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**THE ROLE OF PLANNING TIME IN INDUCTING  
PRESCHOOL CHILDREN INTO ASPECTS OF SCHOOLED  
LITERACY**

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Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of  
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## **DECLARATION**

I, Tracy Nel, declare that this study represents original work and has not been submitted to another university. Where use is made of the work of others it has been duly indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

Durban

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## **ABSTRACT**

This dissertation describes a microethnographic study of the induction of preschool children into the practices of schooled literacy at an ex-Natal Education Department, Anglican-affiliated preschool. The sources of data are participant observation and audio-recordings of planning time interaction; interviews with key informants; and site documentation.

The principal finding of the study is that planning time, a seemingly inconsequential preschool event, differentially inducts children into literacy practices that anticipate expository reporting. Such literacy practices carry high prestige in Western capitalist society, being the recognised convention for presenting and contesting information. Planning time was originally designed as an intervention program to facilitate nonmainstream literacy acquisition by making the conventions explicit, thus minimising cultural and linguistic discontinuities between home and school-based literacy practices. However at Church Preschool, an essentially closed environment with access controlled by mechanisms such as waiting lists, this event has been co-opted to further maximise mainstream advantage. The data reveals that, despite a rhetoric of openness in making the norms explicit, planning time only inducts nonmainstream children into elementary literacy practices. Beyond that point, the conventions become increasingly implicit and depend on shared knowledge of mainstream norms.

Planning time functions as a covert gatekeeping event that effectively maintains the status quo by guarding access to powerful literacy practices. The tension between the rhetoric of openness and the reality of who gains mastery of the literacy practices suggests that planning time restricts access not on the level of entry, but at the point of acquisition.

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## **ERRATA**

page 99, paragraph 2, line 13, sentence "As the example of Luke's planning turn illustrates (see page 110)..." - "page 110" should read "page 97".

page 100, paragraph 2, line 25, sentence "Unlike Luke's abbreviated planning turn, discussed on page 110..." - "page 110" should read "page 97".

## **CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION**

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

*Planning time* is a recurring event within the routine of ringtime at Church Preschool; as I will show in 1.2.2 it is a key literacy event which socialises children into literacy practices favoured by the school community. In this chapter I provide an ecological perspective of planning time as it takes place within the interactional patterns of the school day at Church Preschool. I start by briefly describing Church Preschool within the community; next I outline the pattern of the daily preschool routine. I turn then to the theory of planning time in terms of its original ideological purpose; and how this translates into practice in the specific context of Church Preschool. Thereafter I set this account in the context of my study, outline the research questions which inform the direction of my study and overview the design of the dissertation as a whole.

### **1.1 CHURCH PRESCHOOL**

Church Preschool has a multicultural pupil population of sixty two children. There are two teachers: Miss Smith, who has been the principal and class teacher of the Blue Group for eight years; and Mrs June, who is the teacher of the school-readiness class, the Yellow Group. In addition to teaching, Miss Smith is involved in preschool policy and syllabus formulation and teacher training on a provincial level. The school community of sixty-two children and two teachers is completed by a full-time secretary, Mrs Farmer; a qualified teacher aide, Miss Bengu; and a groundsman, Mr Buthelezi. In addition to their non-academic duties, Mrs Farmer and Miss Bengu act as facilitators during play periods. The ethos of the "family of the school" appears to include everybody, including Miss Bengu and Mr Buthelezi, who are referred to by title and surname by pupils and parents alike. This

is unusual in view of school workers' historically low status in ex-Natal Education Department (ex-NED) schools. To gain a sense of the institution, the key figures and the nature of my interactions with these people, the reader may wish to turn to parts of chapter 3 which detail my entry into the school (cf 3.2 and 3.3) and Appendix D pages D1 - D10 where Miss Smith clearly spells out the conventions of planning time to the Blue Group children.

As an Anglican, ex-NED preschool located in an upper socio-economic suburb in Durban, Church Preschool was started twenty-two years ago by the parish to serve the needs of the "community in the area"; therefore, at that time, the "school family" was wholly white, middle-class and predominantly Anglican. According to the Chairperson of the School Board, my key informant about the school's history (cf Appendix B pages B1 - B2), the original school constitution remains relatively unchanged; the pupil mix, on the other hand, has changed somewhat. There are two classes at Church Preschool: the Yellow Group, which is the school-readiness, five-year-old class; and the Blue Group, which is the entry-level, four-year-old class. Blue Group, with which my study largely concerns itself, comprises 32 children: four of whom are African, two Indian, one 'Coloured', and the rest White. This suggests how slightly the pupil mix has in fact changed. However, Mrs Westman (Appendix B pages B1-B2) claims that the tradition of booking children into the school at birth and siblings' automatic acceptance masks the school's actual policy; because it is difficult for new parents in the area (i.e. Zulu-speaking and Indian families) to bypass the waiting list.

In 4.1, I discuss the possible ideological significance of this contrast between a pupil population which is more reflective of South African middle-class demographics; and a policy which seems to have several built-in mechanisms to maintain the status quo including, in the words of the chairperson of the school board (Appendix B pages B1-B2), a "very long waiting list" to which children's names are added at birth; and teachers who must be "properly qualified" and be "part of the family of the school". Furthermore, and this is a point to which I return in 5.1.3, the school itself is difficult to find. It is located on the church premises behind the church; and there is no sign or noticeboard explaining where it is. Hence the apparent openness of the school policy is qualified by the reality that it is open only to those who know of its hidden location; this knowledge derives in part from insider status in the community. There is a policy of openness, "we've always been receptive and open to children from other groups", which is somewhat reflected in the pupil mix; and yet there is a sense of tradition being carefully guarded. One of the aims of my study is to explore this tension in terms of planning time; and whose interests are being promoted by this event.

### **1.1.1 The Daily Routine**

The daily routine at Church Preschool follows an alternating pattern of teacher-directed activities and free play: inside play, early morning ring, free play, mid-morning ring, snack time, free play and end-of-day ring. Divisions between activities are clearly indicated by specific signs that signal the changeover from one activity to another: the switching off of the light is the signal that early morning inside play is at an end and the children must lower their voices and tidy away the toys before moving into the classroom for ringtime, "remember, when the light goes off, so do your voices and I want all eyes looking at me



please, Blue Group"; The divisions within ringtime are indicated by song, "who are the servers, who are the servers?"; sung grace in Zulu or English is the sign to the seated children at snacktime that they may now eat; and the shaking of a shaker by a designated child brings free play to a close.

The predictability of the daily routine and the boundary markers just mentioned facilitate the children's response in terms of their awareness that the ending of one activity and the start of another means a different interactional routine with a different set of rights and obligations. It is the predictable 'sameness' of these markers that help to cue the children as to the correct response; this is evidenced by their delayed, or absent, response to an unfamiliar signal, such as handclapping. This predictability, which facilitates the children's induction into the overarching framework of the school's daily routine, characterises the micro-level of speech events such as ringtime, which is the specific concern of my study.

## 1.2 PLANNING TIME

"Planning time" is the emic label given to a literacy event within the larger event of early morning ring. In brief, the concept of "Plan, Do and Review" - which underlies planning time and gives it conceptual unity - means that: in early morning ring the children select and present their planned activities for the morning (*planning*); during "free play" they do their activities according to their plans (*doing*); and during the end-of-day ring they review the plans they made earlier in terms of how closely their performance matched their earlier proposal (*reviewing*).

In both planning and reviewing, the teacher plays a central role in helping children to elaborate and clarify their plans. Through the construction of a vertical scaffolding dialogue (discussed in 2.3), the teacher builds the children's utterances into a more explicit contribution than they are capable of unaided. This gap between what the child can achieve unaided and his/her performance when supported by scaffolding is the zone of proximal development, as discussed in 2.3, whereby the teacher models and progressively inducts the child into the practices of schooled literacy.

### **1.2.1 The Ideology of Planning Time**

To understand the original ideology behind planning time and its current function at Church Preschool, it is necessary to look critically at its origins in the Ypsilanti Perry Preschool Project. This project, instituted in America in the 1960s, was in response to a perceived need in the lower socio-economic population of the community for preschool intervention with the long term aim of improving the drop-out and failure rate. The resultant program grew out of the belief by state legislators and educators in the "long term benefits, to children and society, of high quality early childhood education" (Weikart 1989:viii) because "education has been the traditional means by which people have improved their prospects for productive and satisfying lives" (1989:2).

Initial proposals to adjust the school structure to the needs of historically "at risk" children were countered by the belief that intervention must "'adjust" the children to the demands of the educational system" (Weikart 1989:xi). Although these two approaches are somewhat different in their emphasis, there is commonality of purpose: to improve these children's long-term chances of economic success by inducting them into the practices and

conventions of schooled literacy. This belief in the causal relationship between education and economic success is a key tenet of the autonomous model of literacy, outlined in 2.1.1:

"poor children who attend a good early childhood development program are better prepared for school... their greater success in school tends to lead to greater success in adolescence and adulthood. Their rates of delinquency, teenage pregnancy, and welfare usage are lower, and their rates of high school completion and subsequent employment are higher" (Weikart 1989:4).

The organising principle for the daily routine of this program of preschool intervention is the three-part sequence of Plan, Do and Review, believed by its advocates to be "the most powerful tool a child can have to affect what's going to happen next in his or her life... the ability to make a plan and carry it out" (Hohmann et al 1979:279). The talk, which is a necessary part of planning, is believed by its protagonists to help the child to construct a mental image of the proposed plan. Having articulated the steps of the plan, he/she is then able to proceed with a clearer sense of purpose. The child, attaching language to his/her actions, develops increased awareness of the relationship between his/her plans and subsequent actions. These practices, with their high level of explicitness, are heavily biased in favour of middle-class norms; I explore this further in 2.5.1 in the match between school and home-based literacies. Reviewing completes the planning and doing process; in ensuring accountability, it constitutes a mechanism to maintain the structure of planning. Planning time protagonists argue that talking about, recalling and representing their actions help children to evaluate and learn from their experiences (Hohmann et al 1979:88).

According to Hohmann et al's argument, children who plan begin to see themselves as autonomous individuals, who have control over their decisions and activities. This notion of individuality is a middle-class construct that describes the individual's ability to act autonomously upon and talk about his/her environment according to middle-class

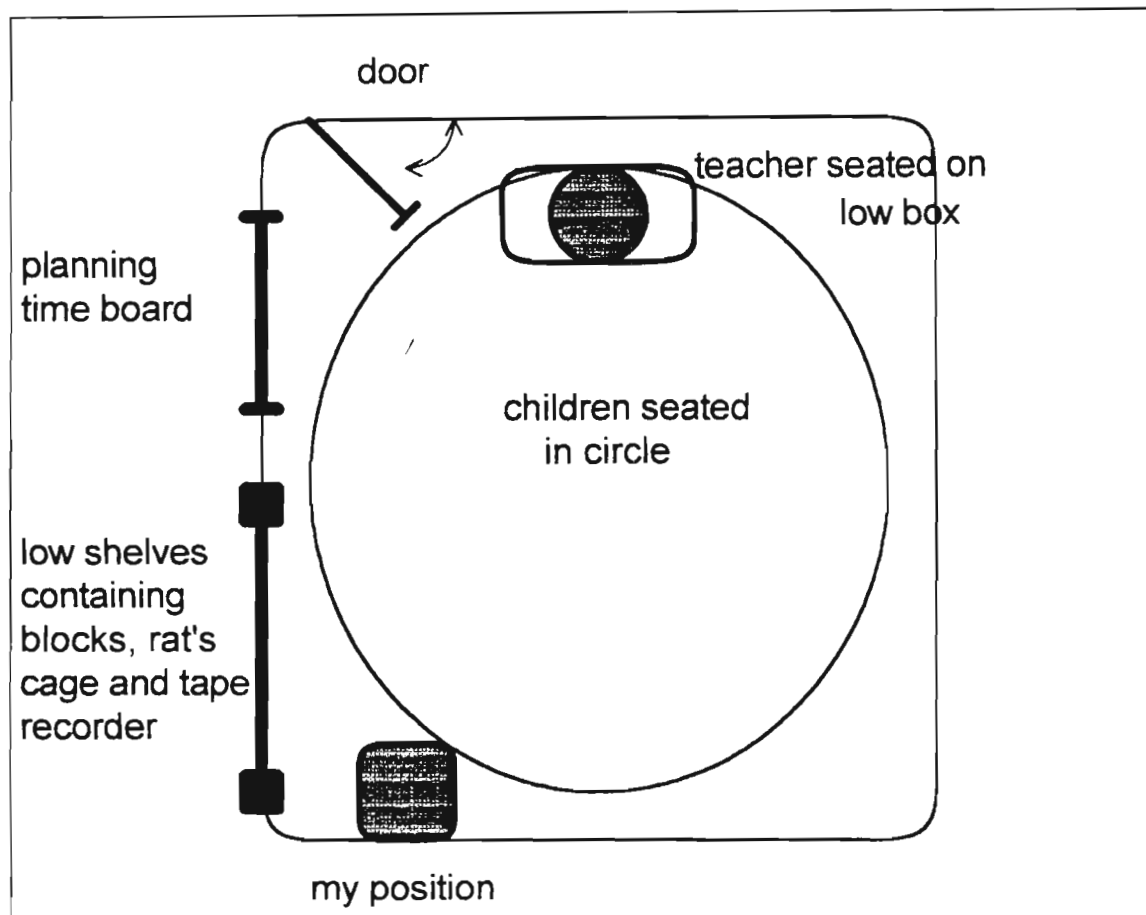
conventions and practices. I argue in 2.5.2 that this notion may not be compatible with the group-based definitions of individuality that many members of nonmainstream communities may bring to the classroom. The ideological stance of the Perry Project that, "disadvantaged ... children could be taught to wrest an education from the school system as middle-class children did" (Weikart 1989:xi) is ironic in its implication that mainstream children struggle to gain access to institutionalised literacy practices; because, as I discuss in 2.2.1, schooled literacy practices are middle-class conventions. Therefore the middle-class child recognises these conventions as a 'natural' part of his/her interactional repertoire. This argument serves to reveal the middle-class bias in the practices and beliefs promoted by planning time. In the analysis of the data in chapter 4, I examine the ideological investment in planning time in terms of the nature of the literacy practices that it promotes and whose interests it serves. This question is of particular significance in terms of **Church Preschool** where an activity, originally designed to induct nonmainstream children into mainstream practices, is used in a mainstream context.

### **1.2.2 The Practice of Planning Time**

At Church Preschool, the Blue Group is introduced to planning time at the beginning of the third term when the teacher judges the children "ready". Although the teacher claims that, "the third term is really an arbitrary date, they could start planning at the beginning of the year" (Appendix A pages A3-A8), in the same interview she qualifies this: "In the first two terms we establish the routine of ringtime and the concept of chores, etc. In fact, we may even spend the whole of the first term talking about how we must sit with crossed legs and not fiddle with our shoes!" The inference is that children must first be successfully inducted into the routine of ringtime in terms of interactional rules and skills such as recognition of

their names before they are ready for the routine of planning.

To contextualise the interactional data presented in Appendices D and E and analysed in chapter 4, I now describe the rituals associated with planning time. This description is further clarified by the diagram below depicting how the classroom is organised during planning time:



**Diagram: Planning time layout**

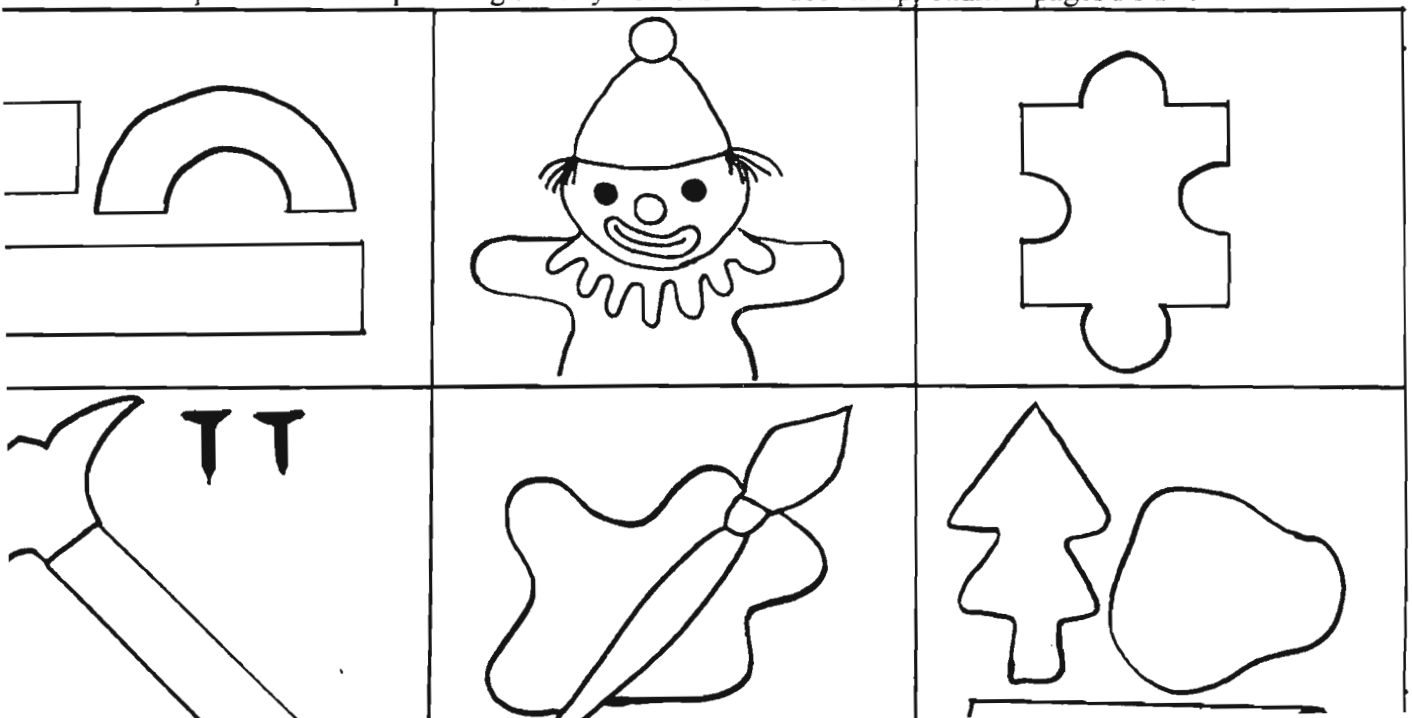
The children plan once a week on a rotational basis according to their membership of one of the four, eight-member snackgroups: red, purple, green and orange. After the routine chores of the register, weather, appointment of snacktime servers and the counting of the notebooks, which themselves serve literacy-related purposes in the way that they function to

label and classify the preschool world, **planning** takes place as the first phase in the three-part planning time sequence. The planning children get up from their places and go across to the planning time board where they:

- (a) identify their name cards (which the teacher has already placed on the planning time board);
- (b) choose the picture that symbolises the activity they wish to do;
- (c) slide the selected picture into the slot next to their name; and
- (d) clip onto their clothes a reminder peg that is the same colour as the backing of the activity card - mentioned in (b)

The backing of the pictures and the reminder pegs are coloured to represent the area in which the activities take place: orange is for outdoor activities in the garden; yellow is for the creative room; blue is the block room; green is the big room; and red is for puzzles and books in the office. To clarify this description of planning procedure, I include below a selection of pictures that represent some of the activities chosen by the children in the planning sessions I recorded: blocks; puppets; puzzles; woodwork; painting and playdough.

A complete set of the planning time symbols is included in Appendix F pages F1-F3.



Once the children have selected their pictures, attached their pegs and returned to their places, the teacher announces the start of the planning event by singing the planning song:

"Purple Group tell us about your plans, about your plans, about your plans  
Purple Group tell us about your plans, and what you're going to do today."

The children join in the singing. To avoid confusion it is important to stress that the term, "Blue Group" refers to the whole class; and the term, "Purple (or Red, Green or Orange) Group" refers to an eight-child planning group within the Blue Group. The teacher then calls on each planning child in turn to stand up, to speak in a "big, loud voice" and to explain his/her plan according to *what* has been chosen, *how* the child intends to carry out the plan and *who* his/her chosen planning partner is. Once the child can relate his/her plan according to this preferred sequence, the teacher scaffolds the child's contribution with questions that ask him/her to expand and refine the planning account by providing "details", the resultant report being more detailed than the child would give, unprompted. The child's ability to pick up on the teacher's cues for a more explicit account is usually richly affirmed by the teacher, who often makes the conventions of planning explicit as a result:

- E: I'm going to swing this way and this way (gestures with hands backwards and forwards).  
Miss S: Sshh! **This is an excellent plan! She's giving me details. I love details. Details are when you tell me all the little things as well.**  
And what else, how else are you going to swing?  
E: I'm going to swing backwards and forwards.

The end of planning normally coincides with the end of ringtime, announced by the teacher in a variety of formulaic utterances that include a request for a specific child to open the door or a negative question, which is marked either by tonal emphasis or metatalk:

Miss Smith: This is a negative statement: if you are not a girl, stand up. Sit down, you two. Okay, would the girls please go outside.

The immediate contrast in noise level and behaviour between the children sitting quietly in a circle for ringtime and their noisy activity in the free play that follows, clearly indicates their

awareness that a different set of rights and obligations apply in each event. During free play the teachers act as facilitators in the garden and indoor areas; the children are free to choose their activities. However, the expectation implicit in "you must do your plan straight away or you'll forget, okay" constrains the planning children's actions, because they are obliged to do their planned activities before engaging in other pursuits. In other words, the **doing** phase of planning time is expected to take place during this period of free play. Successful reviewing depends on children "doing" their plan before they forget, and returning their reminder peg to the box in the classroom. The teacher's comment that, "planning helps the more boisterous boys to explore the more thoughtful activities instead of just rampaging through the school in marauding gangs" suggests, as I discuss in 4.2.5, that the effect of planning on free play functions as a form of teacher surveillance. This supports Foucault's argument (cf 2.2.1) that the school is a form of control and surveillance which inducts children into the practices of schooled literacy through recurring events.

**Review** constitutes the focus of the end-of-the-day ring. During the final phase of planning time, the child is publicly accountable for the successful completion of his/her plan as the teacher calls on the planning children to:

"Tell us if you did what you planned. When you review, you tell us if you did the plan the way you planned it or if your plan changed in some way or if you liked your plan or if you didn't like your plan or whatever."

The more closely the child's recount approximates the targeted behaviour in conforming to the preferred sequence of *what* and *how* and *with whom*, the more richly the teacher endorses the performance. If the child either forgets to do his/her plan or changes it, the teacher scaffolds the child's talk with questions that require an explanation justifying why the activity was not carried out as planned in the early morning ring planning session.



However, whilst reason- explanations justifying plan changes are affirmed as competent reviewing, failure to do a plan prompts the teacher to articulate the expectations of planning time overtly. Implicit in the teacher's responses is the belief that it is acceptable that plans change if the child can provide an explanation justifying the change. I discuss the teacher's expectations at length in chapter 4.

Having contextualised planning time within the framework of the school routine as a recurring event within the larger event of ringtime, I turn in the following section to an outline of the research questions that directed my study.

### **1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

I list below the questions which were the point of departure for my research. These research questions, which direct my approach and focus to the study of planning time, arose mainly out of the survey of the relevant literature (cf chapter 2). As I indicate in the overview of the dissertation that follows, these questions inform my analysis of the data in chapter 4; and I return to them in chapter 5 to summarise my findings in relation to both the research questions and the expectations raised by the review of the literature in chapter 2.

- (1) What aspects of schooled literacy are rehearsed during planning time?
- (2) What are teacher and child literacy expectations during planning time?
- (3) In what way, if any, are children disadvantaged during planning time?
- (4) Whose interests are promoted in planning time?
- (5) What are the practical applications of this research?

#### **1.4 OVERVIEW OF THE DISSERTATION**

The literature review in the next chapter surveys three bodies of research that have relevance for my study, namely those relating to: models of literacy; the conventions of schooled literacy; and ethnographic studies of mainstream and nonmainstream home-based literacy practices. Firstly, I begin by describing the autonomous model of literacy which informs traditional interpretations of mainstream literacy practices and the ideological model which informs my study and requires in particular that literacy events must be examined in context. Secondly, I outline the conventions of schooled literacy practices in a series of classroom events and products which, in their commonality of purpose and conventions, are significant in the way they collaborate to progressively co-opt the individual: ringtime, teacher-pupil writing conferences and factual writing. Thirdly, I turn to ethnographic studies of mainstream and nonmainstream home-based literacy practices in terms of the differential degree to which these prepare children for the demands of school literacy practices. The work of Heath (1983a) and Scollon & Scollon (1984), in particular, challenge the autonomous interpretation of the nature of nonmainstream cultures' acquisition of schooled literacy; they describe both the richness of these groups' home literacies and the potential cost of sacrificing these in exchange for mainstream practices. In view of the absence of similar ethnographic studies in the South African context, their research offers my study valuable insights into the issue of nonmainstream acquisition of planning time practices at Church Preschool and suggests that degree of distance between home-based and school-based literacy practices can affect the ease with which the individual acquires the latter.

In chapter 3, I outline my methods of data collection. I describe my study as an emic investigation of a preschool literacy event for which microethnographic research procedures and methods of data collection are most effective. Having explained my reasons for selecting Church Preschool as the site of study, I describe my entry into the field and the nature of my presence at the school for the duration of my study. Thereafter I outline my methods of data collection: participant observation; audiorecording; interviews and site documentation. I argue that drawing data from these four sources achieves triangulation, thereby helping to validate the results and conclusions of my study by providing confirming and disconfirming evidence.

In Chapter 4, I turn to the analysis of the data, directed by the research questions (cf 1.3). I examine the way in which planning time functions hegemonically to displace oppositional literacies and induct children into aspects of schooled literacy by co-opting them into subject positions as audience and planners within the discourse community. The chief finding of this chapter is that, although planning time anticipates the practices of expository reporting, not all children rehearse the conventions of expository reporting during this event. Despite a policy of openness, planning time serves a gatekeeping role in denying access to, and practice of, exclusive literacy practices to those unable to comply with the maxims that inform the teacher's schema. The data reveals that the explicitness with which the teacher articulates these maxims is directly proportional to the degree to which they depend on shared middle-class norms. Therefore, it would appear that those whom planning time empowers least are those for whom the linguistic and cultural discontinuities between home and school-based literacies are greatest.

Finally, in chapter 5 I summarise the findings of the study in relation to my research questions and the expectations raised by the literature reviewed in chapter 2. Thereafter I outline practical applications for this research and offer directions for further study. I suggest the need to place literacy on the agenda of educational reform and curriculum development in post-apartheid South Africa; and the importance of feeding research findings back to the teachers, as classroom-based researchers (Erickson 1986:157), to enable them to critically examine the ideological investment of the literacy practices they promote. Making space in the classroom for other literacy practices depends on teachers' critical self-awareness of their own teaching practices and agendas.

## **CHAPTER 2 : LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.0 INTRODUCTION**

The literature review is intended to contextualise my study in terms of previous research conducted into the nature, function and acquisition of schooled literacy practices. In 3.2, in the context of the microethnographic methods employed by this study, I discuss Erickson's (1988) description of ethnography as both holistic and comparative. It is the holism, deriving from the microethnographic methods of data collection and analysis discussed in 3.4, which gives ethnography its richness; it is the comparison, achieved by hypotheses deriving from reading earlier ethnographies and the contrast of the results of the data analysis with the findings of these studies, which gives ethnography its breadth of view. My own study strives to combine the holism deriving from the microethnographic methods employed with comparative analysis of my findings with those of other studies.

A central tenet of my study is the belief that literacy practices are ideologically specific conventions. As such, they can be neither culturally nor politically neutral; they carry an inevitable ideological investment. It is necessary, therefore, to clarify the ideological bias of my study by first outlining the key tenets of the autonomous model of literacy which, in viewing literacy as a neutral and universal set of reading and writing skills, forms the basis of traditional notions of literacy. I then contrast this model with the ideological model that, in viewing literacy as a plurality of culturally and ideologically invested practices, better represents literacy behaviour and informs my study.

Because the focus of my study is the role of key literacy events in the induction of children into specific literacy practices, I next examine the concept of "schooled literacy" as a set of

middle-class literacy practices which are highly valued by Western, technological society. I discuss the way in which classroom routines, such as 'ringtime', story recall, reading aloud, writing sessions and the science lesson function as key literacy events that socialise children into these preferred literacy conventions. According to the view of literacy as a set of ideologically invested practices, the middle-class bias of schooled literacy functions to maximise the advantage of mainstream children, for whom these practices are 'natural' and 'common-sense'. On the other hand, it magnifies the disadvantage of nonmainstream children, for whom school-based literacy practices least resemble home-based practices. Therefore I turn to ethnographic studies of mainstream and nonmainstream home-based literacy practices. Their findings reveal that access to school-based literacy practices and, by extension, the powerful literacies of the commercial and industrial boardroom is differential, and based on the degree of similarity between home and school-based practices. In this regard I give Heath's (1983a) study of mainstream and nonmainstream literacy practices among Piedmont communities particular prominence because: firstly, no comparable South African ethnographies exist; and secondly, it alerts us to the fact that the function and meaning of texts are culturally specific.

## **2.1 AN OUTLINE OF TWO MODELS OF LITERACY**

In this section I provide an outline of the autonomous and ideological models of literacy. My purpose in examining the key tenets of these opposing models is: firstly, to outline the theoretical framework that informs my analysis of planning time; and secondly, to expose the beliefs deriving from the autonomous model which inform educational theory and practice. The pertinence of these beliefs for my own study is that they inform to a significant extent the schema of the participants, particularly the focal participants, and they lie at the

heart of Weikart et al's philosophy about planning time. These beliefs are illustrated in 1.2.1 by the promotion of planning time as a way of giving nonmainstream children access to education and economic success:

"education has been the traditional means by which people have improved their prospects for productive and satisfying lives" ( Weikart 1989:2).

The contrast between the autonomous and ideological model is exemplified by Scollon and Scollon's (1984:183) concept of "focused" and "nonfocused" situations. In their work on the Athabaskan storytelling tradition, Scollon and Scollon use the term "focused" to describe communicative situations in which there are strong limitations on negotiations between participants; conversely, "non-focused situations" are those in which the highest value is on mutual sense making and negotiation between participants. Extending their sense of communication to include education and research, Scollon and Scollon advocate non-focused research that is sensitive to the ways subjects make sense of the world. According to these criteria, the autonomous model results in focused research and teaching situations which do not recognise the subjects' home literacies; consequently negative ethnic and socioeconomic stereotypes are generated by mainstream groups' failure to acquire the practices of schooled literacy. Conversely, the strength of the ideological model for my study is its concept of literacies as a plurality of home and school-based cultural practices; this permits the recognition that children bring a variety of more or less compatible home-based literacy practices to planning time.

### **2.1.1 The Autonomous Model of Literacy**

The autonomous model defines literacy as a neutral and universal set of skills in reading and writing, which is acquired independently of socioeconomic or cultural factors. As such, literacy is presumed to take the same form and fulfil the same function regardless of social

context; to be literate in urban North America is the same as being literate in rural Tanzania. Fundamental to this belief is a division between the technical and cultural aspects of literacy. However, Scribner and Cole's (1973) study on literacy practices amongst the Vai demonstrates that this is clearly not the case; the division is a "false polarity" (Street 1993:9). The Vai use Arabic for reading, writing and religion; Vai for commerce; and English, which is acquired in school, for government and education. Each literacy develops specific skills, fulfils certain functions and has particular meanings within the daily routine of the society; in other words, literacy practices are socially and culturally embedded.

Not only is literacy neutral and universally accessible, but it is also considered to be desirable. Protagonists of the autonomous model believe that literacy acquisition has far-reaching positive cognitive, social and economic consequences; it facilitates, *inter alia*, the development of the higher thought processes of reasoning and logic and promotes socio-economic mobility. This notion that literacy requires and develops specific cognitive and technical skills establishes a 'great divide' between the characteristics of orality and literacy. In terms of the 'divide', orality and literacy are seen to share no common features. Literacy is characterised by explicitness by which language can stand as an unambiguous and autonomous representation of meaning without reference to, or reliance on, context. Orality, on the other hand, is implicit and context-dependent and relies heavily on references to context.

However, Gee (1990: 59-60) contends that explicitness in language is a cultural convention socially embedded in the world view of the Western middle class. It is this ability to present information explicitly that is taken as evidence of abstract reasoning processes. Givon



conflates the 'divide' between orality and literacy by placing explicitness along a continuum from the "pragmatic" (Givon 1979 ) mode, which is typified by the Athabaskan storytelling tradition and characterised by strings of loosely linked clauses, prosodic devices to indicate meaning and reliance on hearer inference to mutually negotiate meaning on the basis of shared knowledge; to the "syntactic mode", which is typified by schooled literacy and characterised by explicit syntactic structures and little reliance on either prosody to carry meaning or hearer inference. His point is illustrated, for example, by Miss Smith's implicit schema of a decontextualised planning account. As stated in 1.1, Miss Smith is a teacher at Church Preschool:

"when Pranav does his plans he gives me lots of...details...and I find it really interesting because now I know exactly how he's going to organise his day and I'm delighted to learn all those things" (Appendix A pages A9 - A14).

Critics (Street 1984:19, 1988:59-60 and Gee 1990:49, amongst others) challenge the purported neutrality of the autonomous model on two grounds. Firstly, the protagonists of this model set up "focused" research situations whereby they engage in experimental research to prove prior claims for the efficacy of literacy. This is illustrated, for example, by Vygotsky and Luria's research in Eastern Europe which demonstrated that non-literates are deficient in both abstract reasoning and the ability to use language in a decontextualised fashion; this proved that literacy fostered higher cognitive skills (Gee 1990:56). However, Gee rejects the validity of this study because, in failing to acknowledge the cultural embeddedness of literacy practices, it overlooked the role of the school in teaching reading, writing and "abilities in expository talk in contrived situations" (Scribner & Cole 1973 : Gee 1990:58).

Secondly, the critics argue that the notion of literacy as a single, universal practice, neutral and autonomous of social context, is ideological in itself, because it conceals the power, authority and social differentiation that underpin and result from literacy practices. As such, the myth of formal schooling as a neutral institution from which all children stand to benefit equally, conceals the way that it functions to maintain the continued selection of the middle-class elite to positions of power, whilst socialising marginalised groups to subordinate positions. Thus the ideological model rejects the myth of literacy as an inevitable passport to social mobility.

Gee (1991:61) demonstrates this with reference to Graff's (1979) study of literacy in nineteenth century Canada. This study showed that ethnicity determined the extent to which literacy promoted social mobility through education and job opportunities; therefore, literacy benefited white, English Protestants more than blacks, Irish or Catholics. For members of these marginalised groups, literacy was a socialising tool, preparing them for their position on the factory floor. In the context of my own study, the question to be asked is whether planning time benefits all children equally, regardless of ethnicity.

The myth of the neutrality, universal availability and relevance of education as popularised by the autonomous model of literacy means that failure to become literate and achieve the resultant socio-economic and cognitive benefits is attributed to individual deficit of intelligence or motivation rather than to differential access to literacy resources due to socioeconomic factors. This serves the interests of the ruling elite, who tend to be white, male and middle-class; because the very conventions specific to their cultural group are promoted as legitimate at the expense of the literacy practices of other groups. These

cultural, ethnic or gender-specific practices are suppressed and discredited in the public arena of the school. This is illustrated, for example, by Collins's (1991: 239) reference to Piestrup's (1973) transcript of a reading lesson where vernacular pronunciation is publicly corrected according to the prescriptive, middle-class norm. In the analysis I provide of my data in chapter 4, I argue that planning time represents an event where practices that anticipate the powerful literacies of the boardroom, traditionally dominated by white, middle-class males, supersede emotive literacies, such as storytelling. Storytime, which promotes practices more common to females (the mother-child storytelling dyad) or other ethnic groups (the storytelling elder), is largely replaced as the focus of the end-of-day ring by the review session - the last phase in the three-part planning time sequence.

### **2.1.2 The Ideological Model of Literacy**

In contrast to the autonomous model of literacy as a neutral phenomenon that exists independently of social context, the ideological model attempts to position literacy firmly within its social context; and to view it as a set of cultural practices embedded within the world view of a particular social group (Gee 1990:61). As such, this model seeks to deconstruct and make explicit the power relations and social differentiation that underpin all literacy events and products as social and ideological practices. In particular it reveals the way in which the school functions to serve the interests of the elite by presenting those social practices specific to the middle-class as universal. This view of literacy is central to my study of planning time as an ideologically invested event which, as discussed in 1.3.1, was originally designed for the express purpose of "adjusting" nonmainstream children to the literacy demands of formal schooling. Implicit in this notion of "adjusting" is the

displacement of alternative literacies and the promotion of a specific, essentially middle-class, world view; this is dealt with at length in 4.2.4.

If literacy is not neutral, then its dissemination and acquisition become political acts. Therefore protagonists of the ideological model look at how competing literacy practices reproduce or challenge power relations in society; and the ideological implications of acquisition. In any literacy event, such as planning time, there is a range of competing literacies: those that are powerful and official work towards suppressing competing literacies; others, such as the unofficial vernacular literacies of home-based practices, classroom notes and desktop graffiti, challenge the agenda of legitimacy. Rockhill's (1993) study on literacy acquisition among Hispanic women in Los Angeles, for example, clearly demonstrates the extent to which literacy practices are politically embedded within the power relations, material conditions and cultural values of daily life; for these women, the process of acquisition is subverted by the gender politics of their community and the economic realities of transportation and child-care problems. This study alerts us to the importance of the subjects' home-based literacies in determining the ease with which mainstream literacy is acquired and the price that is paid for acquisition.

If literacies are a plurality of socially embedded practices; then, in developing certain cognitive skills, schooled literacy also places constraints on interpersonal relationships, cultural and social identity and ways of understanding the world (Bennett 1991:19). The autonomous model presents the world view constructed by schooled literacy as the natural order of things; in other words, as the truth. However, Foucault (1980:131) argues that the truth is not a singular, universal given, but the product of multiple forms of constraint; each

society has its "regime of truth" contained within the types of discourse that it legitimates and makes function as true. In the Western context, the 'truth' is contained within the conventions of schooled literacy. But Scollon and Scollon's (1984) study in how meaning is negotiated in the Athabaskan storytelling tradition, for example, clearly demonstrates that the conventions of schooled literacy are neither universal nor, necessarily, right. Furthermore, Bennett (1991:16) suggests that the convention that the truth is contained within the text in a non-negotiable form may, in fact, be the basis for strategies of domination; because the standardisation and removal of the truth from the individual allows people to be treated as passive and interchangeable recipients of the truths within texts. In laying bare the way in which literacy practices mould and constrain forms of understanding, critical ethnographic studies on literacy acquisition challenge the autonomous model's concept of deficit by introducing the notion of multiple, often conflicting, ways of understanding the world.

According to this notion, nonmainstream groups may bring into the highly "focused" classroom situation meaning-making practices that are dissimilar to the mainstream, middle-class conventions of schooled literacy. The level of explicitness demanded by schooled literacy may be interpreted as distancing, rude or patronising by nonmainstream groups (Gee 1990:60). Conformity, therefore, may seriously threaten their cultural identity and values. However, in terms of the autonomous model's concept of schooled literacy as the universal and 'natural' way of taking and talking about meaning, nonmainstream individuals are judged negatively by their inability to display culturally specific behaviour. In contrast, mainstream children have an advantage because this convention of explicitness is practised repeatedly through the daily routines of home-based literacy practices; therefore

the subsequent demands of schooled literacy seem natural and common-sense. In consequence, access to schooled literacy is differential.

So far I have presented an overview of the ideological model as the theoretical framework for my study of planning time. To recap: the value of this model for the purposes of my study is its recognition of literacy as a plurality of socially embedded, cultural and ideological practices. Like other literacy events, planning time represents an arena for the conflicting agendas of multiple literacies, some more powerful and prestigious than others; but all constituting and constraining sense-making practices.

## **2.2    SCHOOLED LITERACY IN KEY EVENTS**

The central focus of my study is the way in which children are socialised into the discourse practices of schooled literacy through a key classroom literacy event. I look specifically at the way in which the conventions of planning time anticipate the demands of expository text and report presentation, which constitute the practices of powerful boardroom literacies. In this section I contextualise my study further by discussing previous research conducted on routine classroom events. Evidence from these studies suggest that classroom events are highly "focused" situations that socialise children differentially into mainstream literacy practices. Prominence, therefore, is given to an examination of the practices that constitute schooled literacy; and the ways in which children are inducted differentially into schooled literacy conventions.

### 2.2.1 Schooled Literacy

Schooled literacy (Cook-Gumperz 1986) refers to the explicit and context independent literacy practices into which children are inducted through a series of recurring classroom events. The relevant literature reveals a range of terms that refer to these dominant school-based literacy practices: "essay-text literacy" (Gee 1990:54), "literate discourse style" (Michaels 1981:424), "standard language literacy" (Collins 1991:233), "essayist literacy" (Scollon & Scollon 1984:184) and "school culture" (Baker & Perrott 1988:19). Each term has a slightly different focus: "school culture" emphasises the fact that this literacy is constituted by social practices embedded within the power relations and values of the school; "essay-text literacy", "literate discourse style", "essayist literacy" highlight the conventions of explicit, decontextualised, written text which inform mainstream literacy practices; and "standard language literacy" implies the hegemonic capacity of mainstream literacy practices. For the purposes of my study, I shall use the term, *schooled literacy* as I have so far. Sufficiently broad to accommodate the various meanings highlighted by these terms, schooled literacy defines school-based literacy practices as explicit and decontextualised oral and literate discourse strategies into which children are inducted through key literacy events.

The belief, outlined in 2.1.1, that education is linked to economic success, reinforces schooled literacy's perceived hegemonic function as a form of social control. Overtly, formal schooling promises social mobility through the acquisition of the standardised conventions of schooled literacy; but covertly it often functions as a form of social control and reproduction because, in legitimating only those literacy practices specific to the middle-class (Gee 1990:60), it excludes those groups for whom these practices are least

familiar. The consequence, as discussed in 2.1.1, is to magnify the advantage of the mainstream elite for whom these practices are culturally relevant; and to exclude nonmainstream groups whose deviations from the standardised norm are judged in terms of moral, intellectual or motivational deficit. This process of devaluing and excluding rival literacies is masked by the myth that literacy is neutral, universal, equally available and the way to upward mobility.

Foucault (1975) presents the school as a site of control. Control and surveillance are exercised overtly by highly ritualised events, such as examinations, which judge the individual according to standards that are presented as natural and universal. As such the examination is a key gatekeeping encounter essential to the school's function in reproducing and maintaining the relations of power because it ensures the continued selection of members of the elite to positions of power and it recruits the poor, or otherwise marginalised through language or ethnicity, as labour units. However, and this is of significance for my study of planning time, control and surveillance are also exercised covertly during literacy events that differentially induct children into a plurality of literacy practices; some of which are more powerful than others.

This covert control in reproducing the social order is demonstrated by Parkinson and Adendorff's study (1996a:1) of the role of physics and chemistry laboratory manuals in inducting first year university students into the scientific discourse community. Parkinson and Adendorff identify two "streams" of scientific literacy which, they argue, are differentially accessible. Because the high prestige literacy associated with scientific research is harder to acquire than the technical "stream" and depends on prior enculturation



into scientific practices, the laboratory session functions as a gatekeeping device to limit access to the scientific research community. This study supports my argument that access to these high prestige literacies is cumulative and depends on the success of prior gatekeeping situations represented by earlier, related, less demanding literacy events. In other words, the child who is unsuccessful in cueing into the teacher's narrative schema in writing sessions is unlikely to have much opportunity to learn the conventions of analytical exposition.

However Collins (1991:236) argues that the hegemony of schooled literacy is not an elite conspiracy to dominate; it is a strategy by which power is exercised ideologically through the legitimatising of the ideas, experiences and conventions of the ruling class as universal and natural. Because literacy is integral to its experience of socioeconomic mobility, the middle-class assumes that this is universally true. This is illustrated in 1.2.1, for example, by the argument for planning time as a tool that can "adjust" and socialise nonmainstream children into middle-class practices. The analysis of the data in chapter 4 provides more evidence of the way in which the hegemonic status of schooled literacy is further reinforced by the teacher's role in constantly striving to mould the children's emergent literacy according to her sense of responsibility as a teacher. Her actions in promoting certain literacy practices and proscribing others is largely motivated by a genuine sense of what is best for the child's academic success.

### **2.3 THE PRACTICES THAT CONSTITUTE KEY SCHOOLED LITERACY EVENTS**

In the previous section, I outlined the hegemonic status of schooled literacy as a set of mainstream literacy practices into which children are inducted through literacy events. In

this section I turn to an examination of the nature and function of these classroom routines as socialisation and gatekeeping events. In identifying the characteristics of literacy events, my purpose is to stress commonality of function and unfolding of key literacy events as interactional routines by which children are inducted into the preferred practices. Thus an individual's school career can be seen to be constituted by recurring literacy routines that function hegemonically by progressively "sucking him [or her] in" (Ivanic & Simpson 1993:141) to conformity with the conventions of schooled literacy.

Heath (1983:386) defines a literacy event as one involving the production or comprehension of print according to social interactional rules which "regulate the type and amount of talk about what is written, and define ways in which oral language reinforces, denies, extends, or sets aside the written material". This definition is useful in its stress on literacy events as rule governed; however it risks restating the oral/ literate divide in its stress on the central role of the written text. According to this criteria, the absence of written text from planning time disqualifies it as a literacy event. However, print is ideologically present in the teacher's implicit, text-based expectations; it informs the cultural practices that constitute this activity. Therefore, this definition needs to be broadened to include activities that may involve text only insofar as they are governed by the expectations of text-based criteria. This continuity is clearly evident in Michaels's (1991) comparative study of the mismatch between teacher expectation and the nonmainstream child's literacy practices in ringtime and writing conferences. Despite contextual differences in that writing is present in writing conferencing but absent in ringtime, the teacher's requirement in both events is for a decontextualised, grammatically and lexically explicit account of a single topic.

Virtually all classroom activities: the daily register; reading comprehension; cribbing from a friend; mathematical problems; reading an illicit note; talking to a classmate are literacy events according to this reformulated definition. However only certain institutionalised routines are 'key' events; their function and goal is the induction of children into schooled literacy practices by teaching them how to take and talk about meaning according to the "interactional rules" (Heath 1983:386). As such, they are "focused" (Scollon & Scollon 1984:183), gatekeeping situations where children are required to conform to the teacher's expectations of appropriate literacy practice by displaying "verbally some knowledge or proficiency at recurring communicative tasks and are then evaluated on the basis of this performance in ways that cumulatively affect their placement and access to learning opportunities" (Michaels 1981:425). Planning time is such a key event, shaping children's emergent schooled literacy by socialising them into explicit and decontextualised ways of presenting information.

The interactional rules governing literacy events inform the teacher's expectations. These expectations tend to be implicit, conveyed by subtle contextualisation cues. Contextualisation cues, which may take any linguistic form, always function as a marked choice; as such, they perform a discourse function in addition to their conventional microlinguistic function. In using a marked choice, the speaker departs from what he/she would normally do in the same circumstances in order to signal information about the type of activity in which the participants are engaged and consequent role relationships and interactional rules. Therefore, the meaning of contextualisation cues is always implicit and contextually dependent (Gumperz: 1982:119); in other words, only insiders to the interactional routine will recognise contextualisation cues. Correspondingly, outsiders, who

do not have shared knowledge with the other participants about the routine, will not recognise the contextualisation cues as salient; they will be not respond appropriately.

In planning time (Appendix E pages E1-E3) the teacher's imperative, "All right, tell me, Shelley-Jane" functions as a contextualisation cue that alerts the child to the rules governing her participation; as an insider to the interactional routine of planning time, she recognises the cue as salient and responds according to the teacher's implicit expectations, "I'm going to do activities". The ability to interpret this contextualisation cue correctly increases the child's opportunity to practice her planning skills. This is illustrated in 4.1.3, where Tebogo's inability to recognise the teacher's demands means that his planning time turn is dominated by teacher metatalk as Miss Smith struggles to make her expectations explicit. Michaels (1981:439) points out that mainstream children get most opportunity to practise the conventions of schooled literacy because the close match between home and school-based literacy practices allows them to recognise the cues as salient. However, nonmainstream children, who cannot recognise the "implicit pedagogic message" (Bordieu & Passeron 1977: Collins 1991:243) have fewer, shorter, less successful practice turns.

Peters and Bloggs's (1986) work on the role of interactional routines in language acquisition is useful in understanding how key literacy events, as socially embedded and rule governed activities, facilitate literacy acquisition. Peters and Bloggs define interactional routines as routine recurring events that follow predictable patterns of time, place, participants, participant structures and anticipated outcomes. These routines are clearly bounded speech events that socialise children into preferred interactional practices through communicating with others in patterned ways, according to the specific social interactional rules of the

event. The constraints of the interactional routine mean that a sequence of exchanges is built up from a limited set of responses available to the participants according to the position they occupy in the participation structures. These structures specify who can say what to whom. This is illustrated, for example, by the child's developing ability to ask for juice from the initial ability to recognise and reach for the bottle to the fully articulated, "please may I have some juice". The child learns this script progressively with the help of the caregiver, who expects the child to be able to offer, "juice" before increasing the complexity of the task to include the qualifier, "please".

Planning time is an example of a school-based interactional routine that occurs daily at the same time (first and last activities of the day), in the same place (on the carpet in the classroom), with the same participants (teacher and children) and participant structures (teacher controlled talk in the Initiation-Response-Evaluation pattern) and the same anticipated outcome (the proposal and review of the child's planned activities). Furthermore, the formulaic opening of ringtime alerts the children to the nature, identity and requirements of this literacy event.

It is typical of schooled literacy events that the participant structures in planning time are asymmetrical and clearly defined with the teacher having both the right and responsibility to direct and define the event. In their analysis of "newstime" Baker and Perrott interpret this asymmetry as the teacher's "ownership" (1988:26) of the event. Teacher-child interaction follows the instructional pattern of Initiation-Response-Evaluation. Through the construction of vertical scaffolding dialogue (Barton 1994:133), the teacher helps the child to elaborate and clarify his/her oral or written discourse according to implicit criteria of the

explicit and decontextualised topic-centred narrative; in the words of Baker and Perrott (1988:36), "to develop topics...how to listen...and the rules of public discourse". In the following exchange, the teacher scaffolds Michelle's talk with questions that build the child's contribution according to the planning criteria of *what, how and who*:

- T: Tell us about your plans Michelle. What and how and who, okay.  
 M: I'm going to do painting.  
 T: Okay, and who are you going to do it with?  
 M: With Siobhan.  
 T: With Siobhan. And what are you going to paint?  
 M: A rainbow.  
 T: A rainbow! Very nice plan, Michy. (Appendix A page A9 - A14)

Teacher intervention thus extends the child's performance beyond her unaided ability, therefore inducting him/her into increasingly complex literacy practices. This sequence of exchanges functions like a miniscript; the child learns how to participate by first learning one part of the routine and then the entire routine. Thereafter she masters increasingly complex performances within a speech event that provides opportunities to practise with immediate reinforcement. This gap between what the child can achieve unaided and his/her performance when supported by scaffolding is the "zone of proximal development" or "zoped" (Vygotsky in Barton 1994:135). This is an important concept that not only highlights the centrality of the teacher's role in building vertical scaffolding dialogue to extend and clarify the child's narrative; but it also stresses the children's differential access to literacy events on the basis of their home literacies. In 4.3, I discuss the way in which the mismatch between home and school literacy practices restricts the teacher's inability to scaffold the child's dialogue and limits the extent to which planning time is a "zoped" for nonmainstream children.

## 2.4 FACTUAL WRITING

I turn now to an examination of literacy practices that are endorsed by powerful institutions in Western-oriented technological societies: science, technology and business, to name but a few. In particular, I discuss the characteristics of reports because this is the preferred way of presenting information in those institutions, regardless of topic. It is my contention that planning time prepares the individual for the demands of factual literacies such as reports; in chapter 4 I suggest that the differences between a preschool child publicly justifying why he/she could not complete his/her plan to paint a picture and the engineer's report rationalising the delay in a project are more apparent than real. In both instances, the individual uses those strategies for presenting information and arguing considered most effective in society. It follows, therefore, that those individuals who learn these strategies early are advantaged because they are able to cue into the interactional conventions and demands of subsequent literacy events (Lemke 1990:24).

Martin (1989:6) suggests that, whereas narrative writing limits the writer to the specific experience, through factual writing he/she is capable of interpreting and understanding beyond the experience. In other words, with narrative the writer can only tell things the way they are; but factual writing, particularly exposition, allows the writer to challenge social reality. In this argument Martin reflects the preferred practices of a society that is predominantly Western, middle-class, white and male. As discussed in 2.1.1 and, later, in 2.5.2, cultures such as the Athabaskans use other strategies such as storytelling and riddling to interpret the world; however, these are not recognised as preferred conventions for talking about things that matter in Western society. In other words, the chairman presents the company's financial year to the shareholders as a report; he does not give it as an

anecdotal story. According to Lemke (1990:123), reasoning is not a mental process so much as a way of talking and writing according to certain rhetorical and genre structure patterns; what makes reasoning logical, but not necessarily right, is that it follows specific patterns of argument from premises to conclusions.

The conventions and patterns of literacy practices are ideologically constructed to reflect and bolster the worldview of certain dominant interest groups. Therefore, for example, the "One Right Way to Talk About Science" (Lemke 1990:130) is embedded in the scientific world view which tends to remove people from the scientific stage as either agents or actors; and it presents science as a universal fact rather than as a human activity to make sense of the world. The conventions of exposition and reporting are embedded in a world view that values accountability, topic-centredness and goal-directedness; emotion and reason are regarded as diametrically opposed. Therefore, the writer/speaker creates the appearance of impersonal objectivity by avoiding the overt expression of feelings and attitudes by stressing causal relations; and by removing him/herself from the text entirely through the use of the third-person pronoun (Martin 1985:25).

Exposition and scientific literacy share certain rhetorical and genre structure patterns which are learnt practices, as Parkinson and Adendorff (1996b) demonstrate in their study of the role of the laboratory notebook in the acquisition of scientific literacy. Both literacies achieve explicitness and universality through technical terminology, analogies, lexicalisation and grammaticalisation; they use causal forms of explanation instead of narrative or dramatic accounts; they prefer passive constructions; they use impersonal and objective language that avoids pronouns, colloquial forms of language, personification and



sensationalism. According to these criteria, reports are topic-centred accounts that follow a standardised sequence of introduction, body and conclusion; headings establish the topics, which typically progress from a statement of problem to recommendations (Bovee & Thill 1986).

The purpose of this overview of key literacy events has been to demonstrate commonality of purpose as they function hegemonically to induct individuals into schooled literacy practices. In chapter 4, my data analysis examines the ways in which the literacy promoted in planning time is heavily invested with ideology in the ways it anticipates the rhetorical and structural patterns of powerful genres, namely exposition and, more specifically, reporting. However, as suggested in 2.2.1, these literacy events are differentially accessible on the basis of the match between home and school-based literacy practices. Therefore, in the following section, I turn to ethnographic studies of mainstream and nonmainstream home-based literacy practices in terms of the differential ways in which they serve to prepare the child for the demands of schooled literacy.

## **2.5 LITERACY SOCIALISATION**

Ethnographic studies conducted in North America (Heath 1982, 1983a, 1983b, 1986a, 1986b, Michaels 1981, 1986 and Scollon & Scollon 1984, amongst others) establish a link between home literacies and academic success; schooled literacy is more accessible to mainstream, middle-class children than to nonmainstream children because the home literacy practices of the former more closely approximate school-based practices. This confirms Gee's (1990:60) argument referred to in 2.1.2 that the conventions of schooled literacy such as explicit and decontextualised narrative, which also characterise middle-class domestic practices of

getting children to recount books or events known to the hearers, are not universal but culture specific. Consequently some ethnic and socioeconomic groups do not share these conventions which may be not only foreign but also at odds with their own cultural norms.

To my knowledge, there have been no similar ethnographic studies conducted in South Africa. Therefore, on the grounds that these practices, as Western, mainstream, middle-class conventions, are not nation specific, I will base my assumptions of South African mainstream home-based practices on the American studies. I give particular prominence to Heath, who points out that it is not that text is absent in nonmainstream homes; but that it has a different meaning and function. In this section I look at evidence of mainstream and nonmainstream home-based practices and the extent to which these practices match schooled literacy; I also look at the putative cost of conformity for members of nonmainstream groups in terms of Scollon and Scollon's work (1984). In examining the way in which mainstream home practices anticipate the demands of schooled literacy and the effects of the mismatch between nonmainstream and schooled literacy practices, my reading leads me to expect that mainstream children find the planning time schema more accessible than those who are members of ethnic or linguistic minority groups.

### **2.5.1 Evidence of Mainstream, Home-Based Literacy Practices**

Heath's (1983a,1983b,1986a,1986b) work on Maintown, a middle-class, mainstream, urban community, reveals that the mainstream, middle-class home prepares the child for the later demands of schooled literacy through a variety of literacy events, such as the bedtime story, daily recount at mealtimes and car trips, which establish and repeatedly reinforce the values and patterns of mainstream literacy practices. However, in the same way that Baker and

Perrott (1988:25) found that teachers are unaware of the inductive function of ringtime in 2.4.1, so parents are unaware of the way in which these home practices socialise children into the "contracts of literacy" (Snow & Ninio 1986:121). This shows the ideological investment of literacy practices as embedded in the world view and power relations of social groups; each constructs the other. For teachers and parents, these literacy events are simply the natural and common-sense way of doing and talking about things; for them, there is no other way.

Home literacy events, like the bedtime story, are interactional routines that share the characteristics discussed in 2.3 in their predictability and the role of the caregiver as the "supportive other" (Barton 1994:133). Through scaffolding dialogue, the caregiver models and instructs ways of taking meaning from books and ways of talking about the world that initiate the child into labelling and initiation-response-evaluation sequence that typify instructional talk in the classroom (Heath 1986a:99). Adults extend book related events and objects to other situational contexts (Heath 1983, 1986a); for instance, a rabbit in a pet shop will be related to Benjamin Bunny and the mother might speculate, "I wonder if he's been in Mr McGregor's garden lately". Through participating in this recurring activity, mainstream children learn to establish their own relations between text and world, announcing their own factual and fictive narratives with formulaic openings and closings, spatial and temporal grounding, introduction of main character, marked prosody and borrowing from storybooks and signalling the links between new information and old explicitly with lexical and grammatical connectors. Therefore, children recognise the demands of classroom literacy practices as 'natural'; they are a continuation of home practices and, as I shall discuss in

3.3.1, mainstream children are able to pick up on implicit teacher expectations through contextualisation cues.

Snow and Ninio (1986) suggest that parent-child picture-book reading implicitly teaches the child the 'contracts of literacy'; how to engage as both speaker and audience in a conversation that focuses on a book as the topic. Through scaffolding dialogue with the parent, the child is inducted into the initiation-response- evaluation sequence of 'what' questions and labels, followed by reason, evaluative and affective questions that is characteristic of the labelling and descriptive classification sequence of instructional talk in key schooled literacy events, such as ringtime. The child learns that although the picture is static, it actually represents a narrative; therefore, through the progressive levels of questioning discussed above, the child learns how to 'read' the picture in terms of topic selection and organisation. This prepares the child for the conventions of schooled literacy in terms of the preferred sequence of presenting knowledge orally in ringtime activities such as planning time and the later practice of approaching the text as bearer of a non-negotiable 'truth' in reading events (Snow & Ninio 1986:124). Hence the mainstream child has the advantage of being inducted into the preferred hierarchical sequence of displaying and talking about knowledge through home-based literary practices.

Parents' expectations, when they intervene in the child's talk with demands for explanation and clarification, parallel the teacher's book-based expectations of an explicit topic-centred narrative in schooled literacy. Like the teacher who will later feign ignorance to facilitate the child's ringtime contribution (Baker & Perrott 1988:26), the caregiver asks closed questions to which he/she already knows the answer; the child learns to accept this pretence

and to 'guess' the right answer. Thus the child learns the implicit interactional rules of text production at home. As the highly interactive storytelling of early toddlerhood gives way to sitting still and listening, the child also learns the rules of text interpretation; in the role of the audience, the child learns to focus attention on the book as topic, to ask the correct questions at the correct time, and to respond to adult questions in the same way as he/she is shown to be inducted into the audience role at ringtime (Baker & Perrott 1988:29)

Heath (1986a:102) links the hierarchy of *what*-explanations (what is the little boy pushing?), *reason*-explanations (why is he pulling his bicycle?) and *affective*-commentaries (how do you think the boy felt when his bike got a puncture?) of the bedtime story routine to the school-based patterns of reading for comprehension; where the *what*-explanations of picking out topic sentences and recalling facts and details of the text is followed by higher order *reason*-explanations and the *affective* response, which is normally required at the end of the comprehension exercise. Furthermore she draws parallels between the bedtime story patterns of breaking down the story into small bits of information and teaching children to handle sets of related skills in isolated sequential hierarchies; and the instruction pattern of teaching *what*-explanations in the classroom. The *what*, *how* and *who* sequence of planning time, to be described in 4.2.1, mirrors this pattern in that the *what*-questions are followed by the expectation of descriptive and explanatory detail.

Hence mainstream children are socialised by recurring home-based literacy practices that anticipate the schooled literacy conventions of how to take meaning from the text and reconstruct it according to the appropriate pattern. When the mainstream child engages in group classroom practices these interactional patterns seem familiar and 'natural'; they are

the continuation of home-based dyadic practices in which the child is well versed as an information giver and taker. Having learnt the interactional rules that govern his/her behaviour as narrator and audience; the child knows how to display his/her skills and knowledge according to the appropriate sequence.

I turn in the following section to evidence of nonmainstream home-based literacy practices (Heath 1983a,1983b,1986a,1986b and Scollon & Scollon 1984). I give particular prominence to Heath's study of literacy practices amongst two nonmainstream communities in the Piedmont Carolinas: firstly, because there are no similar, local studies on which to draw; and, secondly, because of the way in which her extensive and in-depth ethnographic study provides insight into the place that print occupies in nonmainstream communities. This study has significance for my own research in that it alerts us to the probability that the nonmainstream members of the Blue Group at Church Preschool have home literacy experiences that are different from, and perhaps at odds with, classroom conventions. This affects the ease of schooled literacy acquisition. Like Teale (1986), Heath (1986a) finds that it is not that print is absent in these communities; but that it occupies a different place, carries different meanings and fulfils different functions from those in the mainstream community. As Heath (1986b) points out when comparing Nathaniel's mainstream home-based reading experience to De's, a black working class child, it is not that nonmainstream homes lack books; it is what they do with them that counts. In her study of Charlene Thomas and De, Heath notes that the mother's questions do not progress beyond item and event label and elaboration. Thus the home literacies of nonmainstream groups are different from, and not necessarily compatible with, schooled literacy. This disproves the

belief, discussed in 2.1, that nonmainstream groups have no home-based experience of literacy practices.

### **2.5.2 Evidence of Nonmainstream Home-Based Literacy Practices**

The home literacy practices that socialise the mainstream child into the interactional patterns typical of schooled literacy are not necessarily shared by other ethnic, cultural or socioeconomic groups, who, therefore, may not have the same degree of access to, or ease of acquisition of, schooled literacy. In her study, Heath (1983,1986) looked at Roadville, a white working class community, and Trackton, a black working class community in addition, as already discussed, to Maintown. She found that what was common to all three communities was the parental expectation that children should work hard at school because therein lay the key to social mobility and economic success. However the differences in their ways of taking and talking about meaning, adult-child interactional patterns and experiences with text meant that children from Maintown were able to gain access to schooled literacy with greater ease than their Trackton and Roadville counterparts. This is significant for my study because it alerts us to the fact that, although mainstream and nonmainstream children may bring a range of home literacies and experiences with text into the classroom which affect ease of literacy acquisition, the common denominator is the parental expectation of academic success.

Although Roadville children acquire many literacy habits: answer what-questions and 'read' familiar stories; the rules of co-operative discourse are very different to Maintown. Heath (1986a:109) identifies three overlapping stages. In the first stage the child is introduced to decontextualised objects (items, numbers, letters of the alphabet, colours) in the text which

the child, as information giver, must label in response to what-questions; there is no attempt to relate the child's understanding of books to new contexts or to bring his/her own experience to bear on the interpretation of the text, either at an early stage of relating stylised two-dimensional drawings to three dimensional objects, or later with the characters and events of storybooks. In the second stage, the child is inducted into the role of audience, which determines how meaning is to be taken from books; he/she learns to sit quietly and listen, remembering the content in correct sequential order for follow up what-questions. Storybook reading is viewed as a performance of a truth; consequently participatory negotiation of meaning is not encouraged. The child learns patterns of passive receptiveness that will stand him/her in good stead in the early years of school and in the first part of comprehension exercises; but later these will prove inadequate for reason-explanations and affective commentary. In the third stage, the child is introduced to preschool workbooks which emphasise mechanical skills of object identification, keeping in the lines and other activities that enhance school readiness.

Unlike Maintown parents, Roadville parents do not seek to constantly extend either the content or the habits of literacy events beyond bookreading by identifying for their children similarities and differences of events as they appear in the world and in books. The adults do not fictionalise themselves in stories. Stories must be factual, based on real life events and contain a moral lesson to be taken by the hearer as the truth of the story. Like Maintown parents, Roadville parents coach their children in the telling of stories and recounts of events but their expectations, and hence patterns of interaction and intervention, are very different. They do not ask interpretative or clarifying questions, challenging the child only when the account deviates from the truth or the chronology of events. Unlike the Maintown practice



of breaking tasks into a hierarchical sequence of skills; Roadville parents expect their children to learn by observation and imitation. They do not relate the new task to other tasks with which the child is familiar; or give reason explanations as to why it is better to do something one way rather than another.

When Roadville children start school, their home-based patterns of literacy prepare them well for the first stages that depend on what-explanations, sitting quietly and listening, and performing mechanical skills like cutting. This is illustrated in my study, for example, by the junior primary teacher's expectations that a grade one child must be able to, "to sit quietly and listen and follow instructions" (Appendix A page15). However their inability to fictionalise events, decontextualise knowledge or transfer it to other situational contexts increasingly affects their ability to participate in the classroom practices of creative writing, comparing events and objects in evaluative exercises and answering 'what if' questions. Because they "do not even know [what it is that] they don't know" (Heath 1986a:112), they lack the resources to identify where their problem lies or to request teacher aid.

The bedtime story has no place in Trackton. Children in this community do not experience the dyadic bookreading or recount of daily event sessions that characterise Maintown and Roadville homes. Reading material is experienced by the child as a group literacy event in the form of official or private correspondence to adults; this correspondence is publicly related and the community mutually negotiate the meaning of the text. Consequently the child learns that the meaning of the text is open to negotiation. Because the parents do not interpret their role as one of teaching, the child is not socialised into the Initiation-Response-Evaluation pattern of what-explanations followed sequentially by reason

and evaluative explanations. Questions tend to be analogical, calling for non-specific comparisons, which the child is not asked to explain or justify; or they request information known only to the child, 'Where did you get that?'. Because the parents do not label, name and classify features of the environment, these children are unprepared for the what-questions of school. The centrality of labelling and categorisation in the school culture is illustrated, for example, in the Church Preschool context by the teacher's metatalk in scaffolding children's planning accounts according to a *what, how, who* hierarchy (cf 4.2.1). Trackton children develop connections between objects and situations by non-specific configuration links rather than by classification; thus, the question about a flat tyre on a neighbour's car, "what's that like?" elicits the answer, "like Doug's car" on the implicit basis that Doug's car is also broken and never fixed (Heath 1983a:104). This is very different from mainstream ways of looking at and classifying the world. Consequently they are ill-prepared for the analysis and classification of why-questions at school.

Storytelling in Trackton is unlike Roadville in its disregard for the truth; it is unlike Maintown in the absence of formulaic openings and closings, lack of temporal and spatial grounding and absence of topic-centred structure with a clear beginning, middle and end. Trackton stories are context dependent; they rely on prosody, gesture and paralinguistic cues to carry meaning, and they invite the audience to construct a personal meaning by drawing parallels from their own experience. Having not learnt mainstream patterns of taking and making meaning, these children do not recognise the decontextualised print of the classroom as being the same as the group literacy event of home. Furthermore, because these children do not know how to present their knowledge according to the preferred sequential pattern of

schooled literacy, their analogical reasoning abilities go unrecognised, resulting in early exclusion from learning opportunities.

The tragic irony of this, is that such children are excluded before they can gain access to those literacy practices where their skills are valued, such as, the affective questions at the end of a reading study; and the production and interpretation of poetry and literary prose. This exclusion typically engenders a devalued sense of self as the nonmainstream child is told repeatedly that his/her contribution is not good enough. This is clear in Michaels's (1981:439) study of "sharing time" where Deena, a black nonmainstream child, voices her sense of frustration and loss of self-worth, "She was always stopping me, sayin' 'that's not important enough,' and I hadn't hardly started talking!".

Scollon and Scollon's (1984) study of the Athabaskan storytelling tradition reveals a similar scenario to the Trackton child's early marginalisation; whereby the mismatch between the conventions of home and schooled literacy adversely affects the child's acquisition of schooled literacy. Scollon and Scollon (1984:179) suggest that respect for individual human difference and the need to understand the views of others inform the Athabaskan pattern of storytelling. Adult-child interaction is shaped by respect for individual difference insofar as, unlike mainstream parents (cf 2.5.1), the caregiver does not scaffold the child's talk into a more explicit narrative; instead he/she glosses what the child says in the form of a paraphrase that does not add new information. Children are further socialised into home literacy practices of ways of taking and talking about meaning by being encouraged to listen to riddles and stories told by their elders rather than show off knowledge in displays

common to mainstream practices.

The Athabaskan storytelling tradition that develops out of these early patterns of literacy socialisation represents an extreme example of a non-focused situation (Scollon & Scollon 1984:183), which, as discussed in 2.1, emphasises negotiated meaning and shared understanding. The aim of the storytelling is to facilitate the audience's sense of the situation through an abstract that is then jointly negotiated between speaker and hearer. Unlike the conventions of schooled literacy where the truth resides in the text, the audience's ability to find personal meaning is essential to the storytelling. The construction of the story is in response to the reactions of the audience; the greater the level of shared information between storyteller and audience, the more succinct the abstract will be out of respect for the hearer's right to make his/her own sense. This is unlike planning time which, as the analysis of the data in chapter 4 reveals, represents a highly focused situation in its demand for decontextualisation.

Because the Athabaskan child has not learnt the sequence of displaying knowledge and the convention of explicitness valued by schooled literacy, he/she is excluded from learning opportunities at school long before reaching the level where his/her ability to construct an abstract is recognised and valued. Schooled literacy represents focused interaction with the emphasis on standardisation rather than individual difference. Hence, Scollon and Scollon (1984:184) argue that the classroom is a focused situation where the mismatch of two sets of literacy practices inevitably results in an unsuccessful gatekeeping encounter. As suggested in 2.4.3, the social and cultural embeddedness of literacy practices mean that they have an inevitable ideological investment. In other words, the conventions of explicitness and

causality that characterise exposition and reporting; and the opposing conventions of implicitness and negotiated meaning that characterise storytelling, are the recognised strategies for interpreting and talking about the world for two societies with different value systems. However, the convention of non-negotiated sense-making excludes this interpretation; instead, the Athabaskan child is judged as unable to conform to the conventions of schooled literacy.

The value of Heath, Michaels and Scollon & Scollon's work is that it alerts us to the range of home literacies with which children enter the classroom. This challenges the traditional notion of literacy as a set of cognitive and mechanical skills which are taught exclusively at school; because the picture that emerges, particularly from the ethnographic studies of Heath and Scollon and Scollon, is that children's emergent literacy develops out of countless daily experiences with print in their homes and communities. However, these studies show that not all home literacies equally prepare children for the demands and conventions of schooled literacy.

Scollon and Scollon, Heath and Michaels highlight ethnicity and socio-economic status as key variables for academic success. However, ethnicity on its own does not appear to be a factor according to both Heath (1983a) and Teale's (1986) work. In Heath's study, Maintown is multiracial. What makes people members of Maintown is not ethnicity but 'middle-classness'; what the black community of Trackton and the white community of Roadville have in common is their working class status. It is planning time's hegemony in the maintenance of class and class-based privilege that is a central concern of this study. Teale similarly found little correlation between ethnicity and home literacy. This led him

(1986: 471) to postulate that: firstly, ethnicity is not identical to culture; and, secondly, it is not the parents' occupation, ethnicity, income or education alone that matters so much as how they socialise their children as a result of all these multiple, intersecting factors. Fairclough (1989:24) argues that these multiple factors together constitute the individual's social conditions of existence, which people internalise as "Members' Resources" (MR). Individuals draw on their MR to engage in social practices, including literacy, for the production and interpretation of meaning. Therefore, the fact that members of Trackton work shiftwork and do not own cars is a more important influence on their home literacy than the fact that they are black; because shift work and no car mean that the mainstream interactional routine of the daily recount at mealtimes and in car trips cannot take place.

The hypothesis on which my study is based is that home-based literacy practices are the product of multiple intersecting factors. Ethnicity, parents' education and occupation, home language, religion and socioeconomic status are all key variables which may influence home literacy practices collectively. In this regard, the findings of Scollon & Scollon, Heath and Michaels are useful in terms of the insights they provide; however, their conclusions cannot be applied to other situations where the key variables may be different. Therefore, in examining the role of planning time in inducting children into schooled literacy, I assume that, in a multicultural classroom in which children may not come from similar homes in terms of education, occupation and socioeconomic status, there may be a range of home literacies which are more or less compatible with the official literacy. The question raised by the findings of Heath (1983a, 1986a), Scollon and Scollon (1984) and Michaels (1981) is whether nonmainstream children are similarly prejudiced against by a mismatch of home

and school-based literacy practices in planning time where, arguably, the teacher's schema is more explicit.

## **2.6 CONCLUSION**

In this chapter I began by outlining two opposing models of literacy: the autonomous and the ideological models. I pointed out that my study of planning time is informed by the ideological perspective of literacy as a multiplicity of culturally informed and ideologically invested practices. As such, literacy events must be examined in context from an analytical position that recognises that the process of literacy socialisation cannot be neutral; ways of interpreting the world are inherently political. The ideological model exposes the middle-class, ideological investment of the autonomous model, which I describe because it informs the nature and function of schooled literacy as interpreted by those who implement and uphold it.

Having situated my study within this theoretical framework, I then discussed the way in which schooled literacy functions hegemonically through a series of key literacy events to induct children progressively into dominant literacy practices. In identifying the characteristics of key events, I examined the continuity of common practices and function. I extended this examination to home-based literacy practices, noting that the continuity between mainstream home literacies and schooled literacy is not paralleled in nonmainstream homes. This discussion on differential degrees of continuity prepares the way for my analysis of the data in chapter 4 in terms of the degree to which planning time builds on home-based literacy practices and the extent to which it anticipates the demands

of later literacy practices, namely, exposition and reports.



## **CHAPTER 3: DATA COLLECTION METHODS**

### **3.0 INTRODUCTION**

In this chapter, I explain why my investigation of planning time as a preschool literacy event relied on microethnographic methods. I first describe the microethnographic assumptions that informed my research approach and data collection methods. I then outline my entry into the field, explaining why I selected Church Preschool as a research site; I summarise the spirit of my introductory interview with Miss Smith, the school principal; and describe the nature of my presence at Church Preschool during the study. Finally, I discuss my methods of data collection, namely, participant observation, audiotaping, interviews and site documentation, pointing out how they helped to maximise.

### **3.1 APPROACH TO THE COLLECTION OF THE DATA**

My approach to the collection and interpretation of data was informed by Malinowski's (1922) observations on ethnographic practice. He advises ethnographers to maintain close contact with the natives by "camping right in their villages" (Guthrie 1992:178); he states that the purpose of ethnography is to study the conventions and practices of the subject group in terms of the group's own system of sense-making (Erickson 1988:1082). As I demonstrate in describing my entry into the field in 3.2 and my level of participant observation in 3.3, I have tried, as far as possible, to "camp within the village" of the school in the frequency and nature of my involvement with the school. Like Malinowski, my approach is ecological; it views planning time as an event that takes place within, and is therefore informed by, the context of the classroom and school, and the wider context of family and society.

Erickson (1988:1083) further characterises ethnography as being concerned both with the specificity of the situated performance as it takes place within the cultural context of the target community; and with how this performance compares to similar performances in other cultures. Hence, there is an emphasis on holism on the one hand and comparison on the other: participant observation and interpretation, as I show in chapter 4, play a role in making sense of the specific performance - planning time; while hypotheses deriving from earlier ethnographies and comparison with studies of other cultures (as described in the previous chapter) give my ethnography its breadth of view.

Before I define my study as *microethnographic*, it is necessary first to refer to Hymes's (in Guthrie 1992:176) description of three types of ethnographies; this provides the categories within which to situate my own study. Thereafter I discuss the place of hypotheses in my research and argue for the importance of seeking the emic meaning of planning time since my stand in this regard also helps to define the ethnographic character of this study.

Hymes identifies three types of ethnography:

- (1) comprehensive ethnography which seeks to describe all aspects of the community's way of life, including physical artefacts;
- (2) topic-oriented ethnography which focuses only on aspects of the community's culture, such as the religious or educational system; and
- (3) hypothesis-orientated ethnography which begins with a set of hypotheses deriving from knowledge of previous ethnographies and cultures.

The limitations on the length and scope of coursework MA dissertations like mine prevent this study from being a comprehensive ethnographic description of all aspects of the school

community's way of life. My study, therefore, is better characterised as a *microethnographic* analysis of a single recurring event, viz., planning time, employing ethnographic research methods. What is microethnography? In contrast to the descriptive breadth of a comprehensive ethnography, microethnography focuses specifically on a single aspect or event of a particular culture. Through rigorous linguistic analysis of the interactional sequence that constitutes this event, one infers the relationship between the observed behaviour and the interpretation of its social meaning (Trueba & Wright 1992:307). Using machine recordings, backed up by participant observation, discourse analysis, interviews with key informants and analysis of site documents, microethnography is more focused and deliberate than traditional ethnography in its study of specific social events, such as planning time.

As a microethnographic study, my approach is *topic-orientated* (cf Hymes) insofar as I focus on a single aspect of school culture: planning time. By extension, it is *hypothesis-orientated* in that I started out with a set of assumptions deriving largely from my own personal observations and the findings of previous research into school culture and, more particularly, into ringtime as a key literacy event. The hypotheses which inform my study mean that, unlike Erickson's (1986:140) romanticised ethnographer, who allegedly arrives at the research site with a *tabula rasa* mind, carrying only a toothbrush and hunting knife, I approached my research with certain questions and assumptions, carrying a tape recorder and notebook. In fact, I would suggest that the notion of a *tabula rasa* mind in the research situation is more mythical than real because prior assumptions are inevitable. Therefore, my study, which is hypothesis-driven largely due to constraints of time and scope, is less atypical than some of the literature on research methodology might imply.

Having asserted the above, I need to note that even though I framed my research questions explicitly (cf 1.3) and sought the relevant data deliberately, the subsequent research process was not wholly deliberate. One of the tensions I have had to deal with has been the conflict between the need to be hypothesis-driven and yet, equally, the opposing need to be open to new lines of inquiry that have emerged from the data. An example of such an instance is one of my initial hypotheses, drawn from Michaels (1981:440), that nonmainstream teachers are more successful than mainstream teachers in scaffolding nonmainstream children's talk. Accordingly, one of the reasons for choosing Church Preschool was that it is the only preschool in its area that has a qualified Zulu-speaking teacher aide. Several weeks after my initial entry into the school, it became clear that Miss Bengu only took ringtime in the event of the teacher's absence; in other words, it was not a routine occurrence. Furthermore, she never took planning time. By this stage, my research interest had narrowed from the event called ringtime to the sub-event, planning time, which had not yet been introduced to the Blue Group when I began my study. In the light of the issues raised subsequently by the planning time data, namely the ways in which this event anticipates factual literacy practices; I decided to sideline the question of mainstream/nonmainstream teaching styles to investigate further the nature of the literacy practices anticipated by planning time. This openness, I have felt, has been necessary in achieving an emic understanding of the ecology of planning time.

Typical of all ethnographic studies, including my own, is the quest to discover the emic meaning of the speech events under scrutiny. Hence I shall at this point clarify the notion of an 'emic approach' to explain my investigative position. An emic approach is contrasted with

an etic approach, by which the researcher analyses events in a particular culture *from the outside*, mainly from a comparative perspective; an emic approach tries to discover and describe the patterns and events of a particular society *from the perspective of the participants or insiders* (Pike 1954: Trueba & Wright 1992:300). In seeking an emic interpretation, the researcher attempts to be both a "stranger and a friend" (Powdermaker 1966: Erickson 1988:1087) in the subject community. On the one hand, the researcher is the observing "stranger" who makes the "invisibility of everyday life" (Erickson 1986:121) visible and strange; on the other, he/she is the participating "friend" who seeks to explain the meaning of the event within the participants' system of meaning-making.

To achieve this "stereoscopic social vision" (Bohannon 1963: Erickson 1986:140), I employed multiple methods of data collection and analysis which I hoped would serve to give me an insider's perspective on planning time in terms both of my own level of involvement as a participant observer; and in terms of the *participants'* interpretation of the events. The result is a topic-centred, hypothesis-driven, microethnographic study of planning time as an interactional routine which, in anticipating the practices of expository and reporting literacies, inducts children into strategies of presenting and talking about meaning considered most powerful by Western capitalism.

### **3.2 ENTRY INTO THE FIELD**

In this section, I describe my preparation and entry into the field setting in terms of my rationale for selecting Church Preschool; my initial meeting with the principal to set up the study; and the nature, subsequently, of my presence at the school during the six months' research period.

I concentrated on Church Preschool for the following reasons:

(1) Church Preschool is highly regarded by the teachers in the area, who recommend it to new parents, and by parents, who often book their children in at birth. It is considered to be a school that prepares its pupils particularly well for the demands of formal schooling. Therefore, my assumption was that planning time, as one of only a few whole-class instructional events in the preschool day, would represent a significant literacy event that, in anticipating the practices of schooled literacy, inducts children into specific literacy conventions.

(2) As a resident in the area and parent at the school, my ability to "camp with the natives" was facilitated because I was already a regular presence within the school environment; my transition from mother to researcher increased the extent of my involvement. This previous involvement may in any event be seen to constitute prior ethnography. It certainly facilitated my study.

(3) The multiculturalism/multilingualism of the school offered an opportunity to analyse teacher-child interaction in terms of Michaels's (1981) findings that children's differential learning/speaking styles result in a mismatch of teacher-child interactional styles and the nonmainstream child's inability to acquire schooled literacy. I hypothesised therefore that planning time would have similar interactional consequences. This, as readers will recall, is the focus of research question 3 (cf 1.3).

Initially I made an appointment with Miss Smith, the principal, to explain the purpose of my study and the nature of my presence at the school. I indicated both an awareness that, no matter how unobtrusive, my presence would still be an intrusion; and signalled a willingness

to participate as an unofficial teacher's aide (blowing noses, helping with baking, playground supervision, etc.) during my time at the school. She agreed to the arrangements and subsequently met with her staff (whom I described in 1.1) to explain the purpose and nature of my study and presence; and to encourage them to cooperate with me.

I analysed planning time as it took place in Miss Smith's class, Blue Group, who I describe in 1.1. I chose this, the younger class, in preference to the school-readiness class for two reasons: firstly, the Blue Group's lack of familiarity with the interactional demands of ringtime and planning provided an opportunity to examine the literacy practices into which the children are inducted through analysis of the metatalk; secondly, as I discuss in 3.4.2, Miss Smith's regional involvement in syllabus design and teacher training gave me access to information and insights beyond the classroom. I saw this as significant because it allowed me a sense of what was being promoted in other preschools through in-service teacher training.

I spent the first week of May in the school as a participant observer. During this time I did not collect data because I wanted to establish my presence and identity within the school community as a kind of enquiring teacher figure. For the purpose of achieving an emic perspective it was necessary to become a familiar "friend", whose presence neither disrupted classroom and playground activities nor put teachers on their guard against a critical outsider. The teachers responded to the children's questions regarding my identity and function on the first day by telling them that I was "Tracy, and she's come to watch how we do things". Thereafter, my presence excited no comment and I was treated increasingly as a teacher by children and staff. I believe that this enriched my emic understanding of

planning time because I enjoyed the children's trust as the spectator of their puppet shows and recipient of their news during free play; and I was allowed unguarded access as a researcher-colleague to after-school teacher 'chats' about the day's events and school items. Furthermore, extensive "camping with the natives" allowed me to reconcile the need to accomplish my study within a relatively short time period and still avoid it being labelled as "blitzkrieg ethnography", i.e., where the researcher briefly "dive-bombs" (Rist 1980: quoted by Watson-Gegeo 1988:576) into the setting, collects a bit of data that confirms his/her hypotheses and then leaves to write up the results.

My presence in the school spanned six months (May to October). After the initial introductory week, I spent usually one morning a week in the school observing and recording planning time. On three occasions I recorded this event daily for a week three times during this period: in the last week of May, the third week of August and the last week of September. The first week of intensive data collection was intended to establish the interactional routines and literacy conventions of ringtime; this served to contextualise planning as a sub-event of ringtime. The teacher only considered the children "ready" for planning at the end of July; therefore the early part of my data revealed typical patterns of teacher-child of expectation and interaction which were later built on in planning time. The data that is transcribed and analysed in chapter 4 (and presented in Appendices D and E) derives primarily from the period spanning the second and third intensive week of data collection during which time the planning event was introduced and the children progressively inducted into the practices that constitute "good planning"; see, too, Appendix A pages A9-A14. Thereafter, I observed planning time on five further occasions, once a week, from the last week of August to the last week of September. My rationale for doing



this additional data collection was to find confirming or disconfirming evidence for my interpretations, particularly those concerning planning time practices as differentially accessible.

### **3.3 METHODS AND PROCEDURES**

In trying to locate a literacy event such as planning time within the context of both the participants' system of sense-making and specific institutional and societal frameworks, the microethnographer employs multiple methods of data collection and modes of interpretation. Erickson (1988:1092) suggests that direct observation through participant observation and machine recording gives insight into the unconscious choices and judgements of the participants; while follow-up interviews with the informant participants to review the recorded event help to verify the researcher's inferences about the social meaning of the interaction. This comparison of evidence across a range of data sources provides a validity check (Erickson 1988:1089), enabling the researcher to triangulate the results. It also develops an emic perspective by allowing the actors' sense of the social meaning of the event to inform the researcher's interpretation. To achieve triangulation and an emic analytical standpoint, I drew my data from four sources:

- (1) participant observation along with fieldnotes made during twenty-five planning time sessions.
- (2) transcripts of ten audiorecorded planning time sessions:
  - seven complete (Appendix D pages D1-D29), three comprising planning or reviewing only (Appendix E pages E1-E17).
- (3) interviews with participant informants:
  - three with Miss Smith, the Blue Group teacher, (Appendix A pages A1-A14).

- one with Mrs Westman, chairperson of the school board, (Appendix B pages B1- B2).
- one with the grade one teachers of Close Junior Primary School (Appendix C pages C1-C5).
- informal discussions with Miss Bengu, the teacher aide.
- informal discussions with Blue Group children during free play.
- informal discussions with Miss Smith and Mrs June, the teacher of the school-readiness class.

(4) collection of site documentation:

- newsletters and information dealing with the waiting list at the school.
- resource material on planning time (Appendix F pages F1-F3)
- five transcripts of individual planning time turns which Miss Smith graded as good, medium and poor accounts on a scale of 1-5 (Appendix A pages A9-A14).

### **3.3.1 Participant Observation and Audio-Recording**

The nature of doing research in a preschool, where it is important to be accepted by the children as a familiar figure and by the teachers as helpful and non-judgemental colleague, meant that my role as participant observer varied along a continuum: from maximum involvement during free play, where I behaved, and was treated by the children, as a teacher; to minimal participation during 'planning time' where my involvement was limited to sitting as part of the circle. This was both intentional and inevitable. In my role as a non-participating member of planning time, I was able both to observe, recording my observations of non-verbal expressions of meaning in fieldnotes for future reference when reviewing the tapes; and to audio-record. The joint use of participant observation and

audiotaping provided a rich record of verbal and non-verbal exchanges of meaning, which allowed me to "revisit" (Erickson 1988: 1087) the planning time sessions repeatedly when analysing them. The cumulative understanding that developed with repeated visits to the data allowed me to achieve the rigorous interactional analysis and understanding of the relationship between what I observed and the participants' interpretation described in 3.2 as characteristic of microethnographic studies.

It is difficult to blend in with the "natives" when recording their behaviour. Therefore, the question that presents itself is how much my presence affected the participants' behaviour. According to Labov's (1972) description of the Observer's Paradox (Romaine 1988:1462) the researcher's need to find out how people speak when they are unobserved is constantly compromised by his/her presence as an observer. In my case, however, I believe that my presence did not impact substantially on planning time interaction for two reasons: firstly, I taped on the school tape recorder, which is a permanent fixture in the classroom on an open shelf at child-level. Consequently the children seemed unaware that they were being recorded; secondly, I arranged that the teacher taped several planning times in my absence. Comparative listening discerned no difference between sessions at which I was present or absent. Initially I intended to videotape too; but decided against this primarily because the 'talk' aspect of the event in which I was interested seemed adequately represented by audiotaping; furthermore, videotaping often cannot capture the non-verbal interaction of child and teacher seated across the room from one another. I also feared that the intrusive nature of videotaping would alter the children's perception of my role in the school and encourage them to "play up" for the camera; this potential drawback outweighed the benefit of recording the non-verbal communication of meaning. However, conscious of the extent to

which meaning is conveyed by non-verbal channels, I attempted to compensate by producing comprehensive fieldnotes during observation. In these I paid special attention to the non-verbal dimensions of planning time interaction.

### **3.3.2 Interviews**

My second source of data was interviews with key informants (Guthrie 1992:186), defined as those who are knowledgeable about the community and community events because of their positions as key figures in the community. My key informants were, not surprisingly, the principal and Blue Group teacher, Miss Smith, about planning time (Appendix A pages A1-A10); Mrs Westman, the chairperson of the school board, regarding the policy, ethos and ideology of the school (Appendix B pages B1-B2); and the Grade One teachers of a local feeder school about their perception of the literacy practices into which Church Preschool has inducted the children (Appendix C pages C1-C5). I also spoke informally to, and later made notes on the discussion, with Miss Bengu, the teacher aide, about her perceptions of Zulu-speaking children's home-based literacy practices. On five occasions I spoke to small groups of Blue Group children during sand or water play to gain a sense of their interpretation of the function of planning time and their own participation in this event.

I approached the above informants with varying degrees of formality. With their consent, I taped individual interviews of about ninety minutes duration with Miss Smith, Mrs Westman and the junior primary teachers. Since Miss Bengu was uncomfortable with this situation, our discussions took the form of brief, regular exchanges as we facilitated the free play period. The purpose of the key informant interviews was to provide evidence of, and insight into, the participants' perspectives on both planning time and the wider society of the

school and community. In helping to confirm or disconfirm my own inferences and interpretation of the data; informants' interpretations enriched my analysis by giving me evidence of events, attitudes and ideology to which I did not have firsthand access. The interviews included in Appendices A - C are particularly revealing in this regard.

Erickson (1986:157) suggests that the teacher may be regarded as a classroom-based researcher who has the advantage of being an observant participant who is directly involved in the interaction. I therefore interviewed Miss Smith twice during, and immediately following, the second week of intensive data collection about the nature, structure and purpose of planning time and its relation to the larger event of ringtime. The second interview took place after I had completed an initial analysis of the data; I hoped that Miss Smith's responses to questions raised by the analysis would yield fresh insights into the nature and perceived function of planning time. The interviews were semi-structured insofar as I tried to ask open-ended questions that would both give me the information I needed and generate talk by encouraging Miss Smith to express opinions on matters not necessarily covered by my questions (Guthrie 1992:186). This I saw as allowing for the possibility of new questions and of disconfirming data. I followed the same procedure when interviewing the school board chairperson and junior primary teachers; however these informants were not as revealing as Miss Smith, a fact that may be attributed to my insider/outsider status (see Appendices A - C).

The informal day-to-day discussions with Miss Smith and Mrs June, teacher of the school-readiness class, about their perceptions of individual children's planning time performances during the course of the study provided an additional source of confirming or

disconfirming data. This discussion is characterised by an occasion when I asked Miss Smith to evaluate the transcripts of five planning children, whose names I had substituted with the initials A-E; my goal being to seek validation of her earlier assessment of the children as good, medium and poor planners according to her criteria (see Appendix A pages A9 - A14). My reason for concealing the children's identities was to eliminate the possibility that Miss Smith's evaluation of language skills might conceal gender or racial bias; therefore when she asked whether the one transcript was Pranav, I pretended ignorance and claimed to have forgotten. The teacher's response, which confirmed my inferences, was to grade the transcripts on a scale of 1-5 and explain her reasons for doing so.

The strength of Heath (1983) and Michaels's (1981) studies of the possible mismatch between school and home-based literacy practices is their knowledge of both mainstream and non-mainstream home literacy practices. No long-term ethnographic studies have been carried out on nonmainstream literacy practices in South Africa as I indicated in the previous chapter. Therefore, although I hypothesised that the Zulu-speaking children in the Blue Group did not share the same experiences of, and routines around, print (e.g. the bedtime story) as the English-speaking children, if only because English is not the medium of their home experiences; I had no real knowledge of their home-based literacy experiences. To avoid running the risk of falling into the trap typical of the autonomous model of literacy of assuming that if individuals do not have mainstream home-based literacy practices, then they have no literacy practices at all, I used Miss Bengu as a key informant regarding Zulu home-based practices. Her insider's perspective into the Zulu children's possible experiences with text and parental expectations provided some insight into those planning practices which may be most unfamiliar to them; this informs my

research question 3 (cf 1.6) about whether, and how, certain children are disadvantaged during planning time. My exploration of the Zulu-speaking pupils' planning time behaviour is, however, a weakness of this study (as I indicate in 4.4) and one which I would like to pursue in a later study.

### 3.3.3 Site Documentation

My written records consisted of fieldnotes I made of observations during planning time and the events, routines and behaviours of the school day which surround and contextualise this event; transcripts of audiotaped planning time sessions (Appendices D - E) and interviews (Appendices A - C ). During the course of my study, I collected site documentation, i.e. copies of teacher resource material on the planning time picture symbols (Appendix F pages F1-F3) and school newsletters; however, although Miss Smith allowed me to look at her written comments on children's oral development, she appeared unwilling to give me copies. A point of significance in this regard is that her written comments echoed her criteria of a good planner (Appendix A pages A9-A14); for example, *"James often interrupts in teacher-directed activities to share tales of unrelated experiences and events"*. Together with participant observation and interviews, this written record of data collection served to triangulate my findings by providing confirming evidence.

## 3.4 CONCLUSION

As a topic-oriented and hypothesis-driven microethnography, my study employs micro-ethnographic methods to achieve an emic understanding of planning time as a key literacy event within the culture of the school community. The methods of data collection outlined above were selected in the belief that they would maximise the validity of the study and the

results that emerge from it. To achieve triangulation, thereby using each source of data to confirm or disconfirm the others, I draw data from four sources: participant observation, audiotaping, interviews and site documentation.

The next chapter provides answers to the research questions through an examination of the data. I discuss the evidence that planning time is an interactional routine that progressively socialises children into the literacy rights and obligations attendant upon their subject positions of audience and planners. I infer the teacher's planning time schema from her comments during interviews and her instructional talk during planning time. Thereafter I analyse the literacy conventions being rehearsed in children's planning time turns; and question whether this literacy is uniformly accessible.



## **CHAPTER 4 : DATA ANALYSIS**

### **4.0 INTRODUCTION**

In this chapter, I analyse transcripts of planning time interaction and interviews conducted with Miss Smith, for evidence of the teacher's expectations and the literacy practices rehearsed during this event. In this regard I direct the reader to the transcript conventions in Appendix D (page D). In the analysis, I seek answers to the following research questions:

1. What aspects of schooled literacy are rehearsed during planning time?
2. What are teacher and child expectations during planning time as inferred from their responses?
3. Are children disadvantaged during planning time and, if so, in what ways?

I begin by examining the way in which planning time, as an interactional routine (see 2.3), progressively inducts children into preferred literacy practices. In particular, I explore the positioning of the children as audience members and planners within the planning time discourse community. I argue that planning time functions to co-opt children into specific literacy conventions; as such, they further the teacher's pedagogic agenda. Thereafter I investigate the teacher's literacy expectations or schema as inferred from planning time transcripts and interviews. I refer to these expectations as a set of maxims and sub-maxims. I then look at three planning time transcripts, which the teacher identifies as representative of weak, medium and good planning accounts. I examine the literacy practices evinced and the extent to which these accounts match the targeted behaviour. Finally, I turn briefly to the question of differential access. I contend that, although planning time does facilitate literacy acquisition, the data suggests that the literacy practices are unequally accessed. The teacher's expectations become increasingly less explicit as they more closely anticipate the preferred

strategies for presentation and argument. Consequently those children who are not able to cue into the teacher's implicit expectations remain disadvantaged because they never "know what it is that they do not know" (Heath 1986a:112).

#### **4.1 PLANNING AS AN INTERACTIONAL ROUTINE**

"In the first term you're very involved in establishing a routine where you're getting them involved, to participate and all the rest of it. We're getting them into the routine; we can spend the whole term talking about how they should sit at ringtime so we don't actually have time to introduce another whole routine of planning."  
(Miss Smith: Appendix A pages A3 - A8)

Analysis of the data leads me to contend that ringtime and planning time represent overlapping interactional routines that function collaboratively to enculturate children into the conventions of schooled literacy. Miss Smith's comments above, and the order in which ringtime and planning time are introduced, would seem to confirm that the recurring interactional patterns of each event socialise children into different, but related, aspects of schooled literacy. As a literacy event within the overarching framework of ringtime, planning time anticipates the more exclusive literacy practices that characterise discourses such as scientific research and analytical exposition.

The interactional sequences of ringtime appear to induct children into their role as pupils by anticipating those conventions of classroom behaviour that stress receptive skills and respect for authority: "the ability to sit quietly and listen and follow instructions" (Appendix C page C1-C5). Recurrent metatalk, for example, "now don't mess around and get silly 'cause then I become a screaming, old bag", makes explicit these conventions of receptive skills, group participation and physical behaviour:

"to sit in a circle, listen to the teacher and the other children, not shout out, put their hands up and wait their turn, having the confidence to talk in a group, not just talk about whatever they feel like."  
(Miss Smith Appendix A pages A3 - A8)

Evidence of what the teacher permits without comment, or explicitly censors, suggests that the rules of ringtime are: to sit upright and cross-legged in a circle without leaning against the wall, sniffing or fiddling with either items of clothing or neighbours; and to listen to the teacher and contribute comments relating to the topic of the discussion by remaining seated in the circle and calling out. In terms of the audience's position as part of the planning time discourse community which I discuss in 4.1.1, it is most significant that these rules governing audience participation change in planning time.

It would appear that it is only once children have been explicitly socialised into their subject positions as pupils that the teacher inducts them further into the literacy conventions of planning time. These conventions are antecedent to expository and report literacy. Miss Smith claims that the explicit and recurring structure of planning time is more effective than newstime in facilitating children's induction into preferred literacy practices. She perceives newstime queries to be vague, "now tell me what happened in your house this morning" in contrast to the predictability and explicitness of planning time which give children a point of access:

"I think you can compare the security of planning with the security of the school routine; because it is structured and the same every day, it gives them the freedom to explore themselves, their relationships and the concepts and the environment because its active learning. Similarly, planning happens the same way, every single day, and within that structure they are free to express themselves. I think that many of them come from being real wallpaper kids to knowing that they must say, what, where and with whom and then within that structure they can learn to be more expressive." (Miss Smith Appendix A pages A3 - A8)

On the basis of the teacher's claims of explicitness and structure it would seem that planning time represents an intervention option that minimises the disadvantage of nonmainstream children. As such, it is an interactional routine that uses formulaic cues to progressively

enculturate children into institutionally preferred practices through recurring patterns of teacher-child interaction. Thus, Miss Smith asserts that when planning time is first introduced:

"They say "blocks", not necessarily knowing what they're going to do with the blocks. Whereas at the end it reaches a point where they can give you a whole spiel [*speech*]."  
(Appendix A page A1 - A2)

However, the data does not support these claims that planning time "equalises opportunity"; nor the implication that it brings all children to the same point of literacy. Instead, analysis of the data (see 4.3.1) suggests that this ability to give a "whole spiel" in terms of a fluent and decontextualised account remains the province of mainstream children.

There appears to be a contradiction within planning time between its apparent openness in making the conventions explicit; and the reality of who actually gains access to the powerful literacies which planning time anticipates. On the one hand, it would seem that opportunities are equalised because this is a literacy event where Miss Smith claims that all children, regardless of home literacy practices, have to learn to "speak in a new way in a new environment". On the other hand, only those children whose home practices most closely resemble planning time conventions, manage to gain and display mastery of the more complex literacy routines (as I demonstrate in 4.3.3). This contradiction between an open-door policy and the reality of restricted access is echoed on the macrolevel of the institution. In 1.1, I pointed to the tension between the school's avowed policy of openness, "we've always been receptive and open to children from other groups" (Chairperson of the Board: Appendix B page B1-B2); and simultaneous guarding of entry and tradition. A series of mechanisms, such as the waiting list and the school's physical location behind the church, ensure that it is difficult to find or gain entry to Church Preschool (cf 1.1).

I turn now to the way in which planning time enculturates children into socially and institutionally defined literacy conventions and practices by positioning them as audience and planners within the planning time discourse community.

#### 4.1.1 The Role of the Audience in Planning Time

Before analysing the teacher's planning time schema it is necessary to discuss the way in which planning time asserts its hegemony by "sucking in" (Ivanic & Simpson 1993:180) the participants. Co-opted into the roles of audience and planner, the children take up subject positions within the discourse community that shape and constrain their literacy practices. As I suggested in 4.1, the rules governing audience participation during planning time are significantly different from ringtime. It is useful therefore to approach the question of the audience's role in planning time contrastively by first characterising and explaining the conventions of ringtime participation.

The interactional routine of ringtime is typified by short speaking turns involving several children and the teacher:

- Miss S: What's camouflage?  
 P: Miss Smith! Miss Smith!  
 Miss S: Yes, what?  
 P: Camouflage means that it stays still.  
 Miss S: Mm, not really. Camou[flage]  
 D: [No!]  
 Miss S: Tell me, Dave.  
 D: Um, um, um, you camouflage on something.  
 Miss S: Camouflage?  
 D: On, on, on a piece of wood.  
 Miss S: You could make camouflage on a piece of wood but who's got the most camouflage?  
 J: Us.  
 C: Snails.  
 L: [Snakes ]

- Miss S: [No, no.]  
 Z: Animals.  
 Miss S: Animals. Why have animals got camouflage if they want to hide?  
 L: So, so um, people don't kill them.  
 J: No, so they don't hunt for animals.  
 Miss S: Yes, because if they've got the colouring. If they're the same colours as ... the bushveld... as the grasses and the shadows. Then when they go into the bush ...and here's where Pranav is quite right. They move into the bushes or the grasses and then they keep still. And [then ]  
 D: [Cause], 'cause. And then, if a person's clothes ... if a person dresses all over green, even green buttons, then you would be camouflaged in the grass.  
 Miss S: You could do and often they put black ..., brown splotches on. Black and brown splotches on.  
 L: Yes, like on "Jag". There were these, all these men. They were going to shoot. They had their guns out the grass.

On the basis of what the teacher permits without comment, or explicitly proscribes in exchanges like this, the audience rule most constantly enforced during ringtime is the ban on private conversations. Children are permitted to call out answers and topic-related comments from their position on the floor without waiting to be named by Miss Smith; unless she actually appoints a child to answer, "Nicole, when I say somebody's name, love, I want them to have a turn to answer not just you, okay?" As the above exchange illustrates, interruptions that develop the discussion are permitted without comment; in this instance, the teacher acknowledges David's interruption with an invitation to elaborate.

The data suggests that during ringtime discussions the teacher's agenda is to socialise children according to her norms of group talk: the ability to contribute to the topic, to bid for a turn and to listen to the other participants. This anticipates the literacy demands of the early levels of formal schooling where, "a lot of the work is group oral work and practical...most of your day is spent on the mat in Grade One" (Appendix C pages C1-C5). Ringtime, therefore, socialises the preschool child into the immediate demands of schooled literacy.

In contrast to the interactional rules of ringtime, the rules of planning time place a different set of rights and obligations on the audience; in the words of Miss Smith, "planning is a time when you say, 'no, forget it, you be quiet, it's not your turn now'". In other words, the teacher's agenda is not to facilitate the group discussion that characterises ringtime; but to induct children into more complex and demanding literacy practices that anticipate exposition and reporting. This is apparent in the contrast between the short speaking turns of ringtime in the example above; and the longer, sustained exchanges of planning time between the teacher and planner (see Appendix E pages E1-E3).

From the data, examples of which I include below to illustrate specific audience rights and obligations, it would appear that the teacher co-opts the planning time audience as a discourse community to affirm and endorse planning time practices and conventions. Miss Smith appeals to the audience to confirm the value of planning time principles either by verbally restating the norms when the planner has violated them; or by clapping to affirm planning time accounts which approximate the targeted behaviour. As the children begin to collaborate in the metatalk they are transformed into a discourse community that becomes self-regulatory in enforcing planning time conventions. This co-option of the audience disguises the teacher's "ownership" (Baker & Perrott 1988:20) of planning time; because, as stakeholders in this literacy event, the children function as extensions of the teacher, 'policing' the planners' accounts for factual and structural accuracy:

- Miss S:        And were you building his house? Was he in the block room, Tebo?  
 T:                Yes.  
 Miss S:        And when you were finished what happened?

This role in enforcing the maxim of accountability contrasts with Baker and Perrott's (1988) finding that, in their study of newstime in Australian primary school classrooms, the audience is obliged to feign ignorance of objects and events which often have been shared already on the playground. They therefore describe newstime as an artificial event because part of the children's induction into the role of audience is the ability to pretend "hot" that which is actually "cold" (1988:25). However, the planning time discourse community does not feign ignorance but critically checks for inconsistencies.

In calling on the audience to validate the norms, the teacher positions the children as upholders of the status quo and puts pressure on those who do not comply because they are publicly accountable to the discourse community. This is apparent in Tebogo's planning time turn (see 4.2.3) when the teacher explicitly turns to the discourse community, "he forgot to do his plan! When you are, when it is your turn to plan you must remember to do your plan alright?" Tebogo's failure to do his plan appears implicitly to threaten the integrity of the event; therefore the teacher restores the status quo by using Tebogo's violation as an opportunity to publicly restate the importance of accountability in a general admonition to the group.

The audience is expected to listen critically to the factual and structural accuracy of the planning child's contribution. They may not participate verbally unless they are explicitly called upon as a group to affirm the teacher's planning time values; or their unsolicited contribution extends the planner's account. However, unsolicited comments, no matter how pertinent, risk censure. The examples below suggest that the teacher permits unsolicited audience contributions if they develop the planner's account by articulating the norms; as



such, they are an extension of the teacher's metatalk. However, she censors comments that she interprets as 'telling on', as undermining her authority, or usurping the planning turn of another. As in ringtime, these audience conventions are inferred from what the teacher permits without comment and, in instances of violation, from the explicit statement of the norms. What follows are examples of the use of metatalk in enforcing audience rights and obligations.

*(a) The audience has an obligation is to listen to the planner:*

Miss S: It's very rude, Lindelwa, not to listen to the children and to fiddle and poke with all sorts of things because when you are planning and reviewing, you want people to listen to you.

*(b) The audience has an obligation to affirm planning time values:*

Miss S: So that was your plan, wasn't it? I think uh Shelley-Jane reviewed her plan beautifully because she told us exactly how she did it. That was very interesting, wasn't it Lindi? (*Lindelwa nods*). Uh, give her a clap, I think. (*Class claps*).

*(c) The audience has a conditional right to contribute unsolicited metacomments:*

*The teacher censors comments that encroach on the planner's turn:*

J: Dig with Mitchell [and David.]  
M: [And blocks.]  
Miss S: Hang on, let him do it, he's the planner, Mitchy.

*The teacher condones comments that reinforce norms violated by the planner:*

Miss S: To the lego? But that's not a puzzle---You must keep to doing a puzzle---  
L: You can do a different puzzle if you choose puzzles.  
Miss S: Yes, you can change it like that but you must still do a puzzle, hey?

An example of an unsolicited contribution that the teacher endorses is where Alan validates the factual accuracy of Kevin's review by claiming that he saw Kevin doing his block plan:

Miss S: Hmm, did you make the house?  
K: Yes.  
Miss S: I didn't see you inside.

- A: I did.  
 Miss S: Did you see him building a house? Who did he do it with, Al?  
 A: I think with Simo.

The teacher's response implicitly endorses the child's contribution in a solidarity display by using an abbreviated version of his name; and with a who question which extends his participation over two turns. In prefacing his reply with "I think" ("I think with Simo"), Alan signals awareness of the rights and obligations pertaining to him as a member of the discourse community: he has a right to participate in the discussion on Kevin's accountability; but he has an obligation to assume responsibility for his contribution. This example illustrates the way in which planning time serves to co-opt children as extensions of the teacher, who continues her surveillance by proxy during free play. This extends Foucault's (Collins 1991:238) notion of the school as a site of control and surveillance (cf 2.2.1) by revealing the way in which the children's personal playtime is monitored.

#### **4.1.2 The Role of the Planner at Planning Time**

The teacher's formulaic announcement of planning turns positions children as members of the planning time discourse community. The injunction to become "a planner" mythologises the teacher's pedagogic agenda by concealing the process of co-option. The label carries with it overtones of prestige and status that mask the way in which the child is co-opted and constrained by the act of planning.

"Tebogo! Tell us about your plan. Stand up boy. Stand up...so that you can be the planner."

The specificity of the child's name, "Tebogo", effectively displaces him from his anonymous position within the audience group. Such naming is typically accompanied by an injunction to stand up, which further decontextualises the child from the audience by visually and spatially establishing him as "the planner". In standing, the child assumes the subject

position set up by the teacher and is, by implication, constrained to present information according to the teacher's schema. This contrasts with ringtime where children's contributions, made from a seated position within the security and relative anonymity of the group, seem subject to few constraints other than the need to be topic-focused.

The obligations which constrain and determine the planning child's performance are implied by the preponderance of imperatives, "Luke, tell me about your plan please, stand up and tell us all". These imperatives are often couched in endearments, "Meggy Moo [Megan], tell us your plans darling". This solidarity display establishes a dual message of obligation and solidarity: "you are obliged to do this but we are on your side, we will help you". As the planner, the child is accountable to the planning time discourse community of teacher and children for the factual and structural accuracy of his/her plan; therefore his/her account is a public performance to be evaluated and commented upon. The public identity of the account is further emphasised by the rules of delivery. Either explicitly, "tell us your plans in a nice, big voice"; or implicitly, "don't forget your deaf, old teacher", these stress the planner's obligation to perform according to convention.

Through propagating the myth of the planner, planning time "sucks [the participants] in" to preferred literacy practices. In the next section I examine more closely the ideology invested in the teacher's planning time schema.

## 4.2 THE TEACHER'S PLANNING TIME SCHEMA

I have inferred the expectations and conventions that shape Miss Smith's planning time schema chiefly from two sources: her metatalk in scaffolding the children's planning time accounts; and her comments when interviewed regarding the target literacy:

"A good planner is a child who can stand up and give their plans without hesitating and prompting, obviously they've given it some thought when they're putting their pictures up, who can think ahead, they're taking a visual cue and they're elaborating on it through verbalisation; and they're doing that smoothly and according to the framework of what, how and who and they're giving lots of detail. So they're manipulating language to their own ends; that's a good planner."  
(Miss Smith: Appendix A pages A3 - A8))

On the evidence of the above quotation, Miss Smith expects a **fluent** ("give their plans without hesitation and prompting...doing that smoothly"), **decontextualised** ("elaborating on it through verbalisation ...giving lots of detail") and **thematically cohesive** ("according to the framework of what, how and who") account. Once these conventions are met, the teacher expects planners to be able to "manipulate language to their own ends" by extending and justifying the plan in response to scaffolding questions. From the metatalk, I further infer expectations of **efficiency** in choosing planning partners who are doing the same plan; **purposefulness** in presenting the plan with conviction and fluency; and **accountability** for its feasibility and factual accuracy. I illustrate and discuss these expectations in greater detail later in this section in terms of a set of planning time maxims and sub-maxims.

The teacher's expectations may be seen as maxims that shape the planners' accounts into a rehearsal of preferred literacy strategies. Her planning time schema is informed by maxims which I refer to as: thematic cohesion; accountability; decontextualisation; factuality and purposefulness. I divide two of these maxims further into sub-maxims. Firstly, the maxim of

accountability subsumes the sub-maxims of feasibility, efficiency, the need to complete a plan and the need to motivate any departures from the original proposal. Secondly, the maxim of decontextualisation encompasses the sub-maxims of fluency and explicitness. These maxims echo the belief (cf 1.2.1) that, "the most powerful tool a child can have to affect what's going to happen next in his or her life [is] the ability to make a plan and carry it out" (Hohmann et al 1979:279). As such, Miss Smith's schema is ideologically invested with middle-class values of personal accountability and purposefulness. This exposure of planning time's middle-class bias once again gives the lie to the autonomous model's presentation of literacy as a neutral practice (see 2.1.1); and cautions us to look closely at both the way in which the teacher's schema inducts children into literacy practices and the nature of these practices. According to the ideological approach (cf 2.1.2), the dissemination and acquisition of literacy is not a neutral process; but is, inevitably, a site of contestation involving the displacement of alternative literacies. Moreover, it is not equally accessible; the greater the distance between the discourse worlds of school and home, the more difficult it is to acquire schooled literacy.

Despite Miss Smith's claims that planning time equalises opportunity because it makes the conventions explicit, the data suggests that the level of access remains differential. The teacher makes explicit the maxims of thematic cohesion and accountability, "Tell me if you did your plan; what and how and who, okay?"; explicit repetition of these conventions sufficiently inducts all children into the elementary stages of planning. Therefore it would appear that they have all gained access to the literacy conventions of planning time. However, contrastive analysis of a weak account (cf 4.3.1) and a good account (cf 4.3.3)

suggests that in reality the teacher's expectations become increasingly implicit in parallel to the complexity of the literacy routines.

It is ironic in terms of her avowed policy of openness and equality that the teacher only makes explicit those expectations that most rely on shared middle-class values when endorsing accounts that display mastery of these conventions. In other words, mainstream children, who are able to cue into the teacher's planning time schema on the basis of shared knowledge, receive explicit endorsement of the way in which their account satisfies the teacher's expectations, "I want to tell you Blue Group, that this is such a good idea that [Upashna] is choosing someone who is also planning"; but nonmainstream children are not given explicit instruction in how to meet these criteria. This again raises the question of whose interests are being served; perhaps the answer lies in the tension identified in 4.1 between the rhetoric of openness and the reality of who it is who gains mastery of the powerful literacy practices that planning time anticipates. Nonmainstream children are being inducted into planning time literacy but there appears to come a point where induction depends on shared knowledge; at this stage the door seems to shut. It is my contention, therefore, that despite its policy of explicitness and undoubted success in giving nonmainstream children a "way in", planning time serves a gatekeeping function in effectively maintaining the status quo by guarding access to those literacy practices most valued in Western industrial society.

What follows is a detailed analysis of the teacher's planning time maxims and the literacy practices that they promote. First, to give the account direction and clarity, I present the maxims and sub-maxims in tabular form. My point that the teacher's expectations are

increasingly implicit is confirmed by the fact that, in the examples used, the basic criteria of her schema are made explicit in unsuccessful interactional exchanges; however, her more demanding criteria are only evident in her affirmation of successful accounts.

Planning Time Maxims	Planning Time Sub-Maxims
Thematic Cohesion	
Accountability	Accountability for plan completion
	Feasibility
	Efficiency
	Plan change accountability
Decontextualization	Fluency
	Explicitness
Factuality	
Purposefulness	

#### 4.2.1 The Maxim of Thematic Cohesion

The teacher's most explicit and reiterated expectation is that planning accounts conform to the maxim of thematic cohesion. To be recognised as a cohesive planning time account, a child's presentation of information must conform to this preferred sequence of *what* activity has been planned, *how* it will be carried out and *with whom*. In 4.3.3, the importance of this maxim is illustrated by the fact that even good accounts are corrected by the teacher if they deviate from the formula by giving descriptive and explanatory detail before completing the *what*, *how* and *with whom* sequence. This is stressed iteratively in the metatalk that introduces and surrounds planning turns:

"Now we're going to ask them about their plans and they must tell me what they're going to do and...how they're going to do it and...who they are going to do it with"

Miss Smith's scaffolding questions function as 'topic sentences'; they cue the child to conform to the recognised planning time structure and ensure cohesive planning time accounts. Thus, in the example below, the teacher scaffolds Roland's account with explicit questions that build it into a thematically cohesive text: "(how) I'm going to pedal (what) the bikes (with whom) Luke. The centrality of the teacher's scaffolding role means that the child's account cannot be examined in isolation (Michaels 1981:427); teacher and child jointly create the text through a sequence of question-answer-evaluation that anticipates the pattern of instructional talk of formal schooling:

- Miss S: Okay Roland!...tell me your plans, please my boy. Stand up and tell me what you're going to do.  
 R: Bike-riding.  
 Miss S: You're going to do bike-riding? Very nice. Tell me how you're going to ride the bikes ...how are you going to ride them?  
 R: Pedal.  
 Miss S: You're going to pedal. Very good. And tell me ...how are you going to pedal?  
 R: Um ...with a friend.  
 Miss S: You're going to pedal with a friend? And who's going to ride with you?  
 R: Mm ...Luke.  
 Miss S: Luke ...Roland I'm very pleased with the way you've done your plan.

It is significant that the richness of Miss Smith's affirmation of Roland's planning account contradicts her assessment of him as a poor planner, "probably the worst in the class". The data suggests that Miss Smith is praising Roland's recognition of her requirements of him, namely, that he conform closely to the formula by giving the correct noun phrases required by this mini-script (Peters & Bloggs 1986:87). Miss Smith confirmed this interpretation in discussion after this planning session where she claimed to work according to two criteria: a group planning time criterion against which the children are implicitly measured; and an individual set of criteria whereby each child is assessed according to his or her past



performance. Therefore the degree and nature of the teacher's praise is intertextual; it refers across planning time sessions to the child's earlier accounts. The apparent benevolence of this approach conceals the fact that if a child is not able to cue into the teacher's more complex demands, the teacher makes no effort to induct him/her into these practices. Hence, the explanation for why the teacher endorses a weak account may be that this account represents and conforms to a different, more elementary literacy than that evinced by a strong planning account.

The data suggests that the teacher's degree of explicitness is determined by the child's ability to recognise the contextualisation cues. Therefore she announces the planning turn of a child whom she identifies as a good planner with a comment such as, "Okay, Pranav". The cryptic nature of this comment assumes that the child understands exactly what is required in terms of a good planning performance; no further explanation is necessary. However she introduces and scaffolds a weak planner's contribution with greater explicitness. In the example below, Luke is clearly unable to recognise the teacher's cues. This prompts the teacher to be increasingly explicit in her demands that his account conform to the preferred sequence; and she reformulates his holophrastic responses in model answers that display the explicitness that she expects, "Luke is going to do the fireman puzzle with James". In unsuccessful interactions such as this, the teacher's scaffolding questions are characterised by a pattern of bald imperatives and increasing specificity as the teacher struggles to make her expectations explicit by both providing the structure and modelling the required level of verbalised detail:

- |         |                                             |
|---------|---------------------------------------------|
| Miss S: | What, how and who.                          |
| L:      | The puzzle.                                 |
| Miss S: | Tell me things about the puzzle.            |
| L:      | James.                                      |
| Miss S: | You're going to do puzzles with James. Yes? |

- L: And the sandpit.  
 Miss S: No, you're just going to do puzzles for now. Tell me, what kind of puzzles are you going to build?...do you know?...which puzzle are you going to build?  
 L: Uh.  
 Miss S: Are you going to do the clock puzzle or are you going to do the mushroom puzzle? What other puzzles are in the big room? The chicken puzzle or the parrot— which one?  
 L: The fireman puzzle.  
 Miss S: Okay, so is this right Blue Group? Luke is going to do the fireman puzzle with James?

An account that is not "ordered" according to the preferred format of *what, how, who* is not recognised as thematically coherent and validated by the teacher as "good planning". She baldly rejects such contributions, as in the example below; and demands that the planner conform to the formula in order to maintain his/her planning turn. These demands reiterate the norms: either as explicit metacomments, "No, but tell us what you planned"; or as implicit contextualisation cues that assume shared knowledge of the planning time conventions:

- Miss S: Master James?  
 J: Uum, I'm going to do it with Mitchell and David.  
 Miss S: What!  
 J: Uh the sandpit.  
 Miss S: The sandpit! And what are you going to do in the sandpit?

Miss Smith justifies her demand for thematic cohesion on the grounds that it helps children to "articulate and structure their thoughts because they have to be explicit and ordered". As such, the planning time maxim of thematic cohesion anticipates school-based patterns of reading for comprehension where, as discussed in 2.5.1, the what-explanations of picking out topic sentences and recalling facts and details of the text are followed by higher order reason-explanations and affective responses (Heath 1986a:102). The significance of this continuity lies in Heath's (1983a:104) claim that the inability to present knowledge

according to school conventions invalidates the child's contribution. Thus children who have had the opportunity to rehearse these literacy strategies through events such as planning time are advantaged because they are immediately able to interpret the teacher's contextualisation cues in later literacy events.

The maxim of thematic cohesion is matched in importance in the teacher's schema by the maxim of accountability. I turn next to an examination of the ways in which the planner is held accountable for factual accuracy of his/her planning time accounts.

#### **4.2.2 The Maxim of Accountability**

The public nature of the planning and reviewing routines makes the planner accountable for his/her plan in terms of its completion, feasibility and factual accuracy. The teacher's demand for verbalised detail suggests that the planner can only claim to have done the plan when he/she can describe it; credibility rests on verbal skills. In other words, the planner's actions become true within the classroom only when he/she can describe the 'doing' according to the maxims of thematic cohesion and decontextualisation.

This need to prove accountability anticipates the more exclusive forum of the science laboratory, for example, where facts "do not speak for themselves"; but must be told according to the discourse of scientific storytelling (Rosebery et al 1992:4). There are also strong parallels between the child who stands up to explain that she could not paint, as originally planned, because the painting materials had been put away, therefore she drew pictures; and the engineer who stands up in the boardroom to explain that the deadline for a project has had to be extended due to a cement shortage. The differences between these

scenarios are more apparent than real. Both depend on recognised strategies for presenting information in order to signal credibility and accountability. It is in its maxim of accountability that planning time seems to anticipate these scientific and boardroom literacies of factual reporting.

This maxim echoes Weikart's promotion of planning time as a way of making children aware of their responsibility as autonomous individuals to act meaningfully on their environment (1.2.1). As such, it entrenches middle-class values of efficiency, credibility and reason, "it's also good to realise that you can do various things and also that you have to take some responsibility for whatever your actions are". For the purposes of this study, although these categories must be recognised as artificial constructs, it is useful to identify sub-maxims within the overarching category of accountability. Therefore, from the data I have inferred that the maxim of accountability embraces the values of completion, feasibility, efficiency and motivation of changes. Before turning to examine each of these four sub-maxims in turn, it is significant to note that, as mentioned in 4.2, the teacher's expectations become increasingly implicit as her demands progress from the simplicity of whether the planner completed the plan; to the complexity of motivating plan changes. Therefore, whilst the teacher makes explicit her expectation that the children will do their plans, "straightaway, because otherwise you will forget"; it is only possible to infer the maxim of efficiency from her endorsement of accounts that meet this expectation.

#### **(1) The sub-maxim of plan completion**

Miss Smith claims that, "talk is not enough. They've got to actually do what they plan otherwise it's just a fanciful exercise". From this it is clear that the success of the child's

account rests on the prior completion of the plan; it is not acceptable to forget. The weight of evidence in interviews and planning time interaction suggests that the reason why failure to carry out a plan is regarded so seriously by the teacher is that it challenges the convention of the event in a way that makes it difficult for the teacher to do repairwork through scaffolding dialogue. Whereas the data shows that it is possible to scaffold an account that violates the *what, how, who* formula; it is not possible to reconstruct an activity that has not taken place.

Therefore, implicit in the teacher's imperative, "tell us about your plans" is the expectation that the plan has already been completed the way that it was proposed. Children who forget to do their plans have their turns immediately terminated with the bald reformulation of the accountability maxim. Typically this is either presented as explicit censure; or as a joke which elicits laughter and metatalk about planning time norms:

- S: I forgot to do [my]  
 Miss S: [Ooh!]( *The teacher pretends to scream in horror*)  
           You're kidding! What did you forget to do?  
 S: My puzzle.  
 L: Everyone's forgetting today.  
 Miss S: (*Pretends to sob*). I know, oh, I can't bear it! (*The class laughs loudly*).  
 P: I did my plan Miss Smith.

In this example the teacher dramatises the consequence (public censure) of a forgotten plan by pretending to scream and sob; this echoes the injunction of an earlier planning session to "wear your reminder pegs otherwise you will forget and that would be a drama". The exaggerated parody of her behaviour is a solidarity display that softens the implicit censure. However, this parody and the use of the first person singular highlights the child's personal accountability to the teacher as the primary receiver and commentator of the accounts

within the planning time discourse community; it is the teacher, not the class, who screams, sobs and "can't bear it".

In their laughter the children align themselves with Miss Smith in affirming the maxim of accountability. This illustrates the way in which the discourse community self-regulates through laughter and the articulation of the norms to restore the equilibrium of the planning time session when it is threatened by a child's failure to do his/her plan. In using the third person in his metacomment, "Everyone is forgetting today", Luke implicitly distances himself from those who forget. Similarly, Pranav's use of the first-person pronoun asserts his personal accountability, "I did my plan, Miss Smith". Addressing the teacher by name, moreover, recognises her authority within the discourse community.

Thus the literacy expectations of planning time prepare the child for the academic and corporate demands of accountability in recurring events of public performance. Related to the need to prove completion of the plan, is the sub-maxim of feasibility, to which I turn next.

## **(2) The sub-maxim of feasibility**

When interviewed (Appendix A page A7), Miss Smith claimed that during planning time:

"we talk about how realistically can you do these things because you can't ask Simo to do your plans with you if he's planning himself unless you're doing the same plans; and they've learned that. Today, did you see, David chose the same plan as Mitchell because he wanted to play with Mitchell and he knew that Mitchell had a responsibility to do his plans; I think that's moving towards a real understanding of how to organise yourselves not so egocentrically and how to manipulate your environment."

However, this assertion is not validated by the transcript data; there is no evidence of the planning time discourse community engaging in a discussion about the importance of

choosing a plan on the grounds of feasibility. What becomes apparent, therefore, is that feasibility is an implicit sub-maxim to which the teacher expects planning accounts to conform; but which she does not make explicit through metatalk. The implicitness of this maxim means that it is embedded in the teacher's pattern of her question sequence. In Miss Smith's quest for details, there is an implicit demand for proof that the child has, in her words, "given [the plan] some thought" and weighed up the options. If, as in the example below, the plan lacks feasibility, the teacher implicitly cautions the planner by signalling the child's responsibility to ensure that the plan is feasible and suggesting a solution. However this suggestion is neither emphasised or clarified by the teacher, who does not seem to feel the need to ensure that the planners grasp the principle. Therefore only those children who immediately understand that the teacher is challenging the feasibility of their plan benefit from the suggestion:

- Miss S: Calley, are you going to do the toilet rolls or the nurse's cap?  
 C: The nurse's cap.  
 Miss S: The nurse's cap. And who are you going to do it with?  
 C: Upashna  
 Miss S: Well you two are going to have to sort yourselves out, okay? It looks like you might have to do both the activities.

The value that Miss Smith places on the child's ability to, "think ahead [and then] motivate why and how" implies that, for her, part of thinking a plan through is the weighing up of options and assessing their feasibility. Her expectation builds on the pattern of reason-explanations and affective commentaries (Heath 1986a:102) that characterise the mainstream home literacy event of the bedtime story (cf 2.5.1); and it anticipates the expository conventions of schooled literacy by which a position must be taken and argued, not on the grounds that it is necessarily right, but that it is more feasible than the other options. In this sense planning time offers the opportunity to rehearse reasoning strategies

which, according to Lemke (1990:123), appear to be logical, but not necessarily right, because they conform to preferred rhetorical and genre structure patterns (cf 2.4).

The continuity between home and planning time literacy expectations maximises the advantage of the mainstream child and effectively excludes those who do not share these sense-making conventions. The further continuity between planning time and school literacy practices suggests the long-term consequences of the nonmainstream child's inability to recognise implicit maxims, such as the sub-maxim of efficiency. An account of this sub-maxim follows.

### **(3) The sub-maxim of efficiency**

Efficiency is an aspect of feasibility. The teacher highly values accounts that show evidence of prior thought and verbalisation in choosing a partner from amongst the planning group; and by engaging in prior negotiation to decide upon the same activity:

"I love the way they all sit around the planning box and chat about what they're going to do and, "You haven't put your peg on" and, "You can't be my planning partner for bikes if you do puzzles". It's fascinating how talk is generated by it."  
(Miss Smith: Appendix A pages A3-A8)

However, like the feasibility maxim, this aspect of the teacher's schema is largely implicit. She does not deconstruct the maxim of efficiency for the children in the iterative metatalk through which she makes explicit her expectations of thematic cohesion and completion of the plan. It can be inferred only from her endorsement of accounts that approximate the targeted literacy; for example, "I want to tell you Blue Group, that this is such a good idea that you are choosing someone who is also planning. That's a very good idea". However, this comment requires considerable inferencing; it assumes shared recognition of the value of



efficiency by which it saves time if two children can do their plans together. For the child who does not share this value, this metacomment is opaque; particularly because the teacher's metatalk gives no indication that it is wrong to choose a friend who is not planning, but it is better (more efficient) to choose a partner from the planning group.

These values, as mentioned in 1.2.1, are not universal truths but middle-class conventions. This planning convention entrenches the Western capitalist notion of efficiency based on the equation of time and money. Therefore, it is mainstream children who recognise that the teacher's instruction to choose a planning partner does not necessarily mean, choose a friend. In fact, being a good planner means choosing a friend only if he/she is in the same planning group. The children who grasp this principle first, have more opportunity to practice it; and, by extension, to engage in the collaborative learning process that the efficiency maxim indirectly promotes. This anticipates the literacy patterns of collaborative learning and individual accountability of the later literacy forums of the science laboratory (Lemke 1990, Rosebery et al 1992, Warren & Rosebery 1995 and Parkinson & Adendorff 1996a) and the university seminar, for example. The fact that only some planners display mastery of the maxim of efficiency and the principle of collaborative learning raises the question mentioned in 4.2.1 that, although planning time anticipates the practices of schooled literacy, it may, in fact, induct children into different levels; onto different literacy tracks with differential destinations in employment prospects.

#### **(4) The sub-maxim of plan change accountability**

"It was absolutely fine for them to say, "we couldn't do our dough plan because there wasn't any, it had gone"; now that was fine. That makes me absolutely thrilled because they're looking at what the options are and then saying, "forget it, this just couldn't happen---I actually had a child who came to me in the middle of the morning and said that she had to change her picture and her peg because for some

reason she couldn't do her plan as she had planned. I said that she could just tell us about the change of plan in review but she wanted to change the picture and the peg".

(Miss Smith: Appendix A pages A3-A8)

It is clear from Miss Smith's statement above and her metatalk in review sessions that it is not only permissible but encouraged for the child to recognise that, due to unforeseen circumstances, his/her original plan is not possible; therefore, it must be modified and explained accordingly. The ability: firstly, to recognise that the original plan is no longer feasible; secondly, to assess the options and adapt the plan accordingly; and thirdly, and apparently most importantly, to justify changes in a decontextualised account that follows the preferred hierarchy of *what*, *how* and *why*, is highly valued by the teacher. She regards this as evidence of the ability to "manipulate language to their own ends"; and affirms it accordingly. In the example below, it is significant that in motivating plan changes, Upashna's account also conforms to the maxim of explicitness in its use of full sentences; and descriptive and explanatory detail:

- Miss S: Did you change your plan a bit?  
 U: I changed my plan a bit.  
 Miss S: Oh did you? And how did you change your plan?  
 U: Because, because I couldn't do it, because it was too hard.  
 Miss S: Oh, which one did you choose before?  
 U: I choosed the three people with the little cat, the one little cat.  
 Miss S: Oh, I see. Now I'm very, very pleased, Upashna.

However, the data suggests that the teacher has an implicit agenda, which is never fully spelt out, regarding the way in which a plan may be modified. It is clearly not good enough just to decide not to do something. The planning time account must remain topic-centred across the planning-doing-reviewing stages; a change of plan, without the thematic connectors of explanation, represents a change of topic. Therefore it is acceptable to do an easier puzzle or to do box construction instead of play dough in the creative room if there is no playdough

available; but it is not acceptable to decide to do lego instead of a puzzle because these represent different categories (topics):

- N: I, um, I did a puzzle.  
 Miss S: Which puzzle? Did you do the puzzle you planned?  
 N: No.  
 Miss S: No! Did you have to change your plan? (*Nicole nods*). So which plan did you change it to?  
 N: I changed the puzzle to the lego.  
 Miss S: To the lego? But that's not a puzzle. You must, you must keep to doing a puzzle. Oh, goodness me! So, when you plan, you must do what you?  
 Class: Say!  
 Miss S: Say you're planning. Okay, Nicole.  
 L: You can do a different puzzle if you chose puzzles.  
 Miss S: Yes, you can change it like that but you must still do a puzzle, hey?

The rationale behind the teacher's argument that "you must keep to doing a puzzle" is the classification of the school according to the middle-class convention that everything must be in its place; therefore bikes belong on the cycle track, puzzles belong in the puzzle room and lego stays in the construction corner. The children correctly interpret this contextualisation cue because recurring classroom events such as the tidy-up routine and reporting on the weather have already socialised them into categorisation and classification practices. Furthermore, these practices build on mainstream home literacy practices (cf 2.5.1); and anticipate the classification exercises of formal schooling.

It would seem that the recognition that the original plan needs to be adapted and the changes publicly motivated implies understanding of other planning time values: namely, the importance of completing the plan; the feasibility maxim in modifying the plan when it is no longer feasible; and the efficiency maxim in changing the plan so that it can be done quickly and efficiently in view of the changed circumstances. Thus, the richness of the teacher's endorsement refers not solely to the child's ability to modify and motivate; but also to

his/her adherence to other related planning time maxims. The ability to motivate plan changes presupposes the verbal skill to cast the account in literacy that is ordered and explicit; because the child's actions only become true when he/she can describe them. This disadvantages nonmainstream children who lack the verbal skills to meet the explicitness maxim. For them, the demands of public accountability are too great. They retreat into denial; and consequently are censored for their failure to do their plan. This is confirmed by observation: on one occasion it appeared that Simo had not done his puzzle plan (Appendix E pages E1-E3); he met the teacher's questions with silence or, "I don't know". However, when I chatted to him afterwards, with the participation of Lindelwa and Kevin, it turned out that he had done the puzzle but had been unable to complete it because it had a piece missing. Therefore, he assumed that he had not done his plan; but did not have the skill to cast this explanation into an ordered account.

The teacher is more explicit about the importance of modifying and motivating plan changes than she is about the maxim of efficiency, to take one example. However, the literacy practice it engenders remains differentially accessible because it requires a high level of verbal skill. This also characterises the maxim of decontextualisation, to which I now turn.

#### **4.2.3 The Maxim of Decontextualisation**

Miss Smith's demand that planners "elaborate on [their plans] through verbalisation" suggests that she expects fluent and decontextualised accounts that encode meaning lexically and grammatically. Moreover, they must evince a high level of descriptive and elaborative detail, "giv[ing] the details that I keep longing for; and be really informative". In telling the children that, "when you tell me, it's almost as good as being there", she implicitly

sets up the expectation that they "create and recreate experience for a distant audience" (Rothery 1989:76).

This expectation anticipates the literacy practices of the classroom, boardroom and science laboratory where, by both necessity and convention, information is decontextualised for a "distant audience". In the planning time context, children are called upon similarly to verbally recreate for the discourse community their plans as represented by the planning picture next to their names (cf 1.2.2); to "take a visual cue and elaborate on it through verbalisation". Like the businessman or academic who use notes as cues in public presentations, the planner is expected, if necessary, to refer to this planning picture as a form of 'brief notes', "look at your picture if you need to". It is significant, however, in terms of the role of the planning time discourse community in policing the factual accuracy of the account (cf 4.1.1) that the public nature of these 'brief notes' makes them visual cues for both planner and audience.

From Miss Smith's comments when interviewed and the nature of her scaffolding talk, I infer that there are two parts to the maxim of decontextualisation: the sub-maxims of fluency and explicitness. The teacher does not make these equally explicit. In unsuccessful exchanges, she directly invokes the sub-maxim of fluency in her insistence that the planner lexicalise meaning; however, the sub-maxim of explicitness is embedded implicitly in her cues for the planner to verbally elaborate with descriptive and explanatory detail. I argue that the level of explicitness with which these two maxims are articulated serves as a further mechanism to regulate who gains access to the literacy of decontextualised reporting.

**(1) The sub-maxim of fluency**

Implicit in Miss Smith's planning time schema is that the planner should encode meaning lexically; as opposed to using non-verbal markers such as head-nodding and hand gestures. The data reveals that this sub-maxim is not stated explicitly in the metatalk that introduces planning turns; rather it is implied in contextualisation cues that assume that teacher and child share recognition of the speaker's obligation to verbally recreate meaning for the audience. These cues are typically embedded in a pattern of imperatives and modelling of the targeted behaviour. As the example of Luke's account below illustrates, this pattern is only broken when the child repeatedly fails to acknowledge his/her obligation to be lexically fluent:

- |         |                                                                                                                                 |
|---------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Miss S: | Tell us about your plans. What, how and who.                                                                                    |
| L:      | The puzzle.                                                                                                                     |
| Miss S: | Tell me all the things about the puzzle.                                                                                        |
| L:      | James.                                                                                                                          |
| Miss S: | No, you mustn't just say words, love, you must say it in nice sentences for me. You're going to do your puzzle with James. Yes? |

In this example the mismatch of schemas clearly threatens the interactional goal of constructing a thematically cohesive planning time account. As such, I point to this exchange several times in this section to clarify the sub-maxims of decontextualisation. Miss Smith's scaffolding questions signal an increasingly explicit demand for fluency in the form of full sentences, "you mustn't just say words, love, you must say it in nice sentences for me"; on the other hand, Luke's holophrastic responses suggest that he is observing only the maxim of thematic cohesion in terms of the *what, how, who* structure. Such explicitness is rare in the data; it signals moments of extreme tension where the teacher is forced to engage in repairwork by articulating her expectations in a solidarity display that couches obligation in endearments, for example, "Tebogo, speak to me, sweetheart. Say yes or no". It is significant that these examples are drawn from unsuccessful interactions where the

teacher is forced to make the maxim explicit in scaffolding dialogue; because, for a planning account to happen, the child must verbally encode his/her plan. Hence, in the discussion on the maxim of explicitness below, the examples derive only from the teacher's endorsement of successful planning turns; because she does not deliberately induct children into expository forms of literacy.

Miss Smith claims that this planning time convention of presenting school-based knowledge as an explicit and ordered account equalises opportunity because this represents "a new way of talking about a new environment". On the one hand, this notion of a "new way of talking" may explain the hesitancy and brevity of planning turns such as Luke's account in the preceding extract. This interpretation is in line with Baker and Perrott's (1988:25) explanation of children's "impoverished [newtime] narrative skills" as indicative of their difficulty in adapting personal experiences to the conventions of school culture. However, I would argue that the implied claim that this puts children at the same point of entry is disingenuous; serving to mask mainstream advantage. Heath's study of mainstream home literacy practices (cf 2.5.1) suggests that the practice of verbally explicit accounts is essentially a middle-class convention. As such, the convention of providing a decontextualised account of future actions is less strange to the mainstream members of the class than the teacher claims. Mainstream children are already versed in the norms of presenting verbally explicit accounts for "distant audiences" through home literacy routines such as the daily recount; but for nonmainstream children this demand for explicitness is unfamiliar. In the absence of comprehensive ethnographic studies on nonmainstream practices, I base this assertion on information offered by the Zulu-speaking teacher aide, Maria Bengu. She suggests that Zulu-speaking children find the demands of ringtime

difficult; because they are not "interrogated" by their parents. In such homes, children are expected to be seen and not heard.

## **(2) The sub-maxim of explicitness**

The data suggests that the sub-maxim of explicitness only applies to accounts that show prior compliance with the maxims of thematic cohesion and fluency; thus confirming my suggestion that in planning time children are being inducted into two levels of literacy. It is significant therefore, as mentioned earlier in this section, that evidence of this maxim can only be found in successful planning exchanges where teacher and child, sharing similar literacy expectations, collaborate to construct an account of which the unaided child is incapable. The teacher's pattern of decreasing explicitness disadvantages children who do not recognise the salience of "tell us all about your plan" as a cue to provide details according to the preferred sequence. As the example of Luke's planning turn illustrates (see page 110), the consequence of being unable to recognise the criteria of sequence and explicitness is a short planning turn which the teacher terminates once the minimum criteria have been satisfied. In other words the child, who cannot recognise the first contextualisation cue, does not get the opportunity to practise skills of description and explanation in response to more complex scaffolding questions.

Analysis of this interaction reveals that the teacher tends to embed her expectation for details within a sequential pattern of implicit general statement, scaffolding questions and rich endorsement when her expectations are met. Her questions are contextualisation cues that signal with decreasing explicitness, that the child must: firstly, conform to the *what*, *how*, *who* formula; secondly, create meaning through lexicalisation and grammaticalisation;



and thirdly, provide descriptive and explanatory detail. It is only if the child conforms to the first two criteria that the teacher explicitly introduces the third criterion through scaffolding questions that extend the account beyond the three-part formula:

- Miss S:        Alright, lets have James to review his plans. Jamie, tell me what you did?
- J:                I did the puzzle.
- Miss S:        Did you do the puzzle! Tell me who you did it with?
- J:                With Shawna.
- Miss S:        With Shawna! Which puzzle James?
- J:                The doctor one.
- Miss S:        And was it an easy puzzle or a difficult one?
- J:                It was hard.
- Miss S:        Was it hard?...Jamie, so how did you do it...did you follow the picture or did you use the colours?
- J:                I looked at the pictures.
- Miss S:        At the picture? Jamie very good reviewing. Well done Jamie.

In the above exchange, Jamie's responses conform to the maxims of thematic cohesion and lexical and grammatical explicitness. They are characterised by: noun phrases that build on the teacher's questions, and full sentences; the use of the definite article to signal specificity; and the sustained use of the simple past tense to establish temporal consistency. Therefore the teacher scaffolds his planning turn with questions that demand descriptive (own opinion), "was it an easy puzzle or a difficult one?" and explanatory (procedural) detail, "how did you do it...did you follow the picture or did you use the colours?" She holds in high regard the child's ability to "think on his feet" in developing his account in response to her questions. Unlike Luke's abbreviated planning turn, discussed on page 110, that only inducts the planner into the elementary literacy requirements of planning time; Jamie's turn offers him the opportunity to rehearse complex rhetorical structure patterns (Lemke 1990:123), thus becoming literate in ways of making sense that carry high prestige in Western society.

The maxims of fluency and explicitness are not 'natural' ways of making sense for nonmainstream children. To gain access to forms of literacy characterised by decontextualisation, they need to have the expectations deconstructed and made explicit. Interactional patterns within the data suggest that the teacher makes only the maxim of fluency visible in scaffolding questions; this serves to induct children into the conventions of schooled literacy. However, the maxim of explicitness, which anticipates more powerful literacies, is embedded in contextualisation cues that assume continuity between home and school literacy practices. This represents a moment when the door closes to restrict entry. Indeed, all children in Blue Group participate in planning time; but only some are empowered through access to exclusive literacies. As discussed in 4.2, there appears to be a point at which the appearance of openness masks planning time as a gatekeeping event.

#### **4.2.4 The Maxim of Factuality**

In 4.2 I suggested that, on the basis of an absence of imaginative accounts in the data, it can be inferred that Miss Smith's planning time schema expects plausible, rather than fanciful, accounts. The high degree of specificity in the teacher's scaffolding questions and the policing role of the discourse community emphasise the planner's accountability for the factual accuracy and feasibility of his/her plan.

The teacher's scaffolding highlights causality at the exclusion of personal feelings, which are significantly absent in the exchanges. They are evident as silences in the text. This emphasis on causal relations has strong parallels with the factual literacies of exposition and reports that planning time anticipates. Binary oppositions of logic/emotion and reason/feeling underpin the Western worldview that personal and corporate credibility are signalled by

impersonality and objectivity. Consequently, Martin (1985:25) suggests that in analytical exposition writers erase all traces of themselves from the text by using the third person and avoiding overt expressions of feelings and opinions. Likewise, in planning time the factual thrust of the teacher's quest for details prepares the child for the impersonal and objective demands of reporting literacies.

To return to the comparison I drew earlier in 4.2.2 between the child justifying her change in plan and the engineer motivating the project delay, it is significant that in neither account is the speaker expected to verbalise personal feelings. According to the genre of reporting, the question is *why* things happen, rather than how the participants feel. Therefore, although Miss Smith occasionally makes statements that appear to invite affective commentary such as, "when you review, you tell us if you liked your plan or if you didn't like your plan", the atypicality of such statements and the fact that the teacher does not follow them up suggest that they are not to be interpreted literally. In fact, they serve as contextualisation cues to prompt the planner to provide a description of the plan, including an explanation of, and justification for, any changes to the original proposal. In the example below, Luke violates the teacher's maxim of factuality by interpreting the cue to describe and explain his plan as a genuine question regarding his personal feelings. The teacher's subsequent questions move the interaction back on track as a factual account of whether Luke followed his plan of doing a fireman puzzle:

- |         |                                                                               |
|---------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Miss S: | Tell us if you liked your plan, or if you didn't like your plan, or whatever. |
| L:      | I liked my plan.                                                              |
| Miss S: | Why did you like your plan, Luke?                                             |
| L:      | Because I chose the right puzzle.                                             |
| Miss S: | Oh, did you? And which puzzle did you do?                                     |

The maxim of factuality displaces the imaginative genre of storytelling both as an emic event, "storytime" and as a practice in constructing fictional accounts. According to the ideological model of literacy (cf 2.1.2), its dissemination and acquisition are not neutral processes; they involve the contestation and displacement of oppositional literacies. I would argue that planning time represents such a site of struggle between the objective and factual literacy of planning time and oppositional literacies, such as the imaginative genre fictional storytelling and the playground literacy of make-believe. In 4.1.1 and 4.2.5, I discuss the way in which the playground literacies of "marauding gangs" is effectively co-opted. These predominantly male groups participate in complex ,imaginative games that may stretch over several play sessions and involve extensive talk as they construct characters and scenarios. This fantasy literacy is considered disruptive and lacking in purpose by Miss Smith, who undermines it by recruiting the group as members of the planning time discourse community; as planners they now have an opposing need to complete a planned activity during free play for which they are later held accountable. In the replacement of storytime with reviewing as the primary event in the end-of-day ring, the planning time literacy of factuality and accountability displaces the imaginative genre. This would suggest that empowerment by high prestige literacies exacts a price in the ways it constrains modes of thought and understanding. This raises the question of how, and to what extent, the constraints inherent in gaining factual literacy, preclude other, equally valid, ways of interpreting the world.

The displacement of storytelling literacy, traditionally the discourse of historically disempowered groups such as women and non-Western cultures (Scollon & Scollon 1984:174), by an event that anticipates the powerful literacies favoured by the white, male,

middle-class elite is not surprising in view of Weikart's (1989:2) belief in the causal relationship between education and long-term economic success. A related issue, and a subject for further research, is the way in which, despite its policy of openness, planning time appears to serve the interests of the male, middle-class elite. It is significant that neither girls nor Zulu-speakers are represented in this study as examples of those identified by the teacher as good planners. According to the autonomous model of literacy (cf 2.1.1), the failure of these groups to excel in factual reporting is interpreted in terms of deficit; but the reality may be that the literacy demands conflict with ethnic or gender specific values and sense-making practices. If this is the case, and at this stage it is simply a hypothesis, it is deeply ironic both that planning time, promoted as an intervention strategy to empower the historically disadvantaged, is the site of struggle; and that the protagonist is Miss Smith who, in terms of her own gender identity and explicit policy of racial and literacy equality, promotes empowerment.

#### **4.2.5 The Maxim of Purposefulness**

When interviewed regarding the benefits of planning time, Miss Smith claimed that it effectively reaches a "particular market [of] marauding gangs", who she identifies as a problem and potential threat to the equilibrium of the school because their "day can be quite unconstructive". Planning time offers a solution in the maxim of purposefulness:

"You want some kind of learning to take place....So planning helps because it gives them a hook to hang their organisation onto and then their play becomes so much more purposeful."

(Miss Smith Appendix A page A3-A8)

From her comments in interviews and planning time metatalk, it is evident that Miss Smith believes that planning time promotes the maxim of purposefulness; which is an essentially

middle-class construct. According to this belief, which reflects Weikart's (Hohmann et al 1979:279) original justification of planning time as a "powerful tool", the child who has a sense of purpose and control over his/her preschool day grows up to have a similar sense of purpose and control over his/her destiny. This is significant in terms of the issue raised, in 4.2.4, of whose interests are served by planning time; because the qualities of decisiveness and autonomy, which are subsumed by the maxim of purposefulness, traditionally characterise the idealisation of the white, male, ruling elite.

In endorsing planning accounts for their fluency and high degree of verbalised detail, Miss Smith implicitly upholds the maxim of purposefulness. Hence, in affirming the conviction and purposefulness of Upashna's account below, Miss Smith displays the ideological bias of planning time as a middle-class construct which functions to induct children through the literacy practices of planning time into their future roles as purposeful and productive citizens:

- U: I'm going to do a puzzle.  
 Miss S: A puzzle! And who are you going to do your puzzle with?  
 U: With Nicole  
 Miss S: With Nicole? That's nice. And do you know which puzzle you are going to do yet?  
 U: Yes.  
 Miss S: Which one?  
 U: The clock.  
 Miss S: She knows exactly what she is going to do. Very good planning, Upashna! I'm very pleased to hear those jolly good plans.

However, I would argue that there is a further motivation behind Miss Smith's promotion of purposefulness through planning; namely, the co-option of the marauding gangs and their counter literacy of rule-based games. Despite its significance within the school culture, for the purposes of this study I do not explore the literacy behaviour of the playground. It is

significant that Miss Smith's evaluation of their play as "unconstructive" either does not recognise, or chooses to ignore, the developing literacies of the playground. This outright rejection can be seen as an ideological strategy intended ultimately to promote the favoured set of literacy practices by displacing the counter-literacy. This "unconstructive" play is, in fact, highly organised and rule-bound. It generates large amounts of talk that refers intertextually to prior and future playtimes as the game, such as "dinosaurs", "space aliens" and "baby beavers", is played out episodically. These large groups of boys present a challenge to the ordered structure of the playground in their noise, level of physical activity and failure to play conventionally with equipment like the water table and puzzles; they threaten the status quo. It is because of the development of this counter-literacy that the "gangs" must be constrained to preserve the equilibrium of the school.

The co-option of this group of the school population demonstrates the hegemonic function of planning time as a way of "sucking in" oppositional elements. Their subject positioning within the discourse community as audience members and planners gives these children a stake in the literacy event; the need to be purposeful and publicly accountable compromises their allegiance to the "gang". It is arguable that, in being constrained by the literacy demands of planning time, the "marauding gangs" are empowered by the powerful literacy that they acquire.

#### **4.3 CONSEQUENCES OF MATCHING AND MISMATCHING TEACHER-CHILD EXPECTATIONS**

The preceding analysis of the maxims informing Miss Smith's planning time schema outlines the way in which her expectations anticipate the literacy practices of expository

reporting. I turn now to the interactive consequences of teacher-child planning time schemas, basing my discussion on an examination of three planning time transcripts, which the teacher identifies (see Appendix A page A9-A14) as representative of poor (4.3.1), medium (4.3.2) and good (4.3.3) accounts. I contend that, although these three children all participate in planning time, they are differentially empowered by the literacy practices to which they gain access .

As a goal oriented exchange, the success of planning time interaction depends on the extent to which teacher and child enter the encounter with a common set of expectations. Therefore, in analysing the extracts, I demonstrate that the degree to which the child gains access to planning time literacy depends on the ability to recognise the obligation to comply with the maxims informing the teacher's scaffolding questions. This recognition depends on the distance the child must cross between the discourse worlds of home and school. In other words, the greater the discontinuity, the more difficulty the child has in acquiring the conventions of planning time; because, as pointed out in 4.2, the explicitness of the teacher's expectations is inversely proportional to the assumption of shared values.

Examination of the literacy practices evinced in the three transcripts reveals that, although planning time anticipates expository reporting, not all children rehearse the conventions underlying it through their participation in this literacy event. As such, this event performs a gatekeeping role whereby access is permitted or denied according to the child's ability to comply with the planning time maxims. Therefore, the weak planner (cf 4.3.1) is inducted only into the lower order demands of schooled literacy, akin to filling in the missing word on a worksheet. The literacy mastered by the medium planner (cf 4.3.2) anticipates the



norms of narrative reporting. Martin (1989:6) argues that the inherent limitation of this genre is the inability to extrapolate beyond the specific experience. Thus, able only to tell things the way they are, narrative reporting serves to bolster the status quo. It is only in the good planning account (cf 4.3.3) that the child, able to comply with the teacher's implicit maxims, rehearses the higher order conventions of expository reporting, which can challenge social reality by understanding and interpreting beyond the immediate situation.

#### 4.3.1 A Weak Planning Account

The analysis of Tebogo's account that follows clearly demonstrates that the weak planner's ignorance of planning time maxims engenders a high level of teacher intervention; and restricts the nature of his/her access to, and practise of, the literacy conventions to an elementary level.

Miss Smith expects the weak planner to display, at least, "the ability to follow the formula and use the right words, using phrases and sentences that are coherent" (Appendix A page A3-A8). From this comment it can be inferred that the minimum requirements of a planning time account are that it should comply with the maxims of **thematic cohesion** (the ability to follow the formula) and **fluency** (right words...phrases and sentences that are coherent). The maxim of accountability plan completion is implicit in the teacher's statement as a prerequisite, this is discussed in 4.2.2. Tebogo's violation of the maxim of fluency prompts the teacher to engage in extensive scaffolding to shape his account according to the basic requirements that he uses lexis to encode his meaning; and that this should be presented according to the formula of *what*, *how* and *who*. The consequent exchange, to which I now turn, is dominated by teacher-talk as Miss Smith guides Tebogo in an interactional routine

that bears strong parallels to the early writing routines in Grade One, "we give them a sentence with the word missing; and then they begin to start on their own" (Grade One teachers: Appendix C page C1-C5):

- Miss S: Well now, tell me Tebogo...tell me about your plan. What are you going to do today?
- Te: Uh, blocks.
- Miss S: Blocks? Good. Do you want to stand up and tell us? Tebo, stand up, darling, so that you can...you can be the planner. You're going to do the blocks. What are you going to do at the blocks?...What are you going to do with the blocks?
- Te: House.
- Miss S: House, tell me about your house.
- Te: Big.
- Miss S: Big! Which blocks are you going to use?...are you going to use the wooden blocks or the rubber blocks?
- Te: Rubber blocks.
- Miss S: The coloured ones. Are you going to use the coloured ones in the trolley? Can you see where I mean?...show him. See up there? (*Tebogo nods*) Are you going to use those ones? (*Tebogo nods*). Okay, and who are you going to build with?
- Te: Luke.
- Miss S: Such good planning! Anybody else? (*Tebogo shakes his head*). Just the two of you.
- Te: And Lindelwa.
- Miss S: And Lindelwa. Well done, lovely planning. Give him a clap! (*Class claps*).

The immediate success of the above exchange is threatened by Tebogo's failure to respond to the implicit demand that he stand up to present his planning account, "Well now, tell me Tebogo". This prompts the teacher to make explicit that it is in the act of standing that the speaker assumes the role of planner. Momentarily this violation displaces the maxim of thematic cohesion which Miss Smith promotes thereafter through the sequence of her questions: *what* (what are you going to do with the blocks?); *how* (tell me about your house.... Are you going to use the wooden blocks or the rubber ones?); and *who* (okay, and who are you going to build with?). These questions function as topic sentences to shape and direct the child's responses. Although Tebogo's answers show compliance with the maxim of thematic cohesion, they have the appearance of missing words filled in on a worksheet:

"house...big...rubber blocks...Luke...and Lindelwa". As such, his account violates the maxim of fluency by which he must encode meaning, using the "right words [and] phrases and sentences that are coherent". Tebogo not only uses context-dependent holophrases; but he also signals meaning non-verbally through head-nodding in three out of eight turns. This response pattern is clearly evident in his review:

- Miss S: Tell me about your plan, Tebo. Tell me about your house, Tebo...Tell me about your house. Where did you build it?
- Te: Middle (*pointing to the middle of the room*).
- Miss S: In the middle of the room. Which blocks did you use, Tebo? (*He points to the rubber blocks*) What are those called?
- Te: The rubber ones.
- Miss S: The rubber blocks. Did you build it in the middle of the room?
- Te: Yes.
- Miss S: Was it a big house or a small house, Tebogo?
- Te: Small house.
- Miss S: A small house. Good. And who build, and who helped you to build your house?
- Te: Lindelwa.
- Miss S: Lindelwa and who else?
- Te: Two.

The context-dependence of Tebogo's holophrastic and non-verbal responses means that his account cannot stand alone; it is heavily dependent on the teacher's intervention. Miss Smith's reaction to the transcript confirms this interpretation, "But I did his plan! Look, I did all of it and he just filled in words". Contrastive analysis of Tebogo and Pranav's (cf 4.3.3) accounts, as representative of weak and good planners, reveals that although each child has the same number of planning turns, there is great dissimilarity in the length and quality of the child's talk; and the extent of the teacher's involvement. During Tebogo's turn, Miss Smith makes her expectations of thematic cohesion and fluency explicit in topic sentence questions that both constrain his choice of possible answers; and model the required level of lexicalisation, "Are you going to use the wooden blocks or the rubber ones?" Tebogo's responses are restricted to holophrastic, "fill in the missing word" answers. In the good

planner's account, on the other hand, the teacher's questions appear to serve as topic-headings which the child extends through descriptive and explanatory detail, thus complying with the decontextualisation maxims of fluency and explicitness.

Miss Smith terminates Tebogo's turn once she has shaped it in compliance with the maxim of thematic cohesion. His inability to either recognise or comply with the maxim of fluency restricts his acquisition of planning time literacy to those practices which precede primary school drillwork literacy. It is significant that Miss Smith does not invoke the increasingly implicit maxims of explicitness, feasibility, efficiency and purposefulness; instead she praises his account, "Well done, lovely planning. Give him a clap!...Okay, well done Tebogo", thus suggesting that it satisfies her expectations of him as a planner. This conceals from Tebogo what it is that he does not know; and ensures that his induction remains restricted.

#### **4.3.2 A Medium Planning Account**

I turn now to discuss the literacy practices evinced in a medium planning account. This planner's greater compliance with the teacher's planning time maxims permits access to, and rehearsal of, more complex literacy practices than her weaker counterpart in 4.3.1. These practices anticipate those conventions of narrative literacies, such as descriptions and recounts, that characterise the literacy demands of primary school writing sessions. However, as suggested in 4.3, narrative literacy limits the child to describing things the way they are; it does not allow the child to go beyond the particular experience to understand and interpret on a general scale. Therefore, although the medium planner is inducted into the intermediate demands of schooled literacy, his/her inability to cue into the implicit

decontextualisation sub-maxim of explicitness denies access to the truly empowering literacy of analytical exposition.

Miss Smith describes Michelle's account below as, "pretty mediocre and pedestrian" because, although the child, "knows the concept of what to do and how to do it...and she did it the way she said she was going to,...there's no detail at all". From this description it may be inferred that Michelle's account conforms to the maxims of thematic cohesion and purposefulness; and the sub-maxims of fluency and accountability for the completion of a plan. However, it may also be inferred that what distinguishes good and medium planning accounts is the ability to comply with the sub-maxim of explicitness, which relies most on shared middle-class norms.

In the extract below I examine the harmonious lock-step nature of the teacher-child interaction as indicative of the close match in planning time schemas; and I seek to identify the point at which this account fails to comply with the teacher's maxims:

- Miss S:       What and how and who, okay.  
 M:             I'm going to do painting.  
 Miss S:       Okay, and who are you going to do it with?  
 M:             With Siobhan.  
 Miss S:       With Siobhan. And what are you going to paint?  
 M:             A rainbow.  
 Miss S:       A rainbow! Very nice plan, Michy.

Michelle's response to the teacher's opening question, "What and how and who?" indicates awareness of the need to comply with the maxims of thematic cohesion and fluency. Thus the "*what*" topic of her answer, "I'm going to do painting", signals recognition of the preferred sequence of headings; and her use of a periphrastic modal ("am going to") creates the lexical explicitness that is so notably absent from Tebogo's account in 4.3.1. Although

this account: "I'm going to do painting...With Siobhan...A rainbow" does not display the high level of lexicalisation and grammaticalisation evident in the example of a good planner in 4.3.3, it is sufficiently decontextualised to "create experience for a distant audience" (cf 4.2.3). The pattern of the teacher's scaffolding questions is noteworthy, "Okay, and who are you going to do it with?...With Siobhan. And what are you going to paint?" Firstly, the sequence implicitly invokes the maxim of thematic cohesion. Secondly, the child's ability to comply with this maxim is implicitly reinforced by two means: the use of "it", which refers anaphorically across turns to the child's response, "painting"; and the repeated use of the additive conjunction, "and", to signal that the teacher's questions builds directly on the child's responses. Thirdly, the teacher's questions model the targeted degree of lexical encoding, "And what are you going to paint?".

In her review, which follows, Michelle displays greater compliance with the maxims of thematic cohesion and fluency. Using full sentences and temporal grounding, she recreates her experience for the "distant audience" of the discourse community, "I did my painting with Siobhan...I painted a rainbow":

- |         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|---------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Miss S: | Review your plan for us, Mich.                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| M:      | I did, I did my painting with Siobhan.                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Miss S: | And what did you paint?                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| M:      | I painted a rainbow.                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| Miss S: | So Michelle did her plan exactly the way that she planned it!<br>Give her a big clap! ( <i>Class claps</i> ) and she doesn't have a peg<br>on anymore so I know that she's done it. Go and take your<br>things down, sweetheart. |

Implicit in the teacher's invitation, "Review your plan for us, Mich" is recognition of these shared planning time values. This assumption is absent from Tebogo's turn where the teacher repeatedly reformulates the question to make it increasingly explicit, "Tell me about your plan, Tebo. Tell me about your house, Tebo...Tell me about your house. Where did you

build it?" Michelle rehearses the conventions of narrative reporting in presenting an ordered, descriptive account. Her response, "I did my painting with Siobhan", anticipates the teacher's *what* and *who* questions which serve as topic headings for her account; this signals a degree of independence, albeit limited, from the teacher's scaffolding role. The teacher acknowledges this display of competence in a public endorsement that invokes two maxims: purposefulness: "So Michelle did her plan exactly the way she planned it! Give her a big clap!"; and accountability for plan completion: "And she doesn't have a peg on anymore so I know she's done it".

There is a discrepancy between the apparent success of the interaction, as inferred from this public endorsement, and the teacher's assessment of it, when interviewed, as "pretty mediocre and pedestrian". The explanation for this apparent contradiction lies in contrastive analysis of the three accounts in terms of the number of speaking turns on the child's part and the total number of words produced by the child. This contrast gives an idea of the relative centrality of the teacher's scaffolding role and the extent to which the planner gains access to, and practice of, the literacy conventions. Tebogo's review in 4.3.1 spans six turns and consists of only nine words, indicating that his responses are mainly holophrastic and dependent on teacher initiation. Michelle's review, which spans two speaking turns and consists of twelve words, displays greater mastery of the literacy conventions of narrative reporting. However, in contrast to both the weak and medium planners, the good planner's review in 4.3.3 spans nine turns and consists of one hundred and forty-five words, most of which provide the descriptive and explanatory detail that characterise expository reporting.

### 4.3.3 A Good Planning account

When asked to evaluate the transcript of Pranav's planning time account, Miss Smith described it as the "creme de la creme" of accounts because it, "gives lots and lots of detail. He knows how to present his plan, he then goes on to execute it; and he can review it with superb details. It's perfectly clear what he's done" (Appendix A page A9-A14). Indeed, in the extract below, she seems to imply acknowledgement of his status as a good planner in the appellation, "Master Pranav". Clearly, therefore, what distinguishes a good account is the high level of verbalised detail with which the planner signals credibility by creating an account that is topic-centred and goal-directed. According to the teacher's schema, it is not enough simply to claim to have done something; the planner must show accountability through descriptive and explanatory detail.

In the ordered sequence and fluent explicitness of the account which follows, Pranav complies with the maxims of thematic cohesion and decontextualisation. The high level of verbalised detail further satisfies the maxims of accountability, factuality and purposefulness because he makes explicit for the discourse community exactly what it is that he plans to do; and the procedure which he intends to follow. Miss Smith's endorsement of this account to the audience implicitly invokes these maxims, "Do you notice that when Pranav does his plans he gives me lots of details...and I find it really interesting because now I know exactly how he's going to organise his day" (lines 23-26). This is significant in terms of the argument that the teacher only makes explicit those maxims which rely most on shared schemas when the account complies closely with the targeted literacy. Thus, these maxims are largely absent from the teacher's schema during the weak (cf 4.3.1) and medium (cf 4.3.2) accounts.



- 1 Miss S: Alright, Master Pranav?  
P: I'm going to do um woodwork and um make a jet!  
Miss S: A jet?  
P: Yes.
- 5 Miss S: Alright, tell me more about it.  
P: After that I'm going to do playdough.  
Miss S: Tell me a bit more about the jet.  
P: I'm going to make the wings.  
Miss S: Yes.
- 10 P: And then I'm then I'm going to paint it all different colours like green and red and purple.  
Miss S: And Pranav, are you going to do the woodwork with someone or by yourself?  
P: I'm going to do it with Joel.
- 15 Miss S: With Joel.  
P: Yes....when I've finished to make my jet, I'll make a curved downward and then.  
Miss S: A curved what?  
P: A curved road that goes like that and um.
- 20 Miss S: Oh yes.  
P: And there's a circle pointing down where it's straight there (*gestures with hands*). And it's a jumbo jet.  
Miss S: A jumbo jet!...do you notice that when Pranav does his plans he give me lots of details...and I find it really interesting because now I know exactly how he's going to organise his day and I'm delighted to learn all those things.
- 25

In examining the lexical density and grammatical cohesiveness of Pranav's account, it is useful to extract and reassemble it from the dialogue in which it is embedded. This serves to illustrate the parallels between the literacy practices that Pranav rehearses and the conventions of expository reporting:

"I'm going to do woodwork and make a jet. After that I'm going to do playdough. I'm going to make the wings and then I'm going to paint it all different colours like green and red and purple. I'm going to do it with Joel. And when I'm finished to make my jet I'll make a curved downward and then a curved road that goes like that and there's a circle pointing down where it's straight. And it's a jumbo jet."

Pranav's planning turn anticipates an expository report. It is structured into three sections: an introduction, body and conclusion. He opens with an introductory statement of intent, "I'm

going to do woodwork and make a jet" (line 2). He moves onto the body of his report which outlines the proposed construction of the jet. In this section he provides descriptive detail that progresses from the proposed colour of the jet, "all different colours like green and red and purple" (lines 10 -11), to increasingly complex descriptions of body parts, "a curved downward...a curved road that goes like that...a circle pointing down where it's straight" (lines 19-21). This description implies a struggle to find the appropriate technical terminology. He then concludes the account, "and it's a jumbo jet" (line 21).

The lexical and grammatical cohesiveness of Pranav's account is built up by embedding meaning. His use of the periphrastic modal ("am going to") consistently locates his plan in the future; this is reinforced by temporal phrases which overtly mark the temporal sequence. Further cohesiveness is created by the embedding of meaning in relative clauses, for example, "a curved road that goes like that" (line 19); and the anaphoric pronoun, "I'm going to paint it" (line 10) which refers back to "jet" (line 3). The subordinating of clauses and change of tense in Pranav's statement, "And when I'm finished to make my jet, I'll make a curved downward" (lines 16-17) establishes a temporal proposition, "when X then Y" which further illustrates the similarities between his account and the factual genre of analytical exposition.

It is significant that, unlike Tebogo's (see 4.3.1) and Michelle's (4.3.2) accounts, Pranav's plan requires minimal scaffolding; it can be extracted from the dialogue to stand alone as a decontextualised account. When examined separately, the pattern of the teacher's responses is not the constant reiteration of the three-part sequence characteristic of Tebogo's and, to a lesser extent, Michelle's planning turns: "A jet? (line 3)...Alright, tell me more about it (line

5)...Tell me a bit more about the jet (line 7)...Yes (line 9)...And, Pranav, are you going to do the woodwork with someone or by yourself? (lines 12 - 13)...With Joel (line15)...A curved what? (line 18) ... Oh yes (line 20)". The atypicality of the structure of the *who* question, "are you going to do the woodwork with somebody or by yourself?", implies that perhaps Pranav may not intend to have a planning partner, thus suggesting that the focus of the teacher's planning agenda has moved from the form of the framework to the details within the content. Hence the teacher's role in Pranav's planning turn is to elicit details, which clarify and extend the account, either explicitly through questions; or implicitly by echoing the child's contribution or confirming it. In this account, Pranav conforms to Miss Smith's description of a good planner (see Appendix A page A9-A14) by displaying his ability to "manipulate language for his own ends". He both complies with the planning time maxims; and satisfies his own agenda to talk about the feasibility of his jet.

Having examined the literacy rehearsed in his plan, I turn now to Pranav's review. This account further confirms his ability to, "manipulate language for his own ends". In complying with the maxim of explicitness, he assumes ownership of the event; the topic of his account is no longer the *what, how, who* sequence of a woodwork plan, but a feasibility report on the design of his jet:

- |    |         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|----|---------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1  | P:      | I did my woodwork and I made a jet and it had wings with dinosaur pictures.                                                                                                                                                                  |
|    | Miss S: | Tell me about this dinosaur jet.                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
|    | P:      | The wings were dragonfly wings.                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| 5  | Miss S: | Oh really?                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|    | P:      | And anyway, the wings went down and then they made the sound of the rain going down like shh shh.                                                                                                                                            |
|    | Miss S: | And why does it have to have it?                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| 10 | P:      | It just does have to have it. For that kind of jet, if it doesn't have that kind of wings the engine will break; and if it does have that kind of wings then the water will just run across the engine so that's why the engine can't break. |

- Miss S: Oh, so is it to keep the engine cool, maybe? Like a cooling flowing thing.
- 15 P: No! The engine will be hot inside the wings.
- Miss S: Oh, I see and then the water goes over and keeps it cool.
- P: No, the water goes over and if it stays on the wings the engine gets hotter and hotter and makes the water boil up.
- Miss S: Oh, and then the boiling water makes the plane go?
- 20 P: Yes!
- Miss S: Oh goodness, I had it completely the wrong way round.
- P: Yes, and the boiling water can burn paper when you try to land on the wings.
- Miss S: Yes.
- 25 P: Yes, it's like a firebomb.

In this account, Pranav uses the planning time forum as an opportunity to rehearse the rhetorical patterns of analytical exposition. The discourse device, "And anyway" (line 6) is a boundary marker that sets aside the preceding discussion; it metaphorically clears the floor in preparation for Pranav's explanation on the feasibility of his jet. As in his plan above, Pranav's argument is structured as an introduction, body and conclusion. Pranav introduces his account with the topic, "I made a jet" (line 1). Pranav then outlines his argument about the suitability of wing design in two balanced propositions of cause and effect, "If it doesn't have that kind of wings the engine will break; and if it does have that kind of wings then the water will just run across the engine" (lines 9-11). The order in which he presents his argument makes his choice of wing design appear logical. In his conclusion, Pranav summarises the rationale for the selection of wing type, "So that's why the engine can't break" (line 12).

Pranav employs the language of exposition in describing his jet metaphorically, "The wings were dragonfly wings" (line 4). He thus ignores the factuality maxim. In implicitly challenging the credibility of this statement, "Oh really?" (line 5), the teacher inadvertently relinquishes ownership of the interaction as she is drawn into a discussion about the jet. The

authority of her evaluative position in asking, "And why does it have to have it?" (line 8), gives way to an acknowledgement of Pranav's position as an authority on his jet. His increasingly bald assertions of fact, "If it doesn't have that kind of wings the engine will break" (lines 9-10), are matched by the tentativeness of the teacher's explanations, framed as questions and qualifiers:

"Oh, so is it to keep the engine cool, maybe (line 13)...Oh, I see, and then the water goes over and keeps it cool? (line 16)...Oh, and then the boiling water makes the plane go? (line 19)...Oh goodness, I had it completely the wrong way round" (line 21).

Having examined the literacy practices rehearsed by a good planner, I want to conclude more generally on the consequences of matching and mismatching teacher-child expectations. The analysis of representative examples of weak, medium and good planning time accounts illustrates the argument that the literacy conventions are differentially accessible. The degree to which a child gains access to, and practice of, planning time literacy depends on his/her ability to satisfy the maxims and sub-maxims that inform the teacher's schema. Therefore, although planning time anticipates the conventions of expository reporting, it would appear from the literacy practices evinced in these examples that not all children rehearse the practices of powerful literacies during this event.

#### 4.4 CONCLUSION

It would appear from analysis of the data that planning time is a key literacy event that serves to induct children differentially into aspects of schooled literacy. It functions hegemonically to displace oppositional literacies; and to co-opt children into the discourse community by positioning them in the roles of audience and planners. This process is facilitated by the teacher's metatalk which asserts members' rights and obligations. Through

examination of this metatalk, it is inferred that the teacher's planning time schema is informed by maxims of: thematic cohesion, accountability, decontextualisation, factuality and purposefulness; and sub-maxims of accountability for plan completion and plan changes, feasibility, efficiency, fluency and explicitness. The middle-class bias of these maxims exposes the ideological investment in planning time in promoting literacy practices and values that are endorsed by the powerful institutions of Western capitalism.

Analysis of three transcripts, representative of weak, medium and good accounts, reveals that there are at least three types of literacy being rehearsed during planning time: the elementary literacy of "filling in the missing word" that characterises the drillwork routine of junior primary school; the intermediate level of narrative reporting typical of the creative writing demands of the primary and lower secondary standards; and the literacy of analytical exposition which is the preferred literacy in the senior standards and university. Therefore, although planning time does prepare children for the demands of schooled literacy, it prepares them differently on the basis of their ability to cue into the teacher's expectations. Those who either cannot, or take longer, to comply with the planning time maxims owing to the distance separating the discourse worlds of home and school, are consequently disadvantaged. Unbeknown to them, planning time becomes a gatekeeping event that denies access to the literacy practices that empower.

## **CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION**

### **5.0 INTRODUCTION**

In this chapter I turn from a close analysis of interactional planning time sequences which is the focus of chapter 4, to relate the findings of this study to both the expectations set up in the literature reviewed in chapter 2 and the questions which inform my research. This concern with both the specificity of culturally situated performance; and how this compares to similar events in other countries is characteristic of microethnographies (Erickson 1988:1083) such as my own (cf 3.1). Thereafter I outline practical applications of this research in the context of post-apartheid South African education. Finally, I offer directions for further study.

### **5.1 SUMMARY OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS**

The body of literature reviewed in chapter 2 sets up several expectations for the findings of this study; these expectations are a product of the ideological model which frames and directs my research. Firstly, all literacies, as a plurality of socially embedded practices, are ideologically invested and culturally specific. Hence, all literacy events, and one would anticipate planning time to be likewise, represent sites of contestation between oppositional literacies (cf 2.1.2). Secondly, schooled literacy is not monolithic; it is multiple, some practices are more empowering than others. Thirdly, access to schooled literacy is differential and depends ideally on linguistic and cultural continuity between the discourse worlds of home and school (cf 2.5.2). These expectations informed the questions that shaped the direction of my research, namely:

- (1) What aspects of schooled literacy does planning time rehearse?
- (2) What are teacher and child literacy expectations during planning time?

- (3) In what way, if any, are children disadvantaged during planning time?
- (4) Whose interests are promoted during planning time?
- (5) What are the practical applications of this research?

Upon entry into the field, my initial hypothesis that planning time is a gatekeeping event appeared to be challenged by the ideological positioning of planning time as a nonmainstream intervention strategy (cf 1.2.1). In its original context: namely, as an American intervention program designed for nonmainstream children, the architects of planning time claim that it "helps disadvantaged children...to wrest an education from the school system" (Weikart 1989:xi). As such, planning time "adjusts" nonmainstream preschoolers to the demands of schooled literacy by making explicit these conventions in the *what, how, who* formula. This act of making the norms explicit apparently exposes its ideological position, implying that the protagonists have no "hidden curriculum" (Rothery 1989:80). According to Miss Smith's assertion that planning time represents a "way in" for nonmainstream children because it "equalises their experience and their opportunity", it would seem as though planning time fulfils a similar intervention function at Church Preschool.

However, the data in chapter 4 reveals that at Church Preschool, the rhetoric of openness on both the macro-level of school policy and the micro-level of the planning time event serves to conceal mechanisms of control that restrict access both to the school as an institution; and to planning time as a set of literacy practices. In examining the way in which the rhetoric masks the practice of differential access, it became apparent that, far from representing a



new order, planning time serves to bolster the status quo, by entrenching middle-class advantage and socialising marginalised groups to subordinate positions.

### **5.1.1 The Literacy Practices of Planning Time**

The literature on ringtime interaction reviewed in chapter 2, particularly the work of Baker and Perrott (1988) and Michaels (1981), anticipates the centrality of the teacher's role in inducting children into schooled literacy according to her literacy expectations, and the marginalisation that results from unsuccessful teacher-child exchanges. Analysis of Miss Smith's comments regarding planning time in interviews (Appendix A pages A1-A14) and the nature of her metatalk during the planning time event, dealt with in chapter 4, reveals the maxims that inform her schema (cf 4.2.1-4.2.5). It is apparent from the maxims of thematic cohesion, decontextualisation and factuality that she expects decontextualised, topic-centred and goal-directed factual accounts, antecedents to the schooled literacy convention of "recreating experience for a distant audience" (Rothery 1989:76). However, the maxims of purposefulness; feasibility; efficiency; and accountability for plan completion and plan changes suggest that planning time promotes and endorses middle-class values and conventions by which personal and corporate credibility is created and signalled. The role of planning time maxims as a mechanism to control access to literacy practices is an issue to which I return in 5.1.2.

My study finds that it is misleading to view schooled literacy as a monolithic entity to which children either do, or do not, gain access. Instead, the data reveals three sets of lower and higher order literacy practices into which planning time inducts children on the basis of the match, or mismatch, between teacher-child planning time schemas. These literacies, which

are characterised by increasing decontextualisation, prepare children differentially for their long-term academic and economic future in terms of how far they are able to climb the academic ladder and the type of employment for which this prepares them. The drillwork literacy, into which Tebogo is inducted (cf 4.3.1), is context-bound and anticipates the demands of teacher-dominated drillwork routines of early primary school. The narrative reporting literacy, to which Michelle gains access (cf 4.3.2), subsumes the elementary level of drillwork and anticipates the greater decontextualisation of primary and secondary school literacy practices. However, the limitations of narrative reporting (cf 4.3) denies the individual access to more powerful practices. It is only the highly decontextualised conventions of expository reporting literacy, which Pranav rehearses (cf 4.3.3), that empower the individual to move beyond the specific experience to interpret and challenge social reality in the preferred discourse of Western capitalism.

The long-term educational implications of these differentially empowering streams of literacy are significant, particularly in the context of studies on later schooled literacy events which reveal the cumulative effect of marginalisation. Martin's (1989:54) study of school writing practices, for example, suggests that, whilst good writers move beyond narrative to factual reporting and exposition at an early age, average writers make this transition late; and weak writers never move beyond narrative. Parkinson and Adendorff (1996a), moreover, identify the university science laboratory as a later moment at which students are differentially inducted into the streams of technological and research literacy. They argue that the acquisition of research literacy is harder; and, unless the conventions are made explicit, it remains out of reach to the majority of nonmainstream students who do not have the requisite scientific experience. This has long-term educational and employment

consequences for students: the acquisition of research literacy allows for the possibility of a career as a research scientist; the acquisition of technological literacy tends to restrict career options to the industrial laboratory.

### **5.1.2 Planning Time as Differentially Accessible**

A central question raised by the literature in chapter 2 is whether, and in what ways, certain children are disadvantaged by planning time. This study finds that, although planning time does induct children into schooled literacy, it does not grant all participants the same level of access. The question, therefore, becomes: into what level are children inducted on the basis of their ability to cue into the teacher's planning time schema?

Michael's (1981) study seems to suggest a relatively clear-cut situation where a mismatch in styles results in an unsuccessful teacher-child exchange which excludes the child from access to, or practice in, "sharing time" conventions. However, the planning time data reveals that, although access is differential, the gatekeeping moment is not at the overt point of entry; but at the less easily defined point of acquisition. This is significant because it is easy to identify events to which individuals cannot gain entry; it is more difficult to locate precisely when, and how, access becomes restricted within the event itself. The differences in individual levels of participation are blurred and concealed by the fact that all the children take part; thus the event appears to be freely accessible.

Because it is acquisition rather than entry that is restricted, planning time is, in fact, a "zone of proximal development" for all children; not just mainstream members. The teacher scaffolds all the accounts beyond the planners' unaided capabilities to comply with, at least,

the maxims of thematic cohesion and fluency. But, because children do not all start from the same basis of familiarity with schooled literacy conventions, the extent to which planning time is a "zoped", and the complexity of the literacy into which it inducts the child, are differential. They depend on the distance that the individual child must cross between discourse worlds; and the consequent ease with which he/she is able to comply with the planning time maxims.

Despite Miss Smith's claims that planning time is a "way in" for nonmainstream children because the explicitness and structure of the literacy conventions "level the cultural influence", the data shows that her expectations become increasingly implicit in direct proportion to their reliance on mainstream experience and convention. This ensures that access to planning time literacy remains differential; and I contend that it is no coincidence that, in the data, those who display greatest mastery of the conventions, also have the shortest distance to cross between the discourse worlds of home and school-based literacies.

My argument is confirmed by Heath's (1983a) conclusion that the continuity between home and school-based literacies directly affects academic success; Roadville children's early success at primary school is not sustained, as they are unable to keep pace with their Maintown classmates in coping with the increasing decontextualisation of schooled literacy practices (cf 2.5.2). Thus, the children whose home literacy practices most closely approximate the preschool demands of planning time, are inducted early into rhetorical and genre structure patterns that anticipate the interactional routine of the corporate boardroom and university science laboratory. Conversely, children who are inducted into planning time only as far as the elementary level are well prepared for the demands of Grade One; but their

inability to cue into Miss Smith's more implicit expectations does not bode well for later academic success. However, this claim must be tempered by the acknowledgement that planning time is not the only route to schooled literacy; there are a variety of literacy events in the preschool and primary school routine that have the same goal and function. The medium planners, whose closer compliance with the maxims gives them access to the intermediate literacy of planning time, have a greater chance of meeting the later demands of narrative reporting. But their inability to cope with the increasing decontextualisation of analytical exposition ensures that, as suggested by Martin's study (1989) in 5.1.1, they are unlikely to make the transition from narrative to factual writing. The effect is likely to be cumulative; their access becomes increasingly restricted within the event until the moment when the event itself is closed to them.

It would appear from the data that planning time does represent a "way in" to aspects of schooled literacy. However, the literature (cf 2.5.2) suggests that the extent to which children gain access to the literacies anticipated by planning time depends on the continuity between their home-based literacy practices and the literacy conventions of the classroom. Upon this continuity rests their ability to recognise the increasingly implicit maxims of planning time. Although this argument is borne out by the data (Appendix E pages E15 - E17), it is worth investigating the possibility of other intervening factors in the ease of literacy acquisition. I turn now to the question of whose interests are promoted by this key literacy event.

### **5.1.3 Whose Interests are Promoted by Planning Time?**

The evidence that planning time is differentially accessible suggests that, in the context of Church Preschool, it has been co-opted to entrench middle-class privilege. Its original purpose in helping nonmainstream children to "wrest an education" has been colonised by middle-class interests; thus ensuring that mainstream children maintain their monopoly on educational profits by their induction into the discourse of power at a significantly early age. Planning time, therefore, is co-opted to bolster the status quo by ensuring the continued selection of the middle-class to positions of power; and the socialisation of the potentially disruptive, nonmainstream element as, perhaps, productive labour units and law-abiding citizens. This socialisation process takes place through the differential induction of children into the literacies of drillwork, narrative and expository reporting. The increasing decontextualisation of these planning time literacy practices may explain the discrepancy between the expectations of primary school drillwork literacy that children must "sit quietly and listen" (Appendix C pages C1-C5) and Miss Smith's expectations of a decontextualised, topic-centred account. In fact, planning time is not preparing children for the early levels of school but for the later, more exclusive demands of secondary and tertiary education by giving them early access to, and rehearsal in, antecedent practices. These practices subsume the more elementary routines of drillwork.

The tension between a rhetoric of openness and the practice of restricted access on both the macro-level of the institution and the micro-level of the literacy event exposes the hegemony of planning time in serving middle-class interests. As an aside, it is useful for the purposes of this discussion to recall the argument, raised in 2.5.2, that "middle-classness" is the product of multiple factors including, amongst others, ethnicity, language and

occupation. As such, the middle-class is not monolithic; it is finely calibrated into levels of power and prestige according to a multiplicity of factors. This suggests that in the context of Church Preschool, where the calibration is equally fine, this term should be used with caution lest it blur the issue of whose interests are served.

Mrs Westman, chairperson of the school board, claims that Church Preschool is a "family" which has "always been open and receptive to children from other groups" (Appendix B pages B1-B2). This assumes an openness which is not matched by the demographics of the pupil population; only six out of sixty two children are African. Despite this policy of openness, entry to the school is regulated by a series of restrictive mechanisms. Teachers must be "properly qualified". The families of prospective pupils must be able to find the school, "it's difficult to find; it's hidden behind the church to get here you've got to know where to come"; and book a place on the waiting list. Knowledge of the school's hidden location and a position on the waiting list depend on prior familiarity with the community. Both assume insider status.

Planning time is equally fraught with the tension between its open door appearance and the reality of the restricted number who gain access to its more exclusive practices. Apparent explicitness conceals the mechanism that controls access; namely, the implicitness of the maxims which rely on the child's insider status to both the wider suburban, middle-class community and the narrower planning time discourse community. As discussed in 5.1.2, the analysis of the teacher's schema in chapter 4 exposes the relationship between the implicitness of the planning time maxims and their assumption of shared middle-class values and practices. This ensures that, although anyone can participate in the planning time

event, not everyone gains access to the literacy it promotes. The effectiveness of this strategy of exclusion is strengthened by the rhetoric of universal availability (Gee 1990:58) which implies that failure to acquire literacy practices is due to individual, as opposed to institutional, deficit (cf 2.1.1).

The literature raises the expectation that a mismatch in teacher-child schemas is evident in the asynchrony of an unsuccessful exchange. The nonmainstream child's awareness of this as an unsuccessful gatekeeping encounter is evident in Michaels's (1981:439) recording of Deena's devalued sense of self, "She was always stoppin' me, sayin' 'that's not important enough'". However, my data shows that not only does the teacher praise planning time accounts that do not comply with all her maxims, but she claims (Appendix A pages A9 - A14) to judge accounts according to two sets of criteria: one that evaluates the child's planning performance against those of the rest of the class; and another that judges the child as an individual against his/her own past performance and abilities. The notion of judging a child's performance both generally and individually would seem to be accommodating of cultural differences. However, Delpit (1988:293) classifies this type of rationale as "good liberal intentions", arguing that these inadvertently marginalise nonmainstream children through "paternalism and a lack of challenging standards".

It is my contention that this policy of apparent openness and accommodation of individual difference conceals the more sinister possibility that the teacher actually, and with no malicious intent, has different literacy expectations for nonmainstream children. She does not expect them to acquire the high prestige discourse of expository reporting. If this is the case, then the teacher is sincere in her claim that planning time offers a "way in". Indeed, it



does induct nonmainstream children into the literacy requirements of primary school so that they are prepared for the early demands of schooled literacy. However, it does not permit further access to the discourse of power; because it is not meant to. Entry to this level requires a membership badge of mainstream home literacy experiences and practices. Evidence of the pupil demographics and planning time interaction suggests that the restrictive mechanisms limit the possibility of nonmainstream access to elite discourse practices to numbers sufficiently small not to threaten the status quo. This demonstrates the way in which the status quo is upheld by latent ideology even after the official mechanisms, such as separate education, have been dismantled; and despite the "good intentions" of the teachers.

In chapter 4, I point to the irony that planning time, promoted as an intervention strategy to empower the historically disadvantaged, is the site of struggle; and of the protagonist as Miss Smith, who promotes empowerment in terms of her explicit policy of racial and literacy equality. In fact, this irony exposes the way in which schooled literacy asserts its hegemony in "sucking in" potentially oppositional literacy agents and practices. Thus co-opted, these agents and practices are subverted unknowingly in the interests of middle-class privilege.

In this section I have summarised the chief findings of this study in terms of the expectations raised by the literature in chapter 2 and the research questions in chapter 1. In the following section I outline the practical applications of this research in the context of post-apartheid, South African education.

## **5.2 THE PRACTICAL APPLICATIONS OF THIS RESEARCH**

This study has several implications for education in general and curriculum design in particular. Most notable is the finding that academic and, by extension, economic success depends not only on the ability to speak English, i.e. to demonstrate control over the code; but also on how it is spoken. In other words, linguistic proficiency is not enough. As Gee (1990:67), amongst others, points out, English teachers have a responsibility to teach nonmainstream children how to present and contest information in the mode recognised and valued by the powerful institutions of the Western corporate world. English teachers need to realise that they do not simply teach a neutral language; but that they impart a set of discourse practices which can either empower or disempower the recipients.

This places literacy on the agenda as a crucial issue in educational reform and curriculum design. It is clearly not enough to teach English in the belief that linguistic proficiency is a passport to academic and economic success. Both language and literacy must be recognised as ideologically invested political institutions if education is ever to be instrumental in the transformation of the post-apartheid South African society. The foregrounding of literacy on the educational agenda incorporates the need to address the question of preschool intervention. The finding that a seemingly inconsequential preschool event serves to induct children differentially into powerful literacy practices alerts us to the need to examine the range of literacy practices promoted at this level.

Placing literacy on the agenda acknowledges the need to intervene on behalf of those for whom the conventions of schooled literacy are not natural. Delpit (1988:283) claims that, for those who are not already participants in the "culture of power", explicit instruction in

the rules makes the acquisition of powerful literacies easier. However, as the findings of this study stress, intervention strategies are problematic and inherently threatened by middle-class hegemony. Liberal intentions are inevitably subverted by the fact that the protagonists have been co-opted themselves. The practices that they promote seem so 'natural'; they cannot conceive of another mode of presentation. This study shows the importance of a critical awareness of one's own ideological position; because it is only through such vigilance that it is possible to resist co-option by which the rhetoric of empowerment merely serves to conceal the reality of differential access.

In the light of these findings, it would appear that intervention strategies such as planning time need to be modified and guarded from co-option. A solution lies in the concept of "multiliteracies" as a possible intervention option. The notion of "multiliteracies" derives from the argument that "effective citizenship...now require[s]... multiple languages, multiple Englishes and communication patterns" (Pennycook 1996:169); in other words, it recognises the need for, and value of, a multiplicity of culturally embedded ways of constituting reality.

Mindful of Bennett's (1991:19) warning that even mainstream members may pay a price for schooled literacy in terms of the way in which their ways of understanding the world and their own conditions of existence are constrained, I suggest multiliteracies as an intervention option from which both mainstream and nonmainstream children would benefit. As such, I do not offer multiliteracies simply as a remediation option to redress perceived deficits in nonmainstream literacy practices but as a means of making space for, and giving legitimacy to, a range of literacy practices.

I suggest that the value of the multiliteracy approach lies in its four-part pedagogical framework which subsumes the explicit metatalk of intervention options such as planning time; and anticipates the risk of colonisation by mainstream interests. Firstly, it inducts children into schooled literacy by drawing on their home experiences. This assumes not only knowledge and recognition of nonmainstream home literacies; but it also establishes a place for them in the classroom. Secondly it uses explicit metatalk in the overt instruction of literacy norms, thus acknowledging that the practices of schooled literacy are not equally accessible to all individuals. Thirdly, it guards against co-option by fostering a critical awareness of the ideological investment of the literacy practices promoted in the classroom; this exposes its own ideological position and highlights the potential cost involved to the participants of literacy events as sites of struggle. Finally, it creates opportunities for children to practise literacy conventions in different contexts within and without the classroom; this is empowering because it helps create awareness of the ways in which literacy practices, both mainstream and nonmainstream, constrain and shape reality.

A further strength of multiliteracies as an intervention strategy is its recognition of language and literacy as multiple sets of diverse, context-dependent practices. This suggests the possibility of linguistic and literacy switching, as with codeswitching (Myers-Scotton 1992:177), which empowers the individual through the ability to move between discourse worlds. This has important implications for the post-apartheid South African society where Africans, in particular, often straddle several worlds and identities. The necessity of acquiring the discourse of power in the corporate marketplace competes with the need to

signal membership of groups such as social and family, to mention a few. I contend that membership is often signalled as much by how the code is used, as by what the code is.

A further issue arising from this study is the need to feed research back to the teachers and curriculum designers as a form of consciousness raising. This is particularly important if we follow Erickson's (1986:157) suggestion that the teacher should be a classroom-based researcher who is advantaged by an emic perspective deriving from his/her position as an observant participant in the interaction (cf 3.3.2). The benefits are twofold. Firstly, it would help to compensate for the inevitable abuse of trust at the moment when the ethnography ceases to be benign; and the researcher, in the guise of the sympathetic "friend", functions as a critical "stranger" (cf 3.1). Secondly, research has an important critical role in demystifying classroom practice. In making classroom practices strange and unfamiliar, this process encourages educational practitioners to examine the ideological investment of the literacy practices that they promote. It prompts them to ask whether they are equipping children with the empowering strategies with which knowledge and power are contested in the Western corporate world; or colluding inadvertently in their pupils' disempowerment by only rehearsing the literacy of consent.

The practical applications of this research for teaching practice and curriculum design highlight the importance of further research in extending the findings into related areas; and in pursuing issues raised in the course of the study. In the next section, I outline possible directions for future research.

### **5.3 DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH**

(1) To substantiate the findings of this study, a longitudinal study needs to be carried out on the long-term educational and economic achievements of both mainstream and nonmainstream products of planning time. The scope of such a study should include other preschools for comparative purposes. Only through such an investigation is it possible to validate the claims made in chapter 4 that the degree to which children gain access to the literacy of planning time affects their later ability to meet the increasing decontextualisation of schooled literacy.

(2) Weikart (1989) identifies preschool as the optimal moment for nonmainstream intervention measures. The results of this study confirm that planning time inducts some children at a significantly early age into the rhetorical structures of powerful literacies. This calls for a broader investigation into the various literacy practices that South African preschools promote. What are these practices and to what extent do they serve to empower children by inducting them into schooled literacy practices? This study also highlights the need for preschool intervention and accommodation along the multiliteracy lines suggested in 5.2. Overt instruction in literacy norms through the use of explicit metalanguage that builds on nonmainstream home literacies represents a possible "way in" for nonmainstream preschool children. Further research is needed, however, to ascertain the degree to which any intervention strategy offers a "way in".

(3) This study has identified planning time as a key preschool literacy event and claims that literacy socialisation continues through recurring events during the individual's academic career. This claim is validated by studies such as Parkinson and Adendorff

(1996a) which identifies the first-year science laboratory as a gatekeeping event that differentially inducts students into literacy streams. There is a need to conduct similar research into other key literacy events such as the writing session and reading lesson, to name only two. What are the literacy practices that such events promote; and what are the possible strategies of intervention, accommodation or restriction?

(4) When discussing the ethnographies on which this study draws and my methods of data collection, I point to the absence of knowledge about nonmainstream home literacy practices and experiences in South Africa as an area of weakness in this study. At this stage, as the interviews with the teachers of Close Junior Primary (Appendix C pages C1-C5) and Church Preschool (Appendix A pages A1-A2) reveal, mainstream teachers perceive nonmainstream home-based literacy practices in terms of deficit. They have a sense that these practices are discontinuous with mainstream practices because key mainstream events, such as the bedtime story or trips to the local library, do not take place. However, they lack a corresponding knowledge of the practices that constitute nonmainstream literacies. This points to the need to conduct long-term comprehensive ethnographies on the home literacies of nonmainstream groups. Intervention through building on the familiarity of home practices and acknowledging the value of cultural diversity depends on such long-term comprehensive ethnographies. This refers to the concept of multiliteracies as an intervention option; and the dual need to promote schooled literacy as the discourse of power by building on these home literacy experiences; and, at the same time, to foster home-grown practices as rich and varied ways of constituting the world.

(5) Related to the necessity for comprehensive ethnographies of nonmainstream home-based literacy practices is the need to examine the oppositional literacies within the classroom, such as the imaginative genre of storytelling which planning time displaces. Bennett (1991:19) warns that schooled literacy limits and constrains ways of understanding and constituting our world, by excluding other possible perspectives. Therefore, although expository literacy has been recognised in this study as the preferred strategy of presenting knowledge for Western capitalism, there is a need to look more closely at storytelling for the literacy practices and values that it promotes. These may have significance for curriculum design in the creation of a more non-focused learning situation.

(6) A further area of research is the counter-literacies of the playground which, like the storytelling genre, draw strongly on the personal and fictional. These literacies appear, on the evidence of my data, to be gender specific, such as the physical, rule-based, group games characteristic of the "marauding gangs" of boys to which I referred in 4.2.5. As a form of expression that is largely displaced and discredited within the classroom, these literacies need to be examined.

(7) In chapter 4, I mention solidarity politeness as a strategy of co-option. Through the use of such devices as endearments, diminutives and jokes, the teacher conceals the power differential and "sucks in" the children to their subject positions within the discourse community. Solidarity politeness as a co-option strategy in the preschool is a subject for further investigation; particularly in the context of Church Preschool where the gender specificity of the teacher's endearments serves to position the children in ways that reinforce gender stereotypes.



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## **APPENDICES**

<b>APPENDIX A:</b>	<b>Interviews with Miss Smith</b>	
	<b>Interview: 02.08.96</b>	<b>A1 - A2</b>
	<b>Interview: 13.09.96</b>	<b>A3 - A8</b>
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<b>APPENDIX B:</b>	<b>Interview with Chairperson of the School Board, Mrs Westman</b>	<b>B1 - B2</b>
<b>APPENDIX C:</b>	<b>Interview with the Grade One teachers of Close Junior Primary School</b>	<b>C1 - C5</b>
<b>APPENDIX D:</b>	<b>Transcripts of Complete Planning Time Sessions</b>	
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	<b>Planning - 13.09.96</b>	<b>E11 - E12</b>
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	<b>Excerpts of Nonmainstream Planning Time Accounts</b>	<b>E15 - E17</b>
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**APPENDIX A:**

**INTERVIEWS WITH MISS SMITH - TEACHER OF THE BLUE GROUP**

<b>Interview:</b>	<b>02.08.96</b>	<b>A1 - A2</b>
<b>Interview:</b>	<b>13.09.96</b>	<b>A3 - A8</b>
<b>Interview:</b>	<b>23.09.96</b>	<b>A9 - A14</b>

### Interview with Miss Smith, Teacher of the Blue Group: 02.08.96

#### Context

This interview took place in the Blue Group classroom immediately following a planning time session. I did not plan this interview. It initially began as an informal chat over a cup of tea; but when the topic of conversation became planning time, I asked Miss Smith if she would mind if I taped our conversation. This was easy to do; because, as I mention in 3.3.1 and indicate on the diagram of the classroom layout in 1.2, the tape recorder is a permanent feature of the classroom. Miss Smith was quite willing to have our conversation taped, joking that she did not know that she had "such pearls of wisdom" to offer. This interview, therefore, represents part of the conversation; and ends rather abruptly when a group of children rushed in to play with the blocks.

Throughout the transcripts, I am represented by "T" and Miss Smith is "Miss S".  
Background information is italicised.

T: Next year, in top group, will the Zulu speaking children be participating spontaneously? Does this happen?

Miss S: Yes it does. Basically the principle of Plan, Do and Review, which is pretty much used around the world now, derives from its original formulation by David Weikart in the HeadStart program in the States. Now most ex-NED schools in KwaZulu/Natal do planning although most only start it with the top group. I, however, find it almost more valuable with this age group because you can't believe where they are by the end of the year. You saw this morning that they say "blocks", not necessarily knowing what they're going to do with the blocks. Whereas at the end it reaches a point where they can give you a whole spiel; and they'll come back to you at review time and say, "I didn't do my plan like this because this happened or I decided to do this instead" or whatever. I actually once had a child who came to me in the middle of the morning and said that she had to change her picture and her peg because for some reason she couldn't do her plan as she had planned. I said that she could just tell us about the change of plan in review but she wanted to change the picture and the peg. Another little boy once came up and said that he'd done his two plans and now wanted to do another one so needed to put up another picture. Of course, this also helps with the more energetic children who are the particular market whom planning gets to explore the more thoughtful activities and it commits them.

T: Does planning help their language development at all?

Miss S: Yes, it helps them to articulate and structure their thoughts because they have to be explicit and ordered. Now the review is interesting in that respect because it makes them accountable. When I introduce planning I really belabour it; I really make a meal out of it so that they really understand the concept and the steps. think it gives these shy children the courage and the confidence if they know exactly what the expectations are in terms of what kinds of things they have to say and that it happens the same way every day in the same way. It's remarkable how it helps them to structure their contribution.

T: Like those who haven't spoken before during ring?

Miss S: Exactly, and that is because I've found through the years that children like her gain more confidence because it's a specific thing and, as I've mentioned earlier there's something about it that makes it better than saying, "now tell me what happened in your house this morning" despite the fact that they've actually experienced that themselves. I think it's because of the predictability of it that makes them secure.

T: In the May transcripts, Kevin (*a Zulu speaker*) seemed to be able to follow commands that called for sitting down, fetching the register and other aspects of the physical routine of ringtime; but when a discussion developed, he would become restless as though he couldn't follow. But today, in planning, he could say blocks and, with help from you, could fill in the rest of the requirements.

Miss S: Yes, and, even though he said, "trikes" first, that's pretty remarkable because it shows that he grasped the principle of what we're doing here. He knew that I was asking him what he was going to do here this morning and, in actual fact, he would play on the trikes after he'd done the blocks which I really forced him to choose as an indoor activity. But you know, he didn't talk for the first week back after the July holidays so he's not getting the English at home. I don't think that the Zulu children get bedtime stories and things even though their parents now are middle-class; I think that the sum total of their education is what they get here largely, I think, because of historical factors. In the past there wasn't the money for books and things; you'd rather buy mince for the family than puzzles.

T: So now they don't have books and things despite their parents' middle-class status?

Miss S: I would say so. Although we may deny that we do to our children what our parents did to us, we do because it's what we know and, with variations on the theme, that's the way people bring up their children. But there are differences so it's not inevitable: I don't think either Upashna or Pranav had ever held a pencil before coming here; with the home programs I sent home, Pranav's mother did his religiously every day but I don't think Upashna touched hers. You can see it in the development of her fine motor control. Similarly, one of Lindelwa's strengths is that she'd been to a playgroup before and so had a large English vocabulary but Kevin and Tebogo just hadn't the experience with either English or fine muscle activities. But, you know, the other day we were playing a game of swinging the rope and the children must jump over it; at Julie's previous preschool which was virtually all Zulu, they could jump that rope superbly. Here, however, our lot were useless; the only ones who could do it were the Zulu children because that's what they do at home.

### Interview with Miss Smith: 13.09.96

#### Background Information

This interview took place after school in the school office which doubles as a classroom. Initially the interview took the form of a group discussion because two other teachers joined in: Mrs June, the school-readiness teacher, and Mrs Brown, a visiting teacher from another preschool. I had felt that it might be revealing to begin the interview with the introduction of a contentious issue to provoke discussion. The contentious material proved to be a transcript of the interview conducted on the previous day with the Grade One teachers of Close Junior Primary School (cf Appendix C pages C1 - C5). In this interview, the teachers claimed that there was no difference in children who went to preschools like Church Preschool; and those who had been in day-care or at home. The preschool teachers were incensed by this attitude. I have omitted this section of the transcript because, although it is most revealing about preschool education's struggle for recognition as a place of learning, it raises issues that are not the concern of my study.

Therefore, this transcript begins after the other two teachers had left; the interview took ninety minutes from this point. My strategy was to say as little as possible. I asked leading questions that raised issues and topics; and Miss Smith did most of the talking thereafter. The level of openness demonstrated in this interview is perhaps an indication of my insider status after eighteen weeks of participant observation.

As in the previous interview, I am represented by "T" and Miss Smith is "Miss S".  
Background information is italicised.

Miss S:       The early morning ringtime where you go through the establishment of what the routine is: the servers, the weather, those kinds of things. The teacher -directed at ringtime in mid-morning is some kind of concept formation; usually music based so it's crescendo, decrescendo, or movement: for example, you might explore effort actions or we've just finished doing floor patterns where when you move across the floor you make a pattern which can be deliberate, focused or random; it can be angular, circular or whatever. Then at the end of the day we have story and language extension in storytime. For example it could be a language exercise related to the language of the story or it could be a poem related to the same topic as the story or it might be something completely unrelated; for example, I might shake a piggy bank and say, "if this piggy bank was absolutely full, what would you do with the money?" I remember Luke saying, "I'd buy my mommy a holiday"; so it's completely creative. Others get stuck on prosaic things like chips. Then sandwiched between these three rings is free-choice time when the child can go into the school and choose what he wants to do. Each area is facilitated by the teacher on duty who sets it up with a particular learning activity in mind and then she facilitates it so that that type of learning takes place: for example, in the creative room the cutting and sticking tables are skills based so they're laid out to develop cutting and sticking skills and we might give a child who's battling two-handed scissors; then on the teacher-directed activity table we

develop their aesthetic sense, so next week Julie will set out the flowers so whilst every child will make flowers, each will be different according to their own special interests and abilities. So the teacher sets out a particular area: garden, creative or indoor and then she plays a facilitative role either settling on the floor and playing a game, or reading a book, or writing a name on a piece of paper. Planning helps the child who comes, particularly the boys, who come to school and the wealth of opportunity almost overwhelms them so they'll come to school and spend their day building the boxes and jumping off them or climbing on the climbing frame. So their day could be quite unconstructive. Constructive in that they're developing their large muscle and social skills as they play outdoors but you actually want their school experience to be more than that kind of interaction. You want some kind of learning to take place. That's why we introduce it in the four-year old group and say that they must do one indoor plan and one outdoor; and you can see that it very quickly becomes part of the whole process so they can do a more thoughtful activity and then go and scream around the cycle track. That allows you to introduce very informally and incidentally more thoughtful activities for the children who will only spend their time outdoors. And that is why for me I have found Plan, Do and Review such a meaningful process at preschool because you have a problem here because, when the children first come into our two year programme, they spend the first year in the informal part of the day developing their social skills; although in the teacher-directed activities like the developmental rings I lay the foundations that Julie will pick up on and extend the next year. So their development tends to be social and they spend their time exploring the apparatus that allows them to be social but historically, and you can ask any preschool teacher, into the end of the first term and into the second term of the top group children, they discover that they can play games with rules. Social play has gone from, in some cases, parallel play right through interactive play to group play to group play with rules where children actually determine the rules and they can play in these marauding gangs. Where previously they were happy to have just one or two friends, they suddenly discover that they can work in large groups and then they can move around the school and they tend to get very physical and very outdoors. And that presents a problem in terms of the quality of what they're getting from the environment because they're not interested in exploring the more thoughtful activities because they want to play this group game in which they move around mainly outdoors. So when planning came around, which is really an informal way in which you can help them to direct their play, to organise their day constructively and also to develop self control which is one of the prime reason why children come to preschool. So planning helps because it gives them a hook to hang their organisation onto and then their play becomes so much more purposeful; because they have to do an indoor plan, they realise that they actually enjoy it and so they will spontaneously get involved in it at other times and so it becomes a far more meaningful and enriching environment. Whereas with a child like Kevin, if he didn't have planning, he would just never move off the bikes and then he'd go into class one (despite the fact that we reportedly have no benefits and no influence!); and those children actually find moving to that kind of environment very stressful because they've been so outdoors and now they've got to be indoors

and they can't structure their time at all. So inevitably they will internalise the benefits of Plan, Do and Review in the long term; but for me the benefits are the way in which it helps the children to interact with the environment right before my eyes. So, if they don't feel that Plan, Do and Review has any benefit, it doesn't really worry me too much because I know that it's got a benefit here. In and in terms of language skills?

Miss S: Similarly, if you say to a child, let's take my four-year-old group, now I personally don't think that there's too much value to be had in going child by child by child to tell their news. The reason why I feel that is because by the time you have done a class of thirty children, the six or seven or eight or nine that you did first are agitated because they're bored out of their minds; they've done their thing and these poor little souls are desperately waiting for their turn. Also, what is the benefit to your average wallpaper kid who, when it comes to them, thinks, "but I don't have any news; I don't have anything as exciting as, 'in three more sleeps we're going to the Berg'" so then what will they do? Somebody will say, "I went to the beach" and then you just get, "I went to the beach, I went to the beach, I went to the beach". What's the particular value of that? Obviously news time does have benefit; like when Julie tells the news in the school-readiness group, she will call on one child to tell the news, they will verbalise it, she will write it up and that's a valuable prewriting and prereading exercise because they see that words have messages. She writes it up and they illustrate it; then it's a whole different thing because you're looking at it from a different dimension. But news in my group, I prefer planning because when you say to a child, "Plan" they actually have manageable confines in which to express themselves. And when they're saying, "I'm going to play in the puppet show", they know what the puppets are because they tend to stay the same or, if they don't know, they quickly learn what they are. They are then presented with the puppets and they can then really be creative within that structure. Has you seen how Lolly has gone in her planning?

T: Yes.

Miss S: From in the beginning to where she was so terrified that she would hardly open her mouth to now when she'll confidently get up and give the details that I keep longing for; and she will really be informative. I think you can compare the security of planning with the security of the school routine; because it is structured and the same every day, it gives them the freedom to explore themselves, their relationships and the concepts and the environment because its active learning. Similarly, planning happens the same way, every single day, and within that structure they are free to express themselves. I think that many of them come from being real wallpaper kids to knowing that they must say, "what, where and with whom" and then within that structure they can then learn to be more expressive.

T: When I listen to transcripts of early rings, several voices dominate and the rest aren't heard at all. Even now, in the language activity that precedes planning that is the case. Does that activity have a name?

Miss S: No, I just call it language extension or language enrichment or what I feel like doing. But yes, you see planning is a time when you say, "no, forget it, you be quiet, it's not your turn now"; like today wasn't a good planning day because they were restless. They didn't pay as much attention, and I think it's because

it's the end of the week. I definitely had a much better session on Monday when you could see that they were prepared to give attention to the others whereas today I just didn't ask certain questions that I would normally. Also planning gives me the opportunity to ask children open-ended questions where the children can think and express themselves. Sometimes I catch myself asking closed questions; then I quickly change tack to ask open questions that prompt them to think on their feet and develop an idea. It's a problem because I've got some children like Luke who is so domineering, dominant and domineering! Sometimes I'll whisper to him to be quiet and let us see if the others know the answer but that's quite negative for Luke to always be shutting him up but by the same token you want to give the others an opportunity. Like today I said to them to tell me what planning is and those like James and Luke were immediately the ones to respond, I asked James what planning was and he said, "because you make us do these things, we go and practise; so when we dig, we get the muscles in our arms and when we cut we get the muscles in our fingers" so planning does help develop your muscles! But, going back to what I was talking about, today James and Luke were trying to dominate the explanation but Allan really wanted to talk so eventually I said, "hang on a minute and Allan's going to tell us what planning's all about". You know, Tracy, when you teach such a large group, inevitably the loudest mouths are the ones who get heard which is a tragedy. That's why you've got to make time during the day to talk to the other quieter children; and that's the advantage of teacher-directed and free choice because when you're being facilitative you can get to know those children.

T: Does planning benefit all children?

Miss S: Yes, it gives the Zulu speaking children, for instance, a way in. The structure, the routineness; they know what the form is. Otherwise you might have a James who tells of all the wonderful things he does at home with his granny and Tebogo or Kevin just don't have that experience. But Kevin can say, "puzzle" so it kind of equalises their experience and opportunity. It equalises their experience by making it school-based and actually brings them all to the same place where they are learning a new way of talking about a new environment. You asked once how much I think their language background affects their learning; it affects it tremendously but planning actually levels the cultural influence because you all come with the same things: you all come into the same environment with the same criteria for planning. I've just seen the benefits particularly with the black kids who arrive with no language and then they just start to develop and develop through awareness and ability to participate receptively in the routine then able to give the bare essentials of planning; but they know the formula and understand the concept even if they don't yet have the language to give details. Finally they will give details too. Children like Zinkle in the school-readiness group was an elective mute for the first two terms here last year because she came in with very little English and found the whole environment totally overwhelming. Look, I would love to be able to say that it was planning that got her to speak but I think that planning did help because it called on her to contribute publicly in a very structured way and therefore planning gave her the hook to hang her speech onto.

- T: Excluding the fact that perhaps all the class one teacher may want is very mechanical skills and so they don't see the effects of planning, what does it give them in the long term?
- Miss S: Well, I would hope the realisation that before you do any task it's beneficial to plan and it's helpful to review. Tracy, there's no way that you can actually measure that, not ever. But one would hope that having asked them to talk about and see things in this way, it will carry on. To ask them to start off with one plan and then to motivate why and how. Like today it was absolutely fine for them to say, "we couldn't do our dough plan because there wasn't any, it had gone"; now that was fine. That makes me absolutely thrilled because they're looking at what the options are and then saying, "forget it, this just couldn't happen"; it's also good to realise that you can do various things and also that you have to take some responsibility for whatever your actions are. So if you make a plan and don't carry it through, even though we joke and say, "aargh!" Remember, in the first week of planning we went through and if one or two children in the group remembered to do their plan it was pretty miraculous; whereas now, the child who doesn't do the plan is the exception rather than the rule. I also like the fact that it gives them purpose and focus for the day; you know, they could come here and we could be the ladies under the tree and they could be the children running around because all the equipment in the world doesn't help the child on its own.
- T: On what criteria do you judge the children ready for planning?
- Miss S: I think you could you plan in January in theory. But in the first two terms my focus is on the Matel Classification Board which gives them classification skills and helps them to identify their names; but, by the same token, there are still some children who have problems recognising their names. The decision to start planning in term three is made completely arbitrarily; there's no good sound educational reason for doing so. In the first term you're very involved in establishing a routine where you're getting them involved, to participate and all the rest of it. We're getting them into the routine; we can spend the whole term talking about how they should sit at ringtime so we don't actually have time to introduce another whole routine of planning. The introduction of planning is very laborious but now they're doing the choosing on their own and it works best when I remember to tell them to do their planning during early morning reception time so when we go in for ringtime, they're all pegged up and ready to roll. Whereas before it's such a laborious process and surely that has benefit where they have to go off and organise themselves and choose. I love the way they all sit around the planning box and chat about what they're going to do and, "you haven't put your peg on" and "you can't be my planning partner for bikes if you do puzzles". It's lovely; it's fascinating how talk is generated by it. Also we talk about how realistically can you do these things because you can't ask Simo to do your plans with you if he's planning himself unless you're doing the same plans; and they've learnt that. Today, did you see, David chose the same plans as Mitchell because he wanted to play with Mitchell and he knew that Mitchell had a responsibility to do his plans; and I think that's moving towards a real understanding of how to organise yourselves not so egocentrically and how to manipulate your environment.
- T: When do you feel that a child is school-ready?



Miss S: When a child has got a basic understanding of the preschool syllabus ranging from body image to number concept; when they, very importantly, can execute certain fine muscle actions like cutting and drawing, because the child who can't hold a pencil correctly, for instance, will be disadvantaged; when they have a degree of self-control so that in the classroom situation they can follow instructions and behave appropriately because there is a joint or an individual task on the go; when they have a realistic understanding of their own abilities and are prepared to persevere so they don't go in thinking that they're going to reinvent the wheel and then they're absolutely bereft when they can't, a realistic perception of their own abilities in a positive sense; and, closely linked to that, a realistic understanding of success and failure. So when you fail, to try and try again; and when you succeed, to feel chuffed with yourself. I think those are the major ones; you also want them to have social skills and be able to relate to authority figures naturally without fear, because fear of adult authority figures can negatively affect the child who is trying to learn. So you also want them to have the social skills to be able to stand up in a group and contribute meaningfully. I've had children who are still so egocentric when they get here as their first experience of 'school' and they have to suddenly learn to function within a large group, to share the teacher's attention, to wait their turn, to assimilate. I think that's a big difference between schools like us and day centres run by loving, caring women, who may not have formal teaching training because there are no expectations and demands made in terms of group norms or internalised self-discipline because, and let's be brutally honest, it's a lot easier to give into children than to impose norms because then you avoid conflict situations. Whereas we have expectations that they will sit still and concentrate, and participate meaningfully within the group.

T: What makes a good planner?

Miss S: I think a good planner is a child who can stand up and give their plans without hesitation and prompting, obviously they've given it some thought when they're putting their pictures up, who can think ahead. They're taking a visual cue and they're elaborating on it through verbalisation; and they're doing that smoothly and according to the framework and they're giving lots of detail. So they're manipulating language to their own ends; that's a good planner. A medium-sized planner is a child who grows in confidence; a child who has been reluctant to share in front of a group and can now stand up and speak confidently: like Lolly, who was absolutely overwhelmed by the occasion but she's possibly going to be a good planner by the end of the year because she's making such progress. For the weakest, baby, crawling planner: the ability to follow the formula and use the right words, using phrases and sentences that are coherent. So if you look at Roland (*English first language boy with language problems; his planning time turn is analysed in chapter 4*) and Kevin (*Zulu speaking boy who came into the school eight months prior with no English at all; his planning time turns are analysed in 4.4*), Kevin is a better planner than Roland. Kevin has better language because he doesn't have a language disability; he is a second language learner. Roland has language disabilities. So, for my expectations, the one is surmountable; the other is more difficult to deal with. So those are my expectations as a teacher of a good, medium and poor planner.

### Interview with Miss Smith: 23.09.96

#### Background Information

The purpose of this interview was to ask Miss Smith to comment on five planning time extracts which I had identified as typical examples of good, medium and poor accounts according to Miss Smith's criteria that she had outlined in the preceding interview (Appendix A pages A3 - A8). Her evaluation of the transcripts would serve as confirming (or disconfirming) evidence of my inferences. I deliberately concealed the children's identities in the transcripts by substituting letters for their names; because I wanted the teacher's opinion, as far as possible, to reflect only her planning time criteria without the possible bias of ethnic or gender preferences. However, some gender markers remain, namely the teacher's use of endearments when speaking to girls; and the nature of some of the plans, such as Pranav's jet and racing track plans. I explained that the erasure of names was a transcription convention because the focus of my study was on planning time as an event, not on individuals.

As in the previous interviews, I am represented as "T" and Miss Smith is "Miss S".  
Background information is italicised.

- T: I would like you to tell me what you think of these accounts, how they rate.  
Miss S: Okay, look, what I'm going to do is read these in terms of my own mythical standard of planning time and then I'll grade them on a scale of one to five. Two scales really because I'll grade them according to my scale in general and then according to their own; because you might get someone who's not a good planner at all but their planning time account is good for them, okay?  
T: Remember though that their names don't appear on the transcripts.  
Miss S: Can't you remember who's who?  
T: No because I did these so long ago. I could probably work it out if I went back to the tapes.  
Miss S: Okay, well. (*Silence of several minutes whilst she read one of Michelle's planning time accounts, which I include below. This transcript is called "Transcript I"*):

#### Transcript I Planning

- Miss S: What and how and who, okay?  
Y: I'm going to do painting.  
Miss S: Okay, and who are you going to do it with?  
Y: With S.  
Miss S: With S. And what are you going to paint?  
Y: A rainbow.  
Miss S: A rainbow! Very nice plan, Y.

#### Reviewing

- Miss S: Review your plan for us, Y.  
Y: I did, I did my painting with S.  
Miss S: And what did you paint?  
Y: I painted a rainbow.

Miss S: So Y did the plan exactly the way that X planned it! Give X a big clap!  
(*Class claps*) and X doesn't have a peg on anymore so I know that X has done it. Go and take your things down, sweetheart.

Miss S: Well, this is a pretty mediocre planner. I think it's probably one of the girls like Shannon or Michelle. I would give this about a two, maybe a two-and-a-half. She understood the process, she knows the concept of what to do and how to do it but that's it. There's no detail at all. Oh yes, and she did it the way she said she was going to. A pretty pedestrian planner. I give a lot of praise here...like total overkill but I think that's probably in reaction to her earlier performances rather than to her as a planner in general.

*Miss Smith then read one of Pranav's planning accounts:*

## **Transcript 2**

### **Planning**

Miss S: Alright, Z?  
P: I'm going to do um woodwork and um make a jet!  
Miss S: A jet?  
Z: Yes.  
Miss S: Alright, tell me more about it.  
Z: After that I'm going to do playdough.  
Miss S: Tell me a bit more about the jet.  
Z: I'm going to make the wings.  
Miss S: Yes.  
Z: And then I'm then I'm going to paint it all different colours like green and red and purple.  
Miss S: And Z, are you going to do the woodwork with someone or by yourself?  
Z: I'm going to do it with H.  
Miss S: With H.  
Z: Yes.  
Miss S: And your other plan?  
Z: Um I'm going to do playdough and when I've finished to make my jet I'll make a curved downward and then.  
Miss S: A curved what?  
Z: A curved road that goes like that and um.  
Miss S: Oh yes.  
Z: And there's a circle pointing down where it's straight there (gestures with hands). And it's a jumbo jet.  
Miss S: A jumbo jet!...do you notice that when Z does plans he/she give me lots of details...and I find it really interesting because now I know exactly how he/she going to organise his day and I'm delighted to learn all those things.

### **Reviewing**

Miss S: Okay, Z.  
Z: I did my woodwork and I made a jet and it had wings with dinosaur pictures.  
Miss S: Tell me about this dinosaur jet.  
Z: The wings were dragonfly wings.  
Miss S: Oh really?

- Z: And anyway, the wings went down and then they made the sound of the rain going down like shh shh.
- Miss S: And why does it have to have it?
- Z: It just does have to have it. For that kind of jet, if it doesn't have that kind of wings the engine will break; and if it does have that kind of wings then the water will just run across the engine so that's why the engine can't break.
- Miss S: Oh, so is it to keep the engine cool, maybe? Like a cooling flowing thing.
- X: Yes. Like a cooler.
- Z: No! The engine will be hot inside the wings.
- Miss S: Oh, I see and then the water goes over and keeps it cool.
- Z: No, the water goes over and if it stays on the wings the engine gets hotter and hotter and makes the water boil up.
- Miss S: Oh, and then the boiling water makes the plane go?
- Z: Yes!
- Miss S: Oh goodness, I had it completely the wrong way round.
- Z: Yes, and the boiling water can burn paper when you try to land on the wings.
- Miss S: Yes.
- Z: Yes, it's like a firebomb.
- Miss S: Oh goodness, you like all these violent things. You're always telling us about these awful things like firebombs...well, I think Z did great plans too; give him/her a big clap (*class claps*).
- Miss S: It's quite disconcerting to read the things you say. This is a five, on a scale of one to five, this is definitely a five. It's Pranav's of course, I remember this. It's great, he obviously has total mastery of the concept and gives lots and lots of detail. Just look at all the detail. He knows how to present his plan, he then goes on to execute it and then he can review it with superb detail so it's perfectly clear what he's done. He gives you all of it. Isn't it ironic that a while ago when you asked me, I said that I thought he was a medium planner. But I had a feeling that he'd outstrip himself because he likes talking and all his comments are always pertinent and perceptive. Look, for me, this is the creme de la creme of planning accounts.

*After evaluating Pranav's account, Miss Smith read Transcript 3, which was actually another planning time account belonging to Michelle:*

### **Transcript 3**

#### **Planning**

- Miss S: Okay. Q, you're the last one, sweetie-pie. Tell me about your planning. (child's response is inaudible) I can't hear, sweetheart. Take your hands out your mouth. (response audible only to teacher). Nurse's hat? Okay. And who are you going to do the activity with?
- Q: A.

Miss S: A. But if, Luke, you're now sitting next to your planning partner you don't mess around and get silly 'cause then I become a screaming, old bag.  
C: Or a screaming, shouting lady.  
Miss S: Exactly and I hate that. I like it when we have those nice, calm days. Ah, that's what I like. Okay when I... call your name, you may go. Q, you can open the doors.

### Reviewing

Miss S: Q, your turn.  
Q: I did the teacher's activity. The nurse's hat.  
Miss S: The nurse's hat.  
Q: First I put the glue on.  
Miss S: You put the glue on? Listen, this is such good reviewing. Q's telling me all extra things. Q's telling me how he/she glued it on. (Q's next statement was inaudible on the recording) Well, I'm very glad you give me details like this. Very good reviewing, Q. Well done, put your things away.  
  
Miss S: This also looks like a girl, one of the wallflower kids for whom planning is a real trial because they tend to get so silly and coy when they've got to stand up and talk in public. They get so self-conscious. I think I'd also call this about a two or two-and-a-half because it's really very similar to that other one I looked at just now. Both obviously understand the concept and can stick to the formula but they can't give detail at all. Again, pretty mediocre and pedestrian.

*The next transcript that Miss Smith picked up was Transcript 4, which belonged to Luke:*

### Transcript 4

#### Planning

Miss S: What, how and who.  
X: ...The puzzle.  
Miss S: Tell me all the things about the puzzle.  
X: W.  
Miss S: No, you mustn't just say words, love, you must say it in nice sentences for me. You're going to do the puzzles with W. Yes?  
X: And the sandpit.  
Miss S: No, you're just doing the puzzles for now. Tell me, what kind of puzzles are you going to build?... do you know?... which puzzle are you going to build?  
X: Uh.  
Miss S: Are you going to do the clock puzzle or are you going to do the mushroom puzzle. What other puzzles are in the big room? The chicken puzzle or the parrot [puzzle or]  
X: [The fireman] puzzle.  
Miss S: Which one?  
X: The fireman puzzle.  
Miss S: Okay, so is this right Blue Group? X is going to do the fireman puzzle with W?  
  
Miss S: This is even worse, it's awful! It's like I did the plan! Look at that, just look at how much I talk in that, no wonder I get so tired; it's jolly hard work! This

child hasn't grasped a thing; don't worry about the detail, there isn't even an understanding of what, how and who. This is a one but now I'll have to regrade the others. I think the five cannot be anything but a five; but the other two must be threes in comparison to this.

*The last planning time transcript was another account belonging to Pranav:*

### **Transcript 5**

#### **Planning**

Miss S: Who's next?  
 V: Me.  
 Miss S: Me. Okay, me, tell me your plan.  
 L: Who's me?  
 Miss S: V.  
 V: Miss S, I'm going to do the blocks here and...  
 Miss S: Yes?  
 V: And um, and I'm going to make a big car track.  
 Miss S: Like yesterday?  
 V: Yes.  
 Miss S: Yesterday's [was]  
 V: [I] want to tell you about the fixing track.  
 Miss S: Oh yes?  
 V: The one with the, uh... with the flatter than this (gesturing with hands)  
 Miss S: Yes.  
 V: That's a fixing road. That's a different track.  
 Miss S: Than the main track?  
 V: Yes, it must bend to take on the main track.  
 Miss S: To take on the main track?  
 V: Yes.  
 Miss S: Maybe it can come out of the pits.  
 V: Yes.  
 A: What are the pits?  
 Miss S: Who knows what the pits are? You know when you've got a motor car [race]  
 V: [Yes.]  
 Miss S: And the motor cars have to change their tyres.  
 V: Yes.  
 Miss S: They can't stop in the middle of the [road.]  
 V: [They] just go in the pits.  
 Miss S: So they go in the pits.  
 V: yes, And they change their tyres.  
 Miss S: And they get some petrol maybe/  
 V: Yes, and they just race off when they finished!  
 Miss S: Exactly right. Okay, who are you going to do that with.  
 V: Ah... P.  
 Miss S: P. Wonderful plan! And the last planner is?

# **Reviewing**

- Miss S: V, you may start.
- V: Miss Smith, while I was playing with the blocks, D and M came and they just took one of the long blocks from me.
- Miss S: Oh did they?
- V: Yes they did.
- Miss S: So did you have to change your plan?
- V: No, I was keeping on playing but [uh]
- D: [No]..., uh, uh, it wasn't M and me. It was B and me.
- V: B [and.]
- Miss S: [That] was very honest of you, D!
- V: And they came up here and they just pulled the blocks.
- Miss S: Maybe they just wanted to play with you because it looked like such an exciting game.
- V: But um, I didn't have enough space to make my big track.
- Miss S: Oh, so what did you... was it a small track or did you make something else? So did your plan change?
- V: Yes... um, it changed a lot.
- Miss S: How did it change a lot?
- V: I just went outside.
- Miss S: (*Laughing*) ah, that's certainly changing a lot! Okay, V, please put your things away... picture, name peg in the office.
- Miss S: This isn't as good as that other one, as Pranav's; but it's still much better than the other three accounts. I would give it a four, I think; because this child clearly understands the process and can give some details but the language is still very internalised. Look at all the use of hand gestures. This boy knows exactly what he's going to do and we're just all stupid because we don't understand what he's telling us; he doesn't have the ability yet to really give details in a way that everyone can understand. That other one, for instance, is just so explicit that anyone, even if they weren't there would know what he was talking about.

B

**APPENDIX B:**

**INTERVIEW WITH THE CHAIRPERSON OF THE SCHOOL BOARD, MRS  
WESTMAN**



## Interview with Mrs Westman, Chairperson of the School Board: 12.08.96

### Context

Mrs Westman, the present chairperson of the school board, has held the position for several years. She seems to be very involved in the church to which Church Preschool is attached, and to the school itself. She was frequently in and out of the school during my periods of observation and any official communication regarding such things as staff changes and fee increases is signed by her. I therefore felt that she would be a key informant regarding the policy and ethos of the school. I initially approached Miss Smith for her sanction because I did not want to be seen as abusing my role as researcher by going over her head. Miss Smith approached Mrs Westman about speaking to me; Mrs Westman subsequently telephoned me and we arranged a time for the interview that appears below. Mrs Westman was most insistent that the interview take place in my home. The extract below was preceded by a conversation during which I was questioned about my motives; I inferred from Mrs Westman's insistence that she come to my home and her initial questions that she was seeking confirmation about my intentions before she revealed anything about the school. In the light of the interview that follows it is likely that she was confirming my claim to be part of the Church Preschool "family".

In this transcript, I refer to myself as "T"; and to Mrs Westman as "Mrs W".

Mrs W: This school was started twenty two years ago by the members of the church for the community of this area. Of course, because it's part of the Anglican church, we had to then approach the bishop and the diocese for permission to set up a school and then a constitution had to be drawn up as to the running of the school. This hasn't really changed much over the years. It lays down that Reverend Rogers is the permanent member of the school board and that the rest of the members are made up of the principal, several members of the Parents' Association and then several members of the parish, who may or may not have children in the school. The criteria for their selection is that they must have the interests of the children at heart and put the school first; we like people who have the time and commitment because give the body its continuity. The members of the Parents' Association are reelected each year and may change, specially if their children leave the school, but every year, as chairlady, I write to Reverend Rogers to say that the members of the board are available to serve another term of office if he is happy to have us. And, of course, every year he writes back and says that it is all in order.

T: How does the board function?

Mrs W: Well there are rules on voting but we never seem to get to that position where we need to vote; we seem to discuss things and come to agreements like that. for instance on the selection of new staff where we all interview the applicant as a panel. And there our criteria is firstly that they must be qualified, no matter how loving and kind they are with the children, if they're not properly qualified then there is no place for them here. They must also be able to work as part of a team and be able to be part of the family of the school and this we ask them because this is a very small school so if you can't give and take constructive criticism and work closely as a team then it just can't work. We

always try to have the interests of the children at heart so if, for some reason, it doesn't work out, we acknowledge it but try to ride the term out so that it isn't disruptive for the children. Of course, for any position here we get a pile of applications to go through; some you can see straightaway that they're unsuitable, just from the way they fill in the application form. We think an application form forces them to answer questions and shows us a lot because if it's filled in in a slapdash way or if they ask if they can just quickly fill it in in the office then it's a clue that they might be slapdash and careless in their work and we don't want that. Miss Smith is a perfectionist and she warns applicants of that in the interview but she is always firm and fair with the children, the academic staff and the ground staff like Mr Buthelezi.

T: For how long has Church Preschool been non-racial?

Mrs W: Well, we've always been open and receptive to children from other groups because our congregation is non-racial. For a long time Miss Smith would say that as a Christian school we should have children of other races and cultures but of course we then battled to get children because non-white parents just didn't apply here possibly because of the whole legacy of apartheid which made them fearful to apply to a school in white suburb and also possibly because the school is difficult to find; it's hidden behind the church so to get here you've got to know where to come. Also, this school is highly regarded in the area so parents put their children's names down at birth and there's a very long waiting list so it's difficult to jump the queue without having the parents up in arms. And, of course, when we did start to get little black children, the school also needed to learn from them. I will never forget coming in one day at half-past twelve after the children had gone and seeing a little boy lying fast asleep on the floor waiting for the taxi; when Miss Smith and I thought about it, we realised that whereas our children might get up at 6.30 to get ready for school, he was getting up much earlier to make it here. They were also dropped very early and, when Miss Smith realised that one or two little ones were being dropped long before seven o'clock and were just sitting by themselves and waiting until she came at ten past seven, she asked Maria Bengu, who lives at school, to let them in. That's one of the differences I've noticed: we tend to mollycoddle and protect our children but black children tend to be brought up to be more self-reliant so they can sit and wait on their own for an hour; and later it is taken for granted that they will be able to walk to school on their own. Talking like this, I realise that the school population has changed and now not all the children are either white or Anglican but I still think that it's true to say that Church Preschool serves the interests of the community and the children always come first. If I had to define the school, I would say that it is a family.

**APPENDIX C:**

**INTERVIEW WITH THE GRADE ONE TEACHERS OF CLOSE JUNIOR  
PRIMARY SCHOOL : 12.09.96**

## Interview with the Grade One Teachers of Close Junior Primary School : 12.09.96

### Context

I decided to interview the Grade One teachers of Close Junior Primary because Mrs Westman had claimed that the principal of this school had publicly stated that the children from Church Preschool were obviously better prepared for the demands of formal schooling than children from other preschools; in Mrs Westman's words, they "stood out a mile". When I spoke to the principal on the telephone, she agreed that Church Preschool did prepare children particularly well; but felt that I should speak to the Grade one teachers on the subject. She subsequently arranged an interview for me with the two teachers who taught Grade One.

From the teachers' response I inferred that they were not particularly willing to talk to me: initially Mrs A expressed reservation about the interview being audiotaped and said that this would have to depend on how Mrs M felt on the subject; Mrs M said that she did not mind being taped but did not think that she would be of any help to me. Before I began to ask questions I explained that I was examining whether some preschools prepare children better for formal schooling than others; I suggested that the Grade One teachers are the best judges because they receive the preschoolers in January and have to teach them how to read and write. Once they had established a sense of my intention, the two teachers became more forthcoming; however, this interview does not demonstrate the degree of openness exhibited by the interviews with Miss Smith (Appendix A). Perhaps this could be attributed to their suspicion of me as a researcher/outsider. The extract below represents the middle part of the interview following the initial pleasantries; and preceding our closing remarks.

In this transcript, I refer to myself as "T"; and to the two Grade One teachers as "Mrs A" and "Mrs M".

- T: From your experience, can you say that children from Church Preschool or Village Preschool, which also follows the "plan, do and review" program, are better prepared for the demands of formal schooling?
- Mrs M: Look, we don't draw children from those kind of preschools, ex-NED preschools, so it's difficult to comment because we get very few of those children. Most of our children come from private preschools or day-care centres and creches. Some children have never been to preschool at all.
- Mrs A: We only have two from Church Preschool this year and both are very bright, intelligent children so I don't think it's fair to make a generalisation based on them because you expect them to cope, you expect them to do well. And both these children do cope very well. Nadine's mother is a speech and drama lady so, although the child speaks beautifully and has a wonderful vocabulary, when you meet the mother you realise that a lot of what she uses in the classroom she's getting from the mother. And Nicholas is a highly intelligent little boy who's done extremely well in everything but, if I had to compare those two bright children with the other bright children in my class, I can't honestly say that there's a difference. And I've got some black children in my class as well and, except that they're slightly language impaired in that they're learning in a second language, they're coping as well as the others. I really think it's a question of background; the children in my top group come from all ethnic groups and are coping beautifully because they're bright. I honestly

can't say that there's a difference between them in terms of what preschool they went to.

T: And looking at your top group; are they coming from the same background?

Mrs A: Yes, I would say so. Look, I have got some black children in my top group but they're coming from Northside for instance. So they've moved out of the township but they're still learning in a second language and I think that they're coping extremely well because they're maintaining their position in the top group despite having to learn in a second language.

Mrs M: I've got some Indian children in my top group who haven't been to ex-NED schools. In fact, the one little girl that I have from Village Preschool isn't in my top group at all; she's in my second group.

T: And in terms of ethnicity, does there seem to be a difference in how children see and interpret the world according to their ethnicity?

Mrs A: Yes, I suppose you could say so. Not a hundred percent though. Some children, those families have CD Rom for instance, have access to a huge amount of general knowledge that the poorer child, who's not necessarily black, just doesn't have. Some children are read to regularly and much more than other children are; and yet again that isn't something that you can generalise about. I've got a little boy, who's mother is extremely keen on his reading so he will read thirteen fun readers a day (they only have to read one). And yet I'm thinking of dropping him to the reading group below because his word recognition and phonetic abilities are weak. so there's obviously a problem that hampering his ability despite having all the support he could ask for at home; and yet the progress isn't happening. So it's so difficult to generalise because they are individuals with their own individual strengths and weaknesses.

T: Do you have any idea what your children's home experiences with books are?

Mrs A: I don't know for sure; but from what I gather from what they are able to discuss, their knowledge of the world (by world, I mean this, their environment, not the entire world) is very limited in comparison to children who have access to books. Even those with TV; most children, even the poor black children, seem to have TV nowadays, so they are still exposed to more than they were a few years ago when we first started taking black children into our school. But you can definitely see that these children are disadvantaged.

T: In what way?

Mrs A: They don't have the games at home; you know, the puzzles, games, the construction toys are completely foreign to them. You can see that there aren't books in their homes; or you presume that there aren't books in their homes.

Mrs M: You can really see it, though; because when you speak to the parents, especially before the holidays when you want them to read so that their reading doesn't fall behind, and ask them if there are books in their homes and they say "no". And then you say, "well, do you know of a library where you can take books out?" and they don't. So then you have to go into an explanation of the process of borrowing books from a library; it's educating the parents. So even that isn't part of their culture, their experience. Even games like "snakes and ladders" which we encourage for number concept, they don't have it at home so we have to show them and explain it: what it is, what it looks like, the rules. So we're pretty sure that they're not having those type of experiences at home.

- Mrs A: Funnily enough, and here I'm generalising which I shouldn't, but those disadvantaged children are generally weaker at number work than they are at reading. They have excellent word recognition skills, they have excellent memories but when it comes to actually doing the number work and the operations that are needed to do plus, minus, division and multiplication, you can see that there is a gap. They haven't had the opportunity to use spatial games to explore number concepts the way our children have. Construction toys, puzzles, anything, threading beads, lacing, you can see they've never had that. Now, when it comes to applying the spatial knowledge into their maths, they don't know how to. Not all of them, but a lot of them.
- T: But you say they have good word recognition skills?
- Mrs A: Wonderful. Phonic knowledge not so good but that's because they pronounce words differently to us a lot of the time so "bug" might not come out as "bug" when they say it which is why they blend it incorrectly.
- Mrs M: But also because "bug" is quite a difficult word for a grade one child. I mean, they've got to actually understand what "bug" means; b-u-g. Otherwise they're just making sounds. But they do cope, the first term may be difficult but by the end of the first term they're coping and most of them have got the eighty words they're expected to recognise. But white children battle too, so it's not only black children battling with word recognition and phonic skills. It's also not only black children who are disadvantaged by their home background. We don't go into their homes so we don't know what's going on and it's only by chatting to the children and chatting to the parents that we get a sense of what's happening. and, of course, parents aren't always honest. A black parent, because they're so grateful that their child is going to a decent school and in their innocence because they don't know what they're supposed to do, will be far more honest. They don't feel that they have anything to hide. But a white parent, who isn't doing what they know they're supposed to, will never admit this to you, never. It's innocence on black parents' part; they don't realise just how much they have missed out on.
- T: So in your experience, do you feel that there's a difference in the children's level of preparedness depending on the preschool they attended.
- Mrs A: No, I can't say I've ever been able to say, "that child definitely went to Church Preschool" or whatever. I've never found that it's possible to say, "the children from this preschool obviously didn't complete the school readiness program" or that they're less prepared in some area. In fact, when I had to choose a preschool for my own son I asked the grade one teachers at this school whether one preschool in the area was better than another and they all said individually that there was no difference. They were finding that the preschools were producing the same results.
- Mrs M: Yes, I sent my child to a non-NED preschool; I would never have done that if I'd felt that they weren't providing exactly the same care.
- T: What would you say are the skills that you expect a preschooler to bring into grade one in order to ensure long-term academic success?
- Mrs M: I don't know, it's very difficult to predict. Even now at this stage in the year it's very difficult to predict who's going to make it into grade two.
- Mrs A: I agree, I've got a little boy who's got a fund of general knowledge, unbelievable general knowledge. He can talk to you about magnetism, electricity and the information that he's giving you is correct, it's not just made

up. He has the most unbelievable general knowledge and yet he cannot do anything at his desk. He's now in the process of being referred to different people to try find out what the problem is. So a verbal skill doesn't necessarily mean the child's going to cope in the classroom; this is a beautiful example of a child who has got the language ability and the intelligence and yet he is unable to perform. He's got a wonderful vocabulary; he will say to me, "Mrs A, my throat is as dry as the desert" or when it was Easter and we put bunny prints all over the classroom, he was beside himself and said, "Mrs A, don't let Wayne wipe away those footprints because that's proven evidence!" And he knows what he's talking about, he's using the words in context; he's not just repeating what he's heard somebody at home say. And yet, he's battling unbelievably. So there's more to it than just language. As I said earlier, each child has special weaknesses and strengths; he has got strengths, amazing strengths but he's got weaknesses that aren't allowing him to function. So I can't say that language is the be-all and end-all for a child in grade one.

T: What other skills do you expect from the child entering grade one?

Mrs M: The ability to listen, to sit quietly and listen and follow instructions. If he can't do that, his year won't be a very happy one because a lot of the work is oral.

Mrs A: A lot of the work is group oral work and practical so if he can't sit still and concentrate and pay attention, if they can't absorb what is being said, then there will be problems.

T: So the language skills drawn upon in the beginning are largely receptive?

Mrs M: Absolutely, especially in the first half of the year where so many things are being taught and they need to be able to listen and follow and absorb.

Mrs A: Most of your day is spent on the mat in grade one because it's all oral and practical. They come back to their tables just to do the application of what's been done on the carpet so 90% of the day in grade one is spent on the mat. If their listening skills are poor then they will experience problems in the classroom no matter how articulate they are, no matter how privileged their home background.

T: What are the demands you make in terms of oral and written productive skills at this stage? Do they do mainly factual or imaginative work?

Mrs A: We call it creative writing; sometimes it's news and then they report on what they've done on the weekend and then it's factual. But, for instance Jane did assembly this morning and it was built on a typical writing exercise of "If I could be a wild animal I would be a \_\_\_\_\_ whatever and then why, you see. I did the farm and I did that; "if I could be a farm animal I would be a \_\_\_\_\_ and why". All the discussion has happened on the mat first, getting ideas from the children who then go back to their tables. They can then either use their own imagination and create something brand new or what is put up on the board. On Arbour Day, for instance, we did one on, "trees are precious because" and then they copy that from the board and then complete the sentence with one or more reasons: "today is Arbour Day. Trees are precious because they give birds a home, they give us fruit to eat and they give us wood". I know that later on in grade two perhaps they may have a story read to them and then have to write their own story or finish it but not in grade one.

Mrs M: It's very basic in grade one.

Mrs A: Like today we did one on "Myself" so, "My name is \_\_\_\_\_. I am a boy or a girl. I like \_\_\_\_\_" and then we discussed it and the things that these children liked to

do. At this stage what we're trying to do is to encourage them to expand their ideas and not just give you one, for instance, "I like rugby" so "what else do you like" getting out of them details so that they can extend their story more with details. Using the word "and" and think of other things. They get so excited when they can say to me, "Mrs A, I can think of four different things that I like to do" and you'll see there that the children who are more capable are happier to go on and on and on; and those who aren't as confident will be happy to say, "My name is so-and-so. I am a boy. I like \_\_\_\_" and only give you one; they've done what they were asked to do and now that's enough. Then you've got to work on them to get them to expand their stories. So that's more what we're concentrating on at this stage.

T: How do you approach creative writing exercises?

Mrs M: Always on the mat for discussion to generate ideas. In the beginning we may start them with "I am a ..." and then they must copy that down and then carry on. At this stage we encourage them to use their own expression; we don't say, "well, this is wrong here". In the beginning it's very much, "Yesterday was Sunday and I..." went to the beach, went to see granny etc. But by now we're only giving them a few words but the discussion has already taken place; we don't just dump this in front of them and expect them to get on with it. We first talk about it on the carpet and everybody has a chance to give their contribution and express themselves.

Mrs A: For the first few weeks we'll do this (showing me an exercise book) where we give them the sentence which they talk about on the mat but just illustrate in their book and then we'll give them the sentence with a word missing and then they begin to start on their own. It goes in stages. For instance recently they had to write "farmers grow food for us to eat. My favourite food are \_\_\_\_" and then they have to tell us what their favourite foods are; and I said to them to try to think of something that is healthy and something that is fun but junk so they had to try to think of both. "I like spring because \_\_\_\_" and then we discussed the whole thing about spring, "I can watch the flowers grow and I like to play with my friends in the warm sunshine" you see, she's used the "and" and she's expanded her ideas and story. Some children would only give one thing but some expand it; and they're not all the same because they could choose what they wanted to say about spring. A weaker child may just have said, "I like spring because I can play" and leave it at that.

T: Do you discuss the child's writing while they are writing?

Mrs A: First we discuss it on the mat, then they get sent back to their tables and with that Arbour Day thing for instance, I started it by writing on the board, "Today is Arbour Day. Trees are precious because" and everyone would copy that first bit and then I had a whole lot of different sentences on the board from which they could choose. But today's one I started with, "My name is Stephanie for instance, I am a girl and then whatever word that didn't know from their sight vocabulary they would come up with their little personal dictionaries open on the right page so "h" for "house" and then I'd write it for them. There was a constant stream. So that's basically the type of creative writing they do at this stage in grade one and then hopefully in the fourth term they'll begin to write their own stories right from the first word without us giving them that crutch. And obviously, when they do their news it is their own, different to anyone else in the class.



- T: So do you think there's any difference in what children are producing in their writing in terms of ethnicity.
- Mrs A: No, I don't think so.
- Mrs M: Not at all.

**APPENDIX D:**

**TRANSCRIPTS OF COMPLETE PLANNING TIME SESSIONS**

<b>Planning Time Session -</b>	<b>31.07.96</b>	<b>D1 - D10</b>
<b>Planning Time Session -</b>	<b>20.08.96</b>	<b>D11 - D19</b>
<b>Planning Time Session -</b>	<b>22.08.96</b>	<b>D20 -D29</b>

**Transcription Conventions**

...	-	pause
:	-	vowel elongation (e.g. a:nd)
***	-	recording inaudible
[ ]	-	overlapping speech
<i>italics</i>	-	background information

I refer to myself as "T"; and to the teacher as "Miss Smith". The children are indicated by initial, e.g. "C".

## Planning Time Session: 31.07.96

### Context

This is a transcript of the Blue Group's first planning time session. Therefore the teacher is very explicit and, in her words, "laboured" in making the routine of planning time clear to the children. As I indicate in the diagram of the classroom layout in 1.2, the planning board is a permanent fixture on the one wall of the classroom. My position during the recording of this session was on a small chair next to the tape recorder in the corner of the classroom; I did not participate in anyway, either verbally or non-verbally.

### Planning

- Miss S: Alright, Blue Group, today we're going to talk about plan, do and review. Do remember the other day when Mrs Grunny was talking to you a little bit about it?
- Class: Yes.
- Miss S: What I want you to do when we do plan, do and review... What do you think I want you to do first?
- Class: Plan.
- Miss S: Plan! Why do you need to plan at school?
- S: ... be:cause.
- Miss S: Because why?
- Class: Because.  
Because [you]
- Miss S: [Alright ]Luke, can you tell me why? Why do you need to plan what you're going to do?
- L: Be:cause you play.
- Miss S: Because you play...and you mean. Okay, but how does...planning make your... playing important?
- S: Um, you play a:nd you play with a friend and you gotta play with them um, a:nd be nice to them and don't be ugly [a:nd]
- Miss S: [Okay], so when you plan does it tell you who you should play with?
- Class: Yes.
- Miss S: Oh, that's a good thing! And what else does planning help you to do?
- J: Um, make your mom happy.
- Miss S: Make your mom happy I'm sure because then she knows that you're not coming to school and doing nothing and walking around and just... doing nothing. So planning will help you to deci:de?
- L: (*very quietly*) What to do.
- Miss S: Lolly, say that in a nice loud voice.
- Lo: What to do.
- Miss S: What to do! That's a very good reason to plan. And why else do you think that you want to plan? (*individual responses inaudible on recording*) So you know who to do it with, Shawna.
- J: And to be a teacher. To teach things.
- Miss S: And it'll help you to learn things, yes. And you can also teach other people things, yes. And also you will learn what to do..., how to do it and who you will do it [with ]

J: [And] make your own things.

Miss S: And what, James?

J: And make your own things.

Miss S: You could make your own things too. So it means that when you come to school, Warren, and you've decided, "oh, I'm going to come to school today", [planning ]

W: [Or] [when]

Miss S: [Plan]ning will help you to do something special. Right, now lets talk about some of the things that you can do. Look at what I've got here in front of me. What's this?

Class: Spa:de.

Miss S: Where's the spade from?

Class: Sa:ndpit.

Miss S: Pranav, what do you do with a spade?

P: Dig!

Miss S: And what do you dig?

P: A hole!

Miss S: Oh, you can..., and what kind of a hole can you dig with this?

P: A round one.

Miss S: And tell me something, tell me some more about the hole, Pranav.

P: When you dig a very big one you can go falling in.

Miss S: Oh, would you want to go falling in? Okay, so that's the [spade]

P: [But] the sand will be at the bottom a:nd will bounce us right up on the sand.

Miss S: Oh! Oh, what's this?

L: A block!

Miss S: A block of wood and what do you do with it?

D: Woodwork.

Miss S: Woodwork! You could turn this into something couldn't you? And, Allan, what do you think you could turn this piece of wood into?

J: A shape!

Miss S: It is a shape. What do you think you could turn it into?... What do you [think]

J: [A car!]

Miss S: Meg? Meggy had [a]

J: [A] giant.

Miss S: A giant. What part of the giant?

L: Its foot.

B: A robocop you could make!

Miss S: Meggy had a good [idea]

B: [You] could make it into a robocop!

Miss S: You could too. Meggy had a good idea. She wanted to turn hers into an aeroplane...Okay, where do you find woodwork?

Class: Outside.

At [the]

Miss S: [Out]side! Okay, what's this?

S: Um...blocks.

Miss S: A block. What do you do with this block?

L: You stick it together.

Miss S: You stick it together. But where do we find this block?

Class: Inside.  
Miss S: Inside! Inside in the construction corner. what does construction mean?  
L: That you play.  
Miss S: It means that you build. It means that you build with these toys. Okay, that's inside, how about this?  
N: Scissors.  
Miss S: Scissors! Scissors a:nd?  
Class: Glue!  
Miss S: Where do you find those?  
L: In the activity room.  
Miss S: Okay, Michelle, what are you going to do with these scissors?  
L: Cut.  
Miss S: I said, "Michelle".  
M: You can cut paper with them and you can make pictures.  
Miss S: You can make pictures. And what about the glue, Simo?  
S: ...Paintpot.  
Miss S: It, it is like a paintpot but it's actually got glue inside. What would you use the glue for?  
S: Sticking.  
Miss S: If it was a paint pot, what would you do, Simo?  
S: Painting.  
Miss S: You would paint. And what would you paint for me, Lindi?  
Miss S: A...a rainbow.  
Miss S: A rainbow! That would be a good thing to paint. What would you do with this, Catherine? (*children begin to talk amongst themselves*) excuse me!  
C: Read.  
Miss S: Read! Why do you want to read, Cath?  
C: Because, because it's a book and you read a book.  
Miss S: And why do you read books?  
C: \*\*\*  
Miss S: That's right, because books are interesting and you can learn things from books. Tell me Bradley, what do you do with this?  
N: Puzzle.  
Miss S: Mich, Nicole, when I say somebody's name, love, I want them to have a turn to answer not just you, okay? What's this, Brad?  
B: Um doing puzzles.  
Miss S: Why do you do puzzles?  
B: Because you don't have something to do.  
Miss S: Oh, so it would be a good idea to do a puzzle then? Puzzles are tricky, they make you use your?  
Class: Brain.  
Miss S: Now what is this little creature, David?  
D: It's, it's a mouse.  
Miss S: Oh, so it is, it's a mouse. And why have I got this mouse on my fingers?  
D: Because it's a puppet.  
Miss S: Because it's a puppet and what do you do with the puppets, Dave?  
D: Um, um, um, play with them.  
Miss S: And how do you play with them?  
D: ...Make shows.

- Miss S: Make shows! Wow! And what happens in the shows?...who can tell me what you call it when something exciting happens to puppets?
- L: Puppet shows.
- Miss S: They have ad?
- S: They have shows a:nd, and the puppet talks. But not really the puppet but the man who's doing all [the]
- Miss S: (*High "puppet voice" to represent the mouse puppet on her fingers*) Excuse me Shawna! I am talking to you (*class giggles*)! Are you telling me that somebody else is making my voice? (*Normal voice*) yes, who makes the voice?
- A: The man!
- Miss S: The person. I'm, I'm not a man (*class laughs*). The person, be it a girl or a boy or a lady or a man, when they move the puppets they make the puppets...talk. And it's quite fun when you change the voices, hey?
- S: Or you can pretend that you are the puppet.
- Miss S: You could. That would be a good thing to do. Now tell me. I have got lots of things that I've shown you to do here today. And what I want to show you now... I tell you what I'm going to do (*arranging all the objects that they have been discussing into a circle*). I'm going to put this like this and I'm going to put them in the middle and then I'm going to turn the person around like a spinning top. And when they stop opposite that thing, they've got to do that as one of their plans. Ooh, what's this plan?
- Class: Dressing up.
- Miss S: Dressing up! Oh, and there are hospitals today so that's fun. Shall we make this pot a painting pot?
- Class: Yes.
- Miss S: Okay, so now tell me. I've got to find some cards, don't I?
- Class: Yes.
- Miss S: Do I need one of these cards (*holding up the planning card that represents reading*)?
- Class: No.
- Miss S: Yes! the book cards (*puts this card next to the book in the circle*). Do I need one of these cards?
- Class: Yes.
- Miss S: What's this a card of?
- Class: A puzzle.
- Miss S: A puzzle piece and we've got a puzzle (*matches card and puzzle*). What about this?
- Class: Yes.
- Miss S: What's this for?
- Class: Building.
- Miss S: The construction toy. Ooh yes, and this one?
- Class: Dressing up.
- Miss S: Dressing up! Okay...(puts the rest of the cards with the matching objects). Oh, we've got puppets.
- S: I love playing with the puppets.
- Miss S: Do you love playing with the puppets? They're such fun, aren't they?
- Class: Me too.
- Me too.

- Also me.
- Miss S: Okay, what else do we need?
- N: Scissors.
- Miss S: Scissors. Shall we put the teacher's activity or shall we just put the cutting and sticking activity?...Shall I tell you what the activities are today? I am making spider masks and Mrs Nico is making...the spiders from yesterday...So should we put some teacher's activities?
- Class: Yes.
- Miss S: Okay.
- L: What about the spade?
- Miss S: The spade? Yes I'll have to find it, won't I? I just want to find some of these...alright, now while I'm over here I want you to close your eyes and show me the magic because we've got very squashy over here. So do some magic for me please ( *pause while the teacher finishes arranging the circle of objects and matching picture cards*). Okay, now I think we'd better have Luke first. Stand in the middle, Lucas. Okay, are you going to close those eyes.
- L: Yes.
- Miss S: Okey dokes, close those eyes. (*begins turning the child around within the circle of objects*) and I'm going to turn him around and I'm going to turn him around. Now turn yourself, keep your eyes closed and stop when you want to, see? Stop, stop. (*Whispers*) okay. Luke, is in front of the puzzle so take a puzzle piece and go and put it next to your name and then you can choose any other picture that you want to do. Okay, lets have Calley! Your turn!...okey dokes and I'm going to start her spinning, spinning, spinning. Okay spin, spin, spin, stop if you want to. Ooh, Calley is going to do teacher's activity. Take a card and go and put it next to your name, sweetheart. Go and put it next to your name on the board, Calley. You slide them in next to your name. Walk on your feet, baby. Mich!
- D: Is everyone going to have a chance?
- Miss S: No, just the purple group today, you all have a turn though. Alright, are you ready, my flower? And I'm going to spin you! (*Whispers*) okay spin, spin, spin. Stop when you want to. Okay (*normal voice*), Michelle is going to do a painting. And now it's Nicole's turn.
- J: Next to your name! Put it next to your name.
- Miss S: Put the card next to your name, Michelle. And you can choose another one to do as well...maybe we should just start with one activity today. Luke, put those away for me...okay, here's Nicole...Put it next to your name, slide it in,...Luke, we'll just do one, I think...okay now turn, spin yourself and stop when you want to. Oh! She is going to do a puzzle, Madame Butterfly. Must she take the puzzle or the picture of the puzzle?
- L: The picture of the puzzle.
- Miss S: The picture of the puzzle!
- M: She's closing her eyes and getting the picture!
- Miss S: Okay, now I need to have Sarah, please. Okay spin, spin, fast! Stop, stop, stop! Oh! Sarah is going to dress up in the hospital! Okay, get your dressing up picture. Okay, and lets have Tebo! Okay, turn sweetie. Spin, spin, okay stop! Tebo is going to dig in the sandpit. Okay, Upashna! Okay, spin, spin, spin! Okay, stop! Oh, she's going to do a puzzle! Now I think that when you have chosen one of the pictures you must go and put a peg on you the same colour



to remind you that you must do it. Because otherwise you might forget and that would be a drama. You must peg the peg onto your clothes.

L: Orange.

Miss S: Okay, lets have, um, Alex. Spin, spin, okay stop now. Oh, Alex is going to do the puppet show. Put it next to your mane sweetheart. Calley, are you working with the orange things? You're working with the yellows...okay, I'm ready to start talking about your plans. Now we're going to ask them about their plans and they must tell me what they're going to do a:nd...how they are going to do it a:nd...who they are going to do it with.

*The first two accounts have been excluded and appear in Appendix A 9 - 14.*

Miss S: Nicole, tell me about your plan...look at your picture if you need a reminder.

N: Um.

Miss S: What are you going to do?

N: Play with the puzzles.

Miss S: Play with the puzzles. And who are you going to do it with?

N: Um, Upashna.

Miss S: Upashna. A:nd which puzzle are you going to do? Do you know yet?

N: Um...I'm not sure yet.

Miss S: Okay, now tell me guys. Look at me everybody. These children, some of them have told us their plans. What do they have to go and do now?

Class: Their plans!

Miss S: Go and do their plans. That's plan, [do]

L: [review.]

Miss S: What on earth does review mean? (*Widens eyes in query and class laugh*)  
shall I tell you?

L: Yes.

Miss S: Review is when I say to you at the end of the day, I'm going to say to you, "Luke, tell me about your planning. Did you do your planning?" and you're going to have to tell me if you did it the way you said it in this room. Okay? So I'm going to give two more people a turn to tell me their plan and then I'm going to let you go and the others can finish afterwards. Tebo, tell me about your plan. What is your plan, Tebo?...Look at your picture, Tebo... What are you going to do, Tebo?... Where are you going to play?

A: To the puppet show.

Miss S: No, no, no! He's not going to the puppet show. Tell me, Tebs. (*Whispers*) you must tell me. (*Normal voice*) where are you going to go?...Where's he going to go?

Class: To the sandpit!

Miss S: To the sandpit! What are you going to do in the sandpit, Tebogo?...Come on, tell me, sweetheart! I think he's just going to sit in the sandpit and do nothing.

L: Yes.

Te: No! Dig!

Miss S: What are you going to do, Tebo, are you going to dig?

Te: Yes.

Miss S: And are you going to dig a big hole or a little hole?

Te: A hole.

Miss S: A hole. And is it going to be a little hole or a big hole.

Te: A big hole.

Miss S: A big hole! And who's going to help you to dig the hole?...Is somebody going to help you? (*Tebo nods*) who?

Te: Lindelwa.

Miss S: Lindelwa's going to help you! Lindelwa's going to help Tebogo to dig a big hole. Okay, lets have uh, Upashna. Tell me about your plans, sugarplum.

U: I'm going to do a puzzle.

Miss S: A puzzle! And who are you going to do your puzzle with?

U: With Nicole.

Miss S: With Nicole? That's nice. And do you know which puzzle you're going to do yet?

U: Yes.

Miss S: Which one?

U: The clock.

Miss S: She knows exactly what she's going to do. Very good planning, Upashna! I'm very pleased to hear those jolly good plans. Okey dokes, I think that we are ready to go now and go into the school. Are you going to forget to do your plans?

Class: No!

L: No, we're going to do out plans now.

Miss S: Straightaway because otherwise you will forget and what will help you to remember?

Class: The pegs.

Miss S: Your reminder pegs!

L: And then when we're finished we put our pegs away.

Miss S: Actually, Calley, quickly tell us your plan because there are only a few of you. What's your plan, my love?

C: Um.

Miss S: You're going to do this one. What's this one called?

C: Teacher's activity.

Miss S: Teacher's activity. And are you going to do the spiders or are you going to do the masks?

C: I'm going to do the mask.

Miss S: You're going to do the mask. Oh, goody, goody! And who are you going to do it with?

C: With Sarah.

Miss S: With Sarah? Oh very nice. So Calley is going to do the mask with Sarah. How are you going to do it?...maybe when you go in the room, it'll show you how to do it, okay? And Sarah, tell me about your plan...please stop playing with the velcro on your shoes, Blue Group! It's very irritating when you keep pulling it...Sarah tell us about your plans in a big, loud voice, darling, or we can't hear.

S: I'm going to play in the doctors.

Miss S: In the doctors. Are you going to be a doctor? (*Sarah nods*) who are you going to play with?

S: Calley.

Miss S: Calley? And what's going to happen whilst you're busy in the hospital? What are you going to play?

C: I'm going to give injections.

- Miss S: Injections! So Sarah's plan is she's going to play in the hospital with Calley and she's going to give her a:n?
- Class: Injection.
- Miss S: Injection. Okay, tell me, who's the last person? Alex. Alex, please talk in a nice loud voice because I couldn't hear these girls. What's your plan, my darling?
- A: I'm going to play with the puppets.
- Miss S: Well done! And what are you going to do in the puppet show? Do you know which puppets you're going to use yet?
- A: Bunnies.
- Miss S: Bunnies. Do you think these are bunnies or mice?
- A: Like bunnies.
- Miss S: They're actually little mice. They do look a bit like bunnies but look, if you take their legs away it's just their little feet...And you're going to play with the little mice. Who are you going to play with, Alex?
- A: Adam.
- Miss S: Adam. Okay, tell me about planning. You do what, and how, and with whom. Okay, Blue Group, you may all take your shoes off right now.

### Reviewing

- Miss S: Alright. Now, children, whilst you were busy this morning. The planning children, when we were together at early morning ringtime, what did they do?
- Class: They closed their eyes.  
And spinning.  
They did their planning.
- Miss S: Yes, they did their planning! They closed their eyes to choose what to do. That was fun, wasn't it? And then they went after early morning ringtime was finished, what did they go and do?
- E: Their planning.
- Miss S: They did their plan, didn't they? And do you know what we're going to do now?
- Class: What?
- Miss S: (*Sings*) Blue Group tell us about your plans, about your plans, about your plans, Blue Group tell us about your plans and what you did at school today. Do it with me (*teacher and class repeat the song together*).
- L: We did do [it]
- Miss S: [Ooh], shush! shush! It'll be your turn any minute now. Do you know how I will know if you've remembered?
- Class: How?
- Miss S: Because if you stand up and you don't have any reminder peg on, I will know, I hope, that you have done your plan. Calley, stand up, love, it's your turn. Did you do your plan, Calley?
- C: Yes.
- Miss S: What plan did you do? Can anyone remember what she was going to do?
- M: Puzzle.

- Miss S: Noo, look at her name on the board. What was she going to do?
- A: Teacher's activity!
- Miss S: Yes, teacher's activity! She was going to make a spider. Did you make a spider, Calley? (*Calley shakes her head*) oh, she didn't make a spider! So did her plan change?
- Class: Yes.
- Miss S: Yes, definitely. So what did you do instead of making a mask, Calley... What did you do this morning? I think it's very important when you do your plan that you do it immediately after early morning ringtime otherwise what happens?
- L: Else you'll forget.
- Miss S: Yes! Sit down, Calley. Next time you must do it straightaway or you'll forget, okay? Take your name down and your planning picture and put them away.
- Nicole? Yes, Miss Mouse?
- N: I, um, I did a puzzle.
- Miss S: Which puzzle? Did you do the puzzle you planned?
- N: No.
- Miss S: No! Did you have to change your plan? (*Nicole nods*) so which plan did you change it to?
- N: I changed the puzzle to the lego.
- Miss S: To the lego? But that's not a puzzle. You must, you must keep to doing a puzzle. Oh, goodness me! So, when you plan, you must do what you?
- Class: Say!
- Miss S: Say you're planning. Okay, [Nicole]
- L: [You] can do a different puzzle if you chose puzzles.
- Miss S: Yes, you can change it like that but you must still do a puzzle, hey?
- L: Yes.
- Miss S: Okay, lets try Sarah. Do you think Sarah was in the hospital?
- Class: Yes.
- Miss S: Sarah, tell us about your plan, darling.
- S: I was playing in the hospital.
- Miss S: You were playing in the hospital. And what did you do in the hospital?
- S: I was a nurse.
- Miss S: She was a nurse! Ah, and did you give that person an injection?
- S: Yes.
- Miss S: who did you have to give an injection to?
- S: Calley.
- Miss S: Calley! Oh, and did you give her an injection? (*Sarah nods*) so Sarah did her plan they way that she said she was going to. Well done, Sa! Okay, Sarah, you may put away Your picture and your name. Tebogo! Tell us about your plan. Stand up boy. Stand up.
- A: He's still got his peg on.
- Miss S: Oh no! Tebogo, did you forget to do your plan or did you go and dig in the sandpit? (*Tebogo nods*) speak to me sweetheart, say "yes" or "no". Did you dig in the sandpit?
- Te: No.
- Miss S: No, oh no! Dear me! He forgot to do his plan! When you are, when it is your turn to plan you must remember to do your plan, alright? Okay, Tebo, come

and put your things away and put your peg away. Upashna! Pashy, stand up and tell us about your plan...yes?

U: I played with the puzzles.

Miss S: Which one did you do?

U: The cat one.

Miss S: Oh, the cat one? And who did you do it with?

U: Nicole.

Miss S: Nicole, so...I can't remember Upashna's plan, can anyone remember it?

Class: No.

Yes.

Miss S: What did she say? Did she say she was going to do the cat? Or did you change your plan a bit?

U: I changed my plan a bit.

Miss S: oh did you? And how did you change your plan?

U: because, because I couldn't do it, because it was too hard.

Miss S: oh, which one did you choose before?

U: I choosed the three people with the little cat, the one little cat.

Miss S: Oh, I see. Now I'm very, very pleased, Upashna, that you and Nic did your plans together because you made her your special friend for the day because she was your planning partner. Well done, my darling, you can take your things down. Alex! You're the last one, boikes. Tell us what happened to you. Did you do your plan, Al? (*Alex nods*) what did you do?

A: Puppets.

Miss S: Puppets, tell us about the puppets. Jamie, listen to Alex, he's the last one. What happened to the puppets.

A: I chose the people.

Miss S: You chose the people. And what happened with the people in your puppet show?...did they have an adventure? (*Alex nods*) what kind of adventure, Al?

A: Any one.

Miss S: Any one? But can you tell us what happened? We weren't there so we don't know, you see. Upashy, put your name away, as well, my girl. Okay Alex, so you did it. Next time I want you to tell me a little bit more about what you actually did but I'm very glad that you remembered. Everybody must give the Purple Group a big clap (*class starts clapping*) because they did such wonderful reviewing. Now remember, when you've done your planning, then you do your...doing and then you do your...reviewing. And, tomorrow, it's going to be the turn of the red group.

**APPENDIX E: EXCERPTS OF PLANNING TIME SESSIONS**

<b>Reviewing - 02.08.96</b>	<b>E1 -E4</b>
<b>Planning - 21.08.96</b>	<b>E5 - E10</b>
<b>Planning - 13.09.96</b>	<b>E11 - E12</b>
<b>Reviewing - 13.09.96</b>	<b>E13 - E14</b>
<b>Excerpts of Nonmainstream Planning Time Accounts</b>	<b>E15 - E17</b>

### Reviewing : 2.08.96

#### Context

The transcripts included below are excerpts of planning time sessions that were recorded under similar conditions to the transcripts of complete sessions in Appendix D.

As in the previous transcripts in Appendix D, Miss Smith is represented by "Miss S" and the children are represented by their initial.

- Miss S: (*singing*) Red group tell us about your plans, about your plans, about your plans, Red group tell us about your plans and what you did at school today. Cath?
- C: Um ... I forgot.
- Miss S: Ah, did you do the game or did you forget to do it?
- C: I forgot to do it.
- Miss S: Ah no! And what about your remember peg? ... What did you do with your remember peg? Did you forget it?
- C: Yes.
- Miss S: Where's your remember peg? Did you put it away? Cath, you must remember to do your plan [straight ]
- N: [Straight]away.
- Miss S: Exactly Nicole, straightaway. It's necessary to do it straightaway, isn't it James? Why?
- J: U:m, um, because then you won't forget.
- Miss S: Exactly. Alright, Catherine, [take]
- J: [I did] it straight away, Miss Smith.
- Miss S: I saw you do it and I saw you put your peg down. Good Joel. Catherine, take your things and put them away and, Catherine, please also take David's name for me. Joel, stand up and tell us about your plan boy.
- J: I readed, I readed the bird, I readed the bee book.
- Miss S: You read the bee book. And who did you do your reading with?
- J: Pranav, but he didn't want to read with me.
- Miss S: So your plan changed a little bit. And what happened to the bee?
- J: I don't know.
- Miss S: Ah, come on. Can you remember what happened to him? ... When you read the book you must tell us otherwise you're doing it too quickly.
- J: The bee was climbing the plants.
- Miss S: Oh was he? Why do you think the bee was climbing the plants?
- J: To find some, to find some flowers.
- Miss S: to find some flowers. What does a [bee].
- L: [Some] pollen.
- Miss S: Some pollen, yes. A bee finds pollen in a flower doesn't he? Quite right, Joel, well done. That was a good plan. You did it nicely. Well done. You may go and put your things away. Kevin. Did you build with the blocks, Kevin?
- K: Yes.
- Miss S: What did you build with the blocks? (Kevin\*\*\*) hmm, did you make the house?

K: Yes.

Miss S: I didn't see you inside.

A: I did.

Miss S: Did you see him building a house? Who did he do it with, Al?

A: I think with Simo.

Miss S: And, and, what kind of a, what blocks did you use, Kev?

A: He [was]

Miss S: [Sh!] Excuse me! Did you use the wooden blocks or the plastic ones?

K: Yes.

Miss S: Which ones?

K: Wooden.

Miss S: So did you build a house, Kevin, and who did you do it with? ... Who did you make the house and use the blocks with? (*Kevin points*) I want you to tell me. Can you tell me, he:y?

L: I know, I know.

Miss S: (*Raising her hand to silence Luke*) Alright, okay. Next time you must tell me a little more, see Kev?

J: Can I tell you?

Miss S: You. You want to tell me? Why do you want to tell me?

J: Because I know who was building with him.

Miss S: Oh, who was building with him?

J: Simo.

Miss S: Simo, did you build the blocks with him?

S: Yes.

Miss S: And what did you build, Simo?

S: House.

Miss S: Did you build a house, Si? (*Simo nods and smiles widely*) Simo stand up and tell us about your plan. Kevy, you can put your things in the office. What was your plan, Simo?

S: Puzzle.

Miss S: You did a puzzle. And did you do your puzzle, Simo? (*Simo looks at the floor*) I can't hear, my darling. Did you build a puzzle?

S: I don't know (*very softly*).

A: He doesn't know, he said.

Miss S: I heard that but I'm asking him. Did you do a puzzle, Simo? What puzzle did you do? (*Simo nods*). Did you do the fireman puzzle? (*Simo shakes his head*). Which one did you do?

S: I don't know.

Miss S: Didn't you do your puzzle? (*Simo shakes his head*) No? Oh, why must we remember to do our plans? It's because the ..., please don't do that, Siobhan.

L: So that the teacher knows that you did your plan.

Miss S: Yes, it's a good thing for me to know so you must try to remember, see Simo? Uh, um...you must put your pictures away and your peg, Simo. Alright ..., who's next?..(*Shelley-Jane stands up*). Alright, tell me, Shelley-Jane.

S-J: I played with puzzles.

Miss S: You played with the puzzles. Which ones, Shelley-Jane? ... Excuse me! (*clapping*) Uh, Luke, we can't hear Shelley-Jane if you're chatting.

S-J: The colours.

Miss S: The colours. So what was your plan?



- S-J: (\*\*\*)...with the colours.  
 Miss S: Oh did you? And how did you manage to do that?  
 L: What did she do?  
 S-J: I made it like a photograph with the colours inside. The straights for the sides and the corners.  
 Miss S: That's a good way. That's a good way to do a puzzle, isn't it? To make a pho ... what? How did you say it to make a photograph. Oh, so she used all the straights to make the edges just like a photograph and then you put all the others inside.  
 S-J: Yes.  
 Miss S: Which picture did you do, Shell?  
 S-J: The rabbit who's like a fairy.  
 Miss S: The fairy, does she look like a fairy? And Shelley, um, did you do it with somebody?  
 S-J: Yes, with Sarah.  
 Miss S: With Sarah. So that was your plan, wasn't it? I think, uh, Shelley-Jane reviewed her plan beautifully because she told us exactly how she did it. That was very interesting, wasn't it, Lindi? It was very interesting. Uh, give her a clap, I think (*class claps*). Okay, Shell, take your things. Emma, tell us about your plans.  
 E: I played with Megan. Played with lions.  
 Miss S: Mm?  
 E: And I was the daddy and also the baby's mother.  
 Miss S: Yes.  
 E: And then Amy, and then I was the baby Simba.  
 Miss S: You were baby Simba?  
 E: Yes, and also Mufasa.  
 Miss S: And Mufasa! And tell me, did you use the toys to do it, the lego?  
 E: No, after, after the game I played lego.  
 Miss S: Oh, after the game. Where did you play baby Simba?  
 E: Um ..., at the swings and at the sandpit.  
 Miss S: Oh, so you did that outside and then, and then did you come inside?  
 E: ... Mm, mm.  
 Miss S: And what ..., you say you did come inside?  
 E: No. So I just played outside.  
 Miss S: Oh, so didn't you do the lego. So your plan changed. Your plan changed a lot didn't it?  
 E: Yes.  
 Miss S: How did her plan change a lot?  
 N: Because she decided not, not to do her plan.  
 Miss S: She did, didn't she? Ooh, you must remember to do your plan! It's important that you do your plan.  
 J: Can I tell you about my plan?  
 Miss S: Now ..., in a minute James, in a minute. It's, uh, Emma take your things. Uh, Mitchell, did you do your plan?  
 M: I forgot to do it.  
 Miss S: I think the red group are useless! ... So few people did their plans.  
 J: Can I tell you about?

Miss S: Hang on, my darling. You're not one of the red group. I think tomorrow we're going to see if the green group are [any]

Class: [Better!]

Miss S: Better. Except it won't be tomorrow, it will be o:n?

Class: Monday.

Miss S: Monday.

L: After tomorrow.

Miss S: (*sings*) Red group thank-you for telling us about your plans, about your plans, about your plans (*repeats the line*). I hope you do better next time. Okay.

**Planning : 21.08.96**

- Miss S: Why don't you like a ratty day, Pranav?
- P: Because we don't like the children to fight and we don't uh, we just like them to play.
- Miss S: And also the teachers don't like to boss you around.
- J: And shout and scream.
- Miss S: I hate it and I can be quite a good screamer but I don't like it.
- J: If you shout at someone, you're an old lady. An old screaming lady.
- Miss S: Luke shall we rewind your day and start again?
- L: No.
- Miss S: Well then it better start improving. Something exciting's happening today.
- L: Reverend Rogers's coming!
- Miss S: No. Well yes, he is coming but the exciting thing has happened in this class and it's because of this boy. Do you see this boy? This boy has started something very exciting today. Listen to this. If you look over there on the, on the planning board, what is different?
- L: Um, there's one whole line full.
- Miss S: Ooh yes! (*laughing*) Simo got a bit carried away. But what about the others?
- L: There're two.
- Miss S: There are two plans. Up until today how many plans were there? Show me.
- Class: Two.
- One.
- Miss S: One. Before you did one plan didn't you and how many do these children want to do today?
- Class: Two!
- Miss S: Two. Si, that is a lot of plans. Do you really think you can do all of those?
- S: Yes.
- Miss S: Now (*clapping for attention*) wait. When Mitchel said to me, "please can I do two plans," do you know what I wanted to say?
- L: What?
- Miss S: I wanted to say, " ah no, Mitchel, because the children don't even remember to do one plan because some of you forgot. Yesterday the purple group were fantastic. They didn't forget at all.
- M: We must do it straight away.
- Miss S: Why must we do it straight away, Mitchel? (*Class calls out*). Uh, uh! Your name's not Mitchel. Why must we do it straight away, Mitch?
- M: So we don't forget.
- Miss S: So we don't forget. And so the only thing I said to Mitchel [was]
- JW: [And] you must get a peg.
- Miss S: You must do one indoor plan and you can do one out. You can't do two outdoor plans. You can do two indoor plans...Sarah. So this is the first day the children are going to do more than one plan. But as Mitchel said, people I'm not going to let you do two plans unless you promise me you'll do them. And he's quite right. You must do Them straight away.

Class: Straight away.  
 L: And Joel has two plans outside.  
 Miss S: Oh, Mitch, Joely you must go and change one of your outdoor plans for an indoor plan.  
 JW: Can we go outside now?  
 Miss S: No, cause we've got to do our planning.  
 (Sings) Red group tell us about your plans, about your plans, about your plans  
 Red group tell us about your plans and what you're going to do today.  
 Emma! Stand up sweetheart.  
 E: I'm going to play with the lions.  
 Miss S: What lions? Oh, the lion king. But those aren't the pictures that you've chosen. Do you want... a.nd, and what's your other plan going to be?  
 E: Swings.  
 Miss S: Swings. Oh, there's the swinging one. Okay, so you're going to swing, yes?  
 E: And puppets.  
 Miss S: Okay, tell me about the swinging first.  
 E: I'm going to swing this way and this way (*gestures with hands backwards and forwards*).  
 Miss S: Sshh! This is an excellent plan! She's giving me details. I love details. Details are when you tell me all the little things as well. And what else, how else are you going to swing?  
 E: I'm going to swing backwards and forwards.  
 Miss S: Mmh, and are you going to swing for a short time or a long time and who are you going to do it with?  
 E: I'm going to do it with (*points to the girl sitting next to her*).  
 Miss S: You'd better say it because she's not even concentrating on you. Tell her who you're going to do it with. Show her (*pause whilst Emma touches her friend's head*), okay. Please stop doing that Luke or you'll pull all your teeth out. Okay, that's an excellent swinging plan. Tell me about your puppet plan. Who are you going to do the puppets with? (*Emma points to Shawna*) Also! Shawna's going to have a busy day, she's going to be your special friend. Do you know which puppets you're going to use?  
 E: Mm.  
 Miss S: Which ones?  
 E: In the green puppet thing.  
 Miss S: That thing's called the puppet theatre. What's it called?  
 Class: The puppet theatre.  
 Miss S: Emma, super plans. Now do them! Very well planned. Okay, now Shelley-Jane tell me. Shh! Shh!  
 S-J: I'm going to do activities.  
 Miss S: Ooh! You're going to do activities! (*Shelley-Jane nods*) With Mrs June? And do you know what Mrs June's got on the go? (*Shelley-Jane shakes her head*) What's she going to do, do you know? What's she going to do David? What did Mommy set up yesterday afternoon? I don't even know.  
 D: Um, no.  
 Miss S: So you'll have to tell us all about it because we don't even know. And, uh, what are you going to do it with?  
 S-J: Uh, Catherine.

- Miss S: Now Catherine's planning too, isn't she? That's fine, that's a good person to choose. Okay sugarplum, and your other plan?
- S-J: I'm going to play with blocks.
- Miss S: Tell me about your block plan.
- S-J: I'm going to build a house.
- Miss S: A house, tell me some more about your house. Davey!
- Miss S: A small house. Are you going to make it with one of the animals inside?
- S-J: A small house.
- S-J: Yes.
- Miss S: Okay, lovely planning, Shelley-Jane. Well done. Kev, tell me about your planning ...(*teacher looks around the class in response to a whispered comment of a child sitting in close proximity*). Where are their reminder pegs? Has she got her reminder peg on? Ooh! Look at you! Where are your reminder pegs, guys? How do you decide which peg to put on?... Uh uh! You've got to be very quiet because it's Kevin's turn to talk. What are you doing Kevin?... Go and have a look. Go and look ..(*whilst Kevin leans forward to see his picture on the planning board*). Okay Kevin.
- K: A puzzle.
- Miss S: No, you're being very rude. Kevin is going to do a puzzle. Shh! uh, uh, uh! Kevy, sorry. Please tell me, you're going to do a puzzle?
- K: Yes, and paint.
- Miss S: And paint. Now tell me, which puzzle are you going to do?...Do you know which puzzle you're going to do?...(*while Kevin shakes his head*). Not yet. Now who are you going to build puzzles with?
- J: Me, Kevin.
- K: With James.
- Miss S: With James? Okay. And Kevin, how are you going to do the puzzle? Are you going to look at the picture or the colours or the shapes? Which?
- K: Pictures.
- Miss S: Are you going to look at the pictures? (*Kevin nods*) And you are going to paint, Kev? What are you going to paint?
- K: A rainbow (*very quietly*).
- Miss S: A what?
- K: A rainbow.
- Miss S: You are going to paint a rainbow. Wonderful! And is it ... tell me about your rainbow, how's it going to look?
- K: Colours.
- Miss S: Colours. Kev, that's wonderful planning, darling. Put your pegs on, uh, your reminder pegs. Go put your pegs on. Where are they? (*Kevin looks under his jersey in case he pegged them on his T-shirt and the class giggle. He joins in*). Well done Kevy.
- J: Look here, Miss Smith.
- Miss S: Okay it's Davey's turn. David's going to do his planning as quick as a wink.
- NE: (*Giggles*) as quick as a wink!
- Miss S: okay, please be polite. It's rude to interrupt and not listen.
- D: I'm going to do a puzzle and, um, um.
- Miss S: Are you going to do that as a puzzle? Are you going to have that as your puzzle picture? That's actually, that picture is actually a game, a game. If you

do that to your jersey one more time I'm going to take it away [and give it to the poor].

D: [What about the blocks?]

Miss S: What blocks?

D: The blocks outside.

Miss S: Ooh! You want a picture for that? (*David nods*) There is a picture for that. It's a little drag box. Do you want to go and look? Do you want to change your plan?

D: Ja.

Miss S: Okay. It's your turn (*touching Simo*). You've got masses of plans. You promise me you'll do all these plans, [dear]?

P: [Miss] Smith?

L: [Who?]

Miss S: [And] you've got to put four pegs on this body! Okay, tell me your plans. Shh, shh.

S: Puppet show.

Miss S: You're going to do a puppet show. Good, who're you going to do it with?

S: With Michelle.

Miss S: With Michelle! That'll be nice. And what's going to happen? Catherine ..., now let me see. It's in the orange cards. And what's going to happen in your puppet show?

S: Beautiful.

Miss S: It's going to be beautiful. Okay, and do you know which puppets you're going to use? Which ones? (\*\*\*). Red. Are there red ones? I didn't see, you'll have to show me. Okay, and what are your other plans, Simo? (*response again audible only to the teacher*) A T.V? Oh, an activity! Ah, I'm so silly. I didn't hear you properly. I think the problem is I'm getting old.

L: Yes!

Miss S: You know when you get old, you get old and deaf so that's why you must talk loudly for me, you know, and Tracy. Because we are these old ladies. You're going to do an activity? Tebogo, sit! Tell me about your activity in a big loud voice (\*\*\*). You're going to cut it, okay a:nd? Shh! Shh! (*response audible only to teacher*) and you're going to draw and you can cut out another one. Ah! Are you going to spend the whole morning in the activity room with Mrs June?

S: Yes.

Miss S: Ah no! He's going to be with Mrs June the whole morning. I'm going to have to have a big kiss before you go because I will miss you. Okay, go and get... how many yellow pegs must [Simo].

Class: (*Shouting*) [Four!] Four!

Miss S: Look, go and look before you shout.

L: Three.

Miss S: How many yellow pegs must he get?

Class: (*Chorus*) Three...four.

Miss S: Three, and how many green pegs?

A: One.

Miss S: Okay, Davey, lets have another try.

A: He's going to be the pegman.

- Miss S: He's going to be the peg man, quite right. I just hope he does all these things, otherwise, oh goodness! Here's Mister, Master, June .... Don't forget your deaf, old teacher.
- D: I'm going to play with the blocks outside.
- Miss S: You're going to play with the blocks outside. and what are you going to do with them, Davey?
- D: Build a house.
- Miss S: A house, that'll be good. With you and Mitch?
- M: With dinosaur suits.
- Miss S: The dinosaurs are all gone. There's animals. And what, what's going to happen to [your house?]
- D: [And Jason.]
- Miss S: With Jason. And what's going to happen to your house?
- D: We're going to make, we're going to build the blocks on top, on top of the house and.
- Miss S: Oh! Are you going to do that jumping again? When you were doing that jumping yesterday my heart stopped.
- L: Where from? The landing place?
- Miss S: No! It's scary stuff.
- P: Why?
- Miss S: Mitchell, tell the class about the jumping that you did.
- J: I also jumped it.
- Miss S: Listen!
- J: Can I tell you how?
- Miss S: No!
- M: We put the other block, uh, where those things. We put, uh, one of those things with the holes inside on the other one and then, then we put one of those jerseys and we jumped off and we put something soft.
- Class: *Erupts into excited discussion about this new game and drowns Mitchell's contribution. He stops and there is a 45 second interval whilst the teacher brings the group's attention back to the speaker.*
- Miss S: Excuse me, Mitchell. Why did you put the soft things?
- M: So we didn't hurt ourselves.
- Miss S: (Laughing) well, I'm very relieved to hear that!
- J: And I also did it, it was fun.
- D: We felt as if we were flying.
- J: It was fun!
- Miss S: My heart was in my boots.
- M: We nearly flew.
- Miss S: The only thing that worried me about that plan, Davey, was uh, the cloaks that you made from the blankets. I was very worried that they were going to catch.
- L: On fire?
- Miss S: No, on the box. Catch, do you know? Like sometimes if I walk out the door, my sleeve will catch on the door then I won't be able to move. And what would happen if that long blanket caught on the back of the box as Mitchell jumped? What would happen?
- L: He would be stuck.
- Miss S: It would catch and because the blanket is around his [neck ].
- J: [It'll] kill him!

Miss S: (In a strangled voice) it might hurt him very badly.  
 J: He'll die!  
 Miss S: Well hopefully ... oh! can you imagine, the block would fall on him. Ja, I don't think that he'd die but he'd definitely be hurt because I sincerely hope you would call me.  
 L: And he would break his leg.  
 Miss S: I hope not! Anymore and I'll ban that game.  
 J: And he'll go to the hospital.  
 Miss S: Well, you're a bunch of ghouls! Right David, tell me your other plan.  
 D: And, and I'm going to do something with my mom.  
 Miss S: You're going to do something with your mom and we're not quite sure yet, are we? So Dave, you're going to have to give us lots of details when you do your review. Okay Joely. Nice planning, well done boy.  
 J: I'm going to play in the water tray and I'm going to do my puzzle.  
 Miss S: Okay, tell me about how you're going to play in the water play.  
 J: He must stand up.  
 Miss S: Oh yes, true, so that we can see you. Okay, tell me.  
 J: I'm going to (\*\*\*)  
 Miss S: Oh right. Well, you're going to need to give us more details when you review, see? Who would you like to do it with?  
 J: Luke.  
 Miss S: Luke, okay. And your other plan?  
*(At this point the tape ran out. I waited until the class were busy clapping for Luke before I changed tapes because this can make a noise and I did not want to draw attention to the taping process).*  
 Miss S: Cath, do you know which activity you're going to do yet? *(Catherine shakes her head)*. So you need to give me details later in your review, Catherine, okay? And who are you going to do your activity with?  
 C: Shelley-Jane, because she's planned to do the teacher's activity, too.  
 Miss S: She did, that is quite right! Thank-you for reminding me. Thank-you my sweetheart. Okay, and last but not least, Master Mitchell, the Two Plan King. Tell us the rest of your plans, boy. *(The class are becoming restless because this planning session has been lengthy; the level of chatter rises)*. You're being rude ... Warren!  
 M: I'm going to do the teacher's activity um.  
 Miss S: I'm so happy! That's great! Do you know what you're going to do yet?*(Mitchell shakes his head)*. It's going to be like lucky dip. So you need lots of details for me later, see? Okay, and tell me, uh, who you're going to do that with?  
 M: With David.  
 Miss S: David! That's good planning because David's doing that as well so that's a good plan. Good idea. And your other activity?  
 M: The blocks.  
 Miss S: The blocks. The tower of blocks?  
 M: Yes, and all of us jump from. Then we put a huge square, then another one, then one of those blue things. Then we jump.  
 Miss S: Alright now. Blue group well done. I'm very happy to see such good planning.  
 L: Can we go now?  
 Miss S: If you are not a girl, stand up *(some boys stand immediately; others remain seated, unsure how to decode the command)*.



L: Allan, you're a girl!  
 Miss S: If you are not a girl, stand up. Negative question.  
 J: Adam, you're a girl!  
 Miss S: This is a negative statement. If you are not a girl, stand up. Sit down you two.  
 Okay, would the girls please go outside.

### Planning Time : 13.09.96

Miss S: Master James? And don't forget the deaf, old teacher please.  
 J: Uum, I'm going to do it with Mitchell and David.  
 Miss S: What!  
 J: Uh, the sandpit.  
 Miss S: The sandpit! And what are you going to do in the sandpit?  
 J: Dig.  
 M: And blocks.  
 Miss S: Hang on, let him do it, he's the planner, Mitchy. Dig; tell me about this digging.  
 J: We're going to find treasure.  
 Miss S: You're going to find treasure? Good.  
 J: And um I'm going to do it with the double spade.  
 Miss S: Is there a double spade?  
 J: No, I'm just going to hold it together in one hand like this (*demonstrates with imaginary spade*).  
 Miss S: Oh. Gosh, I'm going to have to come and see this. It looks quite tricky. Do you know. That Mrs June is going to put out some new cars for the sandpit today too, so you'll be able to play with those.  
 L: And aeroplanes.  
 Miss S: And aeroplanes, ja. Okay (*as class begins to chat amongst themselves*), it's James's turn.  
 J: I'm going to make a gun.  
 Miss S: You mean at the woodwork?  
 J: Yes.  
 Miss S: But that's not your other plan on the board.  
 J: Oh yes, I'm going to do teacher's activity.  
 Miss S: Shall I tell you what the teacher's activity is? ... stencilling and we're going to make butterflies or there is red and white sticking.  
 J: I'm going to do red and white sticking.  
 Miss S: You're going to do red and white sticking, okay.  
 J: With David and Mitchell.  
 Miss S: Also, so they'd better go with you straight away. Please tell me Blue Group, why do we do planning?  
 C: To help us play.  
 Miss S: To help you play, that's a good one.  
 J: And to plan your day!  
 Miss S: Good. What's another word for "plan" your day?  
 L: To do what you want.  
 S: Otherwise you'll be boring.

- Miss S: Oh, there's a good one, Siobhan says you'll be boring if you don't plan your day. It helps you to organise your day doesn't it?
- J: And it makes you strong.
- Miss S: How does it make you strong? I'm not speaking to you again, Simo Dlamini, if you carry on, you're going out my room.
- J: With all the exercise. With the arms, all the digging makes your muscles strong.
- Miss S: Okay, Lollipop! A planner, here's a planner.
- Lo: I'm going to play in the sandpit.
- Miss S: What are you going to do in the sandpit, Lol?
- Lo: Dig.
- Miss S: Dig too. Good, maybe you can help James when he digs. And tell me more about digging in the sandpit.
- Lo: I'm going to dig with Simo and Shannon.
- Miss S: With Simo and Shannon. And then, what's your other plan, Lol?
- Lo: I'm going to do a puzzle.
- Miss S: Which puzzle, Lol?
- Lo: A new one.
- Miss S: A new one? Ah, aren't the new puzzles beautiful?
- Class: Yes.
- Miss S: Which one do you think you're going to do Lolly?
- Lo: The elephant.
- Miss S: The elephant! Okay, you'll have to tell us how it went when you review, okay? Well done, Miss Lolly.
- L: You know, Miss Smith, I was swinging like a corkscrew yesterday 'cause I planned that and Miss Grunny saw me.
- Miss S: And what did she say?
- L: She told me to get off.
- Miss S: (*Laughing*). Oh, did she? Well, if that is your plan then you can tell the teacher in the garden that Miss Smith says you can do corkscrew swinging as part of your plan but not otherwise. Siobhan, it's your turn.
- S: I'm going to do the teacher's activity and I'm going to make the butterflies.
- Miss S: you're going to make the butterflies; and, who are you going to make that with?
- S: Calley, and Shawna and Michelle.
- Miss S: A gang! You're going to have a girls' gang are you?
- S: And Shannon.
- Miss S: Shannon? Shannon's busy with her plans; maybe you should choose somebody else. How about Cath Cath?
- S: Um, Sarah.
- Miss S: Sarah, okey dokes. Tell me, please, Siobhan, your other plan.
- S: I'm going to do puzzles.
- Miss S: You're going to do puzzles. Which one, Siobhan?
- S: The doggy.
- Miss S: One of the new ones, the dog and the puppies?
- L: That's an easy one; I can easily do that one.
- Miss S: Okey dokes, that's very good, Siobhan.

*(Pranav's planning turn omitted; it appears in Appendix A pages 9 -14 instead)*

**Reviewing: 13.09.96**

- Miss S: Why do you need to review your plans?  
 J: Because then you won't know that you've done.  
 Miss S: That's right, if you don't review your plans you won't know what you've done; why else?  
 L: You'll forget.  
 Miss S: How will you forget, what do you mean?  
 J: You'll forget about your plan if, if/  
 Miss S: It's very rude, Lindelwa, not to listen to the children and to fiddle and poke with all sorts of things because when you are planning and reviewing, you want people to listen to you. So I want James to please tell me about his plans: if they stayed the same or if they changed; if they were successful or unsuccessful.  
 J: I went to do butterflies but Miss Magwaza told me to draw around it so I pressed around it but I painted one around it.  
 Miss S: Oh, did you; and was that the stencilling? Now tell me, was that your original plan?  
 J: Yes.  
 Miss S: Was that James's original plan? (*Some children say, "no"*) James, you came to me in the office and what did you say to me before you went to the activity room?  
 J: Um, I've changed my plan.  
 Miss S: So was it your original plan? Original means, was it the plan that you made first of all?  
 J: No.  
 Miss S: So you changed your original plan and you made the stencilling picture instead.  
 J: Yes.  
 Miss S: Okay, was it a successful plan? ... did you enjoy doing it?  
 J: Yes.  
 Miss S: Well, that sounds as though it was successful. If you enjoy doing it then I think it sounds successful. Tell me about your other plan.  
 J: I went to the sandpit and didn't do double spades and I didn't dig for treasure. I just played with the aeroplanes um and Mitchell and David.  
 Miss S: Whoa, I can't hear you; you're talking to fast! James, listen, you went to the sandpit right?  
 J: Yes um.  
 Miss S: But you didn't dig so that plan changed as well.  
 J: It changed a little bit.  
 Miss S: How little? Tell us.  
 J: I only made two changes.  
 Miss S: Two changes; what were the two changes?  
 J: I didn't do the double spading and I didn't dig for treasure.  
 Miss S: Oh, did you play with the aeroplanes?  
 J: No, I first played with the cars and then when David and Mitchell went away I played with the aeroplanes.  
 Miss S: Okay.

- M: And then we played dogs.  
 Miss S: Dogs; where did you play dogs, Mitch? (*Mitchell, David, James and Bradley begin to shout out contributions*).  
 B: It was they play! It was they play!  
 M: First James was the dad.  
 J: Inside.  
 D: And we were the babies.  
 Miss S: I know that you like to plan, Mitch. Lollipop!  
 Lo: I played in the sandpit, Miss Smith.  
 Miss S: And tell me about playing in the sandpit.  
 Lo: I didn't play lots in the sandpit.  
 Miss S: Just a little bit? Tell me why you played just a little bit and not a long bit?  
 Lo: Because Simo and Shannon didn't want to play there for a long time.  
 Miss S: Oh, okay, I understand, you played there for a short while and what did you do whilst  
 Lo: You were there? (Lolly\*\*\*) did you play with the new cars?  
 Lo: No, just digged.  
 Miss S: Okay, and tell me about your other plan.  
 Lo: I did the elephant puzzle because I like it.  
 Miss S: It's pretty isn't it? Why do you like the elephant puzzle, Lolly, because why?  
 Lo: He looks nice.  
 Miss S: He looks nice; and why does he look nice?  
 C: Because he's got a baby and he's a mommy.  
 Miss S: Well, if he's a mommy then he can't be 'he'; why does she look nice, I should say. Okay, Miss Siobhan, nice loud voice.  
 S: I forgot to do [my]  
 Miss S: [Ooh!] (*The teacher pretends to scream in horror*). You're kidding! What did you forget to do?  
 S: My puzzle.  
 L: Everyone's forgetting today.  
 Miss S: (*Pretends to sob*) I know, oh, I can't bear it! (*The class laugh loudly*).  
 P: I did my plan, Miss Smith.  
 Miss S: Okay, you forgot to do the puzzle but did you do the teacher's activity?  
 S: I did the butterfly ..., two (*holding up two fingers*).  
 Miss S: two of them; well maybe that's why. Maybe, you ran out of time. Kevin,  
 David, Mitchell. Mitchell, are you allowed to do that to your pillow? If you do that to your pillow, I will take it away and then you won't have one and that will sort you out. Right, first and last warning; now put your pillow back in it's case and never touch it again. Sorry Siobhan, tell us about your butterflies.  
 S: I painted inside.  
 Miss S: Oh did you? Oh lovely, and what colours did you stamp with?  
 S: Um, purple and red and black.  
 Miss S: Wow, you were busy. So did you do all different colours all round the edges?  
 S: Yes, and red and yellow and blue. All the colours.  
 Miss S: All the colours. Super, very nice planning, Missy.

### Excerpts of Nonmainstream Planning Time Accounts

**02.08.96**

#### Reviewing

- Miss S: Kevin. Did you build with the blocks, Kevin?  
 K: Yes.  
 Miss S: What did you build with the blocks?  
 K: \*\*\*  
 Miss S: Hmm, did you make the house?  
 K: Yes.  
 Miss S: I didn't see you inside.  
 A: I did.  
 Miss S: Did you see him building a house? Who did he do it with, Al?  
 A: I think with Simo.  
 Miss S: A.nd, and, what kind of a, what blocks did you use, Kev?  
 A: He [was].  
 Miss S: [Sh!] Excuse me! Did you use the wooden blocks or the plastic ones?  
 K: Yes.  
 Miss S: Which ones?  
 K: Wooden.  
 Miss S: So did you build a house, Kevin, and who did you do it with? ... Who did you make the house and use the blocks with? (*Kevin points*) I want you to tell me. Can you tell me, he:y?  
 Miss S: Alright, okay. Next time you must tell me a little more, see Kev?

**15.08.96**

#### Planning

- Miss S: Kevin, jump up and tell us about your planning, my boikes ... stand up. Tell us what you're going to do.  
 K: I'm going to ride the bikes.  
 Miss S: You're going to ride the bikes. Where are the bikes? ... where do you find the bikes?  
 K: Outside. In the garden.  
 Miss S: In the garden. You find them outside in the garden on the cycle track, don't you? Good. And who are you going to ride the bikes with?  
 K: With Lindelwa.  
 Miss S: With Lindelwa. Great. And I see you've got more plans, tell me about those.  
 J: He's got three.  
 Miss S: Yes, he has. Come Kev, tell me what you're doing, please.  
 K: Wood.  
 Miss S: You're doing woodwork, that's the name for that. You're doing woodwork. What are you going to make on the woodwork table?  
 K: An aeroplane.  
 Miss S: An aeroplane? I can't wait to see it! And who are you going to do that with?

- K: With Simo.  
 Miss S: With Simo? Okay, and your last planning.  
 K: I dig with tr..(\*\*\*)  
 Miss S: You're going to dig with the train?  
 K: No, with the truck.  
 Miss S: Oh, with the truck! Sorry, I don't listen very well, do I? That'll be great; and are you going to do that on your own or are you going to do it with some friends?  
 K: With Lindelwa and Simo.  
 Miss S: With Lindelwa and Simo this time? Thanks Kev, that's great.

### 30.08.96

#### Planning

- Miss S: Kevin, tell me your plans, my darling.  
 K: I'm going to do the puzzle.  
 Miss S: You're going to do the puzzle and which puzzle are you going to do? ... do you know which picture? (*Kevin shakes his head*) not yet? You can tell us which one later. Are you going to do one of the new puzzles?  
 K: Yes.  
 Miss S: Who are you going to do one of the puzzles with, Kevin?  
 K: Simo.  
 Miss S: With Simo! Simo's going to have a busy day because he's planning too. And what's your other plan, Kevy, are you going to build with the box construction?  
 K: Yes.  
 Miss S: What are you going to make? ... are you going to glue them together or are you going to make something else? ... tell me please, Kevin, who are you going to do your box construction with?  
 K: I'm going to make a gun.  
 Miss S: You're going to make a gun and who are you going to make the gun with?  
 K: Simo.  
 Miss S: also Simo. Okay, nice planning, Kevin. Give Kevy a big clap (class claps). That was your best planning ever!

#### Reviewing

- Miss S: Okay, Kevin, tell us about your plans.  
 K: I do puzzles.  
 Miss S: Which puzzle did you do, Kev?  
 K: I don't know.  
 Miss S: You don't know! Did you do it or did you forget to do it? Which one did you do? What was the picture? ... do you want to go and fetch it to show to me?  
 K: Yes.  
 Miss S: Go and fetch it then. (*Pause whilst Kevin fetches the puzzle and the teacher goes through other children's reviews. He returns and shows the teacher the puzzle in its box*) well done, Kev.

13.09.96

**Planning**

- Miss S: You've got to be very quiet because it's Kevin's turn to talk. What are you doing Kevin? ...Go and have a look. Go and look ...*(while Kevin leans forward to see his picture on the planning board)*. Okay Kevin.
- K: A puzzle.
- Miss S: No, you're being very rude. Kevin is going to do a puzzle. Shh! uh, uh, uh! Kevy, sorry. Please tell me, you're going to do a puzzle?
- K: Yes, and paint.
- Miss S: And paint. Now tell me, which puzzle are you going to do?...Do you know which puzzle you're going to do?...*(while Kevin shakes his head)*. Not yet. Now who are you going to build puzzles with?
- J: Me, Kevin.
- K: With James.
- Miss S: With James? Okay. And Kevin, how are you going to do the puzzle? Are you going to look at the picture or the colours or the shapes? Which?
- K: Pictures.
- Miss S: Are you going to look at the pictures? *(Kevin nods)* And you are going to paint, Kev? What are you going to paint?
- K: A rainbow *(very quietly)*.
- Miss S: A what?
- K: A rainbow.
- Miss S: You are going to paint a rainbow. Wonderful! And is it ... tell me about your rainbow, how's it going to look?
- K: Colours.
- Miss S: Colours. Kev, that's wonderful planning, darling. Put your pegs on, uh, your reminder pegs. Go put your pegs on. Where are they? *(Kevin looks under his jersey in case he pegged them on his T-shirt and the class giggle. He joins in)*. Well done Kevy.

**F**

**APPENDIX F:**

**PLANNING TIME TEACHER RESOURCE MATERIAL**



