary

The analysis of this reading lesson allows me to form the hypothesis that successful participation in reading lessons in this classroom entails understanding and working within the following rules: Children need to understand the boundaries between text or story and life in order to gain access to information from the teacher on the story and the text. This means working within the teacher's implicit understanding of what 'reading' is rather than what she explicitly models. Some children show they are able to do this. I shall refer to these children as 'text-centred' in later chapters. Other children are unable to discern these boundaries upon school entry. I shall refer to them as 'life-centred'. This reading lesson shows how the teacher and 'text-centred' children successfully negotiate a common understanding of the task in hand. These children work within the teacher's implicit demands of what beginner readers should do and, at the same time, make demands on her by steering her back to the story and text to acknowledge and react to their comments. In contrast, the 'life-centred' children in this group lesson are excluded from the story and the text.

The layers of analysis of this group reading lesson follow an ethnomethodological approach and are able to show how different children interact with the teacher throughout the lesson according to the way they understand the rules of participation. But the analysis still leaves the basic questions initiating this study unanswered: It categorises the children as coming from 'school-oriented' or 'non-school-oriented' backgrounds and, therefore, cannot explain why and how some children of 'non-school-oriented' backgrounds are able to step quickly into reading in school. These children may not speak at all during the group lesson. The analysis so far, therefore, cannot show the nature of the invitation by the teacher to individual children to 'read' or whether she then models reading in a different way according to what she feels will be best for each child. Nor can the analysis begin to explain why children from 'non-school-oriented' backgrounds might interact very differently with the teacher. The next three chapters examine these questions using four children and their families as case-studies.

CHAPTER FIVE

The expectations of the children, parents and teacher of learning to read in school

Introduction

In this outer layer of analysis I work within an ethnographic framework to examine the literacy background of four children from the larger group of nine. These children are chosen as representing typical patterns of negotiation and exclusion during reading lessons after their first year in school. The two girls are monolingual and the two boys bilingual. Jessica and Gillian, the monolingual English children, have already played an active part in the group reading lesson analysed in the last chapter. Tajul and Tony are bilingual children; Tajul's parents come from Bangladesh and Tony's from Hong Kong. Tajul and Tony were born in Britain but entered school speaking and understanding very little English.

In this chapter, I investigate how far the families and the teacher share common expectations of the reading task upon school entry and how these expectations affect their relationship over time. My aim is to find out how far the children's home backgrounds provide them with a

knowledge of the rules of successful participation in school reading lessons. I draw upon interviews with the teacher and children's parents (see Appendix 1) as well as observations and work with the children and teacher in the classroom (1). Finally, I give a brief analysis of each child 'reading' shortly after school entry. Here, I examine how far the children already work within the implicit demands of the teacher in interpreting 'reading' in school (2).

5.1. Jessica

Jessica enters school nervously at 4 years 9 months, the eldest of two children in the family. Her best friend is Eleanor who is already familiar from the group reading lesson. J. stays close to El. and imitates her every move during the first few weeks. J. and El. often sit in the Book Corner together, whispering about the books. J. recognises all the books at class shared story readings. At these events, she frequently proclaims loudly 'I've got that book at home' which appears to give her confidence. J. is intent on pleasing the teacher which she does by 'sitting up straight' at appropriate times in an exaggerated manner.

Apart from 'reading' with Eleanor, Jessica often chooses to write letters to her. These are always neat

renditions of her name and a few other words she has learned from home. J.'s competitiveness is often apparent. As soon as something appears too difficult, she quickly says, 'I can't do it'. This competitiveness extends to her behaviour with other children. When 'reading' with Gillian, she repeatedly claims with apparent satisfaction, 'She can't do it. She can't read yet!' Thanks to her own large knowledge of stories, J. is never in this position during shared reading lessons. However, her success is not unassailable. On one occasion, a different kind of reading lesson took place. After reading the names on household items the children had brought from home, a 'Guess what I'm touching in the bag' game was played where a child secretly touched one item. J. was the only child in the larger group unable to stay within the boundaries of the activity and seriously call out items which had never been put into the bag. When she realised her mistake, she stopped participating in the game.

Jessica's parents both work in the College of Further Education. Her mother comes to school regularly and chats with myself or the class teacher. During visits to Jessica's home, her mother continues with normal activities at which Jessica is sometimes present. Jessica's mother has unpleasant memories of learning to read in school and of school learning generally. She

remembers the few odd pages of the 'Janet and John' Reading Scheme and can remember feeling relieved that she could 'already do it'. She feels that her early experiences might be a reason why she now finds no enjoyment in reading and finds time only to read necessary documents and the newspaper as a luxury. Jessica's father reads for his work, but usually does so in his study away from the children.

Jessica's mother shares the teacher's view that much learning takes place through play and that Jessica should 'want to learn'. She is enthusiastic about the friendly, relaxed atmosphere existing between teacher and child in the class. Like the parents in Cochran-Smith's study of children from 'school-oriented' backgrounds in a nursery in the U.S.A. (1984), she is anxious that her child should not be put under too much pressure to learn to read and write quickly and she has made no attempt before school to 'teach' Jessica to read or write by flash-cards. As the 'mainstream' parents in studies discussed in Chapter Three, Jessica's mother shares the interpretation that learning to read should be a pleasurable activity where storybooks figure prominently (Holdaway 1979, Scollon & Scollon 1981, Heath 1982, 1983, Cochran-Smith 1984, Schieffelin & Cochran-Smith 1984, Waterland 1985, Wells 1985, 1987, Gibson 1989).

Jessica may be said to have been already 'socialised' into the western literary tradition before she can actually read (Scollon & Scollon 1981). She has a large selection of storybooks, most of which are in the classroom collection and has always heard a bed-time story for as long as her mother can remember. If her parents are unable to read to her, she has a copy of each book read onto cassette and can listen to the stories with the book on her own. Similar to the parents in Cochran-Smith's study, Jessica's mother considers story-reading to be an important pre-reading activity, but she does not directly link it to the process of reading and writing itself. Apart from story-reading, Jessica is encouraged to write and draw. She already knows most of her letters simply through being told how to spell words when she asked for them.

Upon school entry, Mrs. G. feels that Jessica will learn to read quickly and without difficulty. During her first year in school, Jessica fulfils her teacher's early expectations entirely and makes excellent progress. Her confidence has increased and she is seen to be well on the way to reading independently. Mrs. G. attributes this to a large extent to efforts made by her mother. Mrs. G. has set up a 'shared reading' session for parents and children every morning and Jessica's mother is one of the few to attend regularly. Jessica's mother shares Mrs.

G.'s optimism on her child's progress. Although she is beginning to be a little uneasy that very little 'formal' teaching of reading is taking place, she feels that Jessica is still very young. In any case, she is now practising flash-cards with Jessica at home.

Jessica 'Reading'

Hargreaves, R. (1976) Mr. Jelly.

- 1 J (shyly) I can't read
- 2 T Yes you can. I bet you can tell me what that says
3 (points to title)
- 4 J Mr. Jelly.
5 Oh, I've got this story anyway. It's a good one.
6 Mr. Jelly was in bed fast asleep when a leaf fell
7 off a tree and hit against his window. It made
8 him wake up. He said, 'My house is falling
9 down.' He quickly went under the duvet. (turns
10 page).When he went downstairs, he quickly pulled
11 out some Rice Krispies and he put some yoghurt
12 on and they went Snap, Crackle, Pop! 'Oh no,
13 there's someone shooting me!' So he quickly
14 crept underneath the table.
- 14 I've got this story
- 15 T Have you?
- 16 J (before turning the page) He goes out for a walk,
17 doesn't he? He went for a walk in the woods. A
18 worm popped his head out and he jumped
19 into the air in fright. He jumped into the..
20 Then..is that all it says?
- 21 T Mmm.
- 22 J The worm woke up and said 'Hallo!' Is that all it
says? I can't turn this page
- 23 T ...sticking together
- 24 J He came out of the other side of the wood...and
25 is that all it says? I know some of it but I'm
26 forgetting some of it. He fell down on the ground
27 ground and he shut his eyes. A tramp picked him up.

28 He asked him what his name was. 'Mr. Jelly'. He
29 waved 'Bye-bye' to the tramp. He said to Mr. Jelly
30 'Just count up 1,2,3,4,5,6,7 and it'll be all
31 right.' When he was walking through the woods, he
32 saw a little twig. 'What's that?' he quivered. Then
33 he counted up 1,2,3,4, (repeats) Then he saw that
34 it was only a little twig. 'Oh, that's not
35 afraid..' and he changed into a different person
36 And he wasn't afraid anymore. He changed his name
37 to Mr. Happy. He sat in his chair and relaxed.

Jessica's early 'reading' shows her to be already working within the implicit expectations of her teacher as outlined in the last chapter. After initial hesitation that she is not doing the right thing 'I can't read' (1), she goes on to interpret 'reading' as liking and predicting the content of the story. For Jessica, the content is vital. When she says, 'Is that all it says?' (19, 21, 25), she does not mean the actual printed words but the events of the story itself. This is a book with cartoon-like, unpolysemic illustrations which demand prior familiarity with the story in order for accurate predictions to take place (Meek 1988). Jessica's confidence in being able to 'read' the story 'I've got this story' (14) conceals the difficulty of the task. Once Jessica is able to switch into her knowledge of the story and its appropriate language 'he quickly went' (8), 'a worm popped his head out and he jumped into the air in fright' (18), 'What's that?' he quivered (31) she continues confidently until the end. Jessica's approach to reading upon school entry may be described as 'story-

centred'. It matches closely her performance in the group reading lesson.

5.2. Gillian

Gillian starts school at 4 years 8 months and is also the eldest of two children. A few days after starting school, she runs early into the classroom whilst I am still glancing at a newspaper article before laying out the tables. She looks at the picture and says, 'What's her name?' I reply, 'I don't know. I'm reading to find out'. G. hesitates for a minute, then says, 'Yes, that's why you've got to read that ain't it? You've got to find out.' G. is a very clinging child, in need of constant adult attention. She is a 'loner', little liked by others and spends some time each day sitting on her own whimpering quietly. Sometimes, however, she is full of enthusiasm to participate in class activities.

G. also enjoys writing letters to other children, delivered secretly by pressing them into their hands. These usually comprise a squiggle and sometimes a 'G'. She also enjoys drawing pictures. Each week, she presents me with a picture of 2 figures and requests the sentence 'Ms. G. loves Gillian' to be written under it. G. occasionally looks at books, but when she does this alone her attention is limited to a few seconds at a

time. She sometimes appears unable to sit still and walks away at class reading sessions. G. has an excellent aptitude for rhyming words and matching sounds. Sometimes she does this spontaneously during class reading sessions e.g. 'bonky, buckah, bulah, bonkagee!' (3).

It was not possible to speak to Gillian's mother, but two caregivers from the Children's Home visited the school to talk on one occasion. They admitted finding little time for reading themselves but regularly take newspapers and magazines which the children see them reading. They also keep a box of books for the children in their care. Occasionally, Gillian looks at these books, but only if an older child finds time to sit with her. Gillian's caregivers see her as a 'bright, intelligent child' who should learn to read quickly in school.

Mrs. G. maintains that Gillian has no knowledge of stories or nursery rhymes upon school entry and that she will need a long time to make this up before learning to read. She feels that Gillian will be unable to put her mind to school work until she has been adopted and has stability in her life. By the end of the first year, she is very pleased with Gillian's progress. Her greatest achievement is seen as being her obvious enjoyment and

capability of listening to stories. However, she is still seen to be 'a long way off' independent reading.

Gillian Reading

Hargreaves, R (1976) Mr. Nosey.

Following Ochs' ('79) framework, G.'s invented words have been transcribed phonetically.

1 Mr. Fuss wittu sha chi chuti i ga. Ju (whisper) ah!
2 metu teacher a chu chipee eyou Georgy fita feete
3 awchitus younoyjijunon. I went in the south (?)
4 There's a man in it but you can't get in. Awfechusi bi
5 (high intonation, shrieking) jaaa baddi jaaa (all
6 high, sinking) Ah ju (high) Mr Nosey big ah witaah.
7 Mr. brown Nosey. He went to see somebody (getting
8 higher and higher) and his nose had a peg on
9 (high shrieking) peeshu pashu look! awup aww
10 (little high whimpers) ahwiteeshu (hysterical
11 laughter) Aawbuik (same laughter)

In this passage, Gillian shows her acute awareness of 'reading' as something special or 'magic' for which words must be invented. But her interpretation of the task is somewhat different from that of Jessica or her teacher. Rather than being concerned with predicting the story or expressing a liking of it, Gillian focuses on the sound and pattern of the words themselves. At first glance, Gillian's invented words may appear random. Further examination shows that this is not the case. There is a repetition of certain sounds 'aaw/ahw/aw' in lines 3,4,6,9,11); 'chu/shu' in lines 1,2,4 and a repetition of sounds in two consecutive words 'chi, chu' in line 1; 'chu, chipee' in line 2; 'fita, fitee' in line 2; 'jiju'

in line 3; 'peeshu, pashu' in line 9 and 'awup, aww, ahwhiteeshu, aawbuik' in lines 10 and 11. These repetitions are reminiscent of nursery rhymes 'Hickory, dickory, dock; Hey diddle, diddle; Ding, dong bell etc' which Gillian does not appear to be familiar with. It is difficult to judge how far Gillian stays within the story framework, but if her invented words may be classed as 'story words', then she mixes text and life and has a roughly equal proportion of both. At this very early stage, her approach may be termed 'word-centred'.

5.3. Tony

Tony enters school smiling at 4 years 10 months. Like Gillian and Jessica, he has one younger brother. During his first few weeks in school, he appears the picture of enthusiasm. Every morning, he leaves his father or grandfather eagerly and rushes to the 'name table' where he quickly finds his name. This task accomplished, he often chooses to draw. T. draws methodically and his drawings are usually immaculate copies of the covers of books. The detail of both the illustration and print are exact to the dot over the 'i'; nothing is omitted. 'Meg and Mog' covers appear to be his favourites. During class discussions in the first few weeks, Tony concentrates intensely, watching the other children and always putting his hand up when he hears the words 'Put your hand up'

said by the teacher. One morning, Tony comes proudly carrying a plastic bag with Mandarin script on it, which is shown to the class. During this early period he often amuses the teacher by his constant 'What's that?' questions, reminding her of a much younger English child.

Tony is not drawn to the book corner. Nor does he play with the other children in the class. When asked to choose a child to help him 'read' a story, he chose the biggest boy in the school and repeatedly asked him 'What's that?' questions on the text. T. is inattentive during class reading lessons. Only the lesson where labels of objects from home were read caught his interest. As a newspaper was held up, he suddenly called from the back 'Princess!'. Not understanding at first, the teacher looked and suddenly realised 'Oh yes, it's the Queen'. To this, T. replied 'She in Hong Kong. I see in the television.'

Tony's grandparents crossed from China to Hong Kong before they moved with his parents to Britain ten years ago (4). His family now has a 'Take-Away' above which they live. Tony's family were visited four times during his first year in school. His mother and grandmother were skillfully degutting fish for the 'Take-Away' during visits. They spoke little English, but nodded agreement and smiled as the men discussed Tony's progress. Tony's

family remembered learning to read as a difficult experience involving physical punishment if they failed to recite or repeat a word correctly.

Tony's family had very different expectations of school learning from Mrs. G. They looked back to their own schooling in Hong Kong and China which presented them with a definite set of rules. These rules maintained a dichotomy between work and play together with a belief in the authority of the teacher and the strict enforcement of obedience if need be. The views of Tony's family correspond closely to those of many other parents of Hong Kong origin (Watson 1977, LMP 1985) as well as descriptions given of present Hong Kong schools by teachers (Che Lee 1987, Hi Chi 1988). In practical terms, the rules Tony's family remember meant that children sat in rows and learned by recitation. There was no choice of activity and they would receive homework from the very start as results would determine which kind of Secondary school could be attended. There would be no talk to other children or to the teacher unless requested (Che Lee 1987). The authority of the teacher also enforced duties on her part. As in the culture of the Hawaiian American children in Au's study (1980), it was seen to be the teacher's duty to 'teach' the children, telling them explicitly what they should or should not do.

Tony's father and grandfather repeated these rules in their expectations as Tony entered school. In contrast with Jessica's mother, Tony's family was anxious that pressure should be put upon their child to learn to read and write and to be obedient, through force if necessary. The concept of 'wanting to learn' did not enter this frame. To support literacy learning in Mandarin, Tony was to start his Chinese and English schools simultaneously. His parents foresaw no difficulty in learning to read and write in both languages and his father was keen to supervise his homework from both schools.

Literacy has traditionally been held in the greatest respect in the Chinese culture (Pattison 1984, LMP 1985). China has been claimed as the first highly literate society in the world where a small group of 'litterati' or literates yielded immeasurable power in society (Hoyles 1977). This tradition of respect is reflected today in the existence of a special 'educated' or 'beautiful' script alongside the everyday script. Mastery of the 'beautiful' script needs years of concentration and hard work. It is so special that children relate it to a folk tale 'The Chicken with Golden Eggs' (The Golden Goose). Attempting to rush the learning of this script will only spoil it. It is so complex that Chinese students spend the first year of

their Language and Literature degree learning to perfect it (Hi Chi 1988).

Although only the highly educated will aspire to mastering the 'beautiful' script, it serves as an example of what may finally be achieved through personal application and hard work. This need for application applies equally to the essential beginning stages of literacy. Tony's family and his Chinese school teacher explain how Tony has been given an exercise book where he must divide the page into columns and practice ideographs over and over again until they are perfect. This attention to detail is particularly important, for the misplacing or omission of a single stroke will completely alter the meaning of the symbol. At each lesson, Tony learns to read by reciting individual words after the teacher in chorus with the other children. Examining the look of the symbol is particularly important, for a number of ideographs are pictorial e.g.

 = China (or Middle Land). Learning is based on repetition, memorisation and careful copying. Tasks at school are carefully and clearly delineated and confined in scope.

The completed exercise-book is important, for a number of these bear witness to a child's achievements and proficiency (Hi Chi 1988). Only when a child can

prove this competence is he or she given a book to read. To have immediate access to books devalues both the book and the principle of hard work. Children must work their way towards knowledge slowly and the book is a reward for a child's conscientious achievements. A love of books, therefore, comes after reading is learned and not as a necessary prerequisite to it. For Tony's family, books have a talismanic value which might be compared with that for the poor of their present home town who paid to attend the 'Penny Readings' to 'elevate' themselves over a hundred years earlier (Northamptonshire Penny Readings Sub-Committee 14/3/1861). The few family books which the family own are placed well out of the children's reach.

Studies on the Hong Kong community in Britain today suggest that English literacy is viewed as primarily functional in nature, whilst the Mandarin script is given more status and held in greater respect (Watson 1977, Hsu 1979, LMP 1985). Discussion with Tony's family indicates that they share this view. However, they are also very aware of the importance of English literacy for business, which for them means the running of the 'Take-Away' which they hope Tony might later extend. As English literacy for the Vai (Scribner & Cole 1981) and Maktab literacy in Iran (Street 1984), English literacy for Tony's family is seen as a means to opening doors upon which their financial security might depend.

Mrs. G. saw Tony's entry into school as very positive. He ran into class smiling and completed tasks required using great concentration. Of all the children in the group, Tony's lack of progress after his first year surprised Mrs. G. most. She felt that she had 'lost' him after his short initial enthusiasm for school. Tony's English Second Language teacher felt that she had 'overestimated his ability in English' and put him down into her 'beginners' group. Her comment, 'It's unusual. The other Vietnamese children are all doing well' may indicate an important misidentification of Tony's background. Basic differences exist between the aims and aspirations of the two groups (LMP 1985). In contrast with the Vietnamese who see Anglicisation as a priority, immigrant families from Hong Kong believe strongly in preserving their own cultural traditions. Tony's family is a good example of this.

Mrs. G. claims that Tony does not appear to enjoy speaking English, reading books or school in general. His continual question 'What's that?' is initially viewed as expressing interest in school. Later, however, she sees it as part of his 'collection fetish' to 'possess words for their own sake'. Tony does not seem able to choose an activity and wanders aimlessly around the classroom. He does not mix with other children and is unable to play. The latter is seen as very important by Mrs. G. as it

both stops him learning English and accepting the British culture. Tony soon appears to have no interest in reading and often makes excuses to go to the toilet as an escape. He appears to want only to copy writing and cannot experiment with making up words. Nor does he want to take work home to his parents. Tony's behaviour grows increasingly poor. He refuses to obey his teachers' requests and, in Mrs. G.'s words, meets her instructions with a 'dead-pan' look. Mrs. G. puts Tony's problems largely down to his family's lack of encouragement. Mrs. G. finds it a shame that Tony's family cannot understand the school's 'child-centred' methods.

My own visits to Tony's family were marked by an increasing hostility and confusion concerning his literacy progress. After three months at school, his grandfather claimed that Tony was learning nothing. He said his grandson needed to learn his 'A,B,C' , to have a 'foundation'. He abruptly rejected the book his child had brought home, saying 'He cannot have this book yet. You must keep it and give it to him later. First he must learn the words, then he can have the book.' His grandfather proudly produced his exercise book from his Chinese school and pointed to rows of immaculate ideographs. These he compared with a screwed up picture Tony had brought home from his English school. His

grandfather proclaimed this to be rubbish and added sadly that his grandchild could not yet write his name. He pointed to the corner of the picture where Tony had written 'ToNy'.

Tony Reading

Hargreaves, R (1976) Mr. Fussy

- 1 Ton What's his name?
- 2 T Mr. Fussy
- 3 Ton Mr. Fussy (repeats 4 times with different intonation)
- 4 Mr. Fussy is in the house (turns page)
- 5 Mr. Fussy...What's that?
- 6 T It's a glass...Oh no, it's a jar of marmalade.
- 7 Ton Jar marmalade?
- 8 T Yes..to put on your bread..you know, in the morning
- 9 Ton Here's (mumbles)
- 10 What's his name?
- 11 T It's Mr. Fussy's hand, I think.
- 12 Ton That's Mr. Fussy's hand. What's he touch.. his hand?
- 13 T It's an iron
- 14 Ton (turns back a page) What's he touch?
- 15 T He's touching the grass outside.
- 16 Ton He's...What's his name?
- 17 T Mr. Fussy
- 18 Ton Mr. Fussy (turns page)
- 19 What's his name?
- 20 T That's Mr. Messy

- 21 Ton Mr. Messy
22 He's making... (?) (turns page)
23 What's his name?
- 24 T (pointing) That's Mr. Fussy and that's Mr. Messy.
- 25 Ton Mr. Fussy..Mr. Messy..He's going like that
(stands up)
- 26 T Yes. He's all neat and tidy (points) and he's all
messy
- 27 Ton He's in the house (turns page)
28 He's that (pointing)
- 29 T He's broken a plate
- 30 Ton What's that?
- 31 T It's toothpaste
- 32 Ton What's he do that?
- 33 T It's all come out. The toothpaste has all come
out
- 34 Ton What's that?
- 35 T It's an egg
- 36 Ton He broke the door. (Mumbles, turning the pages to
the end)

Like Gillian, Tony does not obviously include predicting or liking the story within his 'reading'. Tony rather expects to describe in detail the illustrations by 'labelling' the figures or the objects depicted;

Ton. What's his name?

T Mr. Fussy (1-2)

Ton. What's he touch.. his hand?

T It's an iron (12-13)

Ton What's that? (points to toothpaste)

T It's toothpaste (30-31)

Ton What's that?

T It's an egg (34-35)

In contrast with Jessica, for whom the story and prediction of it is important, Tony, like Gillian, focuses on the words themselves; for Tony it is important to get the word right through constant repetition and questioning. Mrs. G. refers to this as 'possessing' the words.

5.4. Tajul

Tajul begins school at 4 years and 4 months. He is the youngest child in his family and has three older sisters. Despite this, he speaks and appears to understand almost no English upon arrival at school. His entrance is dramatic. He struggles to avoid entering the classroom, but his embarrassed father pushes him in and departs quickly. During his first ten days he lies on the floor screaming if unattended. The Bengali welfare assistant spends most of her time trying to comfort him and

eventually carries him around with her to different classes. Inconsolable, T. kicks S., the welfare assistant, as a result of which she needs to be hospitalised. After ten days, Tajul disappears and returns only after three weeks and a visit from the Attendance Officer.

Tajul re-enters school showing no signs of his past trauma. Almost immediately he settles down. He is 'adopted' by bigger Bengali girls in the class who spend considerable time teaching him Lotto games in Sylheti and English. He often plays with the girls, deliberately putting pieces in the wrong place and laughing as they correct him. Tajul also enjoys puzzles and deliberately tries out wrong pieces if joined by an older child or the teacher. Tajul does not write or look at books alone by choice. However, he brings books for shared story-reading with the teacher whenever given the opportunity.

Tajul's father worked until 11 p.m. or later and could not meet me. The Bangladeshi community in Northampton retains traditions to a greater extent than in London and meeting a British woman with an undefined role would, in any case, have been difficult for him (5). Upon the advice of the Bengali welfare assistant, I spoke only to Tajul's 12 year old sister. She reports having little time and says that Tajul is the 'baby' but

pulls out the book he has taken home and shows how she would read with him. She solemnly reads each word in the book making Tajul repeat them after her, whilst her mother watches smiling from the doorway.

Sufia, the welfare assistant, knows that Tajul's parents came from a small village in the Sylhet region and have not received any formal schooling. She maintains that they are unlikely to be literate in either Bengali or English. Although it was not possible to ascertain how much or in which languages Tajul's parents could read, there can be little doubt that his father would have come into contact with four different literacy practices in three languages which were not his native dialect of Sylheti before setting out for Britain.

Even living in a rural village, Tajul's father would have often travelled to Sylhet Town. To the stranger, illiterate in Bangali, the town presents a plethora of shop signs and notices; newspaper stalls and boys selling papers appear everywhere; buses are marked by their destinations and complex time-tables are posted at the railway station. Stationary vendors line the street to the Post Office and a flow of customers studies the rows of ball-point and felt-tip pens which are laid out carefully and sold at a high price. Inside the Post Office, men queue at the glue pot, intricately sticking

down envelopes and parcels. Outside, in the market, fruit and vegetables are packed into students' old exam papers, complete with marks, which have been glued to make useful bags. Although this garish evidence of practical literacy is absent in the rural baris or collections of huts which form the villages, its mastery is vital to escape from their confines. Migration to Britain demands not just daring and perseverance with the Authorities, but the writing of complicated forms and letters. The illiterate who needs to pay for this service is prey to every swindler. Northampton, itself, is also a special case, for almost all the 350 families come from just a few villages. Jobs were arranged for relatives and friends involving a complex network of letters and invitations.

There are three other literacy practices which Tajul's parents would have been aware of and which may well have entered their lives. The first is English literacy. The strong links with Britain leave a greater imprint on Sylhet than elsewhere in Bangladesh. Although English notices are much rarer than those in standard Bengali, a duplicate of the daily newspaper appears in English and even the smallest vendors distinguish between the languages. A number of enterprises have their headquarters in East London and their addresses are displayed on the fronts of buildings in Roman script. There is also a large number of hotels owned by

'Londoni' (Bengali English) which also have English names in Roman script. Tajul's father would also have witnessed the visits of other 'Londoni' back to his village, bearing print-laden utilities as presents.

A second literacy practice which would have entered both parents' lives to some extent is that connected with their Muslim religion. Although it is well possible that neither were able to recite the Qur'an, written in classical Arabic, they would have been very aware of the power of the mullah (priest) who could. Many villages also house wealthier students who are studying at the madrasa or University and witness their studying or practising the verses of the Qur'an.

Finally, both parents would probably have made use of the pir (holy man) who has access to the magic of words. The third literacy practice is similar to that in Morocco (Wagner, Messick & Spratt 1986). It is the literacy linked with the magic used in one type of medicine. Any family who can afford it will consult a pir to cure sickness or spiritual malaise by the writing of a charm to be carried as an amulet.

The above evidence begins to show ways in which very different literacy practices in different languages are likely to have figured in the lives of Tony's parents

even before entry to Britain and regardless of how many words they could actually 'read'. To any future migrant to Britain, practical Bengali or English literacy may mean access to financial success by leaving the village; Qur'anic literacy gives access to the holy scripts and ultimately the power held by the mullah; 'magical' words may give access to health or sanity.

Mrs. G. assumes that Tajul's problems with school learning will be increased because his parents are unschooled and, most probably, illiterate. Tajul's first days in school strengthen her opinion. However, at the end of his first year in school, she feels that he has made remarkable progress. He is already able to read most of the 'Storychest' books she uses for class reading sessions and is willing to 'have a go' at new texts. He is enthusiastic and is constantly wanting to share books with her. Mrs. G. sees Tajul's need for attention as a challenge, but it is one she enjoys.

Tajul Reading

'The Tiger who came to tea'

(This precedes the repeat reading of the story which took place immediately afterwards and is analysed in Chapter One)

- 1 T Do you like this one?
- 2 Taj Yes

3 T It's called 'The Tiger who came to tea'
4 (reads and points) The tiger who came to tea.

5 Taj There's tiger (points)

6 T Mmm.

7 Taj And there's tiger (turning page)

8 T (reads on, pointing) The tiger who came to tea.

9 Taj Look! (pointing to Sophie in the picture)

10 T Who's that, I wonder?

11 Taj She's gonna fall

12 T Do you think so?

13 Taj Yes

14 T Let's see (referring to book) Let's put it like
this
15 so we can see
16 T 'Once there was a little girl called Sophie.. So
they
17 opened the door and there was a big, furry tiger

18 Taj That lion

19 T Tiger

20 Taj Tiger

21 T 'Tiger wanted some tea..'

22 Taj There's tiger (pointing) eating

23 T Mmm. 'Then his mummy said, 'Would you like a
sandwich?'
24 .. And he still looked hungry, so Sophie passed
him the bun

25 Taj There's tiger

26 T What's he doing?

27 Taj Eating

28 T Yes. He's drinking tea

29 Taj Yes

30 T 'So the tiger drank all the tea. And he ate everything on the table

31 Taj And he... (pointing)

32 T He knocked over the jug, mmm.

33 Taj Yes.

34 Taj ... Start again now, please

Although Tajul's English is still very limited, his 'reading' already shares two important features with that of Jessica. First, he is aware of the importance of liking the story. He cannot pass Jessica's confident opinion 'It's a good one', but instead asks whether the teacher likes the story (1) and, at the end, expresses liking by asking for the story to be read again (34). In this way, he shares the teacher's view of what is important in early reading. Second, he shows how it is possible to try to predict the story even if it is totally unfamiliar and in a new language:

Taj. Look! (9)

(leads teacher to question)

T Who's that, I wonder? (10)

(Taj. guesses)

Taj. She's gonna fall (11) (teacher directs him to the story and invites him to find out)

As in caregiver/infant interactions (Garvey 1979, Scollon 1979, Bruner 1983) the use of the deictic 'Look' enables

the adult to follow through with a question directly focused on what interests her. The only difference here is that the deictic comes from the child.

Trying to predict the story by guessing often leads to the teacher predicting for him:

Taj. There's tiger (25)

(leads teacher to question)

T What's he doing? (26)

(Taj. guesses)

Taj. Eating (27)

T Yes. He's drinking tea.. (reads) (28)

Taj And he.. (points) (31)

(here Taj. risks a start he knows he cannot finish and invites information and extension)

T And he knocked over the jug, mmm. (32)

Taj Yes (33)

These examples show how Tajul includes predicting the story within his interpretation of reading even before he is able to do it alone. His approach can also be referred to as 'story-centred' even though he is not yet familiar with the stories themselves.

Summary

From the evidence collected, only Jessica's parents shares very similar expectations of learning to read with Mrs. G. Like the 'mainstream' children discussed in Chapter 3, Jessica has already been socialised into realising the importance of stories and books, liking stories and knowing how to predict them. Tony's parents certainly have very different expectations of the task. Similar to parents from other 'non-mainstream' backgrounds (Scollon & Scollon 1981, Heath 1982, 1983, Heath & Branscombe 1984, Gregory 1988) learning to read in school is seen as difficult rather than enjoyable, requiring considerable hard work and discipline. Although the expectations of Gillian's caregivers and Tajul's parents cannot be definitely ascertained, it is clear that neither child entered school socialised into 'mainstream' literacy practices.

In spite of very different home backgrounds, Jessica and Tajul seem already to work more closely within the teacher's implicit expectations in that they show enjoyment in books and stories and are interested in the actual content of the story and what happens next in it. Their approach can, therefore, be compared with the 'story-centred' one which was successful in the group reading lesson of the last chapter. Tajul, however, has

only the embryonic features of such an approach, for his English is limited at first to very few words. Gillian and Tony, on the other hand, cannot yet be referred to as 'life-centred' for upon school entry they certainly see 'reading' as demanding a special 'performance' which demands staying within the book and task in hand. Their approach at this stage can more aptly be described as 'word-centred'. Gillian enjoys the invention of words and exaggerated intonation. Tony wants to 'possess' the words and get them right.

Bussis et al. (1985) argue that a learning style will pervade all areas of the curriculum and that failure by the teacher to recognise and accommodate this style will lead to ineffective tuition. They divide children into 'divergent' thinkers who are 'risk takers' and 'convergent' thinkers who are careful and methodical. They see learning to read as just one illustration of a child's learning style. However, the ability of these children successfully to negotiate reading with the teacher does not appear entirely to tally with common learning styles. Of the four children, Tajul and Gillian take risks, experiment and have a broad and imaginative approach. Jessica and Tony are careful and methodical, loathe to take risks and guess. Dividing Jessica and Tony is the knowledge of what is required of them by the teacher. Jessica does not need to take risks,

for she already knows how she should focus on the story and what will happen in it. Likewise, Tajul and Gillian's imaginative, risk-taking approach is of a different nature. Tajul stays within the teacher's implicit expectations of what reading is all about; Gillian does not.

This brief analysis of the children 'reading' during their first few weeks in school already begins to show an important pattern distinguishing the way children negotiating reading successfully approach the task. This pattern is not necessarily one learned from home. It is clear that all four children are giving a 'performance', but with a different focus of attention. Questions for the ethnomethodological layer of analysis to address are: How far will the teacher be able to support and collaborate with the different strategies used by the children? How far will teacher and child create a joint view of the task? How far and in what ways might children's early strategies lay the foundations for future negotiation or exclusion?

CHAPTER SIX

Interactions between the Teacher and Four Children during Two Individual Reading Lessons

Introduction

This inner layer of analysis uses an ethnomethodological approach to examine and compare the nature of negotiation and exclusion during two reading lessons with each of the four children during their first sixteen months in school (see Appendix 2 for full transcripts of the reading lessons). One lesson took place after nine months and the other after sixteen months in school. The lessons have been chosen from the larger corpus of individual lesson recordings as typical examples for each child. They were conducted during the same week and under similar conditions. The lessons took place either in the 'book corner' or in the Quiet Room adjacent to the class. The teacher was not interrupted by other children during the lessons as a second teacher was working in the class. In accordance with the teacher's aims of fostering enjoyment, the children chose for themselves the books they wanted to read. Books which had already been read with the class or larger group were favourites and the children sometimes chose the same books. In Lesson 1,

for example, Jessica and Gillian share the same book with the teacher.

Underpinning the analyses is the argument that book sharing is a unique language event which comprises patterned and rule-governed turn-taking. The rules of turn-taking chosen for analysis are those widely agreed to belong to the 'contract of literacy' (Snow & Ninio 1986) drawn up between 'mainstream' caregiver and child during successful book-sharing interactions (Ninio & Bruner 1978, Williams et al. 1982, Bruner 1983, Dombey 1983, Snow & Ninio 1986, Gibson 1989). They constitute the following:

1) The adult invites the child to participate in the reading using opening and closing formulae focusing attention on the book and framing 'reading' as a special event. The opening formula is often a deictic 'Look!' or 'Let's read' and the closing formula an expression of liking for the story or book

2) The adult shows the child that the book leads the activity, whereby conversation is centred upon anticipating the events of the story or discussing the meaning of the illustrations in the story etc. rather than actions or objects in real life unrelated to the story

3) The adult shows the child that books are to be 'read' rather than just touched or looked at e.g. the child begins to be able to 'switch into' the language of the book which might involve reciting words or phrases from it, the use of story collocations, ellipsis or deictic or anaphoric reference linking the picture and the text (1)

Chapter Four has already illustrated how Mrs. G. expects her children to be able to understand the above rules but without explicitly teaching them. It also demonstrates how the teacher does not invite children into the story and the text if they do not already work within these rules. The last chapter shows how the four children chosen for further study enter school with a very different knowledge of the rules from home. The children also use different strategies as they initially approach the reading task: Jessica's approach I refer to as 'story-centred' which means that she already works within the rules outlined above. Tajul tries to do the same but is very limited by his lack of English. Tony and Gillian's strategies do not yet include an awareness of these rules. The questions now are: How does the teacher invite individual children to participate in the lesson? How far and in what ways are the teacher and different children able to negotiate a joint interpretation of the reading task?

6.1. How attention is drawn to the reading activity:
Focusing attention on the book through Opening and
Closing Formulae

The initiation into a school task plays an important role in how children are able to position themselves within it and understand what follows. Research studies reviewed in Chapter 3 suggested that most successful learning takes place when children receive a finely-tuned introduction followed by feed-back which involves keeping them 'in the field' or within the task at hand (Wood, Bruner & Ross 1976, Donaldson 1978, Walkerdine 1981, Doyle 1983, Bussis et al. 1985, Hundeide 1985). Walkerdine illustrates how secure children become with the knowledge of an 'opening metaphor' e.g. 'T.V. watching' or 'adding up' which can trigger off appropriate behaviour and discourse patterns throughout an activity.

Michael's (1986) investigation into teacher/child interaction during 'sharing-time' or 'newstime' in school in the U.S.A. showed how differential access to appropriate opening and closing formulae meant that children in a 1st grade class received different tuition throughout the lesson. The appropriate opening formula for 'sharing-time' was typified by a special intonation by the children e.g. a gradual rising contour

accompanied by a syntactically complete clause signifying 'more to come'. Children who used this opening formula were seen by the teacher as more able in presenting their news and the children went on to negotiate successful interactions in terms of length and quality of teacher feed-back. Children who were unable to use appropriate opening formulae were excluded from the activity in that they were cut short or misunderstood by the teacher.

In this section, I analyse opening and closing formulae in situations of negotiation and exclusion and examine the implications of these for the learner's expectations of the value of the task. Opening and closing formulae which show successful negotiation during the children's reading lessons correspond closely to those taking place between mainstream caregiver and child. Typical examples are:

T. invites child to read	T. You choose one and read it with me when you want That one? It's called 'If you were a bird...'
Ch. responds positively	Ch. 'If you were a bird' Is this one easy to read?'
T. gives feed-back	T. Mmm.

or

Ch. asks to read	Ch. I get another 2 book
T. responds positively	T. O.K.
Ch. asks teacher's opinion on story	Ch. Do you like this one?
T. responds positively and gives info. on story	T. This is a good story. It's called 'Joseph's other red sock

Typical examples of closing formulae during successful negotiation also express a liking of the story or book:

T. asks child's opinion on story	T. Did you like that story?
Ch. responds positively	Ch. That 2 story I like
or	
Ch. makes positive comment on	Ch. That's a nice story, isn't it?
T. agrees and gives info. on it	T. Yes, I think it's a new one. Let's see when it was published?

or

Ch. wants a repetition of the story	Ch. Start again! Read it another 4 times
-------------------------------------	--

Examples of opening formulae in situations of exclusion are very different from those between 'mainstream' caregiver and child during home story-readings. Typical examples are:

Ch. starts 'reading' but with no reference to the story or the teacher	Ch. '1,2,3,4,5,6,7, 8,9,10'
T. replies with inexplicit or ambiguous remarks	T. Mmm. You've read that page (turns back to the cover and reads 'Over in the meadow'

or

Ch. says unable to 'read'

Ch. I can't even
read yet
You read it and
I'll listen to
yer

T. replies with a promise
of help

T. We'll read it
together

or, during Year 2 in school,

T. expresses liking of story

T. I like this
story

Ch. replies by rejecting story

Ch. I don't like
that

Closing formulae show no positive comments on the story.

Either they show an attempt to leave the story abruptly:

Ch. points to another book

Ch. Can we have
that one?

T. replies by refusal

T. We'll have that
one in a
minute, shall
we?

or, by Year 2,

T. asks child to choose
another story

T. What about
another story?
Do you like
any of these?

Ch. replies by rejection

Ch. I don't like
it.
I don't like
these books

The opening formula in Jessica's first lesson corresponds closely to that of shared reading events at home e.g.

T. You choose one and read it with me when you want That one? It's called 'If you were a bird...'	T. invites child to read
Ch. (reads) If you were a bird Is this one easy to read?	Ch. responds positively
T. Mmm.	T. gives feed-back

The closing formula also expresses liking for the story,
but is initiated by Jessica herself:

Ch. I thought it would be that. That's a good story,
isn't it?

By Year 2, Jessica often initiates the lesson herself
by focusing directly on the reading e.g.

Ch. Do you have to read that or not? (points to dedication)	
T. Oh, that says, 'David and Jessica live with their parents and Silkie the dog at number 14, Park Road'	

The closing formula of liking the story follows the same
pattern as Year 1:

Ch. That's a nice story, isn't it?	Ch. responds positively to the story
T. Yes, I think it's a new one. Let's see when it was published.	T. shares liking and gives further info. on book

Tajul's very early reading lessons also use the opening formula of home shared story-readings e.g.

T. Do you like this one?	T. invites child to read
	Ch. responds positively
T. It's called 'The Tiger who came to tea'	T. gives child info. on book

This soon changes and Tajul, himself, initiates the reading by making a positive remark on the story or book e.g.

Ch. I get another 2 book	Ch. asks to read
T. O.K.	T. responds positively
Ch. Do you like this one?	Ch. asks teacher's opinion on story
T. This is a good story. It's called 'Joseph's other red sock	T. responds positively and gives information on book

This formula is repeatedly used by Tajul during first year lessons.

His closing formula follows that of home story-reading sessions and Jessica's lessons in expressing a liking for the story and/or a wish to read it again. In Lesson 1, the formula is teacher initiated:

T. Did you like that story?
Ch. That 2 story I like

but Tajul often initiates this himself e.g.

Ch. Start again!
Read it another 4 times!
That's a good story!

In Lesson 2, the opening formula corresponds closely to that of home reading sessions e.g.

T. You read that one to me	T. invites child to read
Ch. 'Smartyants'	Ch. responds positively
T. Mmm.	T. gives reinforcement
Ch. 'Smartyants'	Ch. continues reading
T. Yes	T. gives further reinforcement

The closing formula also follows the same pattern as home events and Year 1:

T. Did you like that story?	T. invites child to comment on story
Ch. responds positively	Ch. That's a good book

The opening and closing formulae in Jessica and Tajul's lessons share in common the following:

1) Either the teacher makes the initiating move inviting the child to participate or comment on the story or the child asks the teacher's opinion on reading, the story or

the book

2) The child responds positively to the teacher's invitation

3) The child expresses a liking for the story and for stories generally or wants to read more stories or repeat the story just read

The invitation made to Gillian and Tony reveals a different pattern. From an early stage, G. initiates the following opening formula:

Ch. I can't even read yet.	Ch. says she cannot read and asks T. to do it for her
Ch. You read it and I'll listen to yer	
T We'll read it together	T. says she will help her

This formula is used repeatedly during Year One and continues into Year 2:

T. It's called 'My Day' book	T. gives child info. on book
Ch. 'My Day'	Ch. repeats title
Ch. I can't even read this.	Ch. says she cannot read and asks T. to do it for her
You read it and I'll listen to yer	
T. You can help me with it	T. says G. can help her

Neither teacher nor child introduces a closing formula expressing liking for the story. The lessons finish either by Gillian turning to another book she would prefer to read or without comment.

Tony also initiates reading during most early reading lessons. His formula in Lesson 1 is typical. It is to start 'reading' whatever he can. As far as possible, he tries to find books where he might be able to recognise or 'label' words or numbers:

Ch. '1,2,3,4,5,6, 7,8,9,10 (pointing)	Ch. starts 'reading'
T. Mmm. You've read that page (turns back to cover) 'Over	T. tells child he has read page, but turns back to read another page
in the meadow	Ch. repeats teacher's teacher's last word
Ch. meadow	

By year 2, the teacher tries to invite Tony into the story by using a formula expressing a liking for reading stories and this particular book. But Tony responds negatively, rejecting the story or the book:

T. I like this story (points to book). And I like that one, too (points)	T. invites the child to participate
Ch. I don't like that	Ch. replies with a negative opinion of the book and and stories and/or reading generally

As in Gillian's lessons, there is no use of a closing formula expressing a liking of the story. Lessons finish either with no comment at all or positive dislike by Tony as in Lesson 2:

T. What about another story. Do you like any of these?	T. invites the child to choose a book Ch. I don't like it. I don't like these books
Ch. replies by rejecting her offer	
T. You don't like any of them?	
Ch. No.	
T. Which one do you like, then? You pick another one.	
Ch. No. I want to do my Maths work	

The opening and closing formulae in Gillian and Tony's reading lessons share in common the following:

- 1) The child expresses inability to participate in the lesson
- 2) The child expresses a dislike of the story and/or reading
- 3) The child steps outside the story-frame by wanting to stop reading, change to another book etc.

Opening and closing formulae already distinguish the lessons of children referred to as 'story-centred' and those called 'word-centred' in the last chapter. Jessica

and Tajul's interest and liking for the story mean that they are able to participate in opening and closing formulae which correspond closely in content to those used in home story-readings. The feature unique to school 'shared reading' is that the adult does not deliberately focus the child on the story by initiating the appropriate formula. For the children referred to as 'word-centred' in the last chapter, therefore, there is no explicit teaching of what the appropriate formulae might be. By Year 2, the teacher tries more explicitly to invite Tony and Gillian to participate, but, by this time, they are each set in their own formulae learned in Year One.

The result of the teacher's approach is that Jessica and Tajul are sometimes invited and sometimes invite themselves to participate in a valuable experience where they will 'read' a 'good story'. After early invitations from the teacher, Tajul takes over the role of initiator of the formula himself. At the end of the lesson, either their opinion is requested or they, themselves, offer an opinion on the story. This 'frames' the activity in a way very similar to story-reading events in 'school-oriented' homes.

Gillian and Tony initiate their own formulae from the start and they do not correspond to those of home story-readings. Gillian's is a plea of not knowing what to do.

She is told that the teacher will help her, but there is no explicit indication to the child of what that help is. Gillian is not told when either she or the teacher is actually reading the story. As her formula does not change during Year 2, we realise that she does not see herself as having been helped. Tony plunges into 'reading' by counting figures or asking 'What's that?' during Year 1. His teacher tells him he is 'reading' but then moves to show that he has not really done what is required i.e. she turns back to the cover and starts again. To Tony this may well prove that he was not really 'reading' in spite of what his teacher says.

The use of certain formulae may provide a continuing thematic thread whereby both teacher and children build up a specific inferential chain of understandings across time (Gumperz 1982, Hundeide 1985). If this is the case with the four children in this study, we might suppose that being able to switch into the appropriate formulae of liking the story and focusing on it demonstrates to the teacher that they are 'knowledgeable' (Cook-Gumperz 1986) and gives the children access to more feed-back on the rules of participation in the lesson which mean staying within the story and the text. The analyses which follow investigate the type of feed-back and tuition which is given to individual children throughout the lessons.

6.2. Access to 'Life' and 'Text-Centred' Exchanges in Lesson One

The group reading lesson analysed in Chapter 4 of this study provides evidence to show how some children are excluded from the text by:

i) receiving instruction and feed-back relating only to 'life' and common-sense comments they make

ii) not receiving explicit tuition on the boundaries between life and text i.e. when and where it might be possible to use common-sense knowledge to predict a text and when it is not.

This section of Layer 2 analyses these two kinds of exchanges as examples of inclusion and exclusion. The example of the children's opening formulae which remain constant in type over time shows us how important Year 1 is in establishing a child's approach to 'reading' and the text. In this section I focus only on the lessons in Year 1 and return to Year 2 in the next section.

Analyses of home book-sharing events between caregiver and young child show how the initial attention and focus on the book continues throughout the reading (Bruner &

Ninio 1978, Holdaway 1979, Williams et al 1982, Bruner 1983, Baghban 1984, Snow & Bruner 1986). Williams et al. (1982) show how most parent comments and questions outside the actual reading of the text aim to clarify, instruct and expand on it. This type of 'on task' activity (Doyle 1983) may be compared with the tuition given to high ability reading groups in school where questions are directed towards an understanding of the text. Low ability groups, in contrast, receive 'off task' work on individual letter decoding (McDermott 1978, Leacock 1969, Piestrup 1973, Allington 1980, Collins 1986).

The terms 'life' and 'text-centred' need closer definition. 'Text-centred' references are different from endophoric references in that they focus on the content rather than the form of the comment (2). 'Text-centred' references need not be linguistically tied through lexical or grammatical cohesion to the text. Instead, the content of the comment must focus upon the story, illustration or text e.g. J's move when describing an illustration: 'Look! There he is looking a bit like a bird and there he is looking a bit more like a bird...' (Lesson 1, 9) is text-centred because it refers directly to the illustration although it is not explicitly lexically or grammatically tied to it (3).

Example of a Text-Centred Exchange (4)

Ch. I wonder what he's gonna be in the end? Hissself?

T. Let's see. (Lesson 1, J, 98-99)

Life-centred comments refer to any matter outside the story, the actual text or the illustrations. They may be of personal or general reference.

Example of Life-Centred Exchanges

Ch. I wouldn't like to be a bird, would you?

T. No, not really. (Lesson 1, G, 4-5)

T. Yes, they (birds) might peck off your nose...

Ch. But they don't peck people when they're in the garden, do they? (Lesson 1, G, 7-8)

Table One below shows the considerable contrast in terms of amount of text-centred exchanges between teacher and different children. Children who participate in 'text-centred' exchanges throughout the lesson are also those who used the appropriate formulae of focusing on the text and liking the story from the outset. Lessons with these children contain very few 'life-centred' exchanges. Children who were unable to use appropriate opening and closing formulae are largely excluded from 'text-

centred' exchanges throughout the lesson. These children, who were called 'word-centred' in their approach to reading as they entered school, have now changed to become the 'life-centred' children of Chapter 4. Although Tony and Gillian's proportion of 'text-centred' exchanges increases towards the end of 16 months, most of the 'text-centred' moves they make now adhere to the pattern of commenting on i) the text being too hard or long ii) not being able or not wanting to read it iii) wanting to switch to another story.

TABLE ONE

Proportion of Text-Centred Exchanges as a % of all Non-Text Reading Exchanges: Lesson 1

monolinguals		bilinguals	
J	G	Taj	Ton
87	27	100	28

The question which needs still to be examined is: Is there something specific to the structure and function of 'text-centred' and 'life-centred' exchanges which gives children a different invitation to participate in the reading lesson?

6.2.1. The Structure and Function of Interrogative Units in 'Text' and 'Life-centred' interactions

The 'Question, Response, Comment' pattern of discourse interaction has been shown to play an essential role in a child's early language learning (5). Participation in this pattern enables a child to gain feed-back and instruction as to whether a response is appropriate and thereby to learn to construct a joint proposition with the adult (Ochs, Schieffelin & Platt 1979, Kernan 1979). Analyses of home story-readings show that most adult initiated interrogative units follow the basic 'Question, Response, Comment' pattern e.g.

Adult	Do you know what that is? (points)
Child	Piggy
Adult	Uh-Huh (Williams 1982, 347)

The adult confirmation has been referred to as 'close-coupled feed-back' (Ninio & Bruner 1978) which is important, for any inappropriate answer is immediately corrected by the adult who supplies the appropriate answer from the illustration or the text e.g.

Adult	What's that?
Child	It's a - .
Adult	It's not a - , it's a - .

This pattern contrasts with child initiated questions which lack the final adult comment (Williams 1982).

The importance of the final adult comment has also been reiterated by studies on classroom discourse where it gives confirmation to a child's answer (Mishler 1975, 1981, Mehan 1979) or reinforces shared 'cultural knowledge' (Heap 1985) by confirming and clarifying a child's answer on the text e.g.

- T. Why do you think he's gonna come back?
() Yes?
Si. () Jimmy fed it every day
T. Right. () was kind to it () so he'll probably come back and visit Jimmy ()..
(Heap 1985, 253)

In this section, I investigate patterns found in 'text' and 'life-centred' interrogative interactions and the way in which they provide access to different kinds of feedback and instruction. I then contrast patterns in situations of negotiation and exclusion. I use Mishler's analysis of classroom questions (1978) and Williams' (1982) additions as a basic framework for the analyses, although the important feature of child initiated questions during school reading lessons necessitates adding further interaction types. The analysis shares Mishler's (1978) aim to show not so much how language works as a system, but how that system is used to

communicate meanings to others and what these meanings are.

'Text-Centred' Interrogative Interactions

Text-centred interrogative interactions tend to follow a basic TQ/ChR/TC structure or a variant of it or a chained or extended pattern. An important feature of 'text-centred' interrogative interactions is the teacher's response or comment, usually as the final move (6), which directs the child to the story, text or illustrations for answers to the teacher's or the child's own questions. An example of the basic type of 'text-centred' interrogative unit in Jessica's lesson below shows how directly the teacher invites the child to turn to the book for information:

<u>Basic type</u>		
(to predict, be specific etc.)	T Q	I wonder what might happen to the dog
	Ch R	I don't know
(directs to text)	T C	<u>Turn over and find out</u>
(J,36-8)		

The same immediate invitation takes place when the child initiates the interaction by questioning the teacher. Tajul uses two variations on the basic type and, on each

occasion, is directed to the text in the same way as Jessica:

Basic Type 'a'

	Ch Q	There's sock? (points to illus)
	T R	Mmm.
(directs to text)	T C	<u>Let's see what it says</u> (Taj, 6-7)

Basic Type 'b''

	Ch Q	What's that? (pointing to hidden figure)
	T R	I don't know
(directs to text)	T C	<u>Turn over and we'll find out</u>
(affirms T C)	Ch.C	Yes (Taj, 27-9)

Tony also receives information on the story and the book when he initiates 'text-centred' questions. On this occasion, the teacher does not strictly answer his question, which would be either to tell him whether she can read the text or simply to read it:

<u>Basic Type 'c'</u>	Ch Q	Can you read that?
(info on text)	T R	<u>That's who it's written for</u>
	Ch.C	That's on the back (points)
(confirm on text)	T C	<u>Oh yes, it's the same.</u> <u>The same picture</u>
(Ton,5-8)		

When Tony is more insistent, the teacher answers his question more directly, as in this extended interrogative unit:

<u>Type II Extended Interrogative Unit</u>	Ch Q1	Can you read that?
	T R1	That's very difficult
	Ch C1	You can do it
(info on text)	T R2	<u>Mmm. Yes, I can. It says...</u>
	T C2	There you are then (Ton,37-41)

Tajul and the teacher also initiate an extended unit which is also the closing formula to the lesson and reflects Tajul's opening formula where he asks the teacher if she likes the story and learns that it is a good book.

	Ch Q1	Finished?
(directs to text)	TR+Q2	<u>Mmm. Do you like that story?</u>
	Ch. R	That 2 story I like (Taj, 55-7)

Jessica and Tajul construct more extended 'text-centred' 'chained' interrogative units with the teacher. These show how both partners respond to each other's questions. In Tajul's case, in spite of only two words 'Yes' and 'terrible' where he attempts to answer the teacher's questions, Mrs. G. treats him as a conversation partner and responds with twenty-two words of expansion. The example of a child initiated 'chained' interaction, shows how Jessica repeats to herself answers given by the teacher before going on to ask further questions:

<u>Chaining</u>		
	T Q1	What is it?
	Ch R1	Terrible
(expansion of child move)	T C+Q2	<u>A terrible monster, I think, don't you?</u>
(affirms T comment)	Ch R2	Yes
(further expansion of child response)	T C2	That's its tail. And he's pulling and pulling. And there it is! A terrible monster! (Taj. 31-5)

Chaining 'a'

(on text, illus)
(uses text)
(joins in+
new Q)

Ch Q1
T R1
Ch R1/Q2

What does that say?
It says, 'Keep off ...'
'...the grass' Why
does it say 'Keep off
the grass?'

(rel. to
general know.)
(returns to
text)

T R2
Ch C2

Well, people aren't
supposed to walk on
it because if...
So he's obviously
stopping it from
growing

(confirms)

T C2

Mmm.

(on story)
(directs to text)

Ch Q3
TR/Q/C3

But he's gonna walk
off... isn't he?
Yes. Shall we read on?
It says...

(J, 57-66)

The examples which follow illustrate the important difference between child and teacher initiated 'text-centred' questions in truncated interactions. The teacher is always in a position to answer the child's questions and she does this by giving a direct response where she either directs the child to the text or imparts information on it. This occurs in interactions between the teacher and Jessica or Tajul:

Truncated Type I

(info on text)

Ch Q
T R

Do you like this
one?

This is a good
story.
It's called '...'
(Taj, 3-4)

or	Ch Q	I wonder what he's gonna be in the end? Hissself?
(directs to text)	T R	<u>Let's see</u> (J,98-9)

On the other hand, the teacher sometimes asks questions which require prior knowledge of the story or the text for a child to be able to give an appropriate answer. When the child cannot do this the response given may be ignored by the teacher. Gillian's lesson shows how this takes place:

<u>Truncated Type Ia</u>	T Q	What might the cat do?
(uses common sense know. to guess)	Ch R	Eat it (G, 12-13)
or	T Q	Oh dear, what might he do?
(ignores question)	Ch R	What's happened to his chin? (G,44-5)

On one occasion, Gillian ignores a similar question posed by the teacher:

<u>Truncated Type 2</u>	T Q	But what might happen to the bird? (G, 52)
-------------------------	-----	--

Interrogative interactions following the pattern of truncated type 1a and 2 are exceptional in that they contain no teacher move directing the child to the text

or providing information on it. Both take place during Gillian's lesson.

The above categories cover all text-centred question units. Generally, these interactions share similar functions to the parents' questions in Williams et al's study, that is, they clarify, expand and instruct the child on the story or about reading in a more general form. The child's questions seek out new information or are part of an attempt to try to predict the story. Significantly, all types of question interaction except the Truncated Types 1 and 2 include a teacher response or comment which focuses the child on the story or informs the child about or text. Systematically, the teacher's comment or response gives information about the text, or asks the child to focus on the text in order to predict what might happen next. We might, therefore, expect children negotiating successfully to have a higher number of these interactions during their lesson than children in situations of exclusion.

Structure and Function of Interrogative Units during Life-Centred Interactions

Life-centred interrogative interactions show a different pattern. Significant is the lack of the teacher comment.

Interactions either follow the two part adjacency pair pattern similar to that often found in conversations (Sacks et al.1974) (Truncated Type 1 or 1a within the system used) or, if part of a string, usually belong within the arching pattern (Mishler 1978). Mishler refers to the arched pattern of interrogative interaction as one signalling equality of partners owing to the lack of evaluative teacher comment. In his study, it was the pattern prevalent during child to child as opposed to child to adult discourse. A similar contrast is found in these lessons; not between teacher/child and child/child discourse, but between text and life-centred interactions between teacher and child. An important feature during the life-centred question units where arching takes place is Mrs. G.'s attempt to 'keep the dialogue going' which is done by staying within the frame opened by the child, repeating questions and/or responses if need be. She makes no attempt to 'switch' the child out of life and into a text-centred interaction. The examples given below are typical of 'life-centred' interactions which take place between Gillian and Tony and the teacher.

Truncated Type 1a

T Q — Mmm. That's the trouble, isn't it?
We can't be eaten up, can we,
 by cats?
 Ch R — No, 'cos they're beautiful (G, 14-15)

The first 'arched' example shows how the teacher

carefully stays within the questions posed by Tony. In the second example, the teacher is following a pattern introduced by Gillian at the beginning of the lesson when she says, 'I wouldn't like to be a bird, would you?' (4).

<u>Archiving</u>		
<p>I</p> <p>(C = repeat TR)</p> <p>(T = repeat Q2)</p> <p>(T = repeat Q2)</p> <p>(C = repeat R5)</p> <p>(T = repeat R5)</p> <p>(Q7 unanswered)</p>	<p>Ch Q1</p> <p>T R1</p> <p>Ch C1+Q2</p> <p>T Q3</p> <p>Ch.R3</p> <p>T Q4</p> <p>Ch R4</p> <p>T R5</p> <p>Ch Q6</p> <p>T R6</p> <p>Ch Q7</p>	<p>Who's draw that?</p> <p>Oh, the big children, I think</p> <p>Big children. Who's draw it to you?</p> <p>Who drew it?</p> <p>Yeah</p> <p>For me?</p> <p>Yeah</p> <p>I don't know what the names of the children... from the top classes... Top classes?</p> <p>Mmm.</p> <p><u>This one?</u></p> <p>(Ton, 21-31)</p>
	<p>T Q1</p> <p>Ch R1+Q2</p> <p>T R</p> <p>Ch C</p>	<p>Would you like to be a dog?</p> <p>No, would you?</p> <p>No</p> <p>I wouldn't like to be a cat as well..and a dog (G, 23-6)</p>

6.2.2. Differential Access to Instruction through Interrogative Interactions

Table Two below shows how Jessica and Tajul participate in many more interactions where the teacher provides

direction to the text, comment on the story or feed-back on their own 'text-centred' questions. Tony does receive some information on the text, but, as shown in the last section, his questions are not always answered. Strikingly, Gillian participates in no 'text-centred' interrogative units which provide a final teacher response or comment. All her interactions are truncated and ask her to predict the story or text without instruction on how to do so e.g.

T What might the cat do?
Ch Eat it (12-13)

T Oh dear, what might he do?
Ch What's happened to his chin? (44-45)

T But what might happen to the bird?
Ch (no response) (52)

Her response in 13 is a guess which makes sense but does not correspond with the actual text. In no case is there instruction by the teacher as to how to find where the information might be found. This contrasts with the other types of text-centred interrogative interaction which continually make reference to the story or text. It suggests, therefore, that not all text-centred questions are instructional.

The type of interrogative interaction taking place in situations of negotiation and exclusion is analysed

briefly in Table Two below.

<u>TABLE TWO</u>				
Interrogative Interactions providing Instruction or Feedback on the Story or Text as % of all Interrogative Interactions	J	G	Taj	T
text-centred Q type (instruc.)				
basic or basic a,b,c	36	0	52	10
truncated 1	36	0	12	20
chained	9	0	12	10
extended interrogative	0	0	12	0
total with instruc.	(81)	0	(88)	40
no instruc. truncated 1a,2	9	38	12	0
life-centred	10	62	0	60
total no instruc.	19	(100)	12	(60)

6.3. The Structure and Function of Child Comments in initiating Interactions

A unique feature of shared reading lessons in school compared with story-reading at home is the way in which the child initiates 'text-centred' comments. This pattern is very important, for as the initiator, the child holds control over the topic and the teacher's response is geared to providing the answer the child requires.

Sometimes, using a deliberate negative is a good way to get information e.g. 'That isn't mum'. Tajul does this on a number of occasions and always receives an appropriate 'text-centred' response:

	Ch C	That isn't mum
(expands)	T C	That isn't mum, that's the monster, isn't it? (Taj, 37-8)

On other occasions, both Jessica and Tajul use the deictic 'Look!' to initiate a comment. In each case, the teacher responds by directing the child to the illustration or text. This is interesting, because it reverses the adult use of the deictic 'Look!' with very young infants in book sharing interactions (Bruner '83) but still results in a comment by the teacher, often expanding the child's words or encouraging the child to be more precise:

Directing the child specifically to the text or illustration

e.g.		
	Ch C	Look! They're scared
(direct to illus)	T C	The cat's terrified, too (J, 49-50)

e.g. (direct to text)	Ch C T C	Look! There he is... Mmm. Turn over and let's see what happens now (J, 9-10)
e.g. (direct to illus)	Ch C T Q Ch R T C	There's dog. Is it a dog or is it a tiger? Tiger It's a tiger (Taj, 12-15)

In each case, it is the child who is directing the discourse by initiating the move.

So far the focus has been on the discussion of the story and/or text taking place between child and teacher. The next section examines the link between the way the child negotiates the reading task in Year One and strategies of actually reading the words of the text during Year Two.

6.4. Turn-Taking during the Reading of the Text

Successful turn-taking between teacher and child during 'sharing-time' at school has been described as comprising 'rhythmically synchronised exchanges' (Michaels 1986) whereby teacher and child share a similar narrative schema and a shared set of signalling conventions. This results in a high level of collaboration displayed through a flow of shared intonation patterns and a continuity of topic. The

teacher predicts what she thinks the child is trying to express and elaborates and clarifies the child's utterances; the child weaves the words introduced by the teacher into future moves.

Home shared reading events with children who have moved past the 'labelling' stage of language learning largely show a similar synchrony. This makes a pattern comparable to that of a dialogue whereby the child at first 'echoes' whole sentences or phrases and later is able to predict words and even complex phrases from memory (Holdaway 1979, Scollon & Scollon 1979, Dombey 1983, Baghban 1984). From an early stage the child attempts to predict 'chunks' of text e.g. Robyn at two and a half reading 'Are you my Mother' (Eastman, P.D.) 'Den e came a big thing. Are you my brudder, mudder, big thing?' (Holdaway 1979). The very few examples from individual shared reading lessons in school reveal a similar pattern taking place with children who are progressing well (Minns 1990). However, as outlined in Chapter 3, there is reason to believe that this patterning is culturally specific. Studies on caregiver/child reading events from 'non-mainstream' cultural groups show a different pattern of interaction whereby turn-taking comprises the repeating of words of text in isolation (Scollon & Scollon 1979, Heath & Branscombe 1984).

The focus in this section shifts to Lesson Two which is considered typical for lessons during the later part of the children's first eighteen months in school. However, some of the individual turn-taking interactions in Lesson One also show incipient patterns which later become dominant features. Lesson One is, therefore, also referred to where relevant. In this section, I examine different types of reading strategies used in situations of negotiation and exclusion during Years One and Two.

Table Three below shows the change in the distribution of reading from Years One to Two. At the time of Lesson One very little of the actual text can be read by any of the children except Jessica. Tajul's only contribution at this stage is 'Question mark!' which has been counted as part of the text. Tony reads only the figures one to ten which has also been counted and Gillian predicts 'bird', 'dog' and 'lion' from the illustrations.

There is a considerable change during Year Two which shows a widening gap between the amount of text read by children in situations of negotiation and exclusion. This gap is partly concealed by the books chosen by the children. Jessica risks choosing quite difficult texts, chosen for a variety of reasons (this one because the heroine shares her name). This hides the amount she is

actually capable of reading by now. The reverse case applies to Gillian who prefers books which 'label' objects. Tajul usually chooses books he is familiar with from class reading. He appears to be confidently practising and trying out the text. Tony's main concern is that the book should be short. In spite of this, he reads very few of the words.

TABLE THREE

Change in Distribution of Reading between Teacher and Children in Lessons 1 and 2

% Text read by Teacher

	J.	G.	Taj.	Ton.
Lesson One				
	68	95	97	95
Lesson Two				
	55	60	61	96

% Text read independently by Child
Lesson One

	32	5	3	5
Lesson Two				
	(45)	28*	(39)	4

* 12% of the text was read incorrectly and has been excluded from this figure

Table Four illustrates different strategies adopted by the children in approaching the text. Jessica and Tajul often choose the strategy of reading simultaneously with the teacher. This is adopted by Jessica during Year One and taken over by Tajul during Year Two. Tony and Gillian, on the other hand, use the strategy of 'echoing' or repeating the teacher's final word by year Two.

Although a variety of different reading strategies are attempted by the children, Table Four shows a distinct contrast in situations of negotiation and exclusion. Children excluded from the text have a much higher frequency of repeating the teacher's final word before a pause to the exclusion of other strategies. Indeed, by Lesson Two, this is more or less Tony's only strategy. Children negotiating successfully have developed a unique pattern which I refer to as 'chaining'. This pattern is typified by the smooth flow of turns in reading where teacher and child alternate with little or no hesitation. A preliminary stage to this might well be the simultaneous reading of the text which appears as an important strategy of Jessica in Year One and is frequently used by Tajul in Year Two. Both these strategies show remarkable similarity with the approach known as 'paired reading' where parents of older children with reading difficulties are

systematically tutored in turn-taking (Morgan & Lyon 1979, Topping & Wolfendale 1985).

This turn-taking is highly reminiscent of the rhythmic synchrony of exchanges taking place between teacher and 'topic-centred' child (Michaels 1986). As in Bruner's (1983) examples of caregivers reading with infants, the turn-taking can be compared with a dialogue. The nature of turn-taking is, however, unique in that the child bears a considerable responsibility for initiating appropriate exchanges during the first school year. By Year Two, early patterns of exchanges seem to have become part of the fabric of common expectations between teacher and child during reading lessons. The analyses show that participation in the dialogue does not require the mastery of complex linguistic forms but rather the use of an appropriate code during turn-taking. The dialogue is thus open only to those who manage to understand and share the teacher's expectations at a very early stage.

TABLE FOUR

Frequency of different text reading strategies as % of all words read by child

monolinguals

bilinguals

J

G

Taj

Ton

i) Child 'echoes' or repeats teacher's final word before pause (i.e. single word repetition)

e.g. T. 'So they t'wood all day in a hole in a tree'

Ch. 'Tree' (Ton, Lesson One, 62-3)

Lesson One

5

(36)

0

(41)

Lesson Two

0

(35)

0

(98)

ii) Child repeats whole sentence after teacher

Lesson One

6

0

0

0

Lesson Two

0

0

0

0

iii) Child reads simultaneously with teacher

Lesson One

(25)

18

0

0

Lesson Two

5

2

(44)

2

iv) Child predicts next one or two words or to end of sentence

e.g. T 'You could be a -'

Ch 'Dog'

Ch They can chase cats (G, Lesson One, 16-18)

Lesson One	33	27	100	0
Lesson Two	0	28	0	0
v) Child initiates reading and reads sentence alone				
Lesson One	22	0	0	59
Lesson Two	0	0	0	0
vi) 'Chaining' i.e. teacher and child read one or two words alternatively e.g. Ch 'David and Jessica' T 'set out across' Ch 'the park. Jessica' T 'wanted' Ch 'to play in the' T 'sand' (J, Lesson Two, 23-28)				
Lesson One	9	0	0	0
Lesson Two	(95)	0	(56)	0
vii) Unsuccessful word predictions				
Lesson One	0	18	0	0
Lesson Two	0	35	0	0

Summary

1) Turn-taking during shared reading lessons in a child's first year in school is unique in that the child initiates a high proportion of interactions of all types, but especially 'text-centred' comments. Once a child has initiated an interaction, the teacher works hard to 'keep the dialogue going' by staying within the 'life' or 'text-centred' frame initiated by the child.

2) 'Text-centred' interrogative interactions tend to follow a basic TQ/ChR/TC structure or a variant of it or a chained or extended pattern. An important feature of these text-centred interrogative interactions is the teacher response or comment, usually as the final move, which directs the child to the story, text or illustration for answers to the teacher's or child's own questions. This move may contain information on the text or a confirmation of the child's response. Certain truncated types of 'text-centred' interrogative units do not contain this final teacher move because the child's response is seen as inappropriate. This truncated structure highlights the content of the question itself which usually asks the child to predict the story or text without instruction as to where the answer might lie.

3) 'Life-centred' interrogative interactions tend to follow a truncated or arched pattern where the child often makes the initiating and/or final move. An essential feature of these interactions is the way in which the teacher aims to keep the dialogue going by remaining within the life-centred frame during the course of the interaction and does not attempt to 'switch' the child back into the story and text.

4) During actual reading, children negotiating successfully with the teacher have developed a unique pattern referred to as 'chaining'. This pattern is typified by the smooth flow of turns in reading where teacher and child alternate with little or no hesitation.

5) Children in situations of negotiation share:

i) a high proportion of text-centred interactions
(often child initiated)

ii) a low proportion of life-centred interactions,
particularly child initiated questions

iii) a high proportion of interactions following either the basic TQ, ChR, TC pattern or a child initiated variant of it and consequently a high proportion of teacher moves directing the child to the text

6) Children in situations of exclusion share:

- i) a high proportion of life-centred interactions
- ii) a low proportion of text-centred interactions
- iii) a low proportion of interactions following the basic TQ, ChR, TC pattern and considerably less reference to the text

CHAPTER SEVEN

Ethnography and Ethnomethodology combined: a new perspective on existing interpretations of children's early reading progress in school

Introduction

In this third layer of analysis, I argue that a combination of ethnographic and ethnomethodological approaches challenges the explanations of children's early progress in school learning outlined in Chapters 2 and 3. I then highlight the strengths of both approaches used together in providing a dynamic framework within which teacher/child interaction in school may be viewed.

7.1. The interpretation of 'narrative inexperience'

Chapter 2 put forward the argument that familiarity with written stories from home is an important precursor to learning to read in school through providing children with the ability to exploit the symbolic potential in language (Wells 1985,1987). The ethnographic approach presented in Layer 1 allows us to interpret Jessica and Gillian's very different progress as an example in support of this argument. Jessica entered school with a sound knowledge of stories behind her and her 'reading'

already showed a number of the features characteristic of written language as detailed in Chapter 2. After eighteen months, her reading was seen by the teacher as far ahead of the others in the group. Gillian, on the other hand, entered school with no background of stories from home and her lack of progress might be paralleled with Wells' (1987) example of Rosie, a 'non-school-oriented' child, whose difficulties were ascribed. Indeed, Mrs. G. was familiar with this recent research and transferred its findings to account for Gillian's and other 'unstoried' children's difficulties.

But the explanatory framework of Layer 1 would still leave us with the original problem of this study, in that Tajul's progress can be seen only as 'exceptional'. It is the ethnomethodological layer of analysis which is able to provide insights questioning the conclusiveness of the claim for an inexperience with narrative as the reason for a child's difficulty in beginning reading. The analyses reveal a common pattern of dialogue and turn-taking between Tajul and Jessica as they interact with the teacher. These show that invitation into the reading lesson depends not on children being familiar with stories from home but on their ability to initiate and participate in a special type of dialogue and pattern of turn-taking. Familiarity with stories may facilitate this ability but is not a necessary prerequisite for it. This

more limited task enables even children with very limited English access to appropriate patterns of discourse.

The difficulty arises when appropriate patterns of discourse are implicitly demanded rather than explicitly tutored. When this happens, children to whom such patterns are new in the particular situation of reading lessons in school are likely to be excluded unless they are able to see through to the teacher's implicit demands. Seen in this light, familiarity with written stories is not a vital prerequisite for the cognitive and linguistic demands of learning to read, but rather an effective means of access into the social demands of using appropriate dialogue and patterns of turn-taking.

7.2. The notion of 'disparity of discourse systems'

Evidence in Chapters 2 and 3 of this study suggested that 'non-school-oriented' children might be unable to adopt certain turn-taking routines because they fundamentally opposed those they were accustomed to from home. The discussion in Chapters 2 and 3 indicated how complex may be the task of knowing when to 'switch into' a particular code or register which is appropriate to the situation and role relations within it (Foucault 1972, Holland 1981). Children may be familiar with all the linguistic forms required, but not be socially aware of

when it is necessary to use them for a new task. Ethnographic studies discussed in Chapter 3 showed how this task might be particularly difficult for children from ethnic minority groups (Phillips 1972, Au 1980, Scollon & Scollon 1981). Other researchers proposed that any forced change in discourse system might be felt as a fundamental change in personality and culture (Whorf 1956, Berger & Luckmann 1966).

The outer ethnographic layer of analysis provides some support for the above argument. It shows how Jessica had already been socialised into the discourse system of the teacher as far as 'reading' and 'books' were concerned. Like other 'mainstream' children described in Chapter 3 of this study, she interpreted reading as understanding the story and her early 'reading' attempted to tell the whole plot (Scollon & Scollon 1981). On the other hand, Tony was used to a very different discourse system, whereby 'departure formulae' (Goffman 1974) would not express a 'liking' for reading or school learning generally. From home and his Chinese school, Tony would have expected the pattern of successful dialogue to be T Comment or Question followed by Ch Repeat or Response until the answer was learned. Nor would it have been pertinent to have discussed the story with the teacher or express an opinion on it.

But the disparity of discourse system explanation cannot satisfactorily account for the different progress of the case-study children. Although Gillian did not enter school knowing when to switch into the appropriate turn-taking routines for story-sharing, there is no reason to suppose that her home system of discourse contradicted that of the teacher generally. In the specific context of 'reading', Gillian simply did not know what type of dialogue was appropriate to initiate. Her plea for help 'You do it' bears witness to this. Gillian's inappropriate discourse during reading lessons may be compared to that of the lower working-class children in Holland's study (1981) who initially chose to describe pictures in terms of personal rather than general categories as outlined in Chapter 2. These children's difficulties cannot be seen in terms of an existing disparate discourse system which separates them from that of the teacher; they simply have not yet been introduced to the appropriate context-specific patterns of dialogue and turn-taking needed. Their difficulties arise when they are not explicitly shown which social and linguistic code to use in a specific school context.

The ethnomethodological analyses in Layer 2 provide support to the argument that, in the first instance, a more limited, context-specific social and linguistic

'code' may be grafted onto an existing wider discourse system without endangering it. Tajul's dialogues with the teacher provide examples of this. He shows how appropriate responses and turn-taking can take place in one specific context although he has almost no knowledge of the teacher's wider discourse system.

This type of negotiation is not recognised as characterising diglossic situations. Studies on bilingualism and diglossia examined in Chapter 2 pointed to the difference in linguistic advantage and school success according to whether the first language is of equal or of inferior status to the host language. According to these, Tajul should not benefit from an increased consciousness of the structure of language and a heightened awareness of the linguistic or paralinguistic patterns of the host language (Ianco-Worrall 1972, Ben-Zeev 1977, Swain & Cummins 1979, Bain & Yu 1980, Hakuta 1986). He should start from an even weaker position than Tony. For although both children enter school from a minority group speaking a language regarded as low status by the host community, they differ in that Tony's official language of literacy (Mandarin) is supported through formal classes. He comes from a highly literate culture (Hoyle 1977) and amongst the Hong Kong population, his language is regarded as having a high status (LMP 1985)

In spite of this, the individual reading lessons show how Tajul works within the widely recognised mechanism of second language learning which takes place during bilingual teaching where both languages have an equal status:

i) He analyses language by investigating the parameters of words (Ben-Zeev 1977) (see Chapter 1)

Taj. This not bread. These are finger	13
T. It's supposed to be bread actually	14
.....	
Taj. My bread is square	17

ii) He is able to take risks safely through playing with language and learning to 'chunk' it (Ervin-Tripp & Mitchell-Kernan 1977, Watson-Gegeo & Boggs 1977, Hatch, Peck & Wagner-Gough 1979):

Taj. There's the window (pointing)
T. That's the magnifying glass
Taj. Yes.

iii) He responds sensitively to feed-back from the adult:

Taj. You know, lion...	12
T. They're like tigers, aren't they?	13
Taj. Yes	14
T. But tigers have got stripes.	15
.....	
Taj. And tiger... And lion is tiger's friend	18
T. Yes, that's right	19

iv) He is eager to learn about the wider culture of the host society without it threatening his own values and beliefs:

- T. (from 'Meg at Sea') And they like to eat octopus, too, I think... (playfully) Do you eat octopus?
Taj. No. Do you?
T. No. Some people do. 'Meg and Mog had a rest.'
Taj. English do?

Tajul and the teacher share the interpretative framework of 'play' (Bateson 1955) within the boundaries of predicting and enjoying the story. Moreover, Tajul appears to be consciously and playfully working out the semantic functioning of the new language by trying out different language structures for their own sake e.g. 'That isn't Daddy' 'This not bread. These are finger' etc. This systematic use of negative structures and modal verbs does not fit into the pattern of caregiver and infant (Volterra & Antinucci 1979) and shows how Tajul is negotiating a second semantic system from the firm knowledge of an existing primary one 'My bread is square'. At the same time, these comparisons may enable Tajul to draw the boundaries between life and story with his teacher's help e.g. T. 'This may not be like your bread but story bread can be like this and we are within the world of story'. These examples show how Tajul expects strangeness and difference and suggest that he

is consciously exploring a new context with its attached linguistic code.

For Tajul and his teacher, the 'shared reading' event provides a unique situation for negotiation and language learning. The language needed is not limited to previously shared knowledge nor discourse system as during Michaels' (1986) 'sharing time'. Instead, the child is being provided with whole chunks of context-specific, appropriate language. So long as he abides by the rules of the event by staying within the story and enjoying it, he has a wide scope for experimentation within the boundaries of 'play'. Tajul illustrates how a child need not share a wider common discourse system with the teacher but can actively negotiate a context-specific code to participate successfully in early reading lessons.

The analyses in Layer 2 are able to detail ways in which negotiation between Tajul and the teacher takes place and to show how these turn-taking patterns resemble those of Jessica who shares the teacher's interpretation of reading. They highlight the unique feature of school shared reading sessions whereby it is up to the child to initiate appropriate opening moves in order to be invited into the lesson. The analyses detail ways in which Gillian and Tony's dialogue ignores the

teacher's rules by remaining outside the boundary of the story and following different turn-taking patterns. What Layer 2 cannot begin to explain is why Gillian and Tony are unable to repeat Tajul's performance, why they fail to realise the necessary formulae for participation in the lesson and why they cannot consciously step back and play with language within the rules set.

Information from Layer 1 provides further explanation. It reveals that Gillian has no experience of written stories from home, that she realises that 'reading' commands its own magic formulae (shown by her use of invented words) but that she is unable to decipher what these are. Upon school entry, she appears eager to play and experiment with words and sounds. This disappears when she realises that there are specific formulae to be learned which she cannot grasp. Tony's case is different. He did not experiment with language structures or sounds upon school entry. He spoke little and did not seem to enjoy speaking English. The description of Tony's literacy background showed how he did not associate play with formal school learning and could not join in with socio-dramatic play. In his Chinese school, the dialogue during reading lessons was explicit and clear, following the pattern of T Qu., Ch. Repeat or Response. During Year 1, Tony tried to recreate this pattern in his English classroom: Ch.

What's his name? T. Mr. Dizzy Ch. Mr. Dizzy. Typical of these was the child initiating move which did not include a liking for or prediction of the story and a child final move which did not allow the teacher to give information or feed-back.

The ethnomethodological layer of analysis points to the context-specific nature of negotiation between the teacher and different children. Onto this, the wider ethnographic layer is able to show why certain children may experience more difficulty in adopting different discourse for specific purposes if there is a clash between what is explicitly learned at home and what is implicitly expected at school. Tony entered school with a specific 'discourse of reading' already learned in his Chinese school which he tried to transfer to his English lessons. When he could not understand the demands made by the new situation, he 'switched off' in Mrs. G.'s words and made a choice for his Chinese school. Neither Tajul nor Gillian came to school with an established discourse for reading, but their progress was very different. Tajul entered the dialogue of the teacher; Gillian never managed to understand how entry might take place.

7.3. The concept of 'discontinuity of learning systems'

In Chapters 2 and 3, the argument was made that a disparity of discourse style is only part of a more general discontinuity of learning system which a child may face upon entering school. A transition from the culture of the home to a very different culture in the classroom was said to involve adjustment to a new set of social relations and values which may mean either a lack of commitment to the school (Bruner 1986) or a questioning of the legitimacy of the home values and an eventual abandoning of them (Bernstein 1971,1981, L.M.P. 1985). Some ethnographic evidence in Chapter 3 provided support for this argument (Phillips 1972, Scollon & Scollon 1981).

The information given in Layer 1 in this study also suggested a pattern of home/school discontinuity as far as Tony was concerned. There was a gross difference in expectations of school learning between Tony's family and his English teacher. The ethnographic evidence is able to detail how this difference is apparent at every level; from the general view of the family that school involves 'work' and not 'play' to their particular belief that learning to read takes place using specific methods and materials which do not include books. This contrasts with the teacher's view that play is an essential part of

early school learning and that children learn to read through enjoying a written story. The analyses in Layer 2 also appear to support the 'discontinuity' argument by detailing ways in which Tony transferred his home interpretation of learning to read into single word repetition during individual reading lessons.

But the 'discontinuity of learning systems' explanation poses a number of problems. It cannot account for Tajul, whose initial violent rejection of school would indicate that he felt more of a 'stranger' than Tony, whose start seemed positive. It also fails to explain Tony's early enthusiastic participation in different types of literacy activities where he showed awareness of what was in a newspaper or on a bag as well as knowing why we should need to read the message they held (1).

The evidence of Layers 1 and 2 together takes us a step further than the explanation of a general discontinuity of learning proposed in ethnographic and microethnographic studies. First, the similar pattern of turn-taking between children from very different cultural and linguistic backgrounds in situations of negotiation during the reading lessons suggest that the child's task is more context-specific than that of changing a whole learning system. Next, detailed analysis of teacher/child

dialogues between the teacher and children in situations of negotiation and exclusion highlights the way in which children receive differential feedback and tuition according to the way they interpret this context-specific task only. The structure of interactions during successful negotiation is unique in that although it resembles that of a caregiver with a much younger child, it is the child who often has the responsibility of initiating interactions. In Tajul's case, these initiations show him playfully to be questioning both the new language he is learning, the boundaries of story and reality and ultimately the culture in which the story is placed e.g. 'That's not bread...', 'English eat octopus?' (2).

A combination of Layers 1 and 2 show that, rather than being detrimental, being a 'stranger' to a language and culture may promote a greater consciousness and awareness of difference and what needs to be found out within the context of the reading lesson and school. Layer 2 goes on to detail ways in which one child goes about exploring a new world. Viewed within this framework, the focus shifts from the microethnographic interest of what the teacher should know about the cultural and linguistic background of the group represented by the child to ways in which a joint interpretation of a specific task may be actively

negotiated between teacher and child. Analyses in Layer 2 show how children who use certain opening formulae are excluded from negotiation almost from their entry into school reading lessons. Discussions with the teacher indicate that such exclusion is by no means intentional. Differentiation between the children according to the way they interpret reading is, therefore, an unconscious reaction on her part which is triggered off according to the opening formula used by the children.

7.4. The claim for 'differential tuition'

A further explanation of children's early school progress was seen to lie in the differential tuition in terms of quality and quantity of structured and task-focused support they received as outlined in Chapter 3. The ethnomethodological analyses provide evidence to show that differential tuition does take place by the teacher. They detail ways in which Gillian and Tony are not invited to focus on the story and the text and are held outside in life interactions. But the nature and reasons for differential tuition here are not the same as those proposed by the American researchers whose work is outlined in Chapter 3 (Allington 1980, Collins 1982, Michaels 1986). In these studies, differentiation in reading tuition is explained in terms of the child's social class and ethnic background. The teachers worked

within 'mainstream' expectations and placed white, middle-class children in high achieving groups where they received 'whole-text' or 'meaning-centred' tuition. Children from a low social class and ethnic minority group, on the other hand, were always in low-achieving groups and received 'word' or 'pronunciation-centred' tuition based on decoding.

This type of differential tuition, determined rigidly by racial and linguistic criteria, is clearly not relevant for the teachers in this study. Mrs. G. and the English Second Language teacher did not exclude children from reading lessons on the basis of their ethnic background or social class. Nor did they adhere rigidly to their early expectations of the children's future progress. The myth of the 'industrious Vietnamese child from a highly literate culture' led them initially to expect more from Tony than from a Bengali child whose parents spoke no or little English and who were suspected to be illiterate and from unschooled backgrounds. The nature of the differentiation is also not the same as that described in the American studies. Although children in negotiation with the teacher similarly received tuition directed to the meaning of the text, children in exclusion did not receive decoding tuition.

The American studies are valuable in that they illustrate through microethnography how differential tuition can be examined through a careful analysis of teacher/child discourse patterns. At the same time, their evidence illustrates Foucault's (1972) point that research findings cannot viably be transferred to a new site with a different historical background governing new role relations and a corresponding discourse. Children do not have to be from a white 'school-oriented' background to receive tuition focused on the story and the text from Mrs. G. but they do need to fulfil other conditions through their discourse, as illustrated in Layer 2. The ethnomethodological analyses enable us to define the nature of the differential tuition taking place, but they cannot explain the question of why the teacher behaves in the way she does, nor why, during the children's first year in school, Tajul was seen to be making excellent progress although he may well have been able to recognise fewer words and letters than Tony.

Ethnographic evidence is needed to explain Mrs. G.'s differential treatment of the children in terms of both her specific position as newcomer co-ordinating language work in the school and the history of the British Infant teacher generally. In Chapter 3 it was argued that the unique history of the British State School Infant teacher means that she is required to fulfil the

dual demands of providing expert professional tuition reflecting the findings of the most recent educational research whilst at the same time retaining the pastoral role of caregiver. As a newcomer to the school with a particular responsibility for language and reading development, Mrs. G. is under particular strain to fulfil this dual role and be seen as successful.

This information provides a broader interpretative framework in understanding the ethnomethodological interactions in Layer 2. Mrs. G. is anxious to be a 'good teacher' as outlined in Chapter 3, by showing she agrees with the most recent research into literacy and how children learn to read. Convinced of the value of written stories and books in learning to read, Mrs. G. sees children who display a liking for books and a wish to participate in predicting stories as knowledgeable. The type of knowledge initially displayed by Tony (word-focused or word collection) or Gillian (sound play) is unconsciously not considered so valuable or of use in learning to read. At the same time, she needs to show that her teaching is 'child-centred' and takes each individual's learning strategies and knowledge as a starting-point upon which to build. The analyses during individual lessons show how Mrs. G. tries to continue the dialogue within the child's frame of reference. This

results in a dramatically different tuition taking place for each child.

For Gillian, Mrs. G.'s strategy means continuing her 'life-centred' initiating interactions rather than steering her towards the story and the text and showing her why, for this particular situation, her comments are inappropriate. Tajul, on the other hand, initiates from within the story and text, but with incomplete comments. Through expanding his comments as a caregiver with a much younger monolingual child, yet at the same time focusing upon the story and the book, Mrs. G. is able to fulfil the requirements of what she sees as the 'child-centred' approach. At the same time, this patterning allows both to retain control: by initiating the exchange or interaction the child has overall control of the information or feed-back required; by extending the comment in the way she chooses, the teacher retains control of the details. The ethnographic layer of analysis also suggests why this patterning might not occur with Tony. His barrage of questions might be seen as a threat by the teacher, whereby he usurps her role as 'professional' or instructor.

This ethnographic framework helps us to decipher the apparent contradiction in Mrs. G.'s words when she explains that she sometimes feels Tony needs more

structure to his learning, but to use a 'look-and-say' or phonic approach to reading would go against her ideal of providing a 'child-centred' education. The American classroom studies discussed in Chapter 3 suggested that teacher differentiation during reading lessons could end with the abolition of ability grouping (Collins 1986, Cazden 1988). The analyses in this study show how uncertain such a prophesy might be. Mrs. G.'s words suggest that she is just as constrained in her teaching as her American colleagues, but she is imprisoned within different 'models' of what a 'good teacher' looks like.

Summary

This layer of analysis shows how ethnography and ethnomethodology used together can act as adjuvants in presenting an explanation for children's early school reading progress which is different from those put forward in Chapters 2 and 3. Used separately, each layer is limited; ethnography, in its anthropological sense, by grouping the children by language or culture, ethnomethodology by excluding an historical and cultural background within its remit. The strength of combining both approaches lies in their ability together to provide a dynamic framework within which teacher/child interaction may be understood.

Within this framework, the child is not shown in the static role of receiver of information, but as having the possibility to negotiate the lesson with the teacher. The outer frame of the event is decided by the teacher: 'reading' means an interest in predicting the story and a liking for as well as a wish to read the book. So long as this frame is respected, the child has considerable scope for negotiation. Tajul initiates interactions, thereby controlling the content of the information he requires. Tony and Gillian also initiate interactions but are excluded from lessons because the teacher continues the dialogue within their very different frame of reference instead of showing it to be inappropriate for one specific context in school. They might be said to 'converse' successfully with the teacher, but only on details of their own lives. The formulae for entering the lesson remain hidden from them because they are never told by the teacher what they are. The ethnomethodological analyses show how different their conversation is from the negotiation of Tajul.

The ethnographic/ethnomethodological framework also suggests that the teacher's differential treatment of the children is tied closely to the restrictions placed upon her in fulfilling a specific role. Within this explanatory framework, the classroom is viewed as a specific historical site determining specific role

relationships at a particular moment (Foucault 1972). Children are excluded from reading lessons not because of their social, cultural or linguistic background but because their interpretation of 'reading' in school does not allow Mrs.G. to fulfil professional demands made upon her by showing she can teach children to learn to read through enjoyment and knowledge of stories. Within this framework, setting, subject roles and linguistic code occur in a dynamic and unique relationship which can be negotiated within the confines of the setting itself. The unique pattern of turn-taking and content of dialogue which pertain in situations of negotiation show how Mrs. G. works within a very specific 'classroom' interpretation of reading. Children who share this interpretation are given considerable scope for negotiation; those who do not remain within the discourse of 'conversation' and excluded from the lesson.

CONCLUSION

Rather than starting from the reading process as a set of cognitive skills, in this study I have focused on reading in school as a specific literacy practice which is historically, ideologically and culturally shaped. Viewed within this framework, children need to learn what counts as reading in their classroom and to be able to position themselves in the type of reading which is authorised and transmitted by the teacher as an actor in the social institution of the school. I have shown how one particular literacy practice, that of story-reading is transformed as it leaves the home and fashioned by the setting of the classroom and the role relationships pertaining within it.

In a group reading lesson, this transformation works in the following way: rather than explicitly framing the reading event and focusing the children on the story and the book as a caregiver at home, the teacher implicitly expects the children already to know what belongs to the story-reading practice and she fails to mark out for the children the boundaries between 'life' and 'text'. At the same time, she diverts the children from 'non-school-oriented' backgrounds away from the text by explicitly directing them to questions on their own lives. Meanwhile, the children from 'school-oriented'

backgrounds work within the teacher's implicit expectations. These children show no signs of confusion as to what 'belongs' to the reading event. They largely ignore the teacher's explicit instructions and discuss the story and the book. As a consequence, these children receive both feedback on the content of the story and recognition that they are knowledgeable upon approaching the reading task.

A similar pattern is followed during individual reading lessons but these lessons also reveal another feature making this literacy practice unique. Rather than inviting the children to participate in the event using a story-focused comment, the teacher often waits for the child to initiate an opening formula. Her aim is then to keep the dialogue going by staying within the child's frame of reference, even if this means remaining outside 'text' and 'story-centred' exchanges. The result is that those children who do not initiate appropriate opening formulae are excluded from the story and remain locked within 'life-centred' interactions. These children show confusion as to the boundaries between life and text, do not understand what they are expected to do and, after a year in school, show reluctance to read, expressed in the words 'I can't do it' or 'I don't like that book'. This confusion was not brought with them from home. Although the children entered school with very

different interpretations of what reading in school meant, examples of their 'reading' upon school entry showed that they all expected it to be something 'special' which they wanted to learn.

At the same time, the initiating child comment provides a unique opportunity for a particular type of negotiation to take place between the teacher and the child from a 'non-school-oriented' background. So long as the child introduces the reading event using appropriate, 'story-centred' formulae, teacher and child switch into turn-taking patterns very similar to those occurring with 'school-oriented' children and the teacher provides considerable task-focused tuition and feedback. In fact, a single 'text-centred' word functioning as a comment by a child who speaks little English leads to an expansion similar to that taking place between a caregiver and much younger child.

This is not a negotiation which depends upon a transmigration of the child to identify with the language and the culture of the school as a prerequisite, nor does it rely upon the teacher adopting the language and learning patterns of the child's home. Although it demands preliminary criterial knowledge whereby the child must learn and adopt the teacher's way of 'framing' the event, both adult and child retain control

in that the child's initiating comment steers the adult's response towards the specific information required, yet the adult still retains the final comment. Initially, this control is dependent upon the accomplishment of particular turn-taking patterns in dialogue. However, this interpsychological negotiation may be an important prelude to the intrapsychological negotiation of 'inner control' which is attributed to the child's cognitive state (Clay 1991). Bruner (1986) argues strongly in favour of the 'negotiation of meaning' between teacher and child as the key to education. Tajul and his teacher may be seen as joining in a task-specific type of what he terms a 'joint culture creation' which takes place within a pedagogical axiom.

As other work using ethnographic approaches, it is not the purpose of this study to evaluate a particular situation, nor to generalise findings. However, there is reason to believe that what is taking place in this classroom is by no means unique. As early as 1967, Cazden showed the way a middle-class five year old produced longer and more complex descriptions when relating a story from a book than a working-class child, but that the opposite was the case when they were engaged in everyday conversation. More recently, Dombey's (1986) transcripts of a teacher who was particularly effective in initiating children from 'non-school-oriented'

backgrounds into reading reveal a pattern whereby children are kept focused on the story and the book. Finally, it is significant that the recent Assessment of Performance Unit's findings (Gorman & Kispal 1987) noted that a major difference between high and low scorers in their reading tests at age eleven was that good readers were able to answer from the text whereas poor readers looked to life experiences for their answers. These studies lend support to conclusions drawn in this work.

The most important task of this study was to unravel the progress made by Tajul as a means to extend his success to other children from 'non-school-oriented' backgrounds. The evidence presented in this study shows clearly that it is not 'difference' itself upon starting school which matters but what difference may mean in terms of interaction and turn-taking patterns in the specific context of reading lessons. The question remains as to what would enable Mrs. G. to provide all children with the same finely-tuned tuition given to Tajul. Throughout the analyses, one key factor has been missing: that of an awareness by the teacher of what was actually happening as she engaged in teaching the children. In its widest sense, this awareness would involve a recognition that every culture has its own definition of literacy, that story-reading is not natural but one particular

metaphor for literacy and one which might not be shared by the families of all her children. It would involve an acknowledgement that other cultural groups may not share the Western 'mainstream' notion of a love of books as a prerequisite for beginning reading or of learning to read in school as a pleasurable event. Further, awareness would mean a realisation of the ways in which the institutional setting of the school might work to transform the original cultural practice she was trying to convey.

This awareness could open a number of options to the teacher. She could deliberately use the different definitions of literacy brought by the children into school as starting-points for her teaching. She might consciously model the literacy practice of home story-reading and deliberately tutor the children in appropriate turn-taking patterns. Finally, she might encourage an awareness in the children themselves that they are about to step into a new world with correspondingly different practices. At the same time, she might show them that their place as strangers puts them in a unique position consciously to hold new words and customs for a moment before slotting them into accepted patterns and routines. Tajul's success was, indeed, haphazard, in that his teacher was not aware of her role in promoting it. An important sequel to this

study would be one which builds upon the participatory structures uncovered in this work and devises strategies which deliberately recreate a similarly constructive dialogue between the teacher and children like Tony and Gillian in our classrooms.

Notes

Introduction

- (1) The most recent test results for seven year olds suggest that Newham's position as second from bottom of the league table remains unchanged (The Guardian, 20/12/91)
- (2) The findings of a study by Tunley, P., Travers, T. and Pratt, J. (1979) Depriving the Deprived, revealed that the white population in the south of the Borough was comparatively more affluent than the predominantly Asian north, but that the Education Authority was providing more funding to the south. These findings, however, directly contradicted common 'folk knowledge' of the area, especially that of the teachers, who knew that the Asian population was more 'school-oriented' than the white group, regardless of a lack of amenities e.g. bathrooms etc. used by the researchers to decide 'poverty'.

Chapter 2

- (1) An overview of these early studies can be found in Skutnabb-Kangas, (1981) Bilingualism or Not: The Education of Minorities, Hamers, J.F. & Blanc, M.H. (1989) Bilinguality and Bilingualism, and Romaine, S. (1989) Bilingualism. All of these point to the political bias of those writing at this time in favour of harsh immigration policies and to the growing feeling of nationalism in a number of European countries
- (2) To return to Wells' criticism: within Bernstein's framework, it is quite irrelevant whether children have a similar quality of language within the home situation. The issue is not a linguistic one, but one of the interpretation of the context-specific rules of the 'coding-orientation' produced by different readings of the classification and framing values

Chapter 4

- (1) Tizard et al. do note that this should not be seen as the only factor correlating with early reading achievement, but the one they tested. It could well be the case that those children familiar with stories from Wells' study would also have known

more letters of the alphabet if these had been tested

- (2) The authors point out that one major study at the Junior level has taken place, the ORACLE study. This was a systematic observation study to obtain measures of teacher and pupil behaviour which is documented in Galton, M. & Simon, B. (1980) Progress and Performance in the Primary classroom, and Galton, M., Simon, B. & Cross, P. (1980) Inside the Primary classroom
- (3) Information from Northamptonshire Education Authority, Nov. 1986
- (4) The principles and methods used in transcribing tapes are those suggested by Ochs, E. (1979) in 'Transcription as Theory' in Ochs, E. & Schieffelin, B. (eds.) Developmental Pragmatics. She emphasises the importance of recognising that transcription is a selective process, reflecting theoretical goals and definitions. The aim for the reader must be to see as clearly as possible hypotheses and generalisations presented. The criteria for choosing columns, what to emphasise and what to omit are, therefore, governed by this aim. I have also followed Ochs' suggestion in transcribing unintelligible speech phonetically. This does not occur often, but is important on the occasions where it does. Finally, Ochs argues for reversing the traditional order of placing the adult's speech as 'natural' or automatic initiator on the left. The reversal leads to a heightened awareness of the children's discourse and who actually initiates moves.

Markings Used

- (.) = little pause
//] = beginning & end of overlap
) = low rise
LOUD = loud
(x3) = (...)
(WH) = whisper
(LF) = laugh

During the analyses which follow, line references are referred to as (20) etc.

Chapter 5

- (1) This comprised working one day per week in the school from Sept. 1986 - March 1987. From then until July 1988, at least four days per term were spent in the class. During visits, I worked as a second teacher, relieving the class teacher to work with the individual children, observing the children and working with them either individually or as a group
- (2) Two approaches to examining children's early reading were adapted in the brief analyses which follow: Dombey (1983) and Bussis et al. (1985). Dombey analyses the particular nature of the reading event between caregiver and very young child in terms of i) the child's definition of the situation as special in that the language stands for itself instead of accompanying another activity ii) the semantics or the child's negotiation with the author in producing explicit meanings iii) the formal features of the language, for example of grammatical structure and lexis not usually used in conversation. Bussis et al. take a more global view whereby children's early reading strategies are seen as just one part of the network of meanings whereby children make sense of school learning. Observations of individual children in various learning situations reveal a pattern which allow the authors to divide the children into 'divergent' or 'convergent' learners according to the strategies they follow. Both approaches view reading within a wider cognitive and social framework. However, neither are ready-made for my purpose as they do not focus on the point at issue which is how far the children are working within the teacher's implicit rules. Consequently, aspects of both approaches are combined, but my analysis is an examination of how the children interpret the situation of 'reading' in school and how far they are showing themselves to be 'knowledgeable' in the teacher's terms
- (3) Some research points to the importance of this type of awareness of sounds as an important pre-requisite for learning to read, Bryant, P. & Bradley, L. (1985) Children's Reading Problems
- (4) In 1975, Garvey & Jackson stated that 'research on Chinese children in British schools does not exist.' A limited number of studies are now available. For general information, see Ng Karee Choo (1968) The Chinese in London and Jones, D (1979) The Chinese in Britain- Origins and Development of a Community

For information on Chinese children in British schools, see Garvey, P. & Jackson, B. (1975) Chinese Children, Watson, J.L. (1977) The Chinese: Hong Kong Villagers in the British Catering Trade in Watson, J.L. (ed.) Between Two Cultures, Wang, B. (1982) Chinese Children in Britain and Tomlinson, S. (1984) Home and School in Multicultural Britain. For information on linguistic issues, see LMP (1985) The Other Languages of England. For insight into life in a Chinese kindergarten, see Liljestrom, R. et al. (1982) Young Children in China. Finally, Yuen-Fan Wong, L. (forthcoming) The Education of Chinese Children in Britain: A comparative study with the U.S.A. promises to be the most comprehensive work to date. Other information comes from discussions with two teacher colleagues on study visits to London from Hong Kong

- (5) Literature on the Bangladeshi community in different parts of Britain as well as on literacy practices in Bangladesh is scarce. The LMP (op.cit.) has some information, mainly on linguistic issues. Two autobiographies written by Western anthropologists living for extended periods in Sylheti villages are available: Hartmann, B. & Boyce, J.K. (1983) A Quiet Violence: Views from a Bangladesh Village and Gardner, K. (1991) Songs at the River's Edge. Stories from a Bangladeshi Village Other information is drawn from discussions with parents and teachers from the Sylheti community in London and my own visit to Sylhet, Dec./Jan. 1990/91

Chapter 6

- (1) See particularly Dombey, H. (1983) Learning the Language of Books in Meek, M. (ed.) Opening Moves: Work in Progress in the study of Children's Language Development for a detailed analysis of a young 'mainstream' child initiated into story-reading by a caregiver
- (2) See Halliday, M.A.K. & Hasan, K. (1976) Cohesion in English for a comprehensive description of endophoric and exophoric reference
- (3) In fact, some of Jessica's 'text-centred' moves are reminiscent of Hawkins's examples of 'restricted code' usage in Bernstein, B. (1973) Social Class, Language and Socialisation. The example given is: 'They're playing football and he kicks it' which is used by the lower working-class children as opposed

to 'The two boys are playing football and one boy kicks the ball' of the middle-class children

- (4) Terminology used in analyses: Layers of discourse are divided into moves, exchanges and transactions as used by Labov (1970, 1972), Sacks (1972), Schlegloff (1972), Jefferson (1972), Williams et al. (1982) and Wells (1985). The move is used as the smallest unit of interaction. In the lessons analysed, the move is generally what is said by one speaker before another begins e.g. T. Mmm. you've read that page. The exchange comprises two moves by different participants, usually a question followed by an answer or comment e.g. Ch. I wouldn't like to be a bird, would you? T. No, not really. The transaction comprises a number of moves or exchanges on the same topic e.g. T. What is it? Ch. Terrible. T. A terrible monster, I think, don't you? Ch. Yes. T. That's it's tail... a terrible monster!
- (5) See Section 1.2. in Chapter 3
- (6) Moves were characterised as Q = Question; R = Response or C = Comment and then mapped to indicate the relationship between the constituent parts. The function of each move is indicated beside the constituent part in the text

Chapter 7

- (1) See also Chapter 5. Neither Tony nor Gillian experienced any difficulty in delineating the boundaries between real life and 'reading' when playing a 'Guess what's in the bag game?' (similar to 'Kim's game', where a variety of functional items displaying print were hidden in a bag. Only Jessica stepped outside the appropriate frame to call out items which had never been put into the bag. All the children realised that only one word could be correct e.g. 'smarties' but not 'polo').
- (2) See Gregory, E. (1990) 'Negotiation as a criterial factor in learning to read in a second language' Language and Education, Vol.4, No.2, pp. 103-117 for a fuller analysis of this type of learning.

APPENDIX 1

1. Interviews with parents and caregivers

These were informal discussions which took place in the home. The only exception to this was the meeting with Gillian's caregivers who preferred to come to school. I introduced myself as a teacher from the local College of Education whose aim was to find out more about how young children learn to read in school and how they were taught. They knew that I would also work with their children in school and visit them to talk about their children's progress. The parents were confident that I was not officially employed in the school and that our discussions were confidential. They also knew of the longitudinal nature of my work and that I would answer whatever questions they had about any aspect of school life affecting them or their child during the following eighteen months.

I was aware of the culture-bias of many questions of the type 'Does your child like school/notice print?' etc. My aim on the first visit was to encourage questions from the parents rather than question them myself. Consequently, the only initiating question was: 'Do you have any idea of how your child will be taught to read in school?' This question always resulted in the same

answer. None of the parents had any idea of how reading would be taught in the classroom. All felt that they would like to know more, but that they did not feel confident to ask the teacher. After a brief discussion of important aspects of the teacher's approach to reading, my second question was 'How does this approach compare with the way you remember learning to read at school, yourself?'

I visited Scott, Eleanor (from the larger group of nine) Jessica and Tony's parents on 4 occasions and saw Jessica, Eleanor and Scott's mothers weekly in school when they came into the class to read with their children. Kalchuma and Tajul's parents were visited twice, but it was only possible to speak to Tajul's sister and Kalchuma's father. I was informed by the Bengali welfare assistant that both mothers had left the house only for the birth of their babies and that there was no possibility of their attending classes or meetings in school. Any possibility of encouraging the mothers to attend the school English class was cut short by my leaving the town in March 1988 and only returning for two or three visits per term. As far as I could ascertain, all parents spoke very openly about their hopes for their children as well as their concerns for their education and the tuition they were receiving.

2. Interview with the Head Teacher

Again, discussions took place frequently, as I held In-Service sessions explaining analyses of the children's reading to the staff. At our first meeting, the Head Teacher spoke openly about the problems she perceived in the school. She saw the mothers' lack of English as presenting the main problem for the Bengali children. The mothers would not leave the house to learn, in spite of a regular class and the children were consequently hearing no English spoken at home. The lack of books in the home was seen to be a major factor accounting for the children's slow progress in learning to read. This applied equally to the English families who came from backgrounds which made 'reading' difficult in the classroom.

The Head Teacher explained that the school served two refuges; one for 'battered' women with their children and one for families. The latter was a 'short-term' refuge (each family has a room for 6 months until they are found accommodation by the Council). Often the family is 'on the run' meaning that there is no possibility of obtaining records from a child's previous school.

The aim of the Head Teacher and the staff is for the school to be a 'sanctuary' for the children. All work

extremely hard to achieve this end. The school has an enormous supply of attractive books, many in different languages and from across the world. A number of the books have been purchased by the Head herself. She and her husband (also a Head Teacher) often spend evenings and week-ends displaying books and artefacts to make the school as welcoming as possible. Many of the labels upon displays have been written in the different languages represented in the school. The vivid colours, wealth of books and displays as well as the warmth of the teachers all contribute to make the school the 'haven' the teachers wish for.

3. Discussions with Mrs. G., the class teacher

Discussion on individual children's progress as well as methods and materials for introducing children to reading took place throughout my work in the school. As newly appointed co-ordinator of the school's language work, Mrs. G. was familiar with the most recent research on reading development and convinced of the value of story-reading from home. Our initial discussion echoed that held with the Head Teacher. After one year, Mrs. G. was asked to report more formally on the strengths and weaknesses of each of the nine target children. The main points in her reports on the four children chosen as case-studies are as follows:

Jessica:

Strengths: a very able child

Weaknesses: extremely timid and needs directing in all her work. She is really unwilling to do anything alone and needs the teacher or her friend Eleanor with her to achieve anything.

Prediction for future literacy progress: She has made very good progress and will soon be reading independently. However, she needs to gain more confidence and direct herself more without the help of others

Gillian:

Strengths: she is interested in writing and drawing. She has amazing inner strength to cope with the traumas in her personal life

Weaknesses: she is unable to mix with other children and, as yet, has no interest in books.

Prediction for future literacy progress: will depend upon stability at home

Tajul:

Strengths: very keen on being read to

Weaknesses: not interested in anything much except

reading. Suffers from a lack of direction when alone and is unable to direct himself

Prediction for future literacy progress: very bright and should be reading soon

Tony

Strengths: enjoys copying and drawing

Weaknesses: is very much a 'sheep'. Imitates others and cannot direct himself. Is unable to participate in imaginative play. Has no interest in reading and does not even want to write his name. Has gone 'backwards' during his year in school

Prediction for future literacy progress: Until his behaviour improves and he decides that he wants to learn, he is unlikely to make much progress

APPENDIX 2. THE INDIVIDUAL READING LESSONS

Lesson One, July 1987. Jessica, 'If you were a bird. Teacher's contributions are underlined throughout. ~~~ = teacher & child read in unison

Text Reading	Text Comment	Life Comment
	1 <u>You choose one and read it with me when you want</u>	
	2 <u>This one? This one's called...</u>	
3 <u>If you were a bird</u>		
4 If you were a bird		
	5 Is this one easy to read?	
	6 <u>Mmm.</u>	
7 If you were a bird you could fly		
	8 <u>Mmm.</u>	
	9 Look! There he is looking a bit like a bird and there he is looking a bit more like a bird and there he is looking a bit more like a bird and a bit more and there he is! (turns pages and points)	
	10 <u>Mmm. Turn over and let's see what happens now</u>	
11 <u>eat</u>		
12 worms or		
13 <u>bath</u>		
14 bath in a puddle		
15 <u>But</u>		
16 the cat might get you (repeats)		
	17 <u>What would it do then?</u>	
	18 It would run after you (whispers)	
19 You could be a dog		
	20 There he is, there he is there he is and there he is	
	21 <u>Mmm.</u>	

Text Reading

Text Comment

Life Comment

- 22 Yeah. In the last one, he's coloured
- 23 Mmm.
- 24 and chase the cat
- 25 My brother's name begins with 'ch'
- 26 Does it? What's his name?
- 27 Charly. You know Charly, don't you?
- 28 Yes, I do. Charly was reading with you this morning, wasn't he?
- 29 They're all chasing each other
- 30 Who's chasing who do you think?
- 31 The dog's chasing the cat. Look! First it looks like the dog's chasing him then it looks like the cat's chasing him then it looks like the dog's chasing the cat
- 32 Mmm. It's a funny picture, isn't it?
- 33 I know, we'll see a lion on the next page
- 34 But
- 35 But
- 36 I wonder what might happen to the dog?
- 37 I don't know
- 38 Turn over and find out
- 39 The lady might hit him with her umbrella
- 40 If you were a lion..
- 41 Yes
- 42 Maybe it would be more fun
- 43 to be a lion
- 44 There he is (points) He's changing into a dog
- 45 Mmm.
- 46 and ROAR

Text Reading

Text Comment

Life Comment

- 47 It doesn't say 'roar'
does it?
- 48 'Roar' it says, yes.
- 49 Look! They're scared
Look! Her hair's gone
on end
- 50 Mmm. The cat's terrified
too
- 51 He didn't know, did he,
that there was a lion
around
- 52 Mmm. You
wouldn't
expect a lion
there, would
you, suddenly?
- 53 The park would
54 be a jungle
55 and you could be
56 King (repeats)
- 57 What does that say?
(points to notice in
illustration)
- 58 It says
- 59 Keep Off
60 the grass
- 61 Why does it say
'Keep off the grass?'
- 62 Well, people aren't
supposed to walk on it
because if they do, it
might make the grass die.
If people walk on that
grass all the time,
their feet might stop it
growing, you see.
- 63 So he's obviously stopping
it from growing
- 64 Mmm.
- 65 But he's gonna walk off it
some time, isn't he?
(turns page) Look, there
he is, walking off
- 66 Yes. Shall we read on?
It says..
- 67 You'd
68 You'd?
69 say

Text Reading

Text Comment

Life Comment

- 70 If you were a lion, you would say
- 71 I
72 am a
73 lion
74 and I'm
- 75 going
76 to
77 eat
78 you up
- 79 I know how to spell
'up' 'u' 'p'. And I
know how to spell
'down'
- 80 Do you?
81 Yes. 'd' 'o' 'w' 'n'
82 Yes, that's right.
It's up there, isn't it?
(points to wall)
Down, down, down
- 83 Yes, and there (points)
it says 'up, up, up'
- 84 Turn over. Let's see how
it goes on
- 85 This is quite a long story
86 Mmm.
- 87 A
88 lion is loose.
Catch that lion
- 89 Look! He's caught in a net.
He's waving a stick.
He's waving his
- 90 truncheon
91 He's blowing his whistle
and he's waving his gun
- 92 Mmm.
- 93 Lions can have
problems too,
94 Maybe it would
be better to be a
- 95 What?
- 96 dog
97 But it's not
always so great
being a dog
- 98 I wonder what he's gonna
be in the end? Hissself?
- 99 Let's see

Text Reading

Text Comment

Life Comment

100 Maybe it would
be better to be a
101 bird

102 You turn over the page

103 or a bird

104 But it might not be

105 The cat might eat you
up. It's hisself! I
thought it might be
hissself.

106 Aren't you glad
you're
107 you

108 I thought it would
be that. That's a good
story, isn't it?

Lesson One, July 1987. Gillian, 'If you were a bird', (1st. 5 mins). Teacher's contributions are underlined throughout.

~~~~~ = teacher & child read in unison.

Text Reading

Text Comments

Life Comments

- |                                                                                                                                         |                                                           |                                                                                                                                                    |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 3 <u>If you were a bird</u>                                                                                                             | 1 I can't even read yet. You read it & I'll listen to yer |                                                                                                                                                    |
|                                                                                                                                         | 2 <u>We'll read it together</u>                           |                                                                                                                                                    |
|                                                                                                                                         |                                                           | 4 I wouldn't like to be a bird, would you?                                                                                                         |
|                                                                                                                                         |                                                           | 5 <u>No, not really</u>                                                                                                                            |
|                                                                                                                                         |                                                           | 6 'Cos we're not real birds. 'Cos the real birds can peck off your nose                                                                            |
|                                                                                                                                         |                                                           | 7 <u>Yes, they might peck off your nose. Yes, and they have to go looking for their own food. They can't just go to the shop and get some food</u> |
|                                                                                                                                         |                                                           | 8 But they don't peck people when they're in the garden, do they? 'Cos they're up the tree                                                         |
|                                                                                                                                         |                                                           | 9 No                                                                                                                                               |
| 10 <u>If you were a bird, you could fly. (If you were a bird, you could) eat crumbs or bath in a puddle. But the cat might..(pause)</u> | 11 Birds                                                  |                                                                                                                                                    |
|                                                                                                                                         | 12 <u>What might the cat do?</u>                          |                                                                                                                                                    |
|                                                                                                                                         | 13 <u>Eat it</u>                                          |                                                                                                                                                    |
|                                                                                                                                         |                                                           | 14 <u>Mmm. That's the trouble, isn't it, with being a bird. The cats might eat you up. We can't be eaten up, can we, by</u>                        |

Text Reading

Text Comment

Life Comment

16 You could be  
a (pauses)  
17 dog

22 And chase the  
cat

27 But (pause) the  
lady might hit you  
with her umbrella  
28 umbrella  
29 Maybe it would  
be more fun to be  
a ..  
30 Lion

32 And roar  
33 roar  
34 The park would  
be a jungle and  
you would be king

41 You would say,  
'I am a lion and  
I am going to eat  
you up  
42 up  
43 A lion is loose.  
Catch that lion

cats?  
15 No, 'cos they're  
beautiful

18 They can chase cats  
19 Mmm.  
20 They could  
21 Mmm.

23 Would you like to be  
a dog?  
24 No, would you?  
25 No  
26 I wouldn't like to  
be a cat as well...  
and a dog

31 Mmm.

35 Would you like to be  
a lion?  
36 No, would you?  
37 No  
38 I wouldn't  
39 You might have to  
live in a zoo,  
mightn't you? I  
wouldn't like to  
live in a zoo,  
would you?  
40 No

Text Reading

Text Comment

Life Comment

- 44 Oh dear, what might he do?
- 45 What's happened to his chin?
- 46 I don't know. Looks like he's got a little beard, doesn't it?
- 47 Mmm.
- 48 (But) lions can have problems, too. Maybe it would be better to be a...
- 49 A deer. Can't remember now
- 50 dog. But it's not always so great being a dog. Maybe it would be better to be a...
- 51 bird
- 52 But what might happen to the bird?
- 53 The cat might get you
- 54 Get you
- 55 Maybe it's better to be you
- 56 You
- 57 How about that one? (points to another)

Lesson One, July 1987. Tajul, 'Joseph's Other Red Sock.  
Teacher's contributions are underlined throughout

Text Reading                      Text Comment                      Life Comment

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |                                                             |  |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|--|
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 1 I get another 2 book                                      |  |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 2 <u>O.K.</u>                                               |  |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 3 Do you like this one?                                     |  |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 4 <u>This is a good story.</u>                              |  |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | <u>It's called</u>                                          |  |
| 5 <u>Joseph's other red sock</u>                                                                                                                                                                                                              |                                                             |  |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 6 (points to illus)<br>There's sock?                        |  |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 7 <u>Mmm. Let's see what it says</u>                        |  |
| 8 <u>Joseph's mum called 'Are you awake?'</u>                                                                                                                                                                                                 |                                                             |  |
| 9 Question mark (pointing)                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |                                                             |  |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 10 <u>Mmm.</u>                                              |  |
| 11 <u>'Almost awake' J. yawned. The sun was shining on the wall, the toast was burning and mum was singing to the radio. 'J' called mum, 'Are you spick and dandy?' 'Almost' said J, 'I'm wearing my T shirt, my shorts and one red sock.</u> |                                                             |  |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 12 (pointing) There's dog                                   |  |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 13 <u>Is it a dog? Or is it a tiger?</u>                    |  |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 14 Tiger                                                    |  |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 15 <u>It's a tiger</u>                                      |  |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 16 <u>There's J with one red sock on. He's lost a sock.</u> |  |
| 17 <u>'Did you look in your toy-box?' asked his mum. 'Yes' said J, but I could find only Harold</u>                                                                                                                                           |                                                             |  |
| 18 Question mark!                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |                                                             |  |
| 19... <u>and a rabbit there</u>                                                                                                                                                                                                               |                                                             |  |

## Text Reading

## Text Comment

## Life Comment

- 20 There's another question mark, that's right!
- 21 Did you look in your cupboards?  
22 Question mark!
- 23 Yes, and here's another one, look!
- 24 'And what did you find?' asked mum. 'Something funny' J giggled
- 25 I wonder what he found in the cupboard?
- 26 'I pulled' said J 'and Arthur pulled and Harold pulled and the rabbit pulled'
- 27 'What's that?' (points to half-hidden figure)
- 28 I don't know. Turn over the page and we'll find out.
- 29 And it flopped and wriggled and jiggled. It looked terrible
- 30 Yes
- 31 (whispers) What is it?
- 32 Terrible
- 33 A terrible monster, I think, don't you?
- 34 Yes
- 35 That's its tail. And he's pulling and pulling. And there it is! A terrible monster!
- 36 'And J, were you scared?' Almost scared' said J. 'What did you say?' asked mum. I said, 'Give me back my other red sock!' said J
- 37 That isn't mum (pointing to monster)
- 38 That isn't mum, that's the monster, isn't it? Where's the red sock? Can you see a red sock here?
- 39 (points to red sock)

## Text Reading

## Text Comment

## Life Comment

- 40 Mmm. It looks like that one (pointing) doesn't it? The same.
- 41 Yes.
- 42 'It jumped on top of the cupboard' said J 'and I grabbed its tail.' 'Yes' said mum 'and I chased it back into the cupboard' 'Good' said mum, 'that's where it belongs. What about your other red sock?' I said, 'Give me back my other red sock, or else!' 'Or else what?' asked mum. 'Or else I'll fetch my mum' said J. 'And did that do the trick?' asked mum
- 43 (pointing) Going in
- 44 He's going in the cupboard
- 45 Yes.
- 46 'Is that the end of the story?' said mum
- 47 Sleeping
- 48 'Almost the end'said J
- 49 Yes, he's sleeping
- 50 'But what about you, J' asked mum
- 51 Question mark!
- 52 Yes
- 53 'Are you all spick and dandy?' 'Almost' said J. And he put on his other red sock. But one blue shoe.
- 54 He's lost a blue shoe now.
- 55 Finished?
- 56 Mmm. Do you like that story?
- 57 That 2 story (indicating his other book) I like.

Lesson One, July 1987. Tony, 'Over in the Meadow: A Counting Rhyme' (1st. 5 mins). Teacher's contributions are underlined throughout.

| Text Reading                                                                             | Text Comments                                             | Life Comments                                            |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 1,2,3,4,5,6,<br>7,8,9,10 (points)                                                      |                                                           |                                                          |
| 3 (turns back to cover) <u>Over in the meadow</u>                                        | 2 <u>Mmm. You've read that page</u>                       |                                                          |
| 4 meadow                                                                                 | 5 Can you read that? (points to dedication)               |                                                          |
| 6 <u>For the flora and the fauna on the following pages and for children of all ages</u> | 7 <u>That's who it's written for</u>                      |                                                          |
|                                                                                          | 8 That's on the back (points to both pictures)            |                                                          |
|                                                                                          | 9 <u>Oh yes, it's the same isn't it? The same picture</u> |                                                          |
|                                                                                          |                                                           | 10 Where you buy it?                                     |
|                                                                                          |                                                           | 11 <u>I bought it from the shop. From a shop</u>         |
|                                                                                          |                                                           | 12 From the shop. Is it..?                               |
|                                                                                          |                                                           | 13 <u>in London</u>                                      |
|                                                                                          |                                                           | 14 in the London?                                        |
|                                                                                          |                                                           | 15 <u>Mmm.</u>                                           |
|                                                                                          |                                                           | 16 In the train?                                         |
|                                                                                          |                                                           | 17 <u>No, not in the train. London's a big, big city</u> |
|                                                                                          |                                                           | <u>Have you never been to London?</u>                    |
|                                                                                          |                                                           | 18 I think so                                            |
|                                                                                          |                                                           | 19 <u>You think so?</u>                                  |
| <u>20 Over in the meadow</u>                                                             |                                                           |                                                          |
|                                                                                          |                                                           | 21 Who's draw that? (points to picture on the wall)      |

Text Reading

Text Comment

Life Comment

- 22 Oh, the big children, I think
- 23 Big children.  
Who's draw it to you?
- 24 Who drew it?
- 25 Yeah
- 26 For me?
- 27 Yeah
- 28 I don't know what the names of the children were.  
They were the bigger children, I think, from the top classes.
- 29 Top classes?
- 30 Mmm.
- 31 This one? (points to other side of building)
- 32 Shall we read now?
- 33 Mmm.
- 34 Over in the meadow in the sand in the sun, lived an old mother turtle and her little turtle one
- 35 One
- 36 'Dig', said the turtle 'We dig' said the one. So they dug all day in the sand in the sun
- 37 Can you read that? (points to copyright blurb on other side of page in tiny print)
- 38 That's very difficult. That's lots of words there to read.
- 39 You can do it
- 40 Mmm. I can. Yes. It's not very interesting, really, it says...
- 41 Except in the U.S.A....(+ 40 words)
- 42 There you are then

Text reading

Text Comment

Life Comment

- 43 What's that?  
(points to picture)
- 44 That's a big fish.  
That's a little fish
- 45 Mmm.
- 46 Over in the meadow where the stream runs blue
- 47 Blue
- 48 Lived an old mother fish
- 49 Fish
- 50 And her little fishes two
- 51 Two
- 52 'Swim' said the mother 'We swim' said the two, so they swam all day where the stream runs blue
- 53 Shark's have got sharp teeth
- 54 Mmm.
- 55 Over in the meadow in a hole in a tree
- 56 Where you buy that story?
- 57 In the shop
- 58 In the shop?  
In the London?
- 59 Mmm.
- 60 Can we have that one? (points to another book)
- 61 We'll read that one in a minute, shall we?
- 62...lived an old mother owl and her little owls, three. 'Twoo' said the mother, 'We twoo' said the three. So

Text Reading

Text Comment

Life Comment

they twood all day  
in a hole in a tree

63 Tree

64 Over in the meadow  
by the old barn door,  
lived an old mother  
rat and her little  
ratties four. 'Gnaw'  
said the mother,

66 So they gnawed  
all day by the old  
barn door

73 Over in the  
meadow in a snug

75...beehive

65 What's she eating?

67 I think they look  
like strawberries  
to me

68 I like  
strawberries  
69 So do I  
70 I like, I like..  
strawberries  
71 Do you?  
72 Mmm.

74 I eat that  
before

76 You've eaten  
what?  
77 (points to  
strawberries)  
78 Strawberries?  
79 Yeah

80 1,2,3,4,5,  
(from illus.)

Lesson Two. January 1988. Jessica, 'The Windy Day'

Teacher's contributions are underlined throughout.

~~~~~ = teacher and child read in unison

Text Reading

Text Comment

Life Comment

- 1 Do you have to
read that, or not?
(points to dedication)
- 2 Oh, that just says...

3 David and Jessica
live with their
parents and Sikie
the dog at number
14, Park Road

- 4 (indecipherable)
- 5 Pardon?

- 6 My name's Jessica
- 7 Oh yes, that's you!

8 Their auntie Pat
lives at number
29, Elm Drive.
The houses are
a long way apart
by road, but there
is a short cut
across a little
park

- 9 Where's Jessica,
then?
- 10 There
- 11 Yes, that's her
- 12 And that's David.
And there's the dog

13 (loudly) David
and Jessica and
14 their dog
15 their dog Sally
16 often cross the
park to
17 visit Auntie Pat
18 Mummy telephones
first, then she
takes them to the
park gates
19 Auntie Pat
20 waits at the other
side of
21 the park. It was
22 blowing hard when
23 David and Jessica
24 set out across

| Text Reading | Text Comment | Life Comment |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------|
| 25 the park. Jessica | | |
| 26 <u>wanted</u> | | |
| 27 to play in the | | |
| 28 <u>sand</u> | | |
| 29 'No' said David, | | |
| 'You.. | | |
| 30 <u>might get sand</u> | | |
| 31 in your eyes | | |
| 32 <u>and that would</u> | | |
| 33 hurt | | |
| 34 <u>'hurt' said</u> | | |
| 35 Jessica | | |
| 36 <u>rubbing</u> | | |
| 37 her eye | | |
| 38 <u>They tied Silkie to</u> | | |
| <u>a bench and rode on</u> | | |
| <u>the see-saw. Jessica</u> | | |
| <u>held...</u> | | |
| 39 her kite. David | | |
| 40 <u>held it</u> | | |
| 41 too. 'Look' he | | |
| 42 <u>shouted</u> | | |
| | 43 <u>You've read half</u> | |
| | <u>this book so far,</u> | |
| | <u>haven't you?</u> | |
| 44 <u>She helped</u> | | |
| 45 David to | | |
| 46 <u>tie</u> | | |
| 47 the | | |
| 48 <u>string</u> | | |
| 49 and | | |
| 50 <u>fit</u> | | |
| 51 the | | |
| 52 <u>bamboo canes into</u> | | |
| <u>the cloth. Then, while</u> | | |
| 53 Jessica | | |
| 54 <u>held</u> | | |
| 55 Silkie, David | | |
| 56 <u>flew</u> | | |
| 57 his kite. Auntie Pat | | |
| looked at | | |
| 58 <u>her watch. 'Oh look!'</u> | | |
| 59 she said | | |
| 60 <u>'My washing will be dry</u> | | |
| 61 <u>While</u> | | |
| 62 Jessica and Silkie | | |
| 63 <u>watched</u> | | |
| 64 David | | |
| 65 <u>wound in his</u> | | |
| 66 kite. | | |

Text Reading

Text Comment

Life Comment

67 The kite collapsed on
the ground with a little
sigh

68 David

69 slipped the kite back in
its bag ready for the
next

70 windy day

71 That's a nice
story, isn't it?

72 Yes. I think it's
a new one. Let's
see when it was
published...

Lesson Two, January 1988. Gillian, 'My Day'
(1st. 5 mins.)

Teacher's contributions are underlined throughout.

~~~~~ = teacher and child read in unison

(dog) = child reads incorrect word

| Text Reading                                                                                                              | Text Comment                                                          | Life Comment |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|
|                                                                                                                           | 1 <u>It's called</u>                                                  |              |
| 2 <u>My Day</u>                                                                                                           |                                                                       |              |
| 3 My Day                                                                                                                  |                                                                       |              |
|                                                                                                                           | 4 I can't even read<br>this. You read it<br>and I'll listen to<br>you |              |
|                                                                                                                           | 5 <u>You can help me with<br/>it</u>                                  |              |
| 6 <u>I'm getting up</u>                                                                                                   |                                                                       |              |
| 7 Up                                                                                                                      |                                                                       |              |
| 8 <u>I can name lots of<br/>things. Follow me<br/>and see if you can<br/>too</u>                                          |                                                                       |              |
| 9 too                                                                                                                     |                                                                       |              |
| 10 <u>I get dressed</u>                                                                                                   |                                                                       |              |
| 11 (points to pics)<br>dress (knickers)<br>(jumper), socks,<br>shoes                                                      |                                                                       |              |
|                                                                                                                           | 12 <u>Mmm.</u>                                                        |              |
| 13 <u>My house</u>                                                                                                        |                                                                       |              |
| 14 My house<br>(Rabbit)                                                                                                   |                                                                       |              |
|                                                                                                                           | 15 <u>It's a lamb, actually</u>                                       |              |
|                                                                                                                           | 16 You read it now                                                    |              |
| 17 <u>lamb, chair, cat,<br/>window, picture,<br/>table, television</u>                                                    |                                                                       |              |
| 18 television                                                                                                             |                                                                       |              |
|                                                                                                                           | 19 You read it now                                                    |              |
| 20 <u>fridge, clock,<br/>kettle, dustpan<br/>&amp; brush, washing-<br/>machine, toaster,<br/>vacuum-cleaner,<br/>iron</u> |                                                                       |              |
|                                                                                                                           | 21 I didn't even see the<br>words                                     |              |
| 22 <u>My garden.<br/>Watering-can,<br/>butterfly, bird.<br/>ladybird, wall,<br/>wheelbarrow, frog</u>                     |                                                                       |              |
| 23 frog                                                                                                                   |                                                                       |              |

## Text Reading

## Text Comment

## Life Comment

- 24 I've got a frog  
in my garden  
I found it the  
other day in a  
bucket
- 25 Was it in your  
bucket?
- 26 Mmm.
- 27 Is it still in  
your bucket?
- 28 No, I put it out  
into the garden
- 29 My toys
- 30 My toys
- 31 Bricks, ball,  
rocking-horse, doll,  
drum, telephone,  
car
- 32 car
- 33 These are all  
toys, in't they?
- 34 Mmm.
- 35 Are you going  
to do the next  
page?
- 36 Yeah
- 37 (My pram)
- 38 I'm going shopping
- 39 I'm going shopping
- 40 pram, bag, (car),  
(gloves)
- 41 Mmm.
- 42 keys, (glasses),  
cake, (flowers),  
(letter)
- 43 Mmm.
- 44 (My garden)  
swing, (leaves),  
(dog), (duck),  
see-saw
- 45 (My garden)  
pig, (cockrel),  
(chick), cow

Lesson Two, January, 1988. Tajul, 'Smartypants'  
 Teacher's contributions are underlined throughout.  
 ~~~~~= teacher and child read in unison.

| Text Reading | Text Comment | Life Comment |
|---|--|--------------|
| | 1 <u>You read that one</u>
<u>to me</u> | |
| 2 Smartypants | 3 <u>Mmm.</u> | |
| 4 Smartypants | 5 <u>Yes</u> | |
| 6 <u>I am a</u>
<u>smartypants,</u>
<u>rum, tum, toe.</u>
<u>Here is a racing-</u> | | |
| 7 car | | |
| 8 <u>see me</u> | | |
| 9 go | | |
| 10 <u>I am a smarty</u> | | |
| 11 <u>pants</u> | | |
| 12 <u>rum, yum, tie</u> | | |
| 13 <u>Here is..</u> | | |
| 14 <u>Here is an</u> | | |
| 15 <u>aeroplane. See me</u>
<u>fly.</u> | | |
| 16 <u>I am a smartypants</u>
<u>Rum, tum, tay.</u>
<u>Here is a trumpet</u> | | |
| 17 <u>See me play</u> | | |
| 18 <u>I am a smartypants</u>
<u>Rum, tum, tim,</u> | | |
| 19 <u>Here is a</u> | | |
| 20 <u>Swimming-pool. See</u>
<u>me swim</u> | | |
| 21 <u>I am a smartypants</u>
<u>Rum, tum, tee,</u> | | |
| 22 <u>Here is a</u> | | |
| 23 <u>mountain</u> | | |
| 24 <u>see me (skate)</u> | | |
| 25 <u>ski</u> | | |
| 26 <u>I am a smartypants</u>
<u>rum</u> | | |
| 27 <u>tum, tee</u> | | |
| 28 <u>Here is a</u> | | |
| 29 <u>jungle vine</u> | | |
| 30 <u>see me swing</u> | | |
| 31 <u>and</u> | | |
| 32 <u>swing. And swing</u>
<u>and swing and swing</u>
<u>(loudly)</u> | | |
| 34 <u>Oops!</u> | 33 <u>Mmm.</u> | |

Text Reading

Text Comment

Life Comment

35 I
36 am a smartypants
37 rum, tum, tum,
38 see me
39 fall
40 down
41 on my
42 thumb
43 on my thumb!
44 on my thumb!

45 That's your thumb
(showing him)

46 Did you like that
story?
47 That's a good book

Lesson Two. January 1988. Tony, 'Rosie's Walk'
 Teacher's contributions are underlined throughout.
 ~~~~ = teacher & child read in unison.

| Text Reading           | Text Comment                                                                                                          | Life Comment                                                                                                                                                                        |
|------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                        | 1 <u>I like this story.</u><br><u>And I like that one</u><br><u>too.</u>                                              |                                                                                                                                                                                     |
|                        | 2 I don't like that                                                                                                   |                                                                                                                                                                                     |
|                        | 3 <u>Don't you?</u>                                                                                                   |                                                                                                                                                                                     |
|                        | 4 It's a long story                                                                                                   |                                                                                                                                                                                     |
|                        | 5 <u>Don't you like long</u><br><u>stories?</u>                                                                       |                                                                                                                                                                                     |
|                        | 6 No.                                                                                                                 |                                                                                                                                                                                     |
|                        | 7 <u>No? Why not?</u>                                                                                                 |                                                                                                                                                                                     |
|                        | 8 'Cos I not. I want<br>this one, not that<br>one.                                                                    |                                                                                                                                                                                     |
|                        | 9 <u>O.K.</u>                                                                                                         |                                                                                                                                                                                     |
|                        | 10 <u>Where are you</u><br><u>going to start</u><br><u>then?</u>                                                      |                                                                                                                                                                                     |
|                        | 11 There (½ way thro')                                                                                                |                                                                                                                                                                                     |
|                        | 12 <u>What about the front</u><br><u>of the book? Aren't</u><br><u>you going to start at</u><br><u>the beginning?</u> |                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| 13 Rosie...            |                                                                                                                       |                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| 14 <u>Rosie's Walk</u> |                                                                                                                       |                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| 15 <u>Walk.</u>        |                                                                                                                       |                                                                                                                                                                                     |
|                        | <u>Rosie's Walk</u>                                                                                                   |                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| 16 Rosie               |                                                                                                                       |                                                                                                                                                                                     |
|                        | 17 <u>Mmm?</u>                                                                                                        |                                                                                                                                                                                     |
|                        | 18 Don't know                                                                                                         |                                                                                                                                                                                     |
|                        | 19 <u>Shall I read and you</u><br><u>join in with me?</u>                                                             |                                                                                                                                                                                     |
|                        |                                                                                                                       | 20 What's that book?<br>(pointing to<br>another book)                                                                                                                               |
|                        |                                                                                                                       | 21 <u>That's a different</u><br><u>book. That one's</u><br><u>about dinosaurs.</u><br><u>Let's leave that</u><br><u>one for the moment.</u><br><u>Let's read this</u><br><u>one</u> |
|                        |                                                                                                                       | 22 <u>What's that?</u>                                                                                                                                                              |
|                        |                                                                                                                       | 23 <u>Mmm?</u>                                                                                                                                                                      |
|                        |                                                                                                                       | 24 <u>What's that?</u>                                                                                                                                                              |
|                        |                                                                                                                       | 25 <u>That's a book-mark</u>                                                                                                                                                        |

| Text Reading                                    | Text Comment                                       | Life Comment                                                                                                                 |
|-------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                                                 |                                                    | 26 Is that yours?                                                                                                            |
|                                                 |                                                    | 27 <u>Mmm. It goes in the book, you see. To mark the place.</u>                                                              |
|                                                 | 28 <u>Shall I start reading to you and you...?</u> |                                                                                                                              |
|                                                 | 29 Yes                                             |                                                                                                                              |
|                                                 | 30 <u>O.K.</u>                                     |                                                                                                                              |
| 31 <u>Rosie the hen went for a walk</u><br>Walk |                                                    |                                                                                                                              |
| 32 <u>Across the yard</u>                       |                                                    |                                                                                                                              |
| 33 Yard                                         |                                                    |                                                                                                                              |
| 34 <u>Whoops!</u>                               |                                                    |                                                                                                                              |
| 35 <u>Whoops!</u>                               |                                                    |                                                                                                                              |
| 36 <u>Around the pond</u>                       |                                                    |                                                                                                                              |
| 37 Pond                                         |                                                    |                                                                                                                              |
| 38 <u>Splash!</u>                               |                                                    |                                                                                                                              |
| 39 Splash                                       |                                                    |                                                                                                                              |
| 40 <u>Over the haycock</u>                      |                                                    |                                                                                                                              |
| 41 Haycock                                      |                                                    |                                                                                                                              |
| 42 <u>Past the mill</u>                         |                                                    |                                                                                                                              |
| 43 Mill                                         |                                                    |                                                                                                                              |
| 44 <u>Haa! Through the fence</u>                |                                                    |                                                                                                                              |
| 45 Fence                                        |                                                    |                                                                                                                              |
| 46 <u>Under the beehives</u>                    |                                                    |                                                                                                                              |
| 47 Bzzzzz                                       |                                                    |                                                                                                                              |
| 48 <u>And got back in time for dinner</u>       |                                                    |                                                                                                                              |
| 49 Dinner                                       |                                                    |                                                                                                                              |
|                                                 |                                                    | 50 <u>That's the end of that story. That was a short one, wasn't it? What about another story? Do you like any of these?</u> |
|                                                 |                                                    | 51 (definitely)<br>I don't like it                                                                                           |
|                                                 |                                                    | 52 I don't like those books                                                                                                  |
|                                                 |                                                    | 53 <u>You don't like any of them?</u>                                                                                        |
|                                                 |                                                    | 54 No                                                                                                                        |
|                                                 |                                                    | 55 <u>Which one do you like then? You pick another one</u>                                                                   |

Text Reading

Text Comment

Life Comment

56 No. I want to  
do my Maths.

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