Exploring Habitus and Writer Identities:

An ethnographic study of writer identity construction in the FET Phase at two schools in the Western Cape

By

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A Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Award of Doctor of Philosophy in Language and Literacy in the Faculty of Education at the University of the Western Cape, South Africa.

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Stockholm University

November, 2015

KEYWORDS

Ethnography

Bourdieu,

Field

Habitus

Cultural Capital

Systemic Functional Linguistics

Writer identity

L2 writing

Academic literacy

Language teaching and learning

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to investigate the writing identities constructed in the Further Education and Training (FET) Phase and the ways in which these identities either strengthen or impede academic writing at university. Success at university is predominantly dependent on students' ability to express their ideas through writing academic essays or assignments in most faculties. However, studies over the past decade highlight the inability of many South African learners, especially those for whom English is not a home language, to succeed at universities. The poor performance of such students is often linked to the lack of adequate preparation in the FET Phase, which is grades 10 to 12, the grades prior to entering first year undergraduate programmes. The significance of this study is that it sheds light on the discourse features of policy, texts, pedagogy and assessment in the FET Phase and the consequences of these for the construction of writers' identities. Further, it foregrounds the ways that policy positions teachers, learners and learning despite diversity in school cultures, identities and histories, and more importantly the ways that unique local pedagogical contexts construct writer identities as a bridge towards engagement in academic essays and the discourses valued at higher institutions. The intention was thus twofold: on the one hand to understand the writer identities constructed in the FET phase and secondly to shed light on the ways that these identities intersect with academic writing, in an attempt to inform first year writing programmes at universities.

This was an ethnographic study that included participant observation, interviews with teachers and document analysis of national curriculum policies, grade 12 English Additional language external question papers and first year student texts. The participants were two grade 10 English classes from two schools with different profiles in terms of learner background, linguistic repertoire, and socio-economic circumstances. The rationale for focusing on grade 10 is that it is the first initiation point into the FET Phase and as such an important site to investigate the ways in which writing identities are activated. I thus 'shadowed' these learners for two years, up to the end of grade 11. Finally, I analysed first year student texts produced by learners from these two schools in their first year of study at a Cape Town university.

In order to engage with my data, I first drew on Bourdieu's concepts of field, habitus and capital, to illuminate the ways in which national policies constructed theories and pedagogies of

language teaching and learning, and positioned teachers, as well as the consequences of these policies and positionings for constructing sound writer identities. I then focused on the different organizing practices at the two schools, in order to foreground positionings enacted in local contexts. As a result, the study sheds light on the ways that writer identities were activated at two secondary schools in Cape Town, both of which served a previously disadvantaged population but with one classified as poorly resourced while the other enjoyed the status of a well-resourced school. My study centred on the visible and invisible curricula, the differing kinds of cultural capital they produce and the conversion of this capital into other forms of cultural and symbolic capital (such as access to university) which may eventually be converted to economic capital in the form of access to well-paid kinds of employment. Secondly, I drew on Systemic Functional Linguistics, with its conception of language as socially produced and politically situated and its development by the 'Sydney school' into genre-based pedagogy, as an analytical lens to unpack the language learning and teaching theories underpinning policy documents. This lens was also useful for evaluating the extent to which curriculum, pedagogy and assessment tools inducted learners into the key 'genres of schooling' (such as information report, explanation, and argument) that are necessary for success across the curriculum at school and university. Most importantly, it allowed for a rigorous linguistic analysis of first year student scripts and the extent to which writers managed the three metafunctions, ideational, interpersonal and textual. These metafunctions are the basis for coherent, well-structured, genre-appropriate writing.

The study found that mismatches between policy framing and the way that writing was taught and assessed in the FET Phase resulted in massive gaps between the writer identities constructed in the FET Phase and the first year writer identities valued at universities. Findings help to pinpoint some of the reasons why particular learners manage to make the transition into tertiary study and why a large number of learners studying through English as an additional language either fail to gain access into university or fail during their first year of study. Finally, findings pointed out the effects of postdemocracy curriculum shifts and national examinations on classroom discourse and pedagogy, especially in relation to constructing enabling writer identities, and more importantly on the ability of learners making the transition into university to produce academically valued texts in their first year of study.

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university and that all the sources that I used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Michelle Van Heerden

November, 2015

Signed:

DEDICATION

To

My mother and father, my first teachers, who instilled in me the curiosity always to know and to learn despite the obstacles and challenges during the apartheid years when I grew up. Thanks Mom and Dad for the guidance, values and upbringing that moulded my habitus into what I have become, I am eternally grateful and humbled by what you achieved given your own histories and life's journeys.

Finally, I dedicate my thesis to Shanielle, Jayden and Jarred, my children that I was blessed with on my life's journey. You brought life, love and laughter throughout the write-up of my dissertation. I hope that my achievement will be a beacon of hope and light as you begin to travel life's journey. May this inspire and motivate you to become more than you ever thought you could be…

Love always
Michelle

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ACRONYMS

CAPS	Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statements
CLT	Communicative Language Teaching
C2005	Curriculum 2005
DBE	Department of Basic Education
EAL	English Additional Language
EAP	English for Academic Purposes
FAL	First Additional Language
FET	Further Education and Training
HL	Home Language
L1	First language
L2	Second language
LIEP	Language in Education Policy
NCS	National Curriculum Statement
NLS	New Literacy Studies
OBE	Outcome-based Education
RNCS	Revised National Curriculum Statement
SFL	Systemic Functional Linguistics
SGB	School Governing Body
WCED	Western Cape Education Department

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PROLOGUE: Postapartheid challenges in education

While there are numerous factors that can affect access, redress and throughput in education, this study focuses on writing because it is the predominant mode of assessment in tertiary contexts. Success at university is, in most faculties, largely dependent on students' ability to express their ideas through writing academic essays or assignments. However, studies over the past decade highlight the inability of many South African learners, especially those for whom English is not a home language, to succeed at universities. The poor performance of such students is often linked to the lack of adequate preparation in the Further Education and Training (FET) Phase, which is grades 10 to 12, the grades prior to entering first year undergraduate programmes. This study focuses in particular on the writing curriculum as practised at two schools with different profiles in terms of learner background, linguistic repertoire, and socio-economic circumstances, and traces the effects of this curriculum on the development of successful writer identities for first year students at university. Although the transition between school and university is crucially important for South African learners, it receives minimal attention in research on schools. Current research on secondary schooling tends to focus on the impact of socio-economic factors and related issues such as gender, violence, drug abuse, and teenage pregnancy on underperformance (for example, Bayat, Louw & Rena, 2014; Morrell, Epstein & Moletsane, 2014). At the end of the school-university transition, research on academic literacies has drawn attention to issues such as underprepared university students, academic support, language proficiency and the demands of disciplinary writing (Thesen & van Pletzen, 2006). However, while these issues are crucial for the academic development of students, they are rarely understood from the other side, that is, how secondary school curricula, pedagogy and assessment practices and their associated discourses construct the writer identities that first year students bring to the academy. Understanding the nature of these writer identities would seem to be crucial in developing strategies for support. In this regard, it is significant that on the one hand this research was conducted in the FET Phase, and on the other hand I analysed first year student texts written by students from the two schools where I had conducted fieldwork.

The goal of this study is thus to illuminate the writer identities constructed in the FET Phase, that is, grades 10 to 12, in relation to the official curriculum and national question papers for English Additional Language, as well as the curriculum as actually practised in two different

schools. In doing so, it also seeks to shed light on the intricate links between policy shifts (NCS, 2003; CAPS, 2011) and the nature of the National Senior Certificate examination for language, its underpinning theory as encapsulated in policy, examiners' theoretical knowledge as evidenced in the question papers, and the ways that national assessments inform pedagogy and classroom discourses. It considers the implications of these elements for strengthening or impeding writer identities in the FET Phase: understanding these intersections enables insights into the mismatches between these writer identities and those required for success at university, and points the way to the kinds of changes necessary in national policy and local practice for preparing learners more successfully for university study.

Research on writing at schools (in the foundation, intermediate and senior phases) has tended to foreground pedagogy for learning through an additional language and/or local contextual issues (such as exposure to print media or the availability of libraries (De Groot & Branch, 2009; Hell, 2005) rather than making detailed analyses of learner writing or long-term developmental studies of writers. Studies of the latter kind would seem to be crucial, given the large number of learners studying though a language or language variety that is not spoken at home and the increased difficulty for such writers of accessing disciplinary knowledge in secondary school and writing appropriate discipline-specific genres. Accordingly, this study is a two and a half year ethnography that focuses on the FET Phase (grades 10-12) and is particularly interested in shedding light on the writer mould that is constructed during these final critical years of schooling. Moreover, it provides detailed linguistic analyses of national assessment papers to show the extent that policy shifts, assessments and pedagogy impact on the kind of writing produced and the writer identities constructed. It also analyses first year student texts produced by learners from the two schools where data was collected. Here the purpose is to highlight the ways that these learners' school and classroom biographies impact on their writing practices at university.

A key feature of the study is that data were collected in two diverse contexts. While these two schools both serve a previously disadvantaged population, one is classified as poorly resourced while the other enjoys the status of a well-resourced school. The counter-positioning of these two schools enables an understanding of the ways in which unique local pedagogical contexts construct writer identities as a bridge towards understanding first year students' academic writing. Also, the norm in current research is to dichotomize the writing

ability of Home Language and Additional language learners, whereas this study also attempts to illuminate the commonalities and to explore the divergent writer identities rather from the perspective of the local contextual situations in which learners and teachers find themselves entangled.

Fieldwork was conducted from July 2010 until mid-June 2013. The participants were two teachers and two grade 10 English classes from two schools with different profiles in terms of learner background, linguistic repertoire, and socio-economic circumstances. These two schools are feeder schools for a previously disadvantaged university in Cape Town that uses English as medium of instruction. A second group of participants were five ex-students from each school who registered in the Faculty of Education at the university in 2011. Even though this University serves multilingual students, it makes no distinction between home language and additional language learners. Highlighting commonalities and differences in writer identities constructed in the FET Phase by first and second or additional language writers can therefore offer useful insights for both secondary schooling and university contexts.

The university was established in 1960 as an apartheid institution to serve 'coloured' students, a highly contested racial grouping used by the apartheid state to refer to people of mixed heritage, including the descendants of slaves from Indonesia or Malaysia as well as those of Khoe-San descent. It later began to admit those referred to as Black African, speakers of indigenous languages such as isiXhosa and SeSotho (Stroud & Kerfoot, 2013). The university began as a bilingual English/Afrikaans 'coloured' institution but since the 1990s the medium of instruction has shifted from Afrikaans to predominantly English, bringing new challenges for students who possess different linguistic resources (Liebowitz, 2005). Thus there is a unique mix of languages and dialects in this institution. After democracy, the University's vision statement included phrases such as "engaged university" and "from hope to action through knowledge" along with a commitment to serve the most underprivileged and marginalized students; yet the role of language or, more specifically, of the diverse linguistic repertoires of students, is under-explored (Stroud & Kerfoot, 2013). It is hoped that this study can inform academic development programmes in responding to the particular needs of a student population with diverse linguistic repertoires.

This study's interest in practice as it lived or understood acknowledges the crucial interaction between the researcher and participants as interpretively co-constructed and situated in real

contexts. Therefore, an awareness of the researcher's contribution to the co-construction of meanings is important and for this reason I included the notion of *reflexivity* as "an acknowledgment of the impossibility of remaining "outside of one's subject matter while conducting research" (Willig, 2005, p.10). Thus, reflexivity urges us to be aware of how we are telling the stories of others - to reflect on our own involvement, our actions and how this influences research process and product. So, acknowledging my role in relation to the study was important because my own identity and history impacted on the study in unforeseen and profound ways (see introductory sections of Act Two, Scenes One and Two and Act Three, section 3.2.1). Therefore, through the notion of reflexivity I hoped in part to open up explorations of how my *habitus* as a learner and teacher intersected in different ways with the different research sites and my attempts to find my way in them. Consequently, I tried to find a narrative device that would enable me to map my experience developmentally and to unpack the sometimes messy tensions and frictions that can arise during the research process. Such a narrative sense-making device would allow me to foreground the ways in which my understanding of the research process altered through an analysis of the repeated acts of identity in which I and my participants engaged both on and off the research 'stage'.

As I wrote this dissertation, I was at once director, producer and narrator with the power to decide who will say what and which evidence or props would ultimately be selected to support my argument. In my mind's eye, the research process resembled a performance: schools were my stage, teachers and learners my characters, and when I began writing I was tempted to shout '*Lights*, *camera* and *action!*' For this reason, Goffman's (1959) sociological concept of *dramaturgy* became a crucial component during the conceptualisation and write-up of my study. It enabled me to view the research process as a staged performance, where we were all actors, performing acts of identities. I became aware in particular of the varying roles that I performed when I was front stage, in the field, and how these roles changed when I was backstage, leaving the field.

Moreover, conducting fieldwork in two spaces which reflected diverse histories, cultures, norms and practices, called for constant management of identities and impressions. My situation as participant observer required frequent role shifts, resulting in the need for impression management at various stages of the research process (Goffman, 1959; Flowerdew, 2008). My management of identities during the research process was situated and audience-dependent. For example, during the write-up of my dissertation I knew the

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importance of managing an identity aligned to disciplinary values, norms and expectations; I wanted my audience to view my identity acts as appropriately aligned to the discourse community. To try and capture these processes of staged performance and impression management at different stages of the research process, this dissertation is divided into acts and scenes, drawing on a theatre story metaphor and paying attention to reflexivity (Davies, 2008; Etherington, 2006).

The theatre-story metaphor is thus partly an attempt to find a vehicle for reflexively responding to the impact of the research process on the self and the impact of the self on others; however, and more importantly, it is also a means to help my intended audience understand and share in my field experiences - an aspect often ignored in dissertation write-ups (Wolcott, 2010).

Act One opens with a discussion of the significance of the study, followed by a 'backdrop' account of the theoretical and methodological frames underpinning the study.
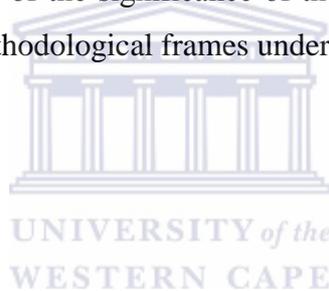
ACT ONE: Setting, cast and plot

Overview

This Act introduces the study; it consists of one scene that foregrounds post-apartheid issues in education in general and specifically in university contexts. First, Scene One provides the angle from which to interpret the theatre-story: it sets out the background of university contexts; it develops a rationale that foregrounds divergent school- and university-based discourses; it motivates for the notion of identity, especially school writer identities; and it situates the limitations of the study. Finally, it also briefly introduces Bourdieu and his key concepts of *field*, *habitus* and *capital* as well as the Systemic Functional Linguistic (SFL) concepts of *field*, *tenor* and *mode.* These concepts will be reviewed in more depth in Act Two, Scenes One and Two.

1.1 SCENE ONE: The Angle

One can say that after 1994, the situation in South Africa reverberated strongly with endings and beginnings. It was the demise of apartheid and the beginning of democracy; a time of expectation and optimism for many previously marginalized citizens. With the end of apartheid the African National Congress (ANC) government aligned itself to principles of transformation, democracy and redress. This resulted in the adoption of a new Constitution (1996) to protect human rights and promote democracy. In the sphere of education this new alignment resulted in the formation of one education department out of the 19 racially divided education departments, in order to end racial segregation in schools and broaden access. It also saw the adoption of a new Language in Education Policy (LIEP, 1997) which acknowledged the importance of mother tongue education, and the Schools Act (1996), which devolved educational power to school communities and parents. Combined, these policies reflect political discourses associated with social redress, equality and transformation. However, the master narrative of educational reform after democracy became increasingly driven by the dictates of the World Bank neo-liberal framework that led to the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) Policy. GEAR as a macro-economic policy in 1996 had a stricter focus on economic growth and thus this young democracy was challenged by the continuity of inequality and poverty, including a widening gap between the rich and the poor (Kraak & Young, 2001; Kallaway, 2004; Chisholm, 2004).

Moreover, the transition from apartheid to democracy had a severe impact on all sectors of education, that is, primary, secondary and tertiary education, as practitioners had to deal with rapidly changing policies, each requiring massive changes and/or paradigm shifts (see Jansen, 1990; Hess, 2002 and 1997; Fiske & Ladd, 2004; Chisholm, 2004). These shifts had several unintended consequences, including a decline in literacy and numeracy standards in primary and secondary schools, despite significant investment[1] and strenuous attempts to reduce the percentage of under-qualified educators and to improve infrastructure. In international benchmark assessments of educational achievement over the past decade, South African learners had the poorest performance of all middle-income countries participating, significantly worse than many low-income African countries (Department of Basic Education, 2011; Spaull, 2013; Soudien, 2007; NEEDU, 2012; Van der Berg, 2008). This downward spiral in educational achievements is bound to have an impact on higher education contexts: statistics show that of 100 learners that start school, only 50 will make it to grade 12, 40 will pass, and only 12 will qualify for university (Spaull 2013). Further for the most disadvantaged group entering university – black students aged 20-24 – the success rate is under 5% (Scott, 2009).

At the same time, higher education has been under pressure to increase intake and to reorganize institutional goals, values and curricula to ensure inclusivity and to provide epistemological access irrespective of race. Hence, South African higher education access and entry patterns mirror the global trajectory, with increasing numbers of non-traditional students entering universities being labelled as underprepared for the demands of academic work (Kapp, 2002; Bangeni & Kapp, 2006; Paxton, 2006). However, South Africa illuminates to a greater extent than many other contexts the effects of unequal socio-economic and educational backgrounds along with language barriers as major contributors to the astonishingly large gap between the success rate of middle class learners on the one hand and working class learners on the other. More importantly, students' socio-economic background and poor secondary schooling are generally blamed for drop-out or academic throughput rates, but the enabling of writing identities constructed in the FET Phase needs in-depth attention, especially for additional language learners of English, as specific issues here also contribute towards low retention rates (Clark, 2006; Thesen, 1997; Gough, 2000; Angelil-Carter, 2000).

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[1] 20% of government spending for 2014-2015 (South African Government News Agency, 2014)

A further significant factor is that English is the medium of instruction in 9 out of 16 South African universities (Webb, 2005) yet English is an additional language for the majority of students. To provide academic support, institutions have developed a range of programmes to address the unequal success rate between black and white student populations (see Starfield, 1994; Thesen & van Pletzen, 2006; Boughey, 2010, van Schalk Wyk, 2008). Most programmes have focused on the development of academic literacy modules to make the practices involved in academic writing explicit and to ensure that students are inducted into the new culture of academia (Boughey, 2010). However, despite attempts to shift prevalent discourses from 'deficit' to 'difference', many lecturers and curriculum developers still view students as lacking the requisite linguistic and literacy competences for success (Lillis & Scott, 2007; Boughey, 2010).

The effects of this negative appraisal on multilingual individuals who move into new education fields where their linguistic repertoires are evaluated on a new linguistic market can be that they become "inarticulate and language-less" (Blommaert, 2007, p. 2). Accordingly, students coming from high schools to university without sufficient levels of the requisite linguistic competence can find themselves positioned uncomfortably in a stratified system. The need to acquire an academic register and to be able to deploy it in written assignments as a formal display of knowledge places an additional burden on such students, especially as their previous experience of writing for assessment usually involves mainly narrative texts rather than the analytical arguments or explanations valued at university.

The two main foci of investigation for this study are thus the ways in which different configurations of school discourses, learning materials and pedagogical practices construct certain kinds of school writing identities, and the implications of these school-constructed identities for academic writing at higher education institutions. Moreover, in its focus on the first year of university studies as the place of intersection between the end of secondary schooling and the start of higher education, this study will highlight the ways in which school literacy discourses and practices either converge with or diverge from those in higher education, and the consequences of this for the construction of writer identities. Therefore, it will feed into debates on the unequal success rate among students from different social, cultural and linguistic backgrounds and the questions this raises about the nature of the Further Education and Training (FET) Phase (grades 10-12) and the quality of the grade 12

exit examination: that is, whether those learners who exit the school system are prepared for the demands of higher education.

1.1.1 The underlying script: writing and identity at schools

Poststructural understandings see identity as emergent in discourse and therefore bound up with ideologies and power relations, especially in multilingual contexts (Goffman, 1959; Giddens, 1991; Norton; 1997, 2013; Ivanič, 1998; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). Identity is therefore conceived of as complex, multiple, and context-specific. School as a site of socialization plays a major role in identity construction. Although school literacy practices can develop or shape identities in numerous ways, it appears as if in many state schools in South Africa the writer identities constructed are often not those expected and valued in academic contexts. For this reason, the notion of *identities in flux* applies to academic writing development: first year students are in transition and can experience the new learning site as fluctuating between what was familiar and the new and complex demands of the culture of writing that they are entering. Writing at schools entails habitual social acts of teaching and assessing writing that mould situated writer identities. In general in South Africa schools focus more on writing as a set of competencies to be mastered and less on the "…underlying conditions that make performance possible…" (Pennycook, 2007, p. 66) or impede it, such as structural inequalities and material conditions. As a result, learners at schools are perceived to be successful when they demonstrate writing proficiencies in which certain values and norms are embedded and imposed via policies and classroom practices.

However, the specific practices that learners engage in are not similar for everyone across the education spectrum, given the substantial differences reflected in school contexts, socio-economic status and other cultural features such as well-equipped school libraries, compulsory society affiliations and school debating and drama clubs. These differences in practice can impact on learner possibilities for success. In relation to writing they can lead to the recognition of writer identities as poor, mediocre or excellent. School practices are thus powerful conduits of identity formation. The intention in this study is to explore the ways in which situated school writer identities are constructed in two different contexts in order to lay the basis for understanding how school-valued discourses and practices are differentially valued on the academic market of one higher institution.

1.1.2 Ways of doing at universities: challenges for first year students

Globalization processes have resulted in increasingly pluralistic societies, a phenomenon with ripple effects in contexts such as universities, which now provide access to heterogeneous student populations with diverse rituals, beliefs, cultures and languages. For this reason, deficit discourses that frame students as underprepared for the demands of tertiary studies are a global phenomenon (Boughey, 2003; Lillis, 2003; Lea & Street, 1998). Furthermore, the different identities, histories and dispositions (Bourdieu, 1990) of students result in hybrid linguistic repertoires, with some repertoires being more powerful than others (Blommaert, 2001; Blommaert, Collins & Slembrouck, 2005; Rampton, 2003). Therefore, having access to the preferred linguistic repertoire - in this case standard English - is an asset, because this repertoire is more closely aligned than others to tertiary education practices and discourses and therefore allows for smoother transition from school. Conversely, entering the scholarly community can be daunting for many first year students whose identities are not always aligned to institutional values, practices and discourses. Without the appropriate institutional know-how, first year students can easily be indexed as under-achieving or incompetent.

Internationally, the diversity of student populations entering universities has resulted in a growing interest in the ways that institutions respond to cultural and language mismatches when they accept non-traditional students (Ivanič, 1998; Lea & Street, 1998; Lillis, 2001). The literature highlights three main shifts in institutional discourses related to language and cultural mismatches, explored in more depth in the literature review section (Ivanič, 1998; Lea & Street, 1998; Lillis, 2001). The first was a skills-based 'deficit' model which aimed to make good the perceived lacks in students' linguistic proficiency. However the notion of student identity was ignored in this skills-based approach and thus critics argued for a different approach, namely academic socialization, in which students should rather be sensitively socialized into the academic culture and assisted in adjusting to learning in these contexts. Critics of both these two approaches in turn stressed that the heterogeneity of students' identities was still largely ignored in favour of the homogeneous institutional values. To accommodate student identities, a third approach, Academic Literacies, pointed to students' role in co-constructing knowledge and meaning and thus viewed student identities as a resource rather than a liability. Consequently, who our students are, where they come from and what meaning-making resources they bring into the academy are important: that is, student identity matters.

At most universities students are assessed largely through written assignments and tests. Writing is thus powerful: those students whose writing practices match the institutional discourses are more likely to successfully navigate the rite of passage into university study. Consequently, writing also constructs identity as individuals have to negotiate representations of selves in texts:

> All writing contains "voice" in the Bakhtinian sense of reaccentuating "voice-types", which locate their users culturally and historically. Writers may through the linguistic and other resources they choose to draw upon in their writing, ventriloquate an environmentally aware voice, a progressive educator voice, a sexist voice, a positivist voice, a self-assured voice, a deferential voice, a committed to plain English voice, or a combination of an infinite number of such voices (Camps & Ivanič, 2001, p. 3).

If all writing contains voice, then first year students need to find a voice that sounds academic and therefore requires shifts from everyday discourses to projecting an objective stance in which they draw on the voices of others while maintaining their own voice. Thus additional language learners of English without this set of resources may be perceived as incompetent, lacking a voice and sounding incoherent. An understanding of voice in writing can be useful in identifying the resources that students bring to the act of writing and why they write or project themselves in the manner that they do. Texts reveal writer identities. This notion of writer identity first emerged in literary studies, for example, as a concept in the expressionist notion of individual voice (Elbow, 1994) and in the notion of *persona* in the constructivist paradigm (Bizzel, 1992). However, critical perspectives on the notion of identity in writing, especially in post-colonial research and post-structural language approaches, recognize the possibilities of alternative or multiple voices in texts (see Hyland, 2002; Ivanič, 1998, 2001; Lillis, 2001) and enable a more fine-tuned analysis of the development of writer identity.

1.1.3   Identity matters

South African research on first year student experiences has drawn attention to the complex relationship between linguistic repertoires, academic discourses and students' educational and socio-economic backgrounds (Boughey, 2003, 2010). Yet there is little exploration of the kinds of writer identities first year students possess when entering the university. Since the core purpose of the FET Phase is "to provide access to higher education; to facilitate the transition from education to the workplace and to providing employers with a sufficient profile of a learner's competences. (CAPS, 2011, p. 4), research into this phase is needed.

Moreover, a corresponding gap in the research literature is the development of writing, especially second language (L2) writing, in the final three years of secondary schooling.

This thesis is thus positioned squarely in the gap between secondary schooling and first year university. Accordingly, I pose the following main research question:

In what ways do writer identities constructed in the FET Phase strengthen or impede academic writing at university?

Sub-questions are:
- What field effects and institutional factors structure the teaching of writing in the FET Phase? What are teachers' pedagogical moulds in relation to writing?
- What writing practices and genres are encouraged through assessment in the FET Phase?
- How do these practices and genres assist or impede learners' writing in the first year of study in the Faculty of Education?
- What are the implications of the above for constructing sound and enabling writer identities at FET and first year level?

1.1.4   Reviewing the literature and the company that I keep

In order to tease out the different factors at play in this postcolonial educational field, I draw on Bourdieu's notions of *field*, *habitus* and *cultural capital* (Bourdieu, 1994; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990) to explore the cultural capital that particular writer identities produce and the potentials for conversion of this capital into other forms of capital, such as access to universities and well-paid forms of employment. (See the detailed discussion of Bourdieu and SFL in Act Two, Scenes One and Two.) Even though my interest is in cultural capital in relation to the English writing practices acquired, my thesis will inevitably touch on the ways that socio-economic conditions, school contexts and proficiency in the 'legitimate language' impact on learners' access to economic capital and how this contributes towards maintaining inequalities in South African contexts. Part of this focus involves an analysis of the ways in which other forms of social and economic capital add weight to apparently similar forms of cultural capital and endow certain writers with greater symbolic capital in the education field.

In analysing policy documents, curriculum and assessment concepts, and student texts, I draw on an analytical framework informed by Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) (Halliday, 1985). This framework enables an understanding of theoretical underpinnings in the curriculum and assessment activities, sheds light on the text types used, their social purpose and associated language features, and provides a means of capturing the development of writer identities in students' texts by analysing the workings of Halliday's three meta-functions − ideational, interpersonal and textual – in the texts. These metafunctions are considered the basis for coherent, well-structured, genre-appropriate writing.

The combination of Bourdieu's concepts and Systemic Functional Linguistic (SFL) provided a richer understanding of the construction of writer identities in the FET phase since both are concerned with opening up ideologies in social contexts and also with the significance of language in constructing power and identities in texts or pedagogical practices. Additionally, these concepts enabled an understanding of how national policies played out in two different local schools and classrooms. As a result, my thesis explores both the visible and the invisible curriculum, and specifically the power the invisible curriculum (structured by the jostling for control of the field) holds for the construction of writer identities and its implications for academic success at universities. Findings shed light on why certain learners manage to make the transition into tertiary study while a large number of learners studying through English as an additional language either fail to gain access into university or fail during their first year of study. A further significance of this study is that it offers suggestions for immediately useful ways to improve academic writing at the FET phase and at tertiary levels, which may nurture positive identities. It also offers theoretically grounded, linguistically appropriate approaches to writing development in a predominantly multilingual context. I now offer brief definitions of each of Bourdieu's key concepts.

In order to explain interactions and phenomena in the social world, Bourdieu developed a set of interlocking concepts - that is, *field, habitus* and *capital* - which act together in structuring everyday practices (Grenfell & James, 1998; Reay, 2005; Grenfell, 2007). Field, for Bourdieu, is the "objective structuring structure that organizes the practices and perceptions of practice" (Grenfell, 2007, p. 55). Firstly, field is a social space that provides a framework to observe the history, routine practices and its underlying forces within a particular context. Field is the space where the struggle for capital takes place, where capital is exchanged and where there is some sort of competition governed by a set of rules. All the game-players are interested in

improving their place, their position and their chances of success (Grenfell, 2007). In the case of education, for example, the field contains a history, recognizable by the daily routine practices governed by official policies that confer what it means to be competent and proficient. The schools, teachers and learners are the game-players striving to improve their position and status so that they can access different forms of capital such as social prestige and awards associated with access to universities, social networks in the world of work and ultimately upward social mobility in the form of economic capital.

To explain subjectivity in the field Bourdieu developed a second important concept: *habitus,* defined as "the strategy-generating principle enabling agents to cope with unforeseen and ever-changing situations" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 72). Thus the habitus ensures a dialectical link between past and present, that is, the past is always visible in the present as an individual system of acquired dispositions that impacts on practices (Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Maton, 2005). Because habitus defines and generates practices, it makes routine activity possible but enables one to deal with unexpected and new situations. Here, Bourdieu's concept of habitus can shed light on teachers' and learners' unconscious dispositions towards writing as well as teachers' engagement with frequent curriculum adjustments stemming from policy development since 1994.

For Bourdieu, individuals compete in the field but each one enters with differing forms of *capital*; capital is visible in three major forms:

> …as economic capital, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the forms of property rights; as cultural capital, which is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the forms of educational qualifications; and as social capital, made up of social obligations ('connections'), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the forms of a title of nobility. (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 84)

Because cultural capital is "the inheritance of cultural wealth…accumulated and bequeathed by previous generations [and]only really belongs to those endowed with the means of appropriating it" (Bourdieu 1977, 488), those that demonstrate the required norms, practices, knowledge and skills at schools will have access to higher levels of cultural capital. For example, in the field of education and more widely in political and economic fields in South Africa the ability to speak, read and write in English is currently an important form of cultural capital. Bourdieu illustrates this by drawing on the communication practices of

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people from different social classes and highlighting the fact that people from more affluent backgrounds communicate with relative ease when they are in official and formal contexts while the less fortunate have to make a more concerted effort to adapt their linguistic expressions to the demands of formal markets. For this reason, Bourdieu (1977) critiques formal and structural linguistic notions of competence and performance and places language in its socio-political contexts, arguing that everyday linguistic exchanges are actually situated relations between participants with different combinations of resources and skills (Thompson, 1991; Grenfell & James, 1998; Reay, 2005; Grenfell, 2007). Bourdieu (1977) refers to these linguistic exchanges as exchanges of capital in a linguistic market. In the field of education, schools function as a formal linguistic market where a particular standard of language carries high value and power: thus, pedagogical practices and discourses draw on it to transmit academic knowledge and those learners who master this will be able to access forms of knowledge that can lead towards social mobility and increased stores of economic, cultural, social and symbolic capitals. As a result, many parents in South Africa choose English as medium of instruction to ensure their children can convert this capital to social, economic and symbolic capital once they leave school and enter other fields.

Finally, although Bourdieu's concepts allowed for a deeper understanding of the constraints acting on identity construction in practices, they are sociological rather than linguistic and therefore cannot adequately be utilized to analyse the linguistic processes of emergent writer identities that are manifested in texts. For this purpose, I draw on Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) as a complementary analytical lens.

1.1.5 Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL)

Poststructural thinking emerged as a result of disagreement with the structuralist thinking embodied in the "Chomskian view of language as biologically innate rather than a social phenomenon" (Pavlenko, 2002, p. 77; Grenfell & James, 1998; Bourdieu, 1991). Therefore, exploring the classroom from a poststructural perspective supports Bourdieu's critique of formal and structural linguistic notions of competence and performance, viewing second language acquisition as symbolic capital and a site of identity construction (Pavlenko, 2002). Similarly, Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) advocates the centrality of social factors in language learning and the power of language to construct, reproduce or transform social roles.

SFL emerged in Australia rooted in the theoretical work of Halliday (Halliday, 1985; Halliday & Hasan, 1989; Johns, 2004). Halliday's (1985) goal was to develop a linguistic theory that could give an account of the ways in which English functions as social practice; the focus is on the systemic function of language from which choices are made to convey meaning within a specific context and with a specific purpose and in this way, to construct particular social roles. (See further Act Two, Scene One, section 2.1.2 and Scene Two, sections 2.2 & 2.2.1.) This theoretical paradigm therefore explores the relationship between language and its social functions and is ideally suited to analysing lines of development in student texts which in turn enable an understanding of how new students grapple with academic voice. It also enables a rigorous analysis of theoretical strengths, weaknesses and gaps in language policy and curriculum documents.

1.1.6   Method: An ethnographic framing for textual analysis

In order to provide a broader frame for the analysis of policy documents and student texts, the study draws on the ethnographic tradition, which permits scholars to situate small issues in relation to bigger ones (Blommaert & Dong, 2010; Heath & Street, 2008; Blackledge & Creese, 2009). Ethnography focuses on all the parts of the whole, the broader range of macro issues as well as the historical issues that impact on the local and contextual factors of the phenomenon under scrutiny (Blommaert & Dong, 2010). This is an empirical study in an educational field situated in a context of continuous curriculum shifts since 1994. Ethnography thus provides a means of exploring the ways that policy shifts impact on practices in local contexts. Furthermore, because ethnography is uniquely context-situated in terms of time, place and participants, focusing on two schools with different linguistic, historical and cultural profiles allows for a deeper understanding of the ways that policy implementation can be influenced by historical, cultural and local, contextual factors. Moreover, ethnography is aimed at demonstrating complexities (Blommaert & Dong, 2010); the two situated school contexts yield interesting comparative data on the complexities of the construction of writer identity in the FET Phase.

In order to identify appropriate schools for this study, I first looked at student records at a university in the Western Cape then I selected two feeder schools with different histories, linguistic and socio-economic profiles. I observed classes in the English Department at both schools and worked with all the teachers (eight at school A and four at school B) in grades 10 and 11. However, I focused in-depth on the English language classrooms of two teachers

teaching grade 10: one classroom was for English home language speakers and the other for speakers of English as additional or second language. I followed these teachers and learners into grade 11 and was thus immersed in the field for two and a half years. While in the schools I acted as participant observer, helping with teaching and marking of scripts. During this time, I also worked with twelve students who had graduated from these two schools and were in their first year of study in the Faculty of Education at the university. These first year students had been taught by two of the teachers from each school. For this reason, I could get an outsider/insider reflection on the school. Long-term immersion in both school and university contexts gave me an in-depth understanding of writing practices and discourses in both contexts but more importantly the identity-related implications of these practices and discourses for students making the transition from the FET Phase to tertiary institutions.

At the same time as I was conducting fieldwork, I began to analyse the NCS (2003) and CAPS (2011) documents so as to shed light on the theoretical underpinnings and ways that these converge or diverge in these two documents. I first analysed the policy discourse and the encapsulated language theories to understand the cultural capital teachers needed to possess in order to teach writing effectively in the FET Phase. Secondly, I drew on these documents in order to understand the recommended teacher pedagogy and classroom practices and thus shed light on how the relevant policy was interpreted and practised in these two school contexts. Thirdly, I analysed the grade 12 (2012) question papers for the English Additional Language subject area. My intention was to explore examiners' understanding of the underpinning theory as evidenced in questions, tasks and texts required at the end of secondary schooling. I was interested in shedding light on how these two factors - national policy and assessment- impact on pedagogy and classroom discourse in the FET Phase. Finally, I analysed 10 first year student texts from these two schools in an attempt to explain the kinds of writer identities that emerged. Because my data includes document analysis, participant observation of lessons and also informal chats or unstructured interviews that are documented as fieldnotes, this study is fundamentally concerned with practice as it is understood, lived or felt in each context.

1.1.7   Limitations: Demarcating the location

My interest is the development of writer identities and therefore this study focused predominantly on the writing curriculum as practised and the implications of the writing practices observed and documented, as well as the ways that the underpinning values, beliefs

and principles of the curriculum policies impacted on the writer identities constructed in the FET phase and carried over into the first year of university study. I did not however, look in detail at reading or reading comprehension as these were beyond the scope of my study.

Fieldwork was limited to two feeder schools for a university in the Western Cape. While investigating a greater number of schools would have generated more data related to writing identities, it can be argued that the findings from these two schools, which differ substantially in socio-economic and demographic profiles, offer a picture of writing practices which is broadly representative of the two kinds of state schools in the Western Cape, and perhaps more widely in South Africa.

As stated above, within each school, participants consisted of two teachers and two grade 10 English classrooms. Grade 10 is the initiation point into the FET Phase and as such an important site for investigating the ways in which writing identities are activated; while grade 11 is important for understanding the preparation for the final year of schooling. While it would have been ideal to follow these learners into their final year, this two and a half year ethnography nevertheless enabled me to gain an in-depth understanding of how teachers interpreted and implemented the national curriculum, as well as the effects of these teacher practices on learners' ability to construct sound and enabling writer identities for further education.

1.1.8 The structure: Acts and scenes

This thesis is divided into five acts which broadly contain the introduction to the study, a review of the underpinning literature and previous studies, an account of the methodology used, the presentation of data, and the concluding comments and recommendations respectively. Each contains a number of scenes as outlined below.

Act One consists of one scene that has provided the vantage point from which to interpret the study. Then, **Act Two** consists of two scenes; Scene One reviews the literature with regard to Bourdieu and SFL and Scene Two unpacks the findings of previous studies in relation to this literature. After this, **Act Three** also contains two scenes, of which Scene One highlights ethnography as methodological frame and Scene Two foregrounds the reflexive element of the study. **Act Four**, the data presentation section, includes four scenes that employ Systemic Functional Linguistic (SFL) and Bourdieu for four purposes: first, to analyse policy

documents; second, to present the local school contexts; third, to analyse grade 12 English as Additional Language (EAL) question papers; and fourth, to analyse 10 first year student scripts. Finally, **Act Five** concludes the study with a discussion of the findings and recommendations for future research.

ACT TWO: Theoretical frames as backdrop

Overview

The purpose of this Act is to present the conceptual framework that underpins this research: that is, a combination of Bourdieu's field theory, Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and writer identity research. This latter body of research addresses the three main writer identities: authorial self, autobiographical self, and discoursal self, often seen as separate, yet each in interaction with the others has the ability to shape texts (Ivanič, 1997). The writer as authorial self refers to how the writer takes a position or stand in the writing, the autobiographical self refers to the writer's roots or why he/she writes in a particular way and the discoursal self deals with the impression that writers consciously or unconsciously portray of themselves in a given written text. Combined, they offer lenses through which to explore the development of writer identities in the FET Phase and the first year of university study.

The first scene of this Act focuses firstly on Bourdieu and his theory of practice as a backdrop to understanding the ways in which factors within the *meta-field* of the state and economy (Bourdieu, 1986) influence teachers' and learners' local practices in the education field and their ability to construct enabling writer identities. The next section within the scene focuses on SFL as a socially sensitive theory of language which enables the identification of broader socio-political factors, local contextual discourses and classroom pedagogies in texts, in this case in the national grade 12 English language exit examination papers and first year student essays in the Faculty of Education. Finally, I discuss the ways in which theories of writing in higher education have evolved as a means to explore the intersections between school writer identities and the writing identities required for success at university.

2.1 SCENE ONE: Weaving literature into the plot

According to dramaturgical theory, we craft an image of ourselves through the expressions that we use in order to gain credibility or a sense of belonging (Goffman, 1959). When in the course of conducting this study I needed to perform the role of someone with an allegiance to a particular discourse community, the principal theorists that underpin the study became my mask, my costume and suit of armour. Yet, multiple identities intersected,

often causing friction, as I had myself developed from novice layperson towards researcher carving out a professional and theoretical allegiance. This friction generated questions reaching beyond the traditional concerns around why and how we choose the theories that we draw on, towards issues of whose identity I was portraying − mine or Bourdieu's, for example – and how to develop an original, authoritative voice. So, weaving literature into my plot became another enactment of identity as I, the author, created an impression of self, a discoursal identity, via my theoretical frames and authorial stance. The field necessitates the use of such theoretical frames to bring credibility to a researcher's voice. As such, weaving theory and literature into our research projects is another theatre performance, an act of assuming, constructing and negotiating multiple identities.

2.1.1 Thinking with the thinker: Bourdieu

During the twentieth century the education system in France displayed a rigid divide between primary and secondary education; the working class could only access primary schooling whilst secondary education was reserved solely for upper middle and ruling class children (Grenfell, 2007; Bourdieu, 1990). Bourdieu was born in 1930 in a small French village to a modest family with limited financial and social status. Therefore, Bourdieu's socio-economic background should have denied him any educational opportunities beyond primary schooling. He thus had first-hand experience of the influence of economic and social class status on educational achievement. As a result, his preoccupation with issues related to education, socio-economic background and culture is rooted in his personal encounter with issues that affected and impacted on his own academic trajectory:

> I spent most of my youth in a tiny and remote village in south western France, a very backward place as city people would like to say. And I could only meet the demands of schooling by renouncing many of my primary experiences and acquisitions, and not only a certain accent. (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 204).

Despite attending a local school, Bourdieu's exceptional academic potential provided upward social mobility because he received a scholarship to attend a *grand ècole normale supèrieur* in Paris: such being the most prestigious tertiary institutions, reserved mostly for the elite families in France (Grenfell, 1998, 2004, 2006, 2007; Grenfell & James, 1998). This experience led Bourdieu to argue that school systems or classrooms are important sites of friction because of their massive power to control, determine, maintain and socially construct what he called the symbolic power of learners (discussed in Act Four, Scene Two: see the section 4.2.6 *Mapping the sub-field*). More importantly, Bourdieu concluded that

working class students who managed to access higher education studies were less successful because the curriculum was biased in favour of middle-class practices, resulting in the rich being already "curricularly familiar" (Robbins 1993, p. 153). He thus viewed education as the primary institution through which class order is created and maintained (Bourdieu, 1990; Grenfell, 2007; Grenfell & James, 1998; Bourdieu, 1988) and began to develop sociological frameworks to explain this process (see, for example, *Distinction*, 1986; *Pascalian Meditations*, 2000; *State Nobility*, 1996 and *Language and Symbolic Power*, 1991).

So while his academic trajectory included philosophy, anthropology and sociology, he is "known first and foremost as a sociologist" practising a "very particular brand of sociology" (Grenfell, 2007, p.1) which is clearly influenced by philosophical and anthropological perspectives. Consequently, reading Bourdieu within a fixed paradigm would be a grave mistake and could result in a misreading of his intentions and principal thesis. Moreover, within sociology Bourdieu sums up his entanglement with the three founding fathers of sociology at that time as follows: "...for Marxists I am Durkheimian, for the Durkheimians I am Weberian, for the Weberians, Marxist" (Bourdieu, 1990, cited in Grenfell, 2007, p. 27). Bourdieu thus favoured inter-disciplinary work and was against fixed, static classifications of his scientific thinking:

> ... one proceeds by working with a particular thinker and in opposition to them at one and the same time. In this way the original ideas are extended through critique. Bourdieu makes the paradoxical point that this approach goes against the classificatory logic by which people establish a relation with past thinking. In one sense, Bourdieu's own theory of practice was born out of thinking Marx against Marx, Durkheim against Durkheim and Weber against Weber as well as Marx against Weber ... (Grenfell, 2007, p. 27).

Marx, Durkheim and Weber were all preoccupied with the ways that industrialization transformed society during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In thinking with and against them, Bourdieu attempted to capture what was useful in each theory about the social world. He critiques both structuralism and functionalism as over-emphasizing descriptions of society, and argues that the root problem is the efficacy of symbols, that is, the structure that confers upon symbolic systems their structuring power (Bourdieu, 1990, 1994; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Grenfell, 2007; Grenfell & James, 1998). For Bourdieu, human action involves a dialectical relationship between individual thought and the objective world (Bourdieu, 1977, 1990, 1996, 2000): individual thought/action emerges from conditions of

life, history and/or culture. For example, how an individual acts or reacts is conditioned by experiences within the outside world: that is, within family, cultural and social institutions. Therefore, individual action is influenced by external structures and it is these structures that mediate between objectivity and subjectivity. As a result, understanding the *structures which in turn structure* social acts or human behaviour is of crucial importance. Bourdieu uses this notion of *structure* as "a methodological unit of analysis" (Grenfell, 1998, p.14).

By 1980 his thinking formed part of the "new sociology of education movement" and he began to receive wider attention in France (Grenfell, 2007; Robbins, 1991). His life history, academic trajectory and research interest influenced not only French thinking but also drew attention from wider English speaking contexts. His ideas of the dialectic relation between education on society attracted particular interest. During the 1980s this attention resulted in his work being translated into English so that it became accessible in wider contexts outside of France (Grenfell, 1996; Grenfell & James, 1998, Robbins, 1991; Jenkins, 1992). In line with the new sociology of education movement at that time, Bourdieu focussed on topics such as classroom language, pedagogic discourse and the construction of knowledge (Grenfell, 1996, 1998, 2004, 2006, 2007; Grenfell & James, 1998). Unsurprisingly, his preoccupation with these topics highlighted how education contributes towards inequality for working class learners, a topic which I pursue in great depth in Act Three Scene two.

A second key feature of Bourdieu's work is his emphasis on the need for a "socio-genetic" reading of his ideas: he argues for the importance of an understanding of the cultural context out of which his thinking tools emerged (Bourdieu, 1988; 1996 & 2000). As mentioned earlier, his own upbringing and academic history occurred in a specific context and this impacted on his thinking and the development of his ideas. The unstable political situation in France since the French Revolution resulted in social upheaval from the time of the First through to the Third Republic, so that Bourdieu's thinking was shaped by the consistently changing contexts of a society in constant flux (Bourdieu, 1977, 1990, 1994; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). His academic and life trajectories thus placed him in social spaces which were experiencing the effects of rapid, often violent, social change, and where traditional practices and values were shifting to accommodate new ways of being and doing that were necessary for survival. Examples of such shifts were experienced during his military service in Algeria where he witnessed widespread societal dislocation, and also during visits to his home village of Béarn where he observed the steady replacement of traditional ways with

the practices of the industrial age and values of modernity (Bourdieu, 1977, 1990). These experiences of social upheaval along with his own experience of trying to penetrate a rigidly hierarchical system led him to develop a set of analytical concepts to explain inequalities, particularly in studies of the social world and education (Bourdieu, 1977, 1988, 1990 & 1996).

Finally, another key element of his work was his insistence that theory should develop through reflexive practice: his key concepts, *habitus, capital* and *field*, emerged from his empirical data. The following sub-sections outline these concepts.

The field as structuring structure

With his *field* concept Bourdieu posited that the social world is made up of various fields: where some fields have more power than others, for instance economic and medical fields. Each field also consists of agents occupying various positions; this positioning matters because it opens avenues for some individuals or groups to take positions as dominators and for others to be dominated (Bourdieu, 1979; 1988). Being dominator or dominated is dependent on individuals' access to field-specific resources; that is, this access constructs positions of power and participants' associated strategies. In *The Inheritors* (1979) and *State Nobility* (1996) Bourdieu draws on this concept of *field* in the context of higher education and demonstrates this struggle for positions in the context of elite higher education in France. Similarly, the field of education in South Africa consists of various individuals and groups that occupy divergent positions; those in powerful positions sanction and reward appropriate ways of doing; bureaucratic positions sanction appropriate behaviour in the field. Even though South African schools share similar school-based practices, they can occupy different positions in the field based on their access to symbolic resources such as school history, physical resources and social networks that allow such schools to strive towards continuously improving their position and status. For example, most schools with a privileged history during apartheid can afford to pay more teachers, thus maintaining low teacher-learner ratios and increasing academic success. So, those schools which have access to field-specific resources occupy more dominant/advantageous positions in the field. All in all, the 'field' concept unveils socially constituted bias systems that create the unifying norm to determine choices that function to structure social space where "configurations of positions, comprises agents struggling to maximize their position " (Maton, 2005, 689). Consequently, field "organises practices and perceptions of practice " (Grenfell & James, 1998, 18). Hence, field

is a structured entity but also a structuring entity that makes practice possible. Grenfell (2007) defines it as:

> … a structured space of social forces and struggles [...] a network or configuration of objective relations between positions objectively defined [...]. a structured social space based on objective relations formed between those who occupy it and hence the configurations of positions they hold. (Grenfell, 2007, pp. 54-55).

The notion of field as a "network of configurations" of relational positions implies that success within any field is defined by rules or a sense of what counts as good practice and legitimate actions, so that entry into the field means accepting the rules of the field (Maton, 2005; Naidoo, 2004). Therefore, field can be any broad category identified in terms of shared traditions, norms and values that shares connections with other structures or fields. Subsequently, some fields " were therefore quite heterogeneous: some could be very large and amorphous - the media or education for example; others could be very small and local - microcosms" (Grenfell, 2007, p. 55). This means that some fields might contain fields within fields, each with its own entry requirements, whilst sharing a deep interconnectedness. For example, gaining entry from high schools into higher institutions involves spaces that are interconnected through rules and practices associated with teaching, learning and assessment, yet each space contains a network of values that is distinct, and every action that occurs within the field is valued according to the specific principles of evaluation operating in that field. Even more interesting is that moving on within higher education increases the stakes, because selection functions to produce "special, separate, sacred beings … to be aware of and to recognize the boundary separating them from the commonplace …" (Bourdieu, 2000, p.103).

Thus, Bourdieu views field as a bounded space that can be identified in relation to shared practices, while also relating to and sharing connections with other structures or fields. However, this notion of bound space does not imply fixity or stability; he argues that any bound space is constantly moving, forming and reforming (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). With his *field* concept Bourdieu does not imply that human actions are pre-scripted and that human choice is limited. As a result, one of the gravest errors when reading Bourdieu is to believe that his field theory is deterministic and sees fields as static and cast in stone (Maton, 2005; Naidoo, 2004). In order to explore differing responses of individuals entering new fields, he developed two further concepts, *habitus* and

capital, which combine to enable or constrain the ability of agents to act effectively in a field.

The habitus: A fish in water

For Bourdieu, each field consists of a set of players that are engaged in practices and strategies drawing on *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1979; 1988; 2000). The concept of habitus as "systems of schemes of perception, appreciation and action" explains that individual actions and social reality are realized both by objective structures, meaning conditions in a field, and by subjective structures in the mind (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 138). Therefore, habitus is defined as "an acquired system of generative schemes objectively adjusted to the particular conditions in which it is constituted" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 95). Accordingly, the notion of habitus refers to a set of dispositions that are "activated in particular field contexts as certain thoughts and actions, responses and reactions" (Grenfell, 2007, p. 57). Thus habitus creates and shapes individuals' understanding of reality as a result of personal histories and life experiences that sanction appropriate interactions between objective structures of the social world and subjective structures of our individual thought processes. Consequently, those that have the required schemes of perception in a specific field have a *'feel for the game'* and thus have more control within a field than those for whom the field is unfamiliar (Bourdieu, 1988; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). For example, in *The Inheritors* (1979) and *Reproduction* (1990), Bourdieu and Passeron highlight that individuals from middle-class and working-class backgrounds display divergent perceptions regarding university; the first group would probably expect to attend university while the latter would most likely not. The first (middle-class) group associate this with the middle-class upbringing that moulds perceptions, beliefs and practices associated with attending university as the obvious next step and part of their legacy. As a result, when middle-class students enter university the unwritten rules that structure practices and the underlying principles within the field are closely tied or homologous to their own primary *habituses* (Bourdieu, 1979; 1988; 1996 & 2000). Thus, each field is habituated by individuals with their own cultural systems or symbols and histories that they call into action when there is a potential resemblance between objective and subjective structures because habitus "constructs the world by a certain way of orienting itself towards it, of bringing to bear on it an attention" (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 144). Four key features of the habitus are important: its durability, its tranposability, its relationality and its strategy-generating potential.

Firstly, the habitus is durable in the sense that it refers to the embodiment of individual feelings, thoughts, and tastes inculcated primarily through family values and upbringing: a kind of social heritage. Because it is first assimilated through family structures, including family values, culture and social positioning, it produces subjective inner thoughts, norms, beliefs and ways of behaving in the social world. Thus, habitus is socially acquired, at least in a significant part, through family and social class structures; a mould that results in action without thinking in contexts which are part of agents' social heritage: "…as a fish in water, it does not feel the weight of the water and takes the world about itself for granted " (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p.127). Because habitus is socially and culturally marked and is inherited from all the previous generations, it results in unequal mastery of practical strategies due to the uneven distribution of field-specific capital, so that the inherited habitus is often felt as "long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body" (1986, p. 47). Consequently, habitus refers to the durable norms and practices of particular social classes or groups that construct a primary habitus; and if this is significantly close to the field experience and expectations, it becomes a 'perfect fit' that sets up positions in the field. (Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu, 1988; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990)

Secondly, habitus is transposable because in the fields of power individuals are in competition to maximize their positions. Habitus is transposable because even though it is "a system of lasting and disposable dispositions, integrating past experiences", it also "functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations and actions and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks" (Bourdieu, 1977, p.72). So, even though individuals carry their primary habitus into a field, when they enter new fields in the struggle for positions they recognize the need to 'fit' or 'refit' the primary habitus in relation to the field in question. Therefore, habitus affords individuals the ability to generate actions in diverse and multiple fields: it is transposable - a scheme of perceptions from which countless improvisations are possible and also a practical mastery of skills, routines, aptitudes and beliefs which opens a space to make decisions about which habitus is transferable when they encounter new fields.

Thirdly, the *habitus* is *relational* because it mediates between individual thought, objective structures and practice; habitus makes practice possible because

The very structures of the world are present in the structures (or, to put it better, the cognitive schemes) that agents implement in order to understand it… the same history pervades both habitus and habitat, dispositions and position … history communicates in a sense to itself, back to its own reflection (Bourdieu, 2000, p.152).

Therefore, the individual and the social worlds are interrelated and dialectically connect *habitus* and *field*. Bourdieu recognizes that the field and the agents' schemes of perception are relational, and that field exists only insofar as social agents possess the dispositions and set of perceptual schemata that are necessary to constitute that field and imbue it with meaning. Concomitantly, by participating in the field*,* agents incorporate into their *habitus* the proper know-how that will allow them to constitute the field. As a result, habitus manifests the structures of the field, and the field mediates between habitus and practice, thus ensuring a *dialectical* link between past and present: that is, the past is always visible in the present as an individual system of *acquired dispositions* that impacts on practices.

Habitus is strategy-generating: that is, when individuals encounter radically new situations they are able to alter their habitus because "the strategy-generating principle enabling agents to cope with unforeseen and ever-changing situations" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 72) allows for individuals and groups to reproduce and modify the habitus. The habitus then continues to structure further experiences; but the degree to which this alteration is possible is largely defined by agents' existing dispositions. Therefore, the habitus is not stable or incapable of change but is dynamic; it not only makes the continuation of the field possible but also generates the possibility of field transformation. The habitus is thus structured by conditions existing in the field and generates practices, beliefs, and perceptions accordingly; but it can also transform the field during times of change. The ability for agency arises when there is some mismatch between the habitus and one or more fields; but some have argued that crises emanating from movement between fields are much more predictable in present-day society than Bourdieu allows (McNay 1999, 2000).

In *Pascalian Meditations* Bourdieu stated that his work might have been "rather ill-understood" (2000, p.7), and critics argue that his *theory of practice* shows limited potential for agency. As already mentioned, Bourdieu requests a socio-genetic reading of his concepts; thus, drawing on his concepts without understanding the contexts from which they emerged (namely, his research on the Kabyle in Algeria, on the French higher education system, and, later, on education and the workplace) can result in misapplication

of his thinking tools. In fact, Mutch (2003), Jenkins (2000) and Robbins (1993) point out that much literature drawing on Bourdieu displays flawed perceptions of habitus as deterministic, lasting and regulatory, or ignores the relational element between Bourdieu's concepts. For Bourdieu, habitus functions at the unconscious level as predispositions, whereas it is sometimes depicted by others as conscious actions and strategies employed by individuals. Reay (2004) for example cautions against the use of Bourdieu's concepts without a thorough understanding of his intended use for them; studies by Fritzlen (2014) and Ringenberg, McElwee and Isreal (2009) draw on cultural capital but both studies ignore the relational elements of field, habitus and capital. Consequently, misreading Bourdieu's thinking tools can contribute towards confusion regarding his concepts and their intended use in empirical research.

In addition, Wenger (1999) has argued that individuals' ability to participate in various communities of practice negates the notion of habitus as an organizing principle of practice. However, what is missed in this critique is that Bourdieu's notion of habitus centres on the strategy-generating principle that enables individuals to cope with unforeseen changes. Therefore, it is the organizing principle that allows agents to adapt to and participate in different fields with varying consequences, so that moving across fields can result either in habitus transforming into a 'feel for the game' or habitus-inertia as a result of past history and socialization. For example, when first years enter university and face the challenges of becoming members of new communities of practice, some manage to make this transition more easily than others, depending on the fit between their embodied dispositions and those required.

Forms of capital: Admission fees

Interestingly, because dispositions and *habitus* are first "…acquired within the family that forms the basis of the reception and assimilation of the classroom message, and the habitus acquired at school conditions the level of reception and degree of assimilation" (1990, p. 42), an appropriate habitus becomes a resource and a form of *capital*: it impacts on the position that individuals can take in the field. In society certain groups possess greater quantities of *symbolic resources* such as the recognition of tastes within a certain social sphere or having access to cultural artefacts such as literature or cinema that develop taste and knowledge of culture (Bourdieu, 1979, p. 17), assimilated in habitus that have higher values on the market operating in each field. Hence, individuals enter the field with *symbolic*

resources that function as different forms of *capital* in the competition over the available field-specific resources. Capital, for Bourdieu is visible in three major forms as *economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital* (1986, p. 84), where economic capital refers to money or wealth, social capital is the number of social networks that individuals have acquired through birth, family or work and cultural capital is "… convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the forms of educational qualifications " (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 84).

For Bourdieu, cultural capital operates in three forms. Firstly, *embodied cultural capital* is socialization into forms of culture and traditions consciously assimilated over time, first from the family and then through schooling, that allows agents to embody or display bodily knowledge associated with appropriate practices. Secondly, *objectified cultural capital* is physical objects that are owned -- cultural goods that can be transmitted both for economic profit and for symbolic capital. Thirdly, *institutional cultural capital* is knowledge, skills and other cultural acquisitions, as exemplified by educational or technical qualifications (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 14; 1988, 1996, 2000).

Accordingly, cultural capital refers first to family, that is, you are 'born into it'; and therefore the values, attitudes and practices of your parents, wider family and your social circle is interconnected to the concept of *field*. Some learners come to school with a love of books, a practised quickness with numbers and an expectation that their curiosity about how things work will be fostered and catered to. They expect to love school and to do well there as their parents have done. In contrast, there are others who do not possess this cultural capital; this is of course not to say they come without cultural effects, but theirs are less useful to them in relating to the school and what it might offer. Thus, for Bourdieu the presence or absence of particular kinds of *cultural capital* legitimizes the maintenance of status and power of the controlling classes through (among other things) the regulation of access to education and career opportunities.

The concept of cultural *capital* provides an important analytical tool to locate linguistic and literate practices in larger structures of inequality (Gal, 1989). A part of cultural capital that operates as a symbolic resource is *linguistic capital* that refers to the standardized forms of speech used by dominant social groups, thus legitimizing their authority (Gal, 1989; Woolard, 1985). Within a society, individuals from different backgrounds tend to possess

unequal amounts of the valued linguistic capital. Hence, Bourdieu relates linguistic capital and its embodiment in the habitus to social class: "What expresses itself through the linguistic habitus is the whole class habitus of which it is one dimension" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 83). This understanding can lead to tension in educational settings between the desire to validate students' own language varieties and the need to teach them the standard language (Delpit, 1995; Gal, 1989; Irvine, 1996). Accessing professional careers requires the ability to speak and write in a prestigious, high function variety, thus illustrating that linguistic capital can be converted into economic capital, defined as *symbolic capital*. For instance, the success of the global English language teaching industry illustrates that Standard English offers the potential to acquire economic capital and usually holds greater power in the economic field than regional dialects. Accordingly, the concept of linguistic capital is indexical of power (Pennycook, 1994) because in "… selecting the students it designates as the most gifted, that is, the most positively disposed toward it" (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 102), it demonstrates that those with appropriate linguistic capital can access prestigious schools and can occupy better positions in the field, which can ultimately result in maximizing and maintaining positions in the field.

Thus, an important characteristic of cultural capital is its propensity to breed further capital in the field, according to Bourdieu. He says of cultural capital in general: " the inheritance of cultural wealth which has been accumulated and bequeathed by previous generations only really belongs (although it is theoretically offered to everyone) to those endowed with the means of appropriating it for themselves" (Bourdieu 1977, p. 488). In *Forms of Capital* (1986) Bourdieu states that the concept of cultural capital allowed him to "explain the unequal scholastic achievement of children originating from the different social classes by relating academic success…from the different classes…to the distribution of cultural capital…" (p.84). Thus learners from disadvantaged backgrounds may pass matric, yet the matric pass does not necessarily provide access to tertiary institutions. Because the pedagogical practices and discourses in schools draw on standard dialects to transmit academic knowledge, it will be those learners with the appropriate habitus who will be able to access forms of knowledge and increased stores of economic, cultural, and social capital that translate into *symbolic resources* that function as forms of *symbolic capital*. The first conversion of economic capital (the root of all other forms of capital) is money in the form of properties, affluent schools and material goods that provide access to the second type of capital, that is, social capital, which is associated with a strong social network of personal

relationships and memberships in groups, which themselves convey "credit in the various senses of the word" (p. 88) which can then be converted into forms of cultural capital that can occur in three forms: the embodied state ("long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body") (pp.85-86); the objectified state ("books, instruments, tools indicative of education and training") (p.87); and, thirdly, institutional cultural capital ("educational qualifications which confer entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is presumed to guarantee") (Bourdieu, 1986, p.88).

Hence, economic capital can be transferred into cultural capital when parents financially support children to acquire more skills or knowledge for example by paying for extra English tutorials that boost their children's cultural capital because they do better at schools, get access to universities and well-paid jobs that guarantee higher power and status in the form of higher salaries, which in turn increases their economic capital. Also, children with higher cultural capital are more likely to gain guaranteed acceptance and status in society, opening up more opportunities and wider access to social networks and the acquisition of social capital, which then leads to economic capital that can be re-invested in cultural capital. Individuals' ability to influence the field towards either stability or change is for Bourdieu a function of their habitus combined with different sets of social, economic or cultural capital which in turn can be converted into symbolic capital, defined as *prestige or honour* capital (Bourdieu, 1991, 14).

My study centred on the visible and invisible curricula, the differing kinds of cultural capital they produce and the conversion of this capital into other forms of cultural and symbolic capital such as access to university which may eventually be converted to economic capital in the form of access to well-paid kinds of employment. Bourdieu's thinking tools were thus invaluable for explaining the construction of writer identities in the FET Phase. However, his theory of practice is not a linguistic theory and for this reason I now turn to Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) to explain writer identities and habitus as they emerge in student texts.

2.1.2 Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL)

Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) developed from the work of Michael Halliday (1975) who built on the work of Malinowski and Firth, arguing that language occurs in a context and that language should thus be studied from a meaning-making perspective. Halliday's social-

semiotic perspective of language can be explained as follows:

> Firstly, language is only one of the many sign systems which convey meaning: it is a part of a much larger network of symbolic systems which can, in principle, all be drawn to convey meanings, although in fact some are preferred over others for particular purposes in particular cultural settings. Secondly, language is integrally bound up with meaning, and all linguistic choices can be linked to the meaning that they convey. There is no such thing as meaning in a text independent of the form in which it is worded (Ivaniç, 1998, p. 39).

For this reason, SFL views language as entangled with meaning and hence all linguistic choices can be linked to the message, its social purpose, the person transmitting the message and the audience. Thus how language functions to create meaning in cultural and situational contexts takes centrality in a SFL framework (Halliday & Hasan, 1985; Christie & Unsworth, 2000; Christie, 2002). Accordingly, SFL is interested in shedding light on the ways in which situation, actors and social purpose influence language choices. Furthermore, Hasan (1996) also raises the important role that language plays in naturalizing our thinking about social reality: "The ubiquity of language is such that we go about the business of living, making use of it and taking it for granted in much the same way we take it for granted that eyes are for seeing and ears are for listening" (p.14).

Therefore, SFL proponents argue that analysis of texts should focus on language at the level of whole texts,taking into account the social and cultural contexts of use (Martin, 1985; Rose & Martin, 2005). Such an analysis can illuminate the ways in which language is used to construct social reality, taking language "as a resource, a meaning-making system" (Derewianka & Jones, 2010, p. 9). If this approach is made explicit in teaching, learners can be assisted to become more successful readers and writers of academic, school and workplace texts. Because in our social world language is used to get things done, focusing on social conventions can make explicit the understanding that texts are "patterned in reasonably predictable ways according to patterns of social interaction in a particular culture" (Cope &Kalantzis, 1993, p. 6). These conventionalized text patterns are known within SFL theory as *genres* that are defined as

> a staged, goal-oriented, social process…Social because we participate in genres with other people; goal-oriented because we use genres to get things done; staged because it usually takes us a few steps to reach our goals (Martin & Rose, 2003, pp.7-8).

Inspired by the 'Sydney School' in the 1980s as an educational experiment because the newly introduced progressive curriculum failed to produce the envisaged educational and literacy goals (Martin, 1991; Christie & Martin, 1997; Martin & Rose, 2008), a group of researchers started the Literacy in Education Research Network (LERN) and since then SFL genre-based approaches have played an instrumental role in literacy and development of teachers' understanding of SFL grammar, genres and scaffolded language teaching (Cope, Kalantzis, Kress & Martin, 1993). For the past three decades SFL researchers have been at the forefront of literacy education to address the literacy needs of students who are not home language speakers of Australian English as well as those students whose socio-economic conditions limit their chances of academic success. For example, since the 1990s SFL genre-based pedagogy was part of teacher development training programmes, and developed a linguistics-informed protocol for assessment referred to as 'scaling'. Currently, the new national Australian curriculum for English is strongly influenced by its precepts. (White, Mammone & Caldwell, 2014). Thus, research on genre theory has been both politically and pedagogically motivated: it can be seen as a pedagogical project motivated by the political project of allowing equal access to social, economic and political benefits of Australian society through an explicit and visible literacy curriculum, with the goal of helping primary and secondary school learners "participate effectively in the school curriculum and the broader community" (White et al., 2014).

Language is integrally bound up with the message and thus word choices, vocabulary, clauses and sentences provide elements of self-representation. In this manner, decisions about the information to include or exclude, to foreground or background, are determined by the context or the discourse communities in which individuals participate. In relation to writing, this means that individuals would have to write about something, interact with the reader to create meaning and also shape the text while writing. These three aspects of writing were labelled by Halliday as three *metafunctions*: *experiential*, *interpersonal*, and *textual*. So, for SFL, language occurs in various contexts and they argue that written texts need to be analysed within both the social and the broader cultural contexts where it is enacted. Therefore, SFL proponents argue that linguistic choices in text reflect particular factors in the context that answer questions such as: what is going on in the text (the *field* or subject-matter); who is involved (the *tenor*); what is the channel of communication (the *mode*); and what is the social purpose (the *function*) (Derewianka & Jones, 2010, p. 7). These factors are collectively referred to as *register* choices that draw on semantic resources

of *experiential*, *interpersonal*, and *textual* meaning to explain context, social purpose and cohesion (Martin & Rothery, 1993; Christie, 2002). First, the *field* situates the focus of the text realized by the *experiential metafunction* as representation of reality; second, the *tenor* relates to social relationships in the text realized via the *interpersonal metafunction* that foregrounds the types of interaction between participants in the text and third, *mode* deals with the production method: whether texts are spoken or written and how they are realized through the *textual metafunction* that makes texts coherent and cohesive. Therefore, the interrelatedness of language and its social functions are reinforced through the register choices and context of the situation; it is the register which influences how language is used - "what is going on, who is taking part, and the role language is playing" – and register that describes the ways that social contexts impact on language (Martin & Rothery, 1993, 144). Below, Figure 1 illustrates the relationship between register variables and social metafunctions (Martin & Rose, 2007, p. 297).
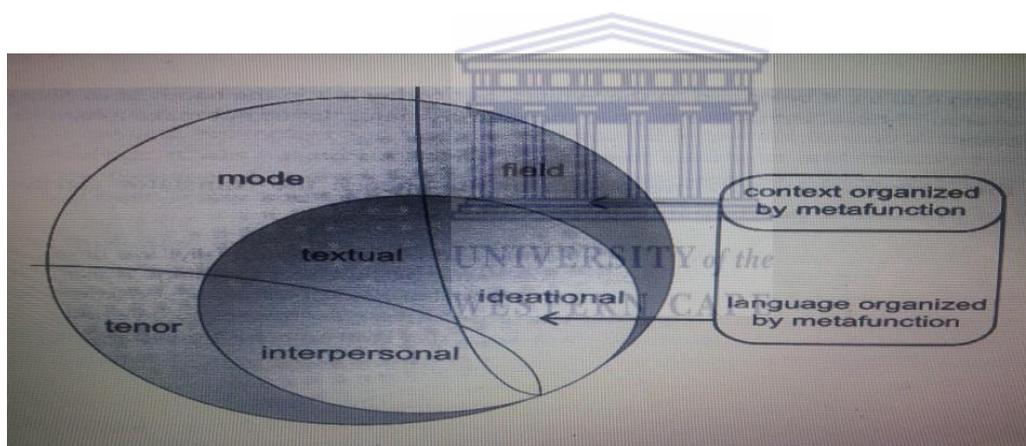
Figure 1: Relationship between register variables and social metafunctions

The experiential or ideational metafunction

Experiential meaning is concerned with representation of experiences in the real world: it describes the subject-matter of the social activity, its content or topic. The subject-matter refers to the ideas and content conveyed through language, which includes people, actions and events: referred to as participants, processes and circumstances. This means that (depending on the field to be developed) writers would need to draw on grammatical resources that situate the doings and happenings in real life contexts; and these linguistic choices reveal the ways in which the field is being developed through particular participants, processes and circumstances.

The interpersonal metafunction

Interpersonal meaning focuses on the nature of the relationships among the people involved and is concerned with evaluation of the kind of attitudes and stances that are negotiated in texts (Martin & Rose, 2003). Here grammatical resources include linguistic choices dealing with giving demands and making statements, degrees to which writers commit to propositions, expression of opinions and feelings, and engagement with heteroglossia: all of which contribute towards creating or minimizing the relationship between the writer/speaker and the reader/listener and the roles they take up when expressing the self to influence others. Therefore, linguistic choices are entangled with writers' particular stances towards information or their desire to position themselves in certain ways and in this way to build autobiographical, authorial/self and discoursal identities.

The textual metafunction

The textual meaning refers to the role that language plays in the regulation of information flow: that is, the ways in which linguistic resources cohesively organize and link participants, processes and circumstances. Firstly, grammatical resources dealing with identification allow for participants to be tracked via reference; secondly, thematic choices structure information and key points in theme/rheme positions; clause-combining choices condense information; and lexical resources are used to create cohesive links (Martin & Rose, 2003). As a result, writers/speakers effectively manage to forge links that refer back or predict what is to come as texts unfold.

Consequently, SFL genre-based pedagogy, built on the idea of language use as functional, with social purposes enacted in various social contexts, can make language use in texts a dynamic endeavour in classrooms (Derewianka & Jones, 2010). First, focusing on cultural contexts gives learners opportunities to see how language changes across different discourse communities. Second, through genre analysis learners get to understand how texts are routinely structured according to their social purposes and how grammatical patterns contribute to meaning. Thirdly, understanding of register allows learners to view the links between various factors in the context and the resulting impact on the language choices of writers. Finally, a focus on metafunctions opens up how language is utilized to construct meaning across the curriculum and the different disciplines as well as the ways that spoken texts vary from written and multimodal texts. As a result, a focus on language use in social and cultural contexts can develop the metalinguistic knowledge of (in particular) additional

language users of English who enter schools with diverse habituses and similarly diverse cultural and symbolic capital.

Bourdieu's thinking tools can be seen as compatible with SFL in that Bourdieu also views language as powerful in constructing social reality. Therefore, it can be argued that Bourdieu's notion of field as the structures that in turn structure practice might be visible in an analysis of ways in which student writers are encouraged to construct experiential, interpersonal and textual meanings in academic genres. The habitus as a mould based on history and upbringing might be visible in student texts as they wrestle with varying degrees of success to control these meanings and take up appropriate discoursal identities. Finally, the different forms and amounts of cultural capital with which they enter the university might materially affect their ability to engage in the necessary disciplinary practices. In this regard, if students' cultural capital does not include the ability to control textual meaning, this may have the most impact because if texts are incoherent, then it can mean the difference between success and failure when writing in educational contexts. Command of textual meaning thus has very high value on the grade 12 and first year university market.

The next section looks at identity and writing, given that students' writing proficiency is indexical of excellent, competent and not yet competent identities.

2.1.3. Writing and identity

Within poststructural perspectives, literacy and identity can be viewed as relational and dialogic: individuals draw on identities and construct new ones when they interact with reading, writing, and other forms of multimodal texts (Bourne, 2002, Lewis & Fabos, 2005; Moje & Luke, 2009). Bakhtin (1986) states that we "live in a world of others' words" (p.143) and similarly Ivaniç and Camps (2001) argue that through their linguistic and other resources writers

> […] choose to draw upon in their writing, ventriloquate an environmentally aware voice, a progressive-educator voice, a sexist voice, a positivist voice, a self-assured voice, a deferential voice, a committed-to-plain-English voice, or a combination of an infinite number of such voices... (p. 3)

Thus, academic writing is a *dialogic* process where individuals draw on heteroglossic resources to make use of the words of others and create new hybrid texts. As mentioned in Act 1 Scene One, research studies focusing on writing and identity argue for the centrality of

voice in relation to academic writing (Bakhtin, 1986; Ivanic, 1998; Hyland, 2008). The notion of voice is particularly important in relation to ideas of stance, or how writers convey and develop their engagement with their audience and the content presented. First year students would need knowledge about elements of personalization in academic texts, that is, how much attention to subjectivity is permissible in any given discipline, and in SFL terms they would also need to know how to use interpersonal resources to construct a stance of authority. As a result, new entrants into the academic field who could draw on these resources would be able to construct an authorial voice within disciplines and thus be able to assume positions of power more quickly than others who could not access them. Thus a critical awareness of voice for students who have English as additional language can help them maintain control over the personal and cultural identity they are projecting in their writing (Ivaniç & Camps, 2001).

Ivaniç (1998) provides a useful lens from which to analyse writing and identities; she identifies the *authorial*, *discoursal* and *autobiographical* selves as operating in academic writing. First, the *author as self* refers to the writer's position or stance in texts, and in this context knowledge of tenor and interpersonal resources has symbolic capital. The second, *discoursal self* in writing is seen as often multiple and sometimes contradictory to the authorial self, since it is an impression that writers consciously or unconsciously give of themselves in a given written text through their choice of discourse characteristics. This discoursal self can have serious implications for first year students who do not know the intricacies of lexicogrammatical resources necessary for field-specific technicality, or understand the importance of nominalization of experiences and thematic organization. Finally, the *autobiographical* self refers to the writer's roots; it is socially constructed and constantly evolving as a consequence of developing life histories. This self relates to the habitus and the cultural and symbolic capital acquired in prior fields of participation. In writing identity research the authorial self, the autobiographical self and the discoursal self each have the ability to influence and shape an individual's writing (Ivaniç, 1998).

First year students enter the field of academia with different English language habituses. They also possess different kinds of cultural and symbolic capital, which means that they are able to take up different positions in the field. For example, first year students with cultural capital associated with linguistic resources other than English may not have the required habitus and symbolic capital. Those students who have English as a home language are more

likely to be like a fish in water, they will not feel "the weight of the water". Others will feel it because their experience with English may not include a great variety of texts and registers. In addition, their linguistic repertoire may lack a range of discoursal ways of doing, such as an ability to take stances associated with a disciplinary voice, or to create an appropriate relationship between writer and audience. Therefore, academic research of student writing needs to be aware of the role of primary habitus when first year students access tertiary studies.

Current research in academia has become concerned with the social identities and the multilingual repertoires of students and thus is rooted in a critical orientation towards student writing and identity (Hyland, 2002; Lillis, 2001; Ivanič, 1998, Thesen & Van Pletzen, 2006, Stroud & Kerfoot, 2013). These studies acknowledge linguistic diversity as a norm and argue that academic writing is about identity representation. They thus call for a re-examination of hegemonic practices that frame, represent and describe English additional language students from a normative and deficit perspective. As a result, student identity research that is sensitive towards student transitions and the multi-literacies that they bring into universities is at the core of such research. Act One overviews of work on academic literacies, briefly identify three approaches: Study Skills, Academic Socialization and Academic Literacies (Street, 2004; Lillis & Scott, 2007; Lea &Street, 1998; Street, 2001, Ivanic, 1998). Each of these models has their unique orientations, assumptions and approaches towards academic writing and student learning. Although they are often viewed as separate, they also co-exist and overlap, with Academic Literacies to some extent subsuming the other models (Street, 2001). I now provide an outline of each approach to student writing and identity.

The *Skills-based* approach assumes that students are in need of a set of skills in order to be successful at university and that literacy is a neutral 'technology' that can be detached from specific social contexts (Street & Lea, 1998; Street, 2004, Lillis & Scott, 2007; Ivanic, 1998). Within this model, students are diagnosed on a binary scale as being literate or illiterate, with the latter condition requiring remediation via the correct skills. At universities this led to a number of impromptu support interventions for those who were perceived as struggling. Critiques of this approach argued that it promoted a deficit model where the identities of students were discounted because they needed to "adapt their practices to those of the university" (Lea & Street, 1998, p.159): in other words, student identities and voice were ignored in favour of decontextualized skills.

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The second approach, *Academic Socialization*, emphasized the importance of students being inducted and mentored into the new culture of academia (Van Schalk Wyk, 2008; Lea & Street, 1998, 2007; Boughey, 2006). It advocated a shift from student deficit discourses towards acknowledging student diversity, and promoted development programmes that appeared more sensitive towards student needs (see Ganobcshk-Williams, 2006). In addition, this approach promoted writing centres focused on tutorial support and resulted in writing across the curriculum programmes and English for Academic Purposes, all with a central purpose related to student mentoring (see Berkenkotter, Huckin & Ackerman, 1991; Berkenkotter & Huckin, 1995; Swales, 1990; Hyland, 2000). Yet, despite this approach being more aware of the cultural context of students, a core critique notes the continued assumptions that students must learn to adapt to the norms, values and ways of life of a homogeneous institutional culture. While the central focus on student mentoring recognizes students' diverse social identities, the approach does not entirely address their realization in written assignments.

Critiques of the second approach then led to engagement with the Academic Literacies framework based on New Literacy Studies (Street, 1995; 2001). It emphasizes the importance of literacies as social practices that vary within context, culture and genre (Lea & Street, 1998, Barton, 1994; Gee, 1996; Barton & Hamilton, 1998; Street, 1995; Russell et al., 2009). Therefore, the Academic Literacies approaches foreground institutions as sites of discourse and power and acknowledge that students possess valuable resources and are active participants in co-constructing knowledge. As a result, the focus falls more on student literacy practices as a means to illuminate social identities, especially with the widening participation of non-traditional students, and less on textual analysis of student writing to gain insights into positioning of self, positioning of ideas and control of discipline-appropriate register.

2.1.4   Summary

This scene provided the theoretical framing of the study focusing on Bourdieu's field theory and Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) to explain the ways in which individuals in local contexts are influenced by larger socio-economic and political factors that impact on field, habitus and the acquisition of linguistic and cultural capital. The scene aimed to create the

backdrop for exploring the construction of writer identities in two diverse contexts: one well-resourced school and one under-resourced in terms of societally valued forms of cultural and economic capital. Finally, this scene focused on SFL as an analytical lens for tracing the language theories visible in policy, curriculum and assessment papers for English as an Additional Language in the FET phase and for analysing new first year students' ability to construct appropriate discoursal identities.

2.2   SCENE TWO: Plotting with other studies

As discussed in the previous scene of Act Two, both Bourdieu's practice theory and Systemic Functional Linguistics are concerned with identifying power relations in everyday exchanges in our social world. Thus I align myself with Bourdieu and Halliday as principal senders. However, while I am at times a mere sound-box for their ideas, at others I attempt to create a critical distance. In this scene I discuss previous research that has drawn on these thinkers: here I largely align myself with these studies, foregrounding their findings but at the same time trying to construct a consistent critical stance so as to interrogate their relevance for the context in which I work. A coherent argument requires a script filled with the voices of those who have generated knowledge on my topic but selected, grouped and ordered in ways that make their relevance to my research clear.

This scene thus builds on the previous one by emphasizing the ways that Bourdieuian and SFL theories have contributed to the relational element between *field* and *habitus* as well as writing-related research based on Hallidayan genre-based pedagogies. The first section situates studies that draw on Bourdieu's theory of practice in relation to his concepts of field, habitus and capital to gain insights on the institutional habitus as structuring structure that holds implications to either activate or construct habitus as durable, relational, strategy-generating and transposable. Then, I highlight the ways that SFL research studies enable the identification of genre-based pedagogies in relation to developing additional language learners' writing proficiency at primary, secondary and first year tertiary contexts.

2.2.1   Studies on *habitus*, *field* and *capital*

There are relatively few studies exploring the notion of *habitus* in higher education. Nevertheless, those discussed below have developed the concept in ways that enhance

understanding of the challenges facing learners making the transition from (often inadequate) secondary schools to university. These challenges include mismatches between institutional and individual habitus. In the case of education, an institutional habitus is both bureaucratic and pedagogic. It is bureaucratic because it is governed by state policies grounded in the nation state beliefs and assumptions that constitute good practices in education and it is pedagogic because teacher dispositions via schooling and teacher training would inevitably embody nation state beliefs about what constitutes good teaching practice. However, what is valued in the field of schooling, for example the regurgitation of facts and learners being consumers of knowledge, is different when students enter higher education, where the co-construction of knowledge is valued. As a result, learner knowledge about institutional habituses matters but so do institutional habituses; they can either ignore student diversity or sensitively acknowledge transition challenges by using inclusive support strategies for first generation working class students.

Institutional habitus

In higher education, the notion of institutional habitus which includes educational status, organizational practices and the expressive order has been explored in relation to its impact on attracting and retaining students (see Reay, 2001; Ball, Reay & David, 2002; Reay, Crozier & Clayton, 2009; Byrom & Lightfoot, 2012; Smyth & Banks, 2012; Thomas, 2002; Yorke & Thomas, 2003). With regard to attracting students, studies in the United Kingdom (UK) highlight the importance of the institutional habitus on both sides of the school-university divide, in responding to students from diverse contexts. For example, in this context, Reay (2001) emphasizes that social class appears to influence students' choice of higher education institutions but that the minority student category also includes a diverse class structure relational to family background, socio-economic conditions and choice of school that can result in different tertiary education experiences, and can affect success and retention.

In a similar vein, Ball et al. (2002) highlight that higher education options of minority students were influenced by their secondary school profile; state and private school learners had access to different kinds of symbolic capital relational to social class. The study found two categories, that is, a contingent and an embedded minority student group. They foregrounded that the contingent group was first generation university

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entrants with low socio-economic conditions and that the other was middle-class, attended private schools and had parents or family who had attended university. In addition, the study highlighted that contingent student choices were haphazard due to unevenly distributed information about tertiary institutions in the family and at state schools. On the other hand, the embedded student category had sufficient cultural and social capital to enable structured, well-informed planning about their tertiary institutional choices, closely aligned to future career expectations. As a result, access to knowledge about the required institutional habitus provided symbolic capital for the embedded group, where a relational habitus ensured an institutional fit; whereas for the other group, a lack of various forms of capital could contribute towards a stressful academic experience because as first generation students they might find themselves immersed in a space or an inappropriate degree that could add an additional burden on a primary habitus already in friction with the university habitus, resulting in experiences of being "a fish out of water".

Similarly, in an Irish university context, postschool planning at one working class and one middle class school indicated that these learners entered university with divergent school-institutional habituses and that they possessed unequal kinds of capital that resulted in marked differences in their postschool plans (Smyth & Banks, 2012). Foregrounding the relational element between secondary schools and university fields, the study contrasted the differential institutional school-based habituses moulded as a result of the academic school culture and the nature of tertiary guidance provision in these two school contexts. It revealed that learners from these two schools had access to very different sets of economic, cultural and social capital in the educational field: in particular, parents, siblings and family of the middle class learners had completed higher education, thus ensuring symbolic capital related to knowledge and information about tertiary institutional cultures and resulting in informed decisions about university choices and the quality of the associated study programmes. The study found three sets of processes that influence tertiary planning: individual dispositions and familial habitus assimilated over time; the institutional habitus of schools attended; and learners' own agency, all of which can impact on retention and throughput rates of non-traditional students.

However, some institutions perform above their benchmarks despite the widening increase of students from non-traditional backgrounds; thus there is growing emphasis rather on the institutional conditions that enable student experiences that are less akin to being "a fish out of water" (Thomas, 2002; Yorke & Thomas, 2003). With this in mind, Thomas (2002) highlights an important issue - institutional strategies to ensure successful retention of minority students - and draws on a case study of the values and practices at a modern university in England with good performance indicators for both increasing student diversity and achieving successful retention. Focusing on factors that prevent non-traditional students from dropping out before the completion of their degrees, this study found that the centrality of positive staff-student relations was emphasized; teaching, learning and assessment methods were sensitive towards diversity; and the institution recognized lectures as sites for these positive interactions. Thus, institutional practices that facilitated a better match with the primary habituses of students from different social and cultural backgrounds explained the higher rates of student retention in this context. This perspective is significant because, firstly, it starts to indicate ways in which the higher education sector as a whole can take responsibility for student completion and, secondly, it does not blame students for failure but addresses the more pertinent issue of how institutions fail students.
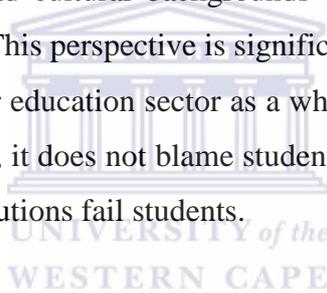
Yorke and Thomas (2003) also highlighted the importance of the institutional habitus aligning with students' primary habituses through their investigation of the performance indicators of six UK institutions that achieved successful retention above their benchmarks despite widening access for students from disadvantaged socio-economic contexts. Findings here also suggested a strong policy commitment to the alignment of academic, social and cultural inclusiveness, thus fostering student experiences of finding a positive institutional fit. Some practical suggestions included: institutional emphasis on high pedagogy and assessment that offered effective support for student learning; the creation of positive student-staff relations to create an institution-friendly atmosphere conducive to student dialogues; and institutional outreach work with potential entrants. The latter strategy created prior familiarity with the institution while also ensuring adequate institutional information about academic offerings that could result in higher levels of academic preparedness and institutional commitment amongst first generation students.

Moreover, Reay et al (2009) uses the concept of institutional habitus comparatively to unpack the learning experiences of working class students across four UK universities and thus highlight the influence that different university spaces have on student identities and how each such space contributes either towards a positive 'fish in water' student habitus or, alternatively, a negative 'fish out of water' experience. This study focused on post-1992 universities commonly viewed as less prestigious, located in three different geographical areas. Two of the institutions were in close proximity to students' homes and the other two were further away, but one of the latter was considered elite, and each represented a highly unique institutional habitus. The interview and observational data highlighted that institutions exerted a powerful influence on students' educational and social class identities: that is, the institutional habitus impacted on their concept of self and the perceptions held by external people. For instance, the geographical area of the first two institutions resulted in a social identity where students felt at home and experienced a sense of fitting in; but their educational identity, associated with high academic goals, responded negatively to the prevalent institutional habitus which was academically complacent rather than challenging. Meanwhile, students at the other two institutions located away from their homes developed a strong sense of themselves as successful learners because they were coping with the institutional academic demands. As a result, this study raised questions about the relation between institutional field and individual habitus, whilst it showed that continuity of a durable habitus from home is maintained in local university contexts, whereas institutions located far from student homes and those considered elite activate a new field, one where a working-class habitus was transposable, enabling the generation of new field-specific strategies.

However, Byrom and Lightfoot (2012) found that when students continued to live at home whilst studying they felt supported by their families; thus the family can be an important component within the process of habitus adaptation. Also, Sheridan's (2011) qualitative study examines the interplay between academic staff perceptions and international students' experiences of academic literacy at an Irish university. Findings show that these international students faced a double jeopardy; distant location and lack of familial support combined can threaten their success, especially when there is a mismatch between their habitus and the academic norms in a new field.

Habitus in transition

From the perspective of students entering institutions, several studies explore the habitus in transition. Hodkinson (1998) shows that there seems to be an entanglement of past and present when UK students have to make post-school career decisions. The study shows that post-school decision-making is a complex process and students were grounded in long-term experiences that influenced post-school choices. Therefore, their past experiences of parents and close relatives who studied or who worked in the same fields were instrumental in determining their future career options. As a result, their decision-making was context-related, and could not be separated from the family background, culture and life histories of these learners. This study then indicates the complexity created when pasts and presents of working class, first generation students are interwoven and the relational challenges they might face in terms of their social fields and individual habitus or dispositions when making post-school decisions.

Taking on this relational element between social field and individual dispositions, Reay et al. (2009b) demonstrate first generation students' movement between two fields: working class secondary school learners entering elite universities in the UK. This research draws on nine case studies of working-class yet academically successful students, thus also challenging the notion of a durable habitus and perceptions of such students as average and indifferent towards educational attainment. Despite all learners (except for one participant) attending government schools and having parents who were employed in manual and service occupations and had never accessed tertiary studies, these participants were at the top end of their classes at school. Yet they stated that their academic dispositions fitted uneasily in the field of working-class secondary schooling and that this required some navigation between their social field and the schooling field; they had therefore developed a strategy-generating habitus early in their schooling that assisted them with the transition into the university field. Most of the students said that their academic disposition was more of a fit in the new field even though their social disposition was not aligned; personal characteristics such as determination, self-reliance and hard work were deemed as important to academic success and findings suggest that when a habitus faces unfamiliar contexts this can result in a range of creative adaptations. Interestingly, the findings point out that these students were not disconnected from familial and cultural backgrounds; their durable habitus enabled successful movement across two very different fields. This resulted in them experiencing

an unfamiliar field in a manner that allowed for navigation away from school dispositions into new field conditions where that habitus was able to adapt and transform.

Bourdieu (1990) suggests that the habitus produces action, but that those actions tend to be reproductive rather than transformative because possibilities are generally confined to those feasible for the social groups the individual belongs to. Taking this proposition as a starting point, a number of other studies take up the question of the circumstances under which the habitus can transform.

Lin (1999) followed four classroom scenarios in Hong Kong: one class of 33 learners aged 13 to 15 in a prestigious girls' school, and three schools of mixed gender learners where class one consisted of 42 learners aged 13 to 14, class two had 39 learners aged 13 to 14 and the last class were 30 learners aged 12 to 13. At the privileged girls' school the majority of the learners' families lived in the expensive residential area, while in the other three school contexts learners came from nearby public housing clusters and their parents were largely service workers who had low levels of education and spoke only Cantonese at home. The study describes the diversity in discursive practices across these three similar school contexts in order to shed light on the English teaching strategies as reproductive or transformative of learners' social worlds. More important, the study foregrounds how one teacher managed to transform her learners' academic performance in English. Lesson observations highlighted the use of Cantonese, the learners' home language, for pedagogical and classroom interactions. Unlike their privileged counterparts, these learners' primary habitus was not aligned with the appropriate attitudes, skills and interest to facilitate confidence in learning English; however, this study shows that the strategic use of Cantonese enabled learners to experience a sense of achievement and confidence in learning English. For example, the use of Cantonese created learner interest and greater comprehension of lessons, while their progress was charted to facilitate their sense of achievement. Their improved scores in school tests and examinations resulted in increased motivation to learn. Lin argues that this was a sign of "their habitus being transformed through . . . creative, discursive agency" (p. 409).

Although Lin's study does not demonstrate whether the habitus transformation was in fact durable in Bourdieu's terms, this could be seen as a case of the habitus responding

creatively to new conditions - of students being able to draw on their primary habitus to make some successful transitions during the learning and teaching of English.

However, in many cases, the habitus is resistant to change and this seems to apply worryingly often in the professional training of teachers (Papen, 2005). This emerged in the Australian contexts of a third year mathematics pre-service teachers' course which aimed to develop high mathematical disciplinary knowledge, challenging student traditional mathematical thinking and encouraging the unlearning of mathematics as algorithms, rote learning, and application of formulae; thus advocating alternative pedagogical procedures for teaching mathematics (Zevenbergen, 2005). This study demonstrated students' resistance to new mathematical approaches and the continuation of practices associated with being school learners of mathematics. It highlighted the extent to which one student's primary habitus, shaped by twelve years of schooling, contributed to her adamant view that the pre-service university course did not resonate with practical experiences, and the ways that this resulted in the maintenance of a durable habitus where she steadfastly drew on a rigid step-by-step, traditional mathematical approach. Although pre-service mathematics student teachers needed to internalize a secondary habitus aligned with the expectations of teacher preparation and field-appropriate ways of being, there was little evidence of students' ability to reconstitute their habitus significantly in response to the field experience. So, despite acculturation into new theories about mathematics pedagogy, students' habitus were durable, reflecting school-learnt procedures embodied in old habits and beliefs around mathematics.

Two South African studies of teachers also draw attention to the durability of the habitus. Gennrich (2015) studied the literate habitus of a group of 22 Foundation Phase (grades 1-3) mature qualified teachers from rural areas in Limpopo Province. These teachers left their homes and teaching posts to upgrade and complete a four-year Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.) degree at an urban university. Gennrich found that a change in field was necessary for a change in their literate habitus because change 'denaturalized' what had been accepted as a norm in literacy teaching. Moreover, key to this change was a meta-awareness of the gaps between their embodied literacy practices and new possibilities in the changed field where they had substantial time and repeated practice to transform individual dispositions. A further factor inducing change was the social capital

derived from their positioning in the field which together with newly acquired cultural capital, they were able to convert into symbolic capital.

A less hopeful study by Dixon and Dornbrack (2015) of three township schools in Cape Town where an educational intervention was conducted at the participant teachers' schools rather than at a separate tertiary educational institution, showed that no overt change in field minimized opportunities to trigger reflexivity. In fact, the lack of a fully embodied bureaucratic habitus (Bourdieu 1991, 216) characterized by accountability, record-keeping and attention to procedures (Webb et al. 2002, 95) which was evident in sporadic attention to registers, timetables, textbooks, assessment, and so on, led to high degrees of disorder in schools which then prevented learners from acquiring school knowledge. Dixon and Dornbrack suggest that lingering traces of resistance to the apartheid education system and the lack of recognition accorded to teachers by that system along with the wider tensions and contradictions in postapartheid South Africa engendered a continuing resistance to the legitimate values and sets of practices required by the field. Systematic and "rhythmical disciplined learning and teaching formalised in time and space" (Christie, 1998, p. 289) was not regularized or sanctioned. This lack of a bureaucratic habitus in turn led to a learning environment that operated weakly and often unpredictably, impacting harshly on learners' ability to construct identities as successful learners, let alone writers.

A second element of the institutional habitus in schools is the pedagogic habitus. Here too there seem to be several factors that influence the possibility of transformation of the habitus: appropriate resources and mentoring; the degree of alignment of teachers' pedagogical habitus with policies; and the changes in the field in relation to teacher training. As a result, further studies open up opportunities to explain notions of teachers' durable habitus and the impetus they need to transform or draw on habitus as strategy-generating in the development of pedagogical and professional identities. In this way, discursive practice sheds light as habitus in transition, durable and generative.

Pedagogical habitus and teacher identity

To understand how teachers, school practices and pedagogy impact on the construction of learner identity or the notion of habitus, it becomes imperative to examine studies that draw on teacher identity and agency in relation to context. The notion of a pedagogical

habitus first emerged during Grenfell's study on initial teacher training where he relates the individual pedagogic habitus to the training field and states that the pedagogic habitus is, " ideas, knowledge, ways of thinking contained within the discourse; both in the form of documentation - the course programme, school and national policy -and the ideas represented by key individuals in the training field - tutors, mentors, student colleagues"' (Grenfell, 1996, p. 299). Studying to teach means that student teachers develop ways of thinking and being; but more importantly, it requires them to navigate between university-based experiences of educational theories and curricula on the one hand and actual classroom contexts on the other, thus to be confronted either with a durable habitus or a primary habitus entangled in new field expectations.

As in Dixon and Dornbrack's study, Lasky (2005) in a study of 10 urban schools in Canada embroiled in a context of massive fiscal, policy and curricula reforms, found that the socio-political context and initial teacher development shapes teachers' sense of identity and of purpose. Although this study does not explicitly focus on habitus but rather on teacher identity, it found that there was a gap between teacher identity and the expectations of new policy mandates in this context and that teacher agency was constrained as a result, which can imply that a gap existed between what Bourdieu would term the primary habitus and the new field-specific capital. As a result, this study is enlightening, especially for school contexts where teachers deal with rapid changes in policy and the implications for fostering positive identities; but more importantly, it opens up possibilities to explore the relational element between a pedagogical habitus and school reforms.

Reio (2005) also draws attention to the ways that changes in educational policies affect teachers' professional and personal identity. Drawing on five papers in a special issue of Teaching and Teacher Education that focuses on the role of teachers' emotions in the formation of their teacher identities when confronted with schools' transformation in Canada, the Netherlands, and the United States, he highlighted common themes such as teachers' emotional experiences of school reform influencing teacher risk taking and identity formation; and also identified that school reform created an environment of uncertainty that impacted on teacher learning and professional development. Overall, Reio points out that these studies shed light on the centrality of emotions as impacting on teachers' perceptions, behaviour and actions. Hence he argues for the necessity of

acknowledging teachers' emotions when planning and implementing school reform or change. Although these papers, too, do not employ the notion of habitus, together they hint at a pedagogical habitus that is in friction with educational reform, especially in contexts where a decline in academic standards is perceived as solely the responsibility of teachers. As a result, these studies open up opportunities for explorations into the extent that emotions result in a durable or a strategy-generating habitus.

On the other side of the pedagogical interaction, Zevenbergen's (2005) study draws on semi-structured interviews with 96 secondary school learners (14–16 year-olds) from six divergent schools in one region of Australia to shed light on learner experiences of school mathematics. These interviews overwhelmingly revealed responses associated with being grouped by ability; thus two clearly-defined categories emerged, that of high-stream and low-stream classes. In addition, assessment, curricula, classroom ethos also revealed that ability groupings resulted in differential experiences in the mathematics classrooms where learners developed either an empowering or disempowering mathematical habitus. The study sheds light on how the objective practices of school mathematics create a situation through which learners can develop a sense of self and a habitus. The formation of habitus in this context highlights that the potential for empowerment depends on the learners' experiences within the classroom contexts: that is, it can create enabling and sound habitus or weak and incompetent habitus, depending on the experiences within streamed settings. As a result, gaining insights into mathematics teachers' pedagogical habituses becomes important because it enables field-conditions associated with positioning learners in upper and lower streams according to mathematical ability.

Overall, although there is interest in school reform, identity and agency in schools and at universities, much less is known about the pedagogical habitus that emerges in moments of change or transition and the implications this has for constructing an enabling literate or writer habitus.

Developing a literate habitus

Learners' literate competencies are relational to their life trajectories; thus home and classroom practices, as field-specific conditions, hold consequences for the development of a literate habitus (Carrington & Luke, 1997). Therefore, identifying the contingent factors that impact on the local possibilities and limits of school-acquired literate

practices is relational to future possibilities and pathways outside of school contexts. For example, early reading instruction as a recurring practice in schools inculcates particular skills, knowledge and competences; school-routine practices develop specific literate habituses, some enabling and others disabling, dependent on the field-specific conditions and primary habitus of learners.

Three separate studies of identity construction conducted by Hall, Johnson, Juzwik, Wortham and Mosley (2010) contribute towards understanding the development of a literate habitus. These studies focus on literacy teaching and learning and the construction of literate identities in the United States (US) in two middle schools and one preservice teacher education context. The first study considers a white American female teacher exploring storytelling as a discursive resource in a predominantly African-American sixth grade class, the second investigates literacy practices of three middle school teachers and learners and the third study draws attention to the identity development of a preservice European American teacher. Combined, these studies foreground that teachers' literate identity construction for themselves and their learners is highly purposeful and intentional and thus in classroom contexts it can influence the kind of literate habitus that emerges. For example, in the first study the teacher's dialogue and questioning opened up opportunities to position her as an authoritative figure where she purposefully drew on her position as a white literacy teacher to construct a school literate habitus but also it succeeded in constructing a literate habitus associated with racial and class positioning. In the second study, the use of language intentionally positioned learners into the available literate identities of either being poor or good readers, and finally the life experiences of a preservice teacher impacted on her literate identity and consciously shaped her beliefs of her future role as a literacy teacher. In each study, a literate habitus is developed in ways that make future positions possible or impossible in various fields.

Compton-Lily (2014) tracked the writing dispositions of an African American learner from a low-income community over a 10-year period. Drawing on writing samples and interviews obtained from grade one up to grade eleven, the study foregrounds a set of interrelated dispositions contributing to the development of a writer habitus: firstly, the learner understood the importance of meeting school expectations for reading and writing; secondly, he knew that working in school and being a good learner was crucial;

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and finally, he set future goals related to writing. However, it does not unpack how classroom conditions open up or limit possibilities during moments of friction and also how literacy discursive practices at different levels of schooling challenge habitus in ways through which it is encouraged to transform or adapt to new local fields of schooling. It is evident, therefore, that in the classroom many identities overlap and mismatches can lead to moments of inertia, friction and complication. It is these moments of inertia and friction that might be explained through the notion of a habitus constructed, assumed or contested.

A further consideration in thinking about writer habitus is the intersection between the learners' linguistic repertoire or habitus, the teacher's habitus and the language policy in operation in schools or classrooms.

Monolingual and monocultural habitus

Language in education performs a crucial role in the construction of voice and a writer habitus. If English or another dominant language is the only medium of instruction, the learners with multiple languages are marginalized (Alexander, 2003; Blackledge & Creese, 2009; Heller & Martin-Jones, 2001). Therefore, analysing the language use in classroom practice and pedagogy is an important vehicle for understanding discourses associated with identity and power. In this respect, Gogolin (1994, 1997) explores the notions of monolingual and mono-cultural habitus in the teaching profession. Drawing on classroom data in Europe in general but more specifically in Germany, she highlights that the monolingual, mono-cultural orientation of teachers is an intrinsic element of their professional habitus as members of a state school system. The study found that it is part of the teachers' profession to traditionalize monolingualism and cultural homogeneity in the official national language and that a monolingual habitus is built and secured by the traditions of the educational system. In later work Gogolin (1997) provides a recount of the linguistic and cultural diversity of learners in Germany and highlights the ways that nation-state policies ignore and silence learner diversity. The findings suggest that the neglect of diversity leads to a monolingual or mono-cultural habitus resulting in stratification and marginalization of immigrant minorities in Europe. It is thus in such contexts that teacher habituses in relation to language attitudes, beliefs and ways of doing becomes crucial, especially to gain insight into the extent that teachers create linguistic markets in multilingual classroom contexts.

This notion of classrooms functioning as linguistic markets is explored by Ernst-Slavit (1997) who illustrates how teachers' position in the field allows them to set up a reward system for standardized linguistic responses. She draws on four different teachers working with first grade Mexican or Mexican-American bilingual learners, and situates five observational segments of teachers' discursive practices in English-Spanish where the use of learners' home language was either acknowledged or ignored. Segment one shows the teacher's limited knowledge about the learners' home language, whilst in segment two the teacher validated the linguistic repertoires of her learners and the remaining segments demonstrate instances where the learners' home language was not allowed, and in some instances even rejected. As a result, these classes function as a marketplace where some learners' linguistic repertoire has more value than others. More importantly, this study illuminated that teachers working with bilingual learners need to have knowledge of bilingual learning and teaching. Although the focus of the study was on writing habitus constructed at schools, it opened up possibilities to explore classrooms as linguistic markets and teachers' pedagogical habitus in relation to theories of bilingualism.

This section intended to provide some insights into the ways that field, habitus and capital can contribute towards an understanding of access, retention and success at universities of especially first generation working class students. Bourdieu's thinking tools were thus invaluable points of departure for explaining the field-specific capital needed to take up positions in secondary schooling and university contexts. However, I now move onto studies drawing on Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) in order to gain insights into habitus, capital and field in texts such as policy documents, question papers and first year student texts.

2.2.2 Hallidayan genre-based approaches

Educational research which uses Systemic Functional Linguistics is interested in language as a resource for meaning-making, especially in contexts where English is used as an additional language (Coffin, Acevedo & Lövstedt, 2013; Acevedo, 2010). More specifically, Hallidayan genre-based approaches suggest that pedagogy associated with explicit language induction has the potential to address the linguistically-based social and

economic inequality often experienced by students whose home language is other than the politically dominant, 'majority' language of the school. To address this linguistically-based inequality SFL draws on scaffolded tasks that make explicit the specialized language across the curriculum as a way to contribute towards the academic success and social mobility of minority learners (Kerfoot & Simon-Vandenbergen, 2015; Martin & Rose 2005; Rose 2004, 2005; White, Mammone & Caldwell, 2015). The focus of SFL studies, then, is on making explicit the knowledge about social purpose, genres and social contexts of language and developing a metalanguage that enables learners and teachers to speak about language and literacy. Access to this metalinguistic knowledge can be especially helpful in bilingual programmes because it provides an explicit means of comparing and contrasting written texts across languages, 'a two way language bridge' (Martin-Beltran 2010, 254).

The development of genre-based approaches originated in Australia and in the last fifteen years has begun to spread to the EU, the USA and South Africa. I first review those that relate to primary or secondary schooling, followed by a discussion of the small but emerging body of research on SFL in academia.

School-based studies

Before I discuss individual studies, it is important to stress that projects implementing genre-based approaches are grounded in constructivist learning theories associated with Bruner's notion of scaffolding, Bernstein's visible and invisible pedagogies and the Vygotskyan zone of proximal development (Kerfoot & Van Heerden, 2015) and as such SFL teacher training includes a scaffolded teaching and learning cycle referred to as a curriculum cycle (Hammond, 2012; Gibbons, 2002). Here, teachers make explicit the cultural, social, discoursal and linguistic demands across disciplines in the school curriculum. This pedagogical framework is in line with an important tenet in SFL, one sometimes overlooked, of the centrality of dialogue and interaction. For Halliday this is the basis of SFL theory: " …learning a language is not so much a process of acquiring a commodity that is 'out there' but rather a process of 'construction in interaction with others'" (Halliday, 1980, cited in Coffin, 2010, p. 3).

The first work in Australia that drew on the SFL theoretical framework in classroom contexts was the research conducted by Martin, Rothery and Christie (1978-1980). These

researchers conducted a SFL linguistic analysis of genres across different curriculum areas and through this textual deconstruction they highlighted the types of genres across the curriculum and the academic demands these would make on learners if they wanted to be successful. However, they also found that most writing produced in schools was short and limited to only a few genres; for example, recounts and narratives (Cope & Kalantzis, 1993; Kress, 1993). Therefore, this research initiated the process towards identification of key genres of schooling such as argument, procedure, explanation, review and information report (Derewianka 1991). As a result, this early research set the foundation for the educational merit of SFL genre-based approaches. Firstly, teachers gained knowledge of the relation between social purpose, schematic phases, typical language features and an ability to critically analyse the texts. Secondly, this approach facilitates the integration of language and content; thus teachers' pedagogical skill set includes the explicit induction of the linguistic features likely to arise within a particular context. In this way, language teaching methodology also embraces proactivity because teachers are able to explicitly scaffold learners into structure, linguistic features and social contexts (Derewianka & Jones, 2010). As a result, SFL genre-based theory offered attractive potential as an educational project in Australia, leading to the establishment of the Language and Social Power Project that focused on developing teachers' knowledge and skills about how texts work and included extensive in-service training and in-class support funded by the Disadvantaged Schools Programme (DSP) (Cope & Kalantzis, 1993).

The DSP is the longest-running Commonwealth redress programme in Australian schooling, established in 1974 as the state's investment to improve educational outcomes for learners disadvantaged by low socio-economic conditions (Kenway, 2013; Lingard, 1998). With the establishment of this programme the Australian government acknowledged that aboriginals' and islander learners' retention and attainment rates were considerably lower than those of their non-Aboriginal peers; and as a result their languages became a priority in educational policies (Luke & Kale, 1989). Thus the intention of the DSP was to improve the learning outcomes of learners from educationally disadvantaged backgrounds in Australia, a fundamental goal achievement towards social justice that provided disadvantaged learners access to participate fully in the benefits of society. This programme then funded many educational projects like the Language and Social Power Project involving in-service teacher training (Randell, 1979).

The effectiveness of projects like the Language and Social Power Project was continuously monitored and evaluated: the National Centre for English Language Teaching and Research was commissioned in 1990 to evaluate the improvements in learner writing and the impact of SFL genre-based pedagogy on teachers' ability to explicitly teach (and assess the effectiveness of) learners' writing (Cope & Kalantzis, 1993). The findings highlighted an 'overwhelmingly' positive response from participating teachers who were specific that mentoring via the in-service and in-class support, as well as learning support material (both printed and audio-visual), contributed towards their success. Furthermore, it was found that learners from participating schools, (that is, where teachers involved in this project taught) wrote a broader range of genres that included more factual texts, and that learners had a higher success rate than learners from non-participating schools (Cope & Kalantzis, 1993). As a result, SFL research projects are both research-led and intervention driven as a means to provide access to quality educational opportunities for all.

Since its early beginnings SFL research has grown in Australia, and projects using this framework and its later developments consistently demonstrate the educational advantages: for example, the Learning to Read: Reading to Learn Project (Rose, 2004, 2005; Rose & Martin, 2012). This project focused on literacy in the middle years at 24 educationally disadvantaged schools, including approximately 400 underachieving learners. This Learning to Read: Reading to Learn methodology overwhelmingly showed improved literacy performance above the expected rate for all learners across all classes and schools involved, over a two year period (Culican, 2004): thus clearly indicative of SFL's educational advantages for additional language learners. Another successful project, Reading to Learn Murdi Paakri (2006-2010), dealt with teacher in-service training at 17 schools in the Murdi Paaki region, highlighting the literacy improvement of Indigenous learners (Koop & Rose, 2008). There are criticisms that SFL is reminiscent of traditional pedagogy, but neglecting to teach these elements explicitly contributes to linguistically-based inequality because without this kind of intervention learners would not be empowered to critique and redesign genres and would not readily be able to interrogate power relations hidden in texts (Christie & Mission 1998; Rose & Martin 2012; White, Mammone & Caldwell, 2015).

One recent project, the Text Construction and Text Analysis Research Project, is a longitudinal six year study by which the literacy development patterns of learners' writing were tracked from 2005 through to 2011. SFL genre-based pedagogy was used either in targeted English for Additional Language Development (EALD) teaching contexts or in the 'whole school' at six South Australian primary schools (White et al, 2015). This project aimed to track literacy development by doing pre- and post-tests of learners' writing, drawing on the Australian ESL Scope and Scales protocol as well as SFL's literacy development pedagogy to measure the rate of improvement after post-testing. The study found that in 98% of cases, there was a progression of at least two scales/levels from the pre- to the post-teaching writing, with some student writing showing improvement by as much as five scales (White et al, 2015). Using a teaching-and-learning cycle, learners' writing development was analysed and a national comparison of their literacy scores with those of learners in other categories of South Australian schools revealed that these learners had made significant advances in literacy development (White, Mammone & Caldwell, 2015). For example, findings revealed that the average scores for participants on this project were higher than the average for all students in the Western Adelaide area as well as in all Australian schools (White, Mammone & Caldwell, 2015). This therefore provides longitudinal evidence of the pedagogical advantages that genre-based approaches hold for EAL learners, and offers a convincing account of the long-term gains for learners who face both socio-economic and linguistic disadvantage in schools. However, SFL genre-based approaches have been criticized for treating genres as fixed and unchanging, and for an overly prescriptive approach to teaching and learning (Luke 1996, among others). Nevertheless, these project results do seem to point towards SFL success. In scaffolding language proficiency and learning by means of developing the meta-language of learners, this approach offers explicit pedagogical and linguistic frames to support learners in multilingual contexts.

The educational and linguistic benefits that SFL genre-based approaches offer has resulted in a growing interest outside of Australian contexts for more than a decade. In multilingual contexts across the European Union (EU), the United States of America (USA) and Asia as well as in South Africa, these educational rewards continue to be explored (Coffin, Acevedo, & Lovstedt 2013; Gerbhardt, 2011; Hendricks, 2006; Kramer-Dhal, 2008; Kerfoot & Van Heerden, 2015). For instance in Stockholm, the

Multilingual Research Institute's Reading to Learn project (Acevedo, 2009-2010) worked with 22 teachers from 7 primary and secondary schools where 58 learners participated. The profiles of these schools were as follows: four had low socio-economic status, two a middle class status and one a high socio-economic status. Some of the key objectives of this project were teacher professional development and school-based support for the implementation of SFL, and the findings reflected similar success stories to those in Australia: notably, increase in literacy levels, especially amongst those for whom Swedish is a second language and those considered to be educationally disadvantaged. In addition, teachers reported that the explicitness of focus on textual and linguistic features, the coherent and systematic modelling and development of writing practices, and the promotion of metalinguistic awareness resulted in higher levels of textual engagement for all learners and greater participation in classroom learning, particularly for minority learners.

Similarly, in 2011-2013 a five-country EU project, Teacher Learning for European Literacy Education (TeL4ELE), used the Reading to Learn pedagogy with approximately 2450 students in 97 classes, intending to explore whether explicit induction into more scientific and academic discourses, drawing on SFL genre-based approaches, would have educational benefits for learners in Sweden. All students "improved by an average of 14.3% on their writing and 9% on their reading" (Coffin, Acevedo, & Lovstedt, 2013, p. 3). This was also demonstrated in a study by Kuyumcu (2011) at a multilingual school in Stockholm where national assessments showed that learners from this school had performed substantially below the national average. The study evaluated 380 samples of writing from 6 to 12 year old additional language learners after exposure to genre-based pedagogy and found that all students developed their writing performance with respect to genre knowledge, discourse competence and text content, showing a clear development from the use of everyday language in subject contexts towards more abstract and technical, subject related language.

In Singapore, switches to genre-based approaches have seemingly been beneficial for the Singaporean education system (Lin, 2003 & Kramer-Dhal, 2008). For example, these studies highlight the continuous improvement in examination scores and also in achievements in international league tables, compared to Singaporean learners' past underachievement in literacy tests (see PIRLS 2001 & 2006, Singapore results). Lin

(2003) noted that the new English Language syllabus (2001) for primary and secondary schools in Singapore adopted a SFL genre- based approach to language teaching, clearly visible in its concerns with language function and language as discourse, but Zhang (2006) cautions that even though teachers welcomed this innovation it was threatened by a wash back effect where teacher concerns related to traditional assessment approaches, together with limited professional development programmes, could result in mismatches between what syllabus documents stipulate and what practitioners bring into English language classrooms. As a result, educational reforms leaning towards SFL pedagogy have had to be supplemented by professional development programmes as well as class support when teachers switch to the new pedagogical habitus.

In addition, in the United States education reforms are placing new demands on teachers and there is a renewed interest in genre-based pedagogy to support the academic literacy development of English as additional language learners in primary and secondary public schools (Gebhard & Raman, 2011; Achugar & Schleppegrell, 2005; Fang, Schleppegrell, & Cox, 2006). The performance gap between English home language and additional language learners when they access secondary school contexts has been attributed to the lack of attention given to how texts work, especially in subject-disciplinary contexts. Accordingly, teacher development projects in the United States are using SFL theory to support teachers of content and of English as additional language in scaffolding and explicitly teaching language use in disciplinary knowledge construction (Gerbhardt, 2011; Enright, 2011). In conjunction with SFL researchers such as Schleppegrell, teacher professional development projects include the California History Project (CHP) which trained teachers to use SFL tools to deconstruct the meaning of passages in history textbooks and primary source documents; and the Access to Critical Content and English Language Acquisition Alliance (ACCELA) project, a district/ university partnership, includes in-service teachers, administrators, teacher educators, and researchers in collaborative research regarding the academic literacy development of non-traditional students attending urban schools. Findings from these projects reveal that learners whose teachers participated in CHP made significantly greater gains in the state exams than students whose teachers had not participated, while participants in the ACCELA case studies developed a deeper understanding of disciplinary knowledge and associated language practices, and, even more strikingly, that SFL-based pedagogy supported emergent English language writers in analysing and producing more coherent texts.

However, researchers also noted that teachers needed "constant reminders…[that] genres cannot be presented as a set of fixed rules… [because] context matters" (Brisk & Zisselsberger, 2010, p.123). Nonetheless, it appears that SFL provides teachers with a renewed understanding of texts in social contexts, making them more critical analysts of texts that could enhance pedagogy as they make the transition to new methods.

Similarly, in South Africa increased interest in SFL is noticeable: for instance in the Kwa-Zulu Natal Province a programme affiliated with David Rose's Reading to Learn project focused on two rural primary schools in this region as well as in East Africa (see, http://readingtolearnsouthafrica.weebly.com/); and in the Eastern Cape, Hendricks (2006) pointed out that decontextualized grammar tasks were characteristic of writing in three languages across four different primary schools, and, even more importantly, that learners wrote relatively few extended texts, producing mainly personal narrative texts that did not contribute towards the development of writing proficiency in abstract, context-reduced genres. In the Western Cape, one of a handful of bilingual teacher education programmes implemented so far in post-apartheid South Africa found substantial benefits for teachers in genre-based training, resulting in enhanced pedagogical competence at constructing school genres in two languages (Pluddemann, Nomlomo, & Jabe, 2010). These benefits were carried over to their learners, thus highlighting the advantages of genre-based approaches for pedagogy, assessment and development of writer proficiency in primary schools challenged by low literacy levels associated with low socio-economic conditions and learning through English as additional language. For instance, in this context Kerfoot and Van Heerden (2015) argue that the scaffolding provided by SFL genre-based pedagogies, together with their explicit focus on textual and linguistic features, offers a means of significantly enhancing epistemic access to the specialized language of school subjects, particularly for additional language learners. This study describes an intervention using SFL genre-based pedagogy involving 72 learners and two teachers in a low socio-economic neighbourhood of Cape Town, where teachers scaffolded learners' development in the information report genre. Findings show that all learners in the intervention group made substantial gains in control of staging, lexis, and key linguistic features. Such results hold implications for Language-in-Education Policy, teacher education, curriculum, pedagogy, and assessment in multilingual classrooms.

Overall, from these projects it is clear that SFL approaches in classroom contexts aim to develop learners' language repertoires and thus intend to expand their meaning-making resources as well as scaffolding their understanding of the ideological nature of all language use in texts and everyday communication (Derewianka & Jones, 2010; Gibbons, 2006). In particular, they highlight the ways in which SFL approaches can enhance teachers' understanding of the notion *genre* as a means to teach the purpose, staging and key linguistic features of different text types, and they illustrate the advantages this holds for learners' academic achievement in the contexts of primary schooling. Yet an underlying issue in this literature is a growing concern with the academic writing challenges of adolescent writers in high school, and thus the next section explores some gains of SFL in secondary school contexts.

Secondary school studies

SFL research with its focus on language in social contexts has led to significant interest in subject-specific literacy and strong advocacy of the importance of secondary school subject area specialists and the role that language plays across different curriculum areas, according to Christie and Derewianka (2008). They argue that primary school learners are exposed to the language of science and disciplinary texts that need explicit induction (Halliday, 1993); this was followed by the work of Martin and his colleagues that then looked at how language functions in science, history and geography texts in secondary school (Coffin, 1996, 1997; Eggins, Wignell, & Martin, 1993; Iedema, Feez, & White, 1994; Martin, 1998Veel & Coffin, 1996). Following in this tradition, Gibbons (2007) also identified and illustrated the highly demanding intellectual practices required in science and history classrooms with linguistically and culturally diverse learners. This study focused on the curriculum cycle, in order to set out the knowledge field in relation to ideas and concepts of the discipline and thus assist learners to move between concrete and abstract knowledge and make connections between spoken and written discourses. It accordingly highlighted the advantages of explicitly teaching the language demands of disciplinary texts: an approach especially beneficial for minority learners.

From the above-mentioned work in the SFL camp it is apparent that when learners make the transition to secondary schooling they are expected to demonstrate proficiency in more complex language across the curriculum and therefore teachers need to understand how language is used to construct knowledge in the content subjects in order to mediate

a simultaneous engagement with content and language learning (Schleppegrell & O'Hallaron, 2011). If language in a particular content area and its disciplinary registers is not explicitly taught, this can have more severe consequences for additional language learners of English (Dutro & Moran, 2003; Scarcella, 2003; Short, 1991, 2002). For instance, in physics scientists draw on grammatical metaphor to package complex phenomena as a single element in a clause: that is, adverbs become adjectives, turning processes into nouns, and nouns function as adjectivals which creates noun phrases (Halliday, 1998). Scaffolding the use of grammatical metaphor for specifically additional languages users can therefore highlight the ways that scientists use language to make science information flow in texts. Grammatical metaphor as a resource has been explored in both home and additional language learners' textual development at secondary schools in Stockholm, where findings indicate that this resource was utilized more by home language learners and that this gave their texts lexical density and abstraction (Magnusson, 2013). These findings illustrate that integration of content and language is an important pedagogical strategy to scaffold academic language and specialized registers for additional language learners.

The integration of content and language is taken seriously in Europe, in the form of Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) initiatives (Whitaker, 2010). One such CLIL project, focused on history as a subject taught in English at all the Madrid secondary schools, drew on SFL grammar to highlight to teachers that explicit teaching of nominal groups, as well as expression of cause and evaluation as language resources can guide learners to control the history academic register. Data consisting of recorded classroom interaction during a summary session as well as written texts was collected from two classes. Interestingly teachers in this project stated that they became more aware of the role of language in their disciplines and the potential that SFL grammar has to offer CLIL initiatives in relation to academic language development. Reiterating the concerns about equity and accountability in the US resulted in a renewed interest in exploring the academic English language development of learners in secondary schools (Spycher, 2007). Spycher's case study focused on grade 11 learners with early intermediate proficiency in English and highlighted that their limited academic literacy skills interfered with high school graduation success and accessing academic pathways post-school. The study argued for the importance of explicit teaching of academic language and drew on SFL's curriculum cycle to explicitly scaffold learners'

development of authoritative writers' stance through nominalization, modality, and the use of conjunctions to concede points relevant to the developing argument necessary for expository writing. The findings show that using the curriculum cycle and SFL linguistic analysis enabled learners to become more aware of the expectations of academic writing and to increasingly include the linguistic features of expository writing.

From this viewpoint, additional language learners in secondary schools need to learn the assumptions, procedures, hidden rules, and purposes of academic or scientific writing, and teachers need to engage with a pedagogy that explicitly focuses on the discipline-specific structural and functional features of various types of disciplinary writing (Halliday & Martin, 1993; Unsworth, 2001). Such a sophisticated approach is built on the assumption that academic language development occurs when learners mimic the writing practices of professionals in authentic contexts because this will engage them with genres such as procedural recounts, explanations, descriptive reports, taxonomic reports, expositions, and discussions. In other words, this process will equip learners with understanding of how language functions in real-life contexts. However, secondary schools teacher development projects that support and foster teachers' creative implementation of genre-based approaches are crucial, to avoid the risk of teachers interpreting them in traditional teaching style as rigid sets of rules.

All in all, knowledge of SFL can facilitate the integration of language and content across the curriculum and can hold educational advantages for academic writing proficiency when learners make the transition from secondary schooling to tertiary education.

University-based studies

The transition from school to university is a complex space where diverse students have to integrate a set of scholarly discourses that could be close to or far removed from their prior learning experiences, where writing (and language proficiency) is commonly under assessment and the ability to write well carries high cultural capital (Krause, 2001). Martin and White (2005) in discussing the centrality of interpersonal meaning in written texts state that, "across all the discourse domains it proved necessary to explore in what contexts, by what linguistic means and to what rhetorical ends writers pass value judgements, attribute their propositions to outside sources or modalise their utterances" (http://www.grammatics.com/appraisal/AppraisalOutline/Framed/Frame). While Martin

and White are referring here to the textual demands in schools, this comment is particularly important for tertiary study where the ability to construct a nuanced and reasoned argument becomes crucial in all disciplines because at this level, first year students need to demonstrate understanding of complex language usage within various disciplinary domains; they need to understand the metadiscourse within disciplines ,that is, language that situates knowledge in the field, language that evaluates and signposts disciplinary knowledge in logical form. The ability to create meaning in scholarly contexts thus requires understanding of how disciplinary texts work and student success is dependent on their academic writing proficiency.

Research on academic writing proficiency is context-dependent: for example in the US the focus is on freshman and basic writing compulsory composition courses, in Australia it is linguistically informed, drawing on SFL, and in the UK there has been a move from English for Academic Purposes towards Academic Literacies which has also been taken up by researchers at the University of Cape Town (UCT) in South Africa. In most of these contexts, widening participation to include minority students resulted in a focus on skills-based discourses, but proponents of Academic Literacies argue for the underpinning of literacy as social practice, as a critique against dominant institutional deficit discourses and as a sensitive response towards student transition into new ways of knowing, understanding, interpreting and organizing knowledge (Street & Lea, 1998; Lillis, 2001; Lillis & Scott, 2007). Accordingly, they argue that acquisition of academic literacy is complex and a site of identity negotiation, and in South Africa this is even more challenging because most students learn in an additional language at under-resourced schools.

In the South African context, practices at a previously 'white' institution engaged in widening access to include minority students resulted in a group of researchers critiquing dominant and traditional 'deficit' discourses of these new entrants and thus aligning with New Literacy Studies and the notion of writing as social practice (Lillis & Scott, 2007; Thesen, 2007; Thesen & Van Pletzen, 2006, Kapp, 2002; Angelil-Carter, 2000). Therefore, their focus is on changing pedagogical thinking about practice and they emphasize that students' writing is situated within relationships around teaching and learning that impact on the extent to which students come to write successfully in higher education. More importantly, they highlight how space contributes towards positive or

negative identities when students "…[are] learning not only to communicate in particular ways, but are learning how to 'be' particular kinds of people: that is, to write 'as academics', 'as geographers', 'as social scientists'" (Lillis et al 2003, 10;) Their research projects thus give attention to the relational element between academic writing and the personal and social identities of students from diverse educational backgrounds, cultures, linguistic repertoires and classes as critique against discourses of fixing student challenges with writing.

Whilst powerful as a critique of skills-based practices, Academic Literacies has yet to be developed as a pedagogical frame from which to plan curricular tasks in relation to writing (Kress, 1998, 2000; Lillis & Scott, 2007). In fact, in focusing on the literacy practices of student writers, detailed textual analysis is neglected and there is a call to "Develop ethnographically sensitive text analytical tools…[to] bring the text back into the frame…[in] a dynamic way" (Lillis & Scott, 2007). As a result, SFL's genre-based approaches that deal with texts in social contexts could offer pedagogical direction to modules informed by literacy as social practices theory, because it can illuminate the transition issues in student writing and, more importantly, the ways that student texts reveal identities associated with the self as author as well the discoursal self.

Even though there is very little work on SFL genre-based approaches in relation to academic writing in university contexts, the handful of studies that do exist is predominantly in Australia (Rose, Farrington & Page, 2008; Promwinai, 2010) and in Asia (Emillia, 2005; Kongpetch, 2006; Ho, 2009). In Australia there has been some focus on 'Scaffolding Academic Literacy' to accelerate the learning of indigenous undergraduate health science students (Rose et al, 2008) and also on the quality of argumentative writing of two postgraduate students as a means to highlight additional linguistic resources they might require to increase their academic success at an Australian university (Promwinai, 2010). In Asia there is a focus on SFL genre-based pedagogy as a resource to develop the English writing proficiency of 19 student teachers registered for a writing course on argumentative texts (Emillia, 2005; see also Kongpetch, 2006) as well as exploring SFL in developing the writing proficiency of a second year student studying in the science disciplines through English as an additional language (Ho, 2009). All these studies focus on SFL pedagogy in relation to students' existing linguistic resources as a means to understand student writing in diverse contexts

and to make explicit the value of grammatical resources associated with interpersonal, experiential and textual meaning in texts.

SFL genre-based pedagogy is currently receiving attention in UK contexts where researchers are exploring the advantages of combining Academic Literacies and SFL genre-based approaches (see Gardener, 2012; Coffin & Donohue, 2012; Wingate, 2012). As a result, SFL is being used by an increasing number of studies at this level, to which this study hopes to add. First, it will shed light on the school conditions that shape habitus and the associated writer habitus that emerges after 12 years of schooling; then this study situates writer habitus visible in student texts as a frame to inform SFL-based academic literacies programmes. Finally, it can shed light on the necessity of institutional support to create field-specific conditions that align with diverse primary habituses; in particular those habituses that provide resources to encourage rather than impede transformation to academic dispositions and discourses.

This Act focused on Bourdieu's thinking tools which can be seen as compatible with SFL in that Bourdieu also views language as powerful in constructing social reality. Therefore, it can be argued that Bourdieu's notion of *habitus* as mould based on history and upbringing might be visible in student texts as they wrestle with varying degrees of success to control these meanings and take up appropriate discoursal identities. Finally, the different forms and amounts of cultural capital with which they enter the university might materially affect their ability to engage in the necessary disciplinary practices. In this regard, if students' cultural capital does not include the ability to control textual meaning, this may have the most impact because if texts are incoherent, then it can mean the difference between success and failure when writing in educational contexts. Command of textual meaning thus has very high value on the grade 12 and first year university market.

ACT THREE: Tools of my Trade

3.0 Introduction: Managing performances

The previous Act highlighted the theoretical framing of my dissertation. Act Three builds on it by introducing the role of ethnography as discipline and method for exploring writer identities as contextualized in two diverse settings. It consists of two scenes: the first focuses on a theoretical discussion of ethnography as methodology; then in Scene Two I use the analytical framework of reflexivity to describe the process of gaining access to the field and the entanglement of 'multiple selves' that emerged during my fieldwork. When front stage I often needed to adjust my behaviour to conform to the prevailing norms and values of the different institutional sites; this masking of what I felt to be my true self led to moments of complication prior to access and during my fieldwork. Accordingly, in Act Three I declare that I see through ethnographic lenses and that my lenses will yield particular data and tell a particular story located in a specific time and context.

3.1 SCENE ONE: Ethnographic framing

Castaneda (2006), drawing on the notion of invisible street theatre (Boal, 1992), argues that ethnography can be viewed metaphorically as an analogue of invisible theatre because it projects a particular form of knowledge in the pursuit of transforming society. Therefore, the ethnographic framing of this study is performative; it involves interactive performances like invisible theatre but it is structured, shaped, and conceived within my research question, theoretical frames and research design. This means that I entered the field with some kind of methodological and theoretical script; I was not a clean slate waiting to be filled with field experiences. Consequently, while in the field I performed the role of actor and spectator at one and the same time; thus doing ethnography involved 'looking' at myself within the multitude of ethnographic scenes co-created with the cast at the two schools where my study was located.

3.1.1 Creating ethnographic scenes

Using an ethnographic lens can be daunting, especially since there are many perceptions of what ethnography is and what it is not (Pole & Morrison, 2003; Blommaert, 2007). Touching on the framing of ethnography, Lillis (2008) mentions that it is often listed as a method,

alongside interviews, observations and document analysis, rather than being perceived as a methodology (see Juzwik et al., 2006). As a result, ethnography is often seen as reductionist in its methods, techniques of data collection and fieldwork, with the concomitant perception that it is overly subjective and that ethnographers simply tell subjective stories. Defining ethnography is therefore complex: in fact, Blommaert and Dong Jie (2009) call it a "strange scientific phenomenon" (p.4). However, McCarty (2010) points out that ethnography "already contains ontologies, methodologies and epistemologies that are integral to the anthropological tradition" (p.10).

This means that ethnography has a history: that it is underpinned by a particular knowledge tradition, and should be seen as a fully fledged methodology with a specific epistemology and ontology. Further, doing ethnography means engaging with specific communities of practice, ways of doing and specialized discourses. For example, ethnography places central focus on the context, time and situation under scrutiny: it argues that an understanding of local contexts is useful in explaining the ways that outside forces regulate internal beliefs, behaviours and practices. Therefore, the participants or community under scrutiny are always a "uniquely situated reality" that occurs in a complex configuration of time, place and behaviours: ethnographers work in a space or under a series of conditions that can never be repeated (Blommaert & Dong Jie, 2010, p. 17; Blommaert, 2007).

Moreover, according to McCarty (2010), ethnography is a fully-fledged intellectual research tradition that is much more than just a description of the lives of participants. It is rooted in anthropology and this has ontological and epistemological significance for researchers drawing on ethnography (Blommaert & Dong Jie, 2010; Darnell, 1998; Davies, 2009). Significantly, these roots are in deeply humanistic anthropological traditions: it is interested in the perspective of participants as a means to make sense of phenomena in unique contexts. Such contexts are situated in both the participants' point of view (the e*mic* or 'insider's position') as well as the researcher's (*etic* or outsider) point of view (Gumperz and Hymes, 1972; Blommaert, 2007). Another significant feature of ethnography is the researcher's immersion in the world of participants over long periods of time, which allows for contextualisation of cultural phenomena based on social and historical contexts across time and space, and thus results in 'thick descriptions'. Finally, ethnography positions language as an active process intertwined in layers of power relations, so that participants' access to language resources has different meanings and is not viewed as neutral but rather as an

identity marker and a site of tension and friction. Overall, ethnography situates language within wider patterns of human behaviour (Blommaert & Dong Jie, 2010; McCarty, 2010; Blommaert, 2007, 2009).

3.1.2 Ethnographic developments

As ethnography highlights the importance of everyday accounts in local contexts and provides insights into participants' lives and the contexts affecting participants' lives, the reflective role of researchers during the research process is critical (McCarty, 2010, Blommaert, 2009, Troman, Jeffrey & Walford, 2005). For this reason, ethnographers wrestle with ways to provide a perspective and space for the voices of others while accounting for researchers' subjectivities as sources of potential bias. Thus what counts as good and true ethnography is a highly complex and contested issue (Walford, 2007; Heath & Street, 2008; Blommaert, 2009). It involves constant learning, observing, reflecting, assessing and then arriving at some kind of hunch during certain stages of the research project. Consequently, using ethnographic lenses can be messy and fraught with moments of complex entanglement between the researcher, the researched and the setting. Finding a way through the messiness of ethnographic research involves understanding its epistemological roots: findings will not claim representativeness or objectivity, will not claim to produce uncontaminated evidence but will rather produce theoretical statements of the location, event or setting (Blommaert, 2007).

Due to the nature of ethnography and its reliance on participant observation, ethnographic researchers face firmly negative commentary from positivist researchers - commentary directed at what they see as the subjective nature of ethnographic research (McCarty, 2010; Blommaert, 2007; Davies, 2009; Heath & Street, 2008; Walford, 2007, 2005; Pole, 2003). The positivist suggestion that ethnographers shape their research around merely telling stories about their participants poses issues of validity and reliability that misconstrue the value added through ethnographic research. This misconstruing of ethnography can be quite daunting for emerging ethnographers in that their projects can be attacked as not real, being value-laden, and thus not true research. However, facts, truth and reality can be contested and as such ethnographers are firm in their belief that their endeavour is not to produce God-like facts but rather to produce accounts of the social world based on participants' views (McCarty, 2010; Blommaert, 2007; Walford, 2007, 2005). Ethnographic projects can thus be seen as valid in that they give account of participants in the field, using a range of data

collection techniques. Yet, this does not account for the role of the researcher in the field and Bourdieu (1977, 1990, 1994) argues that to bridge the divide between positivist and interpretative research, it is crucial that the dialectical relationship between the field, the participants and the researcher needs to be explored, that is, the researcher needs to objectify him/herself as well as the epistemological and methodical knowledge that they draw on to construct meaning in the field. Accordingly, he argues that "Only a reflexive method guards against an overly constructed interpretation, where the researchers' conclusions can be regarded as the uncovering of a God-given truth" (Bourdieu, cited in Grenfell & James, 1998, p. 176). Thus the notion of reflexivity has become central and fundamental in ethnographic pursuits as it can shed light on the nature of the research, the circumstances and the quality of interaction and observation as it occurred in the field (McCarty, 2010; Blommaert & Dong Jie, 2010; Blommaert, 2009; Davies, 2009; Heath &Street, 2008; Walford, 2007, 2005).

The notion of reflexivity emerged due to the contested and complex debates concerning representation in qualitative (and specifically in ethnographic) research, which was often critiqued as subjective story-telling: "... epistemological foundations have been shaken by a general loss of faith in received stories about the nature of representation" (Geertz, 1988, p.135). Thus, questions about validation and legitimization of qualitative research have proliferated (Davies, 2009; Pillow, 2003; Lather, 1995, 1993; Marcus & Fischer, 1986; Rosaldo, 1989). Initial conversations and debates raised critical issues around the politics and power of the *gaze* in qualitative research. In other words, representation and legitimization of findings which are predominantly written up by researchers located in their own contexts and worldviews becomes a contested issue. As a result, most publications on qualitative research now advocate reflexivity for enhancing the reliability and validity of representation (Britzman, 1995; Wasserfall, 1997).

Reflexivity is often employed as a methodological tool by scholars in various disciplines using critical, feminist, race-based, or post-structural theories, as a means to enhance representation and legitimization or to call research data and findings into question. However, most researchers use reflexivity without defining how they are using it, as if it is something we all commonly understand and accept as standard methodological practice for critical qualitative research (Pole, 2003; Pillow, 2003). This lack of definition foregrounds the debates and complexities of what it means to do qualitative research after poststructuralism (St. Pierre & Pillow, 2000). Nonetheless, the most visible theme is researchers' subjectivity

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during the research process – the spotlight is on the identity of researchers and the role that they play in the field: that is, how knowledge is acquired, organized, and interpreted, and how this is relevant or impacts on the claims made (McCarty, 2010; Davies, 2009). Therefore, questioning the role of the researcher has generated more questions about researchers' ability to represent their participants or to know fully.

However, some scholars argue that the debates on reflexivity are exaggerated, that it is "research wallowing", and, at worst, that it weakens the conditions necessary for objective research (Kemmis, 1995; Patai, 1994, p. 64). For example, Patai (1994) argues that "people who stay up nights worrying about representation" are privileged academics engaging in methodological self-absorption. He suggests: "At present, in my view, we are spending much too much time wading in the morass of our own positionings" (1994, p. 69). Yet, the solution is not to stop talking about researcher identity and how this identity lends itself to certain positions, makes other positions almost impossible and shapes data or findings. Rather, we need to move away from too much self-absorption towards the ways in which our research identity opens up or limit the possibilities for critical representations.

The next section details the research methods and the analytical procedures that I followed to gain access to the field and while engaged in the research process.

3.1.3 Research methods

Fieldwork is the cornerstone of ethnographic research and its complexities are a huge focus of ethnographic discussions and reflection. The complex and chaotic nature of being in the field is emphasized by Blommaert and Dong Jie (2010) as, "...often a period of deep frustration, disappointment and confusion, sometimes even bitter tears" (p. 24). In the field, researchers, participants and space connect and become intimately interwoven. Therefore, fieldwork contains moments of uncertainty and these moments and issues are not normally highlighted or written about in dissertations. Yet ethnography can provide an additional dimension of reflection on the moments that led to unplanned events and their impact on the outcome of the research.

Tools of the trade to produce the stories of the vulnerable

In order to familiarize themselves with local ways of doing, seeing and valuing, ethnography offers unique and diverse methods that can be seen as tools of the ethnographic trade and include (among many others) ethnographic fieldnotes, participant observation, interviewing and document collection.

Ethnographic fieldnotes

The nature of fieldnotes and specifically the writing of ethnographic fieldnotes has become a huge discussion point in ethnographic research over the last twenty-five years (Sanjek, 1990; Jackson, 1990; Ottenberg, 1990; Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 1995). These discussions highlight a gap in many ethnographic guides in that they take for granted the existence of a set of fieldnotes without offering much advice on how to write them. Writing fieldnotes is now seen as an important skill to develop in order to improve the quality of ethnographic research: for example, Davies (1995) declares, "We reject both the sink or swim method of training ethnographers and the attitude that ethnography involves no special skills or no skills beyond those a college-educated person possesses" (p. xi). This indeed implies that ethnographic skills need to be developed and *sharpened over time* and that ethnography is not an ad hoc, unplanned, impromptu and informal methodology but a systematic, rigorous and meticulous research tradition. Accordingly, explicit guidelines and suggestions are necessary to address gaps in thinking around what exactly constitutes ethnographic fieldnotes, and expand emergent ethnographers' skills.

Coding of fieldnotes and interviews

One approach to developing guidelines is discussed by Emerson, Fretz and Shaw (1995). Drawing on interpretative ethnography, the authors highlight the importance of scrutinizing fieldnotes as they develop in the field, in order to pick up on technical, interactional, personal and theoretical issues as they emerge during the research process. Thus taking stock of unintended, unexpected or unplanned occurrences during observation and immersion in the field can illuminate the impact of meso and macro factors on local conditions and contexts. Therefore, interrogating fieldnotes as they are written allows for a deeper analysis of data. Hence, ethnographic fieldnotes should include deeper reflexive writing on the ways that our epistemologies and methods, our presence and who we are impact on our participants.

Participant observation

Researchers themselves are primary instruments and partially construct what happens at the site during fieldwork (Walford, 2005, 2007; Heath & Street, 2008; Blommaert, 2009; McCarty, 2010). Understanding the context and phenomenon under scrutiny requires particular qualities because of the duality of the researcher's role. As participant observers they are both 'outsiders' and 'insiders'; they both observe and participate in the field. It is therefore crucial that researchers analyse their own experiences when gaining access and doing fieldwork: "Understanding emerges out of interaction between me as a researcher and the situation within which I find myself – out of the questions that emerge from my response to the situation" (Williams, 1990, p. 254). Thus it is through reflection that researchers interrogate how the research processes influence the context, the researcher and the researched, and understand findings as our own reordering and rewriting of a lived reality. Although the literature highlights what participant observation is and how it should be conducted, and situates the levels of participation, it should also be emphasized that it is a process fraught with risks and dilemmas (McCarty, 2010; Blommaert, 2009; Davies, 2009; Walford, 2007, 2005; Pole, 2003). Firstly, researchers may be plagued by the 'objective versus subjective' dichotomy. Secondly, the extent to which researchers participate in the field could also be dependent on their age, gender, class, and ethnicity. Finally, being a researcher and an outsider doing participant observation is highly dependent on the group members' willingness to provide access that allows for researcher insider status. All in all, ethnographers must be aware of the complexity of access, objectivity, and community expectation (Blommaert & Jie, 2010; Merriam, 1998).

Interviews

Ethnographic interviews are conceptualized as humanistic and interpretative in various ways. However, where interpretative research sees interviews as simply a continuum where researchers move between informal, unstructured and structured modes of interviewing, recently a stronger constructivist stance has suggested that the interview itself is entangled in power relations (Blommaert, 2007; Pole & Morrison, 2003). From this perspective, the positionality of researcher and participant is at the heart and purpose of ethnographic interviews; the interview itself is a construct where both researchers and participants are engaged in the construction of making meaning (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 1995). Thus, interviews are interactive and co-constructed through interviewers' and participants' perceptions of each other and their respective subject locations, which in turn have a bearing

on the nature and outcome of the interview. It thus becomes important for researchers to be aware of their own assumptions as well as their emotional responses in an interview, because these may be in direct conflict with those of participants. If our own assumptions are not made explicit we run the risk of framing questions in a way that might lead towards a particular response. Consequently, while ethnographic interviews are associated with procedures that appear unstructured, this does not make them disordered, chaotic or haphazard. Instead, interviews within this framework require even more systematic planning and reflection on the researcher effect, in order to account for it as themes developed during the interview process (Blommaert and Dong Jie, 2010, Pole and Morrison, 2003).

Document analysis

The role of document analysis is to record and understand communication of meaning in textual modes in order to make links with theoretical relationships (Walford, 2005, 2007). Document analysis can engage with national policies, provincial circulars and local contextual guidelines with the purpose of making sense of language in these texts, reflected in various modes such as format, style, and visuals. Consequently, policy documents can shed some light on the underpinning beliefs, values and ideologies in relation to pedagogy, teaching, learning and assessment as well as highlighting the cultural and institutional factors that influence routine school practices. Understanding language use in such documents can shed light on the ways that they regulate and guide teachers' practices which in turn provides themes to look for during interviews and participant observation. Accordingly, the researcher must aim to be systematic and analytic, but with a reflexive rather than rigid stance, embracing endless discovery, in order to continuously compare relevant issues and probe language use and images that contribute towards meaning-making. However, conducting document analysis alone is not enough in seeking to understand unique local school practices.

3.1.4   Analytical procedures

One issue in analysing data in ethnographic research is that not all researchers agree on when exactly this process should and does occur (Blommaert & Dong Jie, 2010, Pole & Morrison, 2003; Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 1995). For some it starts before the research, others believe it starts in the field and for others it starts after data collection is finished. Thus, in ethnographic research there is no distinct, clear-cut phase at which to start data collection. In the present study I found that data analysis began prior to fieldwork and continued through all the phases as a recursive process through which I attempted to deepen my understanding.

In order to engage with my data, I first transcribed and coded my daily classroom discourse fieldnotes and looked for themes relating to SFL genre-based approaches; then I coded these fieldnotes as well as those associated with space, learners, teachers and management, drawing on Bourdieu's concepts of *field*, *habitus* and *capital* in order to gain insights into the local contextual practices at each school. Here, a combination of SFL and Bourdieu opened up a space to explain school histories, identities and cultural practices in and outside of the classroom.

Secondly, I transcribed and grouped my ethnographic interviews at both schools and then coded them for patterns. After this, I grouped these patterns into tentative themes as comparative data based on similarities and differences, and used these themes to initiate follow-up conversations at both schools. Here, I drew on Bourdieu to illuminate the ways in which national policies constructed perceptions of local practices as well as to foreground positionings enacted in local contexts.

Thirdly, I conducted content analysis of the national policies for language education. Here, drawing on SFL genre-based theory assisted me in understanding language teaching and learning theories and pedagogies and the consequences of these policies for constructing sound writer identities. This lens was also useful for evaluating the extent to which curriculum, pedagogy and assessment tools inducted learners into the key 'genres of schooling' (such as information report, explanation and argument) necessary for success across the curriculum at school and university. Then, I analysed school-based documents, drawing on SFL and Bourdieu to help me highlight the ways in which routine practices were aligned to national policies, and to open up aspects like the organizing practices at school, the differing kinds of cultural capital and the conversion of this capital into other forms of cultural and symbolic capital at these two schools. Finally, in the content analysis of grade 12 language question papers and first year student scripts, drawing on SFL allowed for a rigorous linguistic analysis that could foreground the extent to which writers managed the three metafunctions (ideational, interpersonal and textual) as the basis for coherent, well-structured, genre-appropriate writing.

The next scene highlights reflexivity and what it offered in relation to the personal, methodological and epistemological insights that I gained. Below follows an account of the moments of complication prior to access and during fieldwork, and the methods that I used to collect and analyse data.

3.2 SCENE TWO: A window into my world of gaining access

This scene focuses on the notion of reflexivity and the implications it holds for my own study. It builds on the previous scene by explaining why and how reflexivity informed my experiences as a researcher and writer of this dissertation.

3.2.1 Being a participant in the field

In the field, I faced many dramatic and unanticipated moments that had implications for power, identity and agency. I encountered many intersects where the self and the researcher were inextricably entangled due to issues of epistemology and research methodology in relation to the field that I entered. Consequently, I experienced the research project as fraught with tension associated with power, identity and politics. This connected with my literature review of Bourdieu and his notions of the dichotomy between objective and subjective research. He cautioned me as researcher to be aware of my words and to understand that they carried the power to construct labels: because I was at the centre of what would emerge as findings, I had power to represent (or misrepresent) my participants in unintended ways. This created an awareness of the ways that my personal history, life trajectory and cultural background impacted on my data; and thus these elements became another ethno-drama that needed to be opened up and made visible. Researchers need to be aware of their own contribution when they construct meaning, throughout the entire research process: they must understand that the researcher, as primary instrument to convey meaning, cannot claim to be neutral and 'outside of the field'. Consequently, reflexivity requires that researchers explore the ways in which they are intimately entangled with their study: how they have acted upon it and informed the findings or knowledge contributed (McCarty, 2010; Blommaert & Dong Jie, 2010; Blommaert, 2009; Davies, 2009; Heath & Street, 2008; Walford, 2007, 2005; Willig, 2005; Pole, 2003; Baker, 1998; Darnell, 1998).

Furthermore, it was through ethnography and within reflexivity that I found solace when I found it hard to understand certain developments such as aspects of my emotional state at schools. I wondered at first why I was drawn to Bourdieu, why I had chosen ethnography. In due course I realized that the literature and methodology used in my study revealed elements of my own history with teaching and learning, and the writing challenges I had myself experienced at school. My reflections started to flow within two conscious categories: a

reflexivity connected to the personal self that was emerging in the field, and, on the other hand, a reflexivity related to epistemological and methodological issues.

Phase 1: Becoming the researcher

I decided to conduct fieldwork at two feeder schools in close proximity to the university, referred to here as school A and school B. Both schools were racially classified under apartheid rule, school A serving a white community and School B being reserved for coloured learners who would thus have differential access to resources (see Act Four, Scene Two). As a lecturer involved in academic literacy and working with first year students I became interested in gaining insights into how different school contexts with differential access to resources impact on the construction of writer identities at the end of the Further Education and Training Phase (FET). The participants were two grade 10 English classes because grade 10 is the initiation point for the FET Phase and thus an important site for investigating the ways in which writing identities are negotiated, contested and constructed.

My initial intention was to observe identified English Home Language (HL) and English as Additional Language (EAL) classes at both schools. School A offered only 'English' classes: however, its learners were classified as 'subset' one or two; the latter being unable to cope without additional English support. I therefore initially followed both the subset one and two English classes at school A whereas at school B I followed both HL and EAL classes, seeking to understand the contexts in both classroom and school settings. However, from the beginning of February 2012 I worked more closely with the subset two class at School A and the EAL class at School B, because my fieldnotes revealed that even though these schools had contrasting access to financial resources, the representation of past racial histories, cultures and identities of learners in both contexts could be classified as EAL. In order to understand how differential resources impact on the construction of writer identities, I was a participant observer in these classes, following learners from grade 10 until they reached the of end of grade 11. I also analysed documents and conducted ethnographic interviews in the form of face to face casual conversations and social media chats. At the same time, I asked first year Bachelor of Education students who had attended school A and school B for permission to analyse their writing of assignments for an Academic Literacy module.

Phase 2: Gaining access to the field

Like all social scientists, ethnographers must negotiate access into the field and each experience is fraught with its own particular positive and negative aspects (Pole & Morrison, 2003; Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 1995). For example, with no gatekeeper to make access easier, managing entry into school contexts can be demanding both from a personal and professional perspective. Despite gaining permission from Western Cape Education Department (WCED) to conduct research at both schools, my telephonic and email correspondence resulted in different school responses. Interestingly, although I attached the required documentation such as the WCED research permission letter, my ethical clearance and my research proposal, at school A my correspondence was largely ignored for months, whereas at school B a meeting was scheduled with the principal almost immediately after their receipt of my letter. At school B, I was introduced to the teacher co-ordinating student teacher placement and together with the teachers in the English Department we agreed on the timeframes of my research project. The lack of response to my correspondence with school A necessitated that I ask first year students who had attended school A for assistance in gaining access. On their suggestion, I entered School A during July 2011 via the student teacher placement coordinator. Thus, prior to access my fieldnotes highlighted that school positioning plays a role in the bureaucratic field.

I visited schools on Mondays to Wednesdays and alternated between school A and school B, spending two weeks in each school per month, from 21 July, 2011 to 1 December, 2012. During 2013 I did follow-up visits from 1 February to 30 April with the teachers that I had worked with, in order to highlight themes as they emerged from the data and to have informal conversations for additional clarification.

Phase 3: Becoming the participant observer

I found that becoming a participant observer was not a simple 'given': the process was exhausting and fraught with issues of identity construction, negotiation and complications. First, my experience and qualifications did not hold much value in these contexts and as a result my offer of assistance was initially ignored: school A's position in the field as one of the best schools in the province resulted in my research identity being ignored while school B's position resulted in some kind of mistrust in the ability of research to transform their context of learning and teaching. Secondly, my professional identity as a teacher and

currently involved in teacher training was largely questioned: at School A I was informed that they had a standard and that I could only assist with marking while sitting with one of the teachers from the English Department; while at School B even though I was given essays to mark the teacher told me, "… *you will make all the grade eights fail English*" (15 November, 2011). Thirdly, being in the field awakened my racial identity: at school A the principal did not announce who I was and why I was there in the staffroom, although after a month he claimed to be pleased to announce that *"... a female exchange student in Grade 12 from London has graced us with her presence ... I provided her with the office next to Ms White…"* [17 August 2011] while at school B my racial identity resulted in teacher perceptions of me being able to relate to their contexts and the *"... hooligans that we teach ... you kids from these communities will not amount to much..."* (17 September, 2011).

In addition, my identity as a female resulted in contextual dilemmas: a male teacher who apparently considered himself to be an outsider at school A started to confide in me, and this influenced perceptions of my female identity, so that at the end of the first fieldwork stage I was warned about this teacher's intentions. Therefore, access and fieldwork impacted on my identity in complex and unforeseen ways and participant observation was a process fraught with initial challenges and dilemmas.

Being the insider while still being the outsider inside

In order not to disrupt or disturb the natural setting, I used mental notes in the field and only jotted down significant thoughts when teachers that I followed had a break from teaching. During this stage I also noted my emotional state at times, registering that I found the field at both schools extremely strange, intimidating and hostile even though everyone was apparently friendly and professional towards me. I wondered why I was experiencing this so severely, because the teachers were not threatened by my presence. A clue to my reactions emerge early on one day when I was alone in the staffroom in school A and a senior teacher entered saying, "*Oh good, here is nobody*" and this statement brought home to me that I had no status in this world. This brought forth almost forgotten, deep-rooted aspects of my identity (that is, of my race, gender and culture) that I felt in both schools, but even more strongly in School A. The physical space was a reminder of what I was denied during apartheid; an older white teacher making this seemingly innocent remark was a reminder that our skin colours and genders were different; and being *nobody* for me meant that I had no culture. At school B my racial identity was natural; but even here I was mostly alien and felt

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like 'the other': this physical space reminded me how teachers had changed since I was a learner at school. After teaching a lesson to grade 12s the teacher remarked on my enthusiasm and learners' involvement as, "… *you are living in a fanta-bubble…*" [23 May 2012]; and the grade 10 teacher that I worked with mockingly told me during a lesson with her learners, "…*don't use such big words, they will never understand you…*" [17 October 2012]. Yet, despite the moments of complication, my role changed as I was gradually accepted as peripheral member of their community towards the beginning of the 2012 academic year. This peripheral role was further established when teachers at both schools requested that I assist with marking; my value had increased. Nevertheless, I realized that my competence was questioned when teachers assured me that they would take on mentoring roles to ensure that I did not compromise standards at their schools: At School A I was given two essays to mark over the weekend and the Monday thereafter I was to submit these essays for evaluation of my marking competence; meanwhile at School B the teacher discussed the essay rubric, checked the result, then gave me feedback and warned me to be lenient. It seems that after weeks and months of exhaustion and anxiety, I finally became a peripheral participant on her way towards full participant observation and thus able to make full use of ethnographic tools.

Phase 4: Analysing the data

At the start of my research I analysed the Western Cape Education Department (WCED) Grade Twelve Examination Reports (2009, 2010) to get a sense of the success rate of the learners at these two schools in general and of their English language performance specifically. During fieldwork, I first wrote extensive fieldnotes and identified themes related to the research questions, methodology, epistemology and personal experiences. At the end of each week, I made conceptual memos of my fieldnotes and observations which I then added to mind maps that related to the concepts in my theory. Secondly, I started to transcribe informal interviews as well as classroom audio recordings of observed lessons from both schools in order to gain insights into the impact of school history, the availability of various forms of capital and the institutional habitus. These were coded into similarities and differences in order to identify themes, which then assisted me in identifying other questions or leads to follow up on when I returned to these schools. Thirdly, I did document analysis while marking learner scripts at both schools: I took note of the discourses of writing and assessment at schools, coded these using Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) genre-based theory and made tentative connections with concepts in my literature. Finally, I did more focused document analysis of the National Curriculum Statement (NCS) Policy (2003) and

the current Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statements (CAPS, 2011) for languages in order to understand the ways in which the macro policies impacted on local contexts. Here, I drew on SFL to highlight the theories that underpinned and guided the teaching and assessment of writing at schools, as well as using Bourdieu's concepts of *field, habitus* and *capital* to illuminate positioning in the field of secondary schooling.

Phase 5: Entering the field again and the final curtain call

I went back to schools at the start of February 2012 when the grade 10s that I had followed entered grade 11. By then I was accepted and was greeted warmly; this allowed me to visit the schools randomly when I needed additional information or when teachers asked me to assist with marking and assessment. I would sit in the staffroom, walk around, take pictures and have more casual conversations with teachers at both schools. At School B they asked me to assist with learners who had reading difficulties. It seemed that my identity had changed from being *nobody* to being someone who added value to these contexts. Furthermore, I offered creative writing workshops to grade 12 learners and was amazed at their active participation. However, their teacher mocked my teaching methodology and told me that I "*live in a Fanta-bubble*" thus indexing a negative attitude towards constructivist teaching approaches.
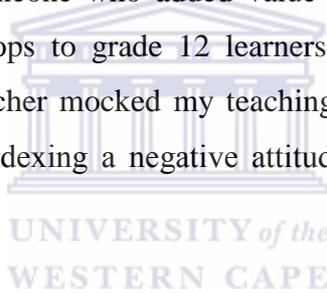
I finally left both fields towards the end of September 2012 because the grade 12 learners were starting with preparation for their final examination and the teachers that I worked with would be focusing mostly on revision with other grades. I started showing teachers my tentative themes and asked for clarification or alternative interrogations of data. However, I visited the schools during the first term of 2013 to finally highlight the final themes from interviews and classroom data for teacher input and final interrogation.

ACT FOUR: Staging the field

Overview

The overall purpose of this Act builds on the previous three Acts by analysing the observational, interview and document data in relation to the theoretical and methodological underpinnings introduced previously. Here, I am guided by Bourdieu's notions of *field, habitus* and *capital*, Halliday's SFL theory and ethnography as epistemology and method. First, Scene One foregrounds the historical and contemporary field of educational policy, its discursive framing and contested interpretation, and then identifies the number of ways in which this policy context affects the construction of writer identities in the FET Phase. Next, Scene Two is a representation of the school and classroom contexts as background, in order to shed light on the language curriculum as practised in two diverse school and classroom contexts. Then, Scene three focuses on the national exit assessment for grade 12 Languages in order to explain key aspects of classroom practice and pedagogy but also to shed light specifically on examiners' understanding of text-based theory as encapsulated in the National Curriculum Statement (NCS, 2003) and the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS, 2011) documents. Finally, Scene four analyses first year student scripts from ex-learners of the two schools in order to understand their transition into academic writing after exposure to an Academic Literacy Module and tutorial support.

4.1 SCENE ONE: The field of policy

> *I'm sorry, when National calls, you go, you don't ask questions* (Language Cluster Meeting, September 2011).

4.1.0 Introduction: The struggle for positions in the field

The above statement was made by the curriculum advisor for the north education district (which included both schools A and B), as justification for missing a previously scheduled meeting. The purpose of this meeting was to discuss the English Home Language (HL) and English Additional Language (EAL) literature studies and language and comprehension question papers and their associated memorandums. Some schools were responsible for preparing these memorandums, and the whole district then discussed and contributed towards their finalization. However, before the memorandum discussion, teacher protests

about time and logistics for attending such meetings were silenced with the above statement. Interestingly, school A and a number of other schools with a similar background did not in fact attend this meeting and some teachers remarked that, "... *it was not for them ... they don't need it and nobody questions their absence ... but if we don't come…*" [fieldnotes, 23 September, 2011). It seemed that positioning at district level was important and the sense from other schools was that the education department sanctioned various actions as appropriate, based on the history and identity of schools. Also, at district level it seemed normal to portray the Department of Basic Education (DBE) as a national entity with the power to structure behaviours, as evidenced by the above statement. Clearly, then, the statement and teachers' responses to it indicated that they knew the rules of the game and that they had limited power to contest it. Thus the position of DBE in the field resulted in a set of power relations that produced a common-sense understanding about who did what, to whom and for what purpose: that is, why institutional practices took shape the way they did.

Interestingly, at all the district meetings that I attended the well-resourced schools' attendance was haphazard and those who attended dominated the discussions, while teachers from disadvantaged schools were fighting for position, based on their matric pass rates. A number of practices at school A indicated their position in the field: firstly, DBE's official timeframes for the third term examination of 2011 were disregarded there; secondly, the English district advisor's position was largely resisted even though she was a past teacher from this school; and thirdly, compulsory Telematics sessions for matric subjects did not apply to them. These practices had symbolic value because their third term examination timetable started two weeks prior to DBE's official date and this extension of the examination period enabled team-marking and thus, more importantly, higher quality marking, due to the low learner-teacher ratio. The school also challenged DBE's formal assessment criteria for listening and speaking activities and informed the district official that they would follow their own [17 August, 2011]. In contrast, at school B there was strict adherence to the official timeframes; the examination period lasted for two weeks and English teachers were under pressure to mark a higher number of scripts. Even though they also disagreed with the official criteria for listening and speaking, these were accepted 'as is': *It's easier to just do what they want* [23 August, 2011]. Clearly, then, positioning in the field has value. School A had access to cultural capital such as their privileged history and social capital in the form of alumni (a top DBE official was a head boy of the school when

it started) and ex-teachers who occupied certain positions in the bureaucratic field. As a result, these types of capital could be converted into forms of symbolic capital; although there is one educational field, different rules apply based on your position in that field.

Since the transition to democracy, rapidly changing educational policy has been a heated and contested issue. To counter this the DBE has drawn on discourses of hierarchy and strict bureaucratic networks of accountability in the form of curriculum advisors, district managers and other support staff at district and provincial levels, with teachers positioned at the bottom end of the system and responsible for curriculum implementation. However, numerous studies have highlighted weak capacity within the new state as well as a lack of resources and the insufficient professional knowledge base of practising teachers as major contributors to the underperformance of learners at schools. These challenges have resulted in a bureaucratic discourse that blames underperformance on the poor quality of teaching together with teachers' lack of professionalism and poor disciplinary knowledge.

In this section, my intention is to shed light on the values and discourses encapsulated in the national curriculum for languages and how these relate to the construction of enabling writer identities. These underpinning values and discourses are situated in layers of historical developments and past events. For example, when I started with my research proposal I intended to focus on the National Curriculum Statement (2003), but since then there has been a shift towards the latest curriculum change, the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS, 2011). Reasons for the change are captured below in the ministerial report of the committee appointed to review the NCS (2003) implementation challenges:

> The Minister's brief was in response to wide-ranging comments […] from […] teachers, parents, teacher unions, school management and academics […] on the implementation of the National Curriculum Statement. While there has been positive support […] there has also been considerable criticism…teacher overload, confusion and stress […] learner underperformance in international and local assessments. Whilst, several minor interventions have been made over time to address some of the challenges of implementing the curriculum, these changes had not had the desired effect' (NCS Review Committee, 2009, p. 5)

The above quotation centres on a decision to implement another change in the curriculum, yet this decision is not situated in the discourse of criticism: it obscures any acknowledgement that the curriculum itself was flawed, by blaming problems on the

challenges of implementation. In fact, consecutive marked themes of concession ("While there has been positive support for the new curriculum...While several minor interventions...") position the DBE as defenders of the NCS and reduce its accountability for the fact that the curriculum "…did not have the desired effect". These representations of the curriculum illustrate an attempt to regulate the beliefs of teachers and other stakeholders. For this reason, in what follows I analyse first the content of the NCS (2003) in order to shed light on the underpinning language theories, the associated discourses, and the implications these hold for practice or pedagogy. I then move onto an analysis of the next curriculum incarnation, the CAPS (2011). My intention here is to explore the ways that these curriculum documents contributed towards enabling or constraining writer identities in the FET Phase.

4.1.1   The National Curriculum Statement setting

Curriculum 2005 (C2005) was launched in 1997, framed in a discourse of hope and aspirations. Whereas the apartheid curriculum was rooted in segregation, inequality and racism, C2005 framed education in relation to the transformation process and goals such as equity, democracy and redress. However, several contextual factors limited the potential of C2005: these included unemployment and poverty in many communities, as well as very high learner-teacher ratios and levels of teacher education. In contrast to most schools in poor communities, fee-paying schools were able to access additional funds to employ more and better trained teachers, thus keeping teacher-learner ratios low and ensuring better quality teaching. There were thus substantial and continuing inequalities among schools, reflected in differential abilities to implement an outcomes-based curriculum. During a curriculum review process in 2000 it was highlighted among other things that C2005 was vague on content and disciplinary knowledge and that this had a detrimental effect on the learning and cognitive development of learners, particularly those at disadvantaged schools (Curriculum Review Committee, 2000). After this first review, teachers had to work with an interim document, the Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS, 1997) that became the finalized version of the National Curriculum Statement (NCS, 2003).

The NCS builds on Curriculum 2005 which foregrounded Outcomes-Based Education (OBE) as the "foundation for the curriculum in South Africa". This OBE approach advocated the importance of learning programmes with clearly stipulated outcomes that needed to be relevant and appropriate to the current and anticipated future needs of the

individual, society, commerce and industry. This is a move away from the apartheid curriculum built on a syllabus-oriented view: here, by contrast, the teacher not only takes responsibility for the mediation of content but promotes critical thinking and problem solving in real life contexts and measures learners' progress in such skills. The NCS thus continued the promotion of this learner-centred approach, drawing on constructivist teaching approaches (see NCS, 2003, pp.1-4). However, like C2005, the NCS takes successful implementation for granted, because teachers in general and even more so those on the margins in disadvantaged contexts were required to implement it unquestioningly with or without theoretical knowledge of constructivist teaching and pedagogy.

Language and discourses in the NCS

The NCS policy document was published in 2003 at a time when stakeholders were beginning to evaluate the successes and failures of the new outcomes-based policies implemented after 1994, including Curriculum 2005. Thus, unsurprisingly, the purpose of the NCS policy document was to introduce and provide content information on the new curriculum after the first curriculum review (2000). The NCS dealt with issues of curriculum change, learners, teaching and learning, and was intended for teachers, school managers, district and provincial education officials, publishers, parents, academics and teacher training institutions as well as the general public. The lay-out of the policy document (see NCS, 2003) consisted of a title page that was followed by information on how to read the policy, a contents page, an overview and background that contained definitions, followed by a chronological chapter by chapter sequence. Consistent with other documents related to state legislation, the language was formal, technical and impersonal, with many definitions and explanations that explicitly included purposes, motivations, and provisions summarized in various sections of the policy. For this reason, the policy can be seen as a macro genre incorporating several social purposes: to provide information about the changes and explanations on how to implement them; to persuade stakeholders of the necessity and the value of the changes; and to provide procedures on ways to ensure implementation.

However, there were no acknowledgements of the information sources informing NCS (2003): few in-text references and no bibliographical details were present. In fact, the only two in-text references in the policy were the Constitution (1996) and the DBE (see the National Curriculum Statement, 2003, pp.1 and 5). This portrayed the DBE as the custodian

of knowledge, and thereby- even more importantly - portrayed the information in the policy as accurate and incontestable knowledge from above. Therefore, teachers' agency was represented as minimal, undermining their identity as qualified professionals of education and pedagogy. This subtext projected positive affect for bureaucratic knowledge as hierarchical, factual and able to be implemented without problems in local school contexts.

A second feature of the introduction of the NCS (see 2003, p. 1) was its framing in discourses of democracy, social transformation, human rights, social justice, unity and quality of life for all South Africans. "The adoption of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996) provided a basis for curriculum transformation and development in South Africa" (NCS, 2003, p.1). Framing the new curriculum as politically committed towards the promotion of redress, equality and equity was an indication of positive appreciation for qualities associated with democracy and a positioning of education as the pivotal point from which to alter the consequences of the past. However, this document projected a mono-vocal stance that was not to be contested, indicative of the power relations between role-players that contributed towards framing policy, as well as how policy from the top should be interpreted and acted upon. This approach made the NCS a site of discursive struggles between competing but unequal interests such as curriculum advisors, teachers and teacher unions.

In relation to language education, the NCS included a significant transformation, from traditional language teaching towards embracing a progressive theoretical underpinning that combined diverse theories such as Communicative Language Teaching (CLT), as well as Process and Text-based approaches to teaching and assessing language (pp. 46-47). The NCS emphasizes the importance of texts ("Texts are, therefore, the main source of 'content' and 'context' for the communicative, integrated learning and teaching of all languages," p.46), and thus the framing of text-based approaches repositions and reconfigures pedagogical discourse in relation to language teaching as a new set of specialized rules and skills for language teachers. However, the NCS provided policy direction but lacked guidance about the underlying linguistic theory and the associated metalanguage to enable explicit talk about language in relation to content, contexts and method. Therefore, the NCS approach addressed the extent that teachers' *understanding* of text-based approaches could and would be supported to assist with implementation; but it disregarded the skills-based approaches that most teachers had been trained in and the instructional habitus they would

thus have developed, and expected that the NCS would automatically lead to change in pedagogical practices. As a result, the NCS as the official reform document contained two types of discourses: one that focused on institutional regulations for implementing the curriculum effectively, and another that centred on the new pedagogy and methods for teaching language. It drew on history, political convictions and current democratic rhetoric to promote agreement around change, while preserving and renewing hegemonic power relations. The next section draws together the patterns that developed in relation to institutional positioning of power in policy formulation.

Institutional discourse as positioning of power

In the introductory sections, the NCS (2003, pp.1-6) is portrayed as an agent, receiving human-like agency through material and processes: "... it… lays a foundation…aims… seeks…adopts….specifies…..builds..." This positioning calls for some kind of reaction from teachers, because if the NCS 'does', then teachers need to play their part by actively participating and embracing the new curriculum. Furthermore, the NCS's authority and power was further established through the use of declarative statements that were mostly devoid of attitude, affect and negotiation. This resulted in a faceless stance, portraying the NCS as firm in its pursuit of conveying impartial, neutral and objective knowledge. These declaratives were visible in definitions and explanations of new information and carried representational meaning of 'what is' as a means to reconstruct teachers and teaching practices from 'what was'. This implicitly hinted at the DBE's conscious judgement against 'what was': that is, against past structured values, beliefs and behaviours in the field.

Moreover, the introduction of the NCS drew on a political discourse that attempted to create a sense of national unity in the field and foregrounded repetitive frames of democracy, social transformation, human rights and social justice. In this way, the new information regarding the curriculum received minimal resistance: consensus was crafted by strategically linking the Constitution (1996) and the Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy (DBE, 2001) to the principles and foundations of the NCS. Framing the new curriculum in this way established common values and beliefs around implementing change, transformation, equality and equity but it also created an assumed relationship between the curriculum and the emotional rhetoric. The political overtones aimed at continuing the process of transformation in the field explicitly situated teachers and pedagogy at the forefront of changing the way society and schools operated. As a result,

teachers were expected to think about teaching and learning in different ways and move away from apartheid education with its emphasis on transmission pedagogy, content and teacher-centred teaching. Similarly, the overtly political discourse, the absence of other voices and the presentation of the NCS as an object reinforced the implication that this text was not to be contested because it endorsed, recognized and sanctioned qualities of effective teaching and learning. The institutional discourses in the policy thus imposed pedagogy, content and assessment, rendering the new rules for pedagogy as natural and common-sense principles and practices.

Teacher script: Content and ways of doing

The NCS (2003) advocates a communicative approach together with a text-based approach and states that both should be dependent on the continuous use and production of texts. Thus the underlying view of language is that language is functional and that it is through language that society gets things done. The functionalist theory is rooted in the belief that language occurs in particular cultural and social contexts, that it is understood in relation to these contexts and that these contexts influence the language and word choices that occur in texts. It is therefore consistent with an explicit focus on genres and their associated textual and linguistic features. The NCS (2003, p. 47) states,

> Texts are produced in particular contexts with particular purposes and audiences in mind. Different categories of texts have different functions and follow particular conventions in terms of structure, style, grammar, vocabulary and content. These are referred to as **genres.** Learners need to be able to understand and to produce a range of different genres.

> Texts also reflect the cultural and political contexts in which they are created. The language used in texts carries messages regarding the cultural values and political standpoints of the persons who have written or designed them. Thus texts are not neutral. Learners need to be able to interpret and respond to the values and attitudes in texts.

> Thus, in a text-based approach, language is always explored in texts, and texts are explored in relation to their contexts. The approach involves attention to formal aspects of language (grammar and vocabulary) but as applied in texts. In order to talk about texts, learners need a 'meta-language' – they need to know the words that describe different aspects of grammar, vocabulary, style, and different genres.

Through foregrounding and the repetitive theme of 'text' it was clear that the NCS advocated a text-based approach, where language is viewed as a tool for thought and

communication, and in which a range of literacies are necessary so that learners can effectively participate in a democratic society, in the workplace and in the global economy. Also, the notion that "Different categories of texts have different functions and follow particular conventions in terms of structure, style, grammar, vocabulary and content" is rooted in Systemic Functional Linguistic Theory (SFL) that argues for an approach where learners develop the ability to use the language to get things done in real contexts as opposed to only teaching them grammatically correct statements. Furthermore, SFL text-based approaches see social purpose, language and context as interrelated in texts just as the NCS indicates in pointing out that "...in a text-based approach, language is always explored in texts, and texts are explored in relation to their contexts". Therefore, teachers would need a theoretical grounding in SFL theory and its linguistic frameworks in order to scaffold language use in social contexts effectively; and language teachers in primary and secondary schools should therefore not only have English subject knowledge but also knowledge of a linguistically informed pedagogy such as SFL.

However, the policy did not explicitly refer to SFL or other contexts where the theory might have originated, nor to how the theory connected with previous behaviourist or 'process approach' language theories, nor to ways in which teachers needed to negotiate a new kind of identity in relation to text-based pedagogies and the associated discourses. Information about the theory was conveyed via declarative statements to teachers as key players accountable for implementing the language curriculum. The assumption in the policy was that teachers only needed information on the language theories in order to transform pedagogy and individual teaching values.

The next section analyses the latest curriculum change, the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement for Languages (CAPS, 2011) that was developed after a Review Committee (2009) recommended that the NCS be streamlined into one comprehensive document for every learning area as a support for all teachers and a means of addressing the complexities and confusion created by the NCS's vagueness, lack of specification, and consequent document proliferation and misinterpretation.

4.1.2   The Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement setting

The structure and layout of the CAPS showed clear evidence that the recommendations of the Review Committee (2009) "…to act on the recommendations of the Ministerial Committee that was tasked with reviewing the implementation of the National Curriculum Statement in 2009" (Curriculum News, 2010, p.2) were taken seriously by the new Education Minister. At a glance, the CAPS appeared more user-friendly and resembled a practical schedule to plan weekly lessons. The underlying language theory underpinning the teaching of languages remained similar and thus large portions of the Revised National Curriculum (RNCS, 1997) and the National Curriculum Statement (NCS, 2003) were copied and pasted verbatim into the CAPS document (see NCS, 2003, pp. 46-47 and CAPS, 2011, p.16). Nonetheless, the CAPS provided clearer specification of what was to be taught and learnt on a term-by-term basis and it seemed that some of the technical language in the NCS was reduced and teachers might consider that the CAPS would the answer to declining literacy rates at schools.

To enhance the more human face put on the document, the foreword carries profound interpersonal meanings of affect and appreciation. Firstly, the picture of the smiling minister directly negotiates positive appreciation of the information in the policy. Secondly, the use of personal pronouns ("*Our* national curriculum… bequeathed to *us* by apartheid …. from the start of democracy *we* have built *our* curriculum on the values that inspired our Constitution...") interacts with teachers, draws them into the policy and represents them as part of the process, thereby implying that they were co-producers. CAPS thus deviated from the NCS in that it opened with a discourse that engaged with teachers directly and portrayed them as partners in the ongoing effort to transform education postdemocracy. Moreover, the foreword situated the challenges with the curriculum in a discourse of implementation at the level of practice, unlike previous curriculum policies that had implicitly represented teachers as inadequate to implement them. The DBE reacted to this implied deficiency in teachers and came to the rescue with the keys to unlock the curriculum implementation. This change of footing allowed for the projection of positive appreciation towards bureaucratic knowledge and power, that is, although in CAPS teachers are now addressed as co-constructors of transformation, knowledge remains hierarchical, presented as fact, and still non-negotiable.

Language and discourses in the CAPS

The policy (see CAPS, 2011) was published in 2011 at a time when South Africa was in its seventeenth year of democracy. Thus, unlike the NCS, the purpose of this policy was to provide information not on the curriculum itself but on the ways that CAPS would assist with the implementation of the NCS. As a result, the NCS continued in place, to be presented as 'true': that is, it had not changed, but was merely amended. Within this framing CAPS appeared at first to be dialogic and heteroglossic; however, it was and is at the same time impersonal. The language is initially less formal and carries high volumes of affect and appreciation; but it gradually moves towards the more formal, technical and impersonal language characteristic of information, definitions and explanations. Similar to the NCS, CAPS included a purpose, motivations, provisions and definitions, summarized in various sections of the policy. It thus remained a macro genre but this time it included textual features of information, explanation and procedural genres, with the overall effect that DBE was portrayed as the authority, yet also as engaging with their audience. Despite CAPS appearing more interactive, the text still foregrounded the department as the all-powerful bringer of knowledge and readers are positioned to accept this power and information coming from the knowledge-giver as true, objective facts and as much needed.

This positioning was achieved in the following ways: through the CAPS being generally more interactive, dialogic and engaging; through the use of pictures such as the smiling Minister of Education; and through the inclusion of the tagline "STRUCTURED. CLEAR. PRACTICAL...HELPING TEACHERS UNLOCK THE POWER OF NCS" typed in capital letters on a tag with keys. The foreword by the current Minister of Education combined with her smiling photographic image and the tagline described above framed the introductory sections of CAPS in a discourse of institutional boasting that represented the DBE as rescuing teachers in the field. Thus, the CAPS ensured that from the start the DBE-as-rescuer was in the foreground rather than teachers' experience of the NCS as unstructured, unclear, fuzzy and not practical enough to implement in classrooms. This positioning intensifies the notion that the DBE remains the custodian of knowledge in relation to language, learning and pedagogical theories. Again, this foregrounded the department in a position of power in relation to knowledge and presupposes that whatever information is encapsulated in the CAPS should be seen as providing knowledge to assist with the practical implementation of the curriculum.

Institutional discourse as positioning of power

Similar to the NCS, the CAPS was framed in discourses of democracy, social transformation, human rights, social justice, unity and quality of life for all South Africans. However, after seventeen years this democratic rhetoric was clearly not enough and so the CAPS drew on language and discourses of engagement, interaction and deep interpersonal resources to foreground values and beliefs associated with transformation, equality and equity. Moreover, the absence of other voices besides those of the Minister and the constitution reinforces the mono-vocal stance of the text: it continues to situate the DBE as the bearer of knowledge but now, more significantly, as a powerful hero that cares and comes to the rescue of teachers. The CAPS powerfully ensures that practices are aligned to the amended policy by claiming that it contains the keys to make the curriculum work. Again, like the NCS, the CAPS can be seen as a site of a discursive struggle between competing but unequal interests. It positioned teachers as accountable if the keys did not have the desired effect and thus the discourse around teacher deficit evident in the previous curriculum policies was implicit in the CAPS as well.

Additionally, the framing of the curriculum as "STRUCTURED, CLEAR, PRACTICAL" can be viewed as an emotive ploy to counter the frequent shifts and curriculum changes in the field in its implication that exhausted teachers would be more likely to welcome the practical and structured nature of the CAPS, viewing the DBE as the bearer of knowledge but, most importantly, also the rescuer of practice. In this way, the policy shapes teachers' thinking about the role that they play in practice, so that they could be more inclined to accept the prescriptions of the policy as true and adhere to its principles. Thus the policy attains unseen regulative power that automatically prescribes doable, good and appropriate practice.

Teacher script: Content and ways of doing

Like the NCS (2003), the CAPS advocated the importance of combining communicative language teaching with process and text-based approaches. The functional view of language carried in text-based approaches remained: that is, the understanding that language occurs in particular cultural and social contexts; that it is understood in relation to these contexts; and that these contexts influence the language and word choices that occur in texts. Consequently, principles of text-based theory remained visible yet teachers were persuaded

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that the CAPS was more specific and that it provided the keys to unlock the language curriculum. Yet, the CAPS also made no mention of a linguistically informed pedagogy, and deleted the section in the NCS that explained "understanding how texts are constructed" and "developing a meta-language to explore texts" (see NCS Appendix A(1), 2003, p.47) - both central tenets of text-based pedagogies. The CAPS merely provided templates that illustrated how teachers needed to negotiate a new kind of identity in relation to text-based pedagogies and the associated discourses (see Appendix A(2), CAPS, 2011, p.19); the underlying linguistic components were not unpacked for teachers, a process of understanding which is crucial for implementing text-based approaches to writing. Thus, the CAPS did not in fact include much additional theoretical or pedagogical information but only provided the 'keys' or tables, templates and explanations for successful implementation (see Appendix A(2), CAPS, 2011, pp. 39-43). However, the field is plagued by the fact that many teachers received their education some time before constructivism and before genre- or text-based approaches based on Hallidayan Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) gained their current hold. Text-based theory needs unpacking and clarification for teachers because neither teachers nor learners are likely to have a *metalanguage* with which to engage in thinking, analysing, and talking about language/s (Kerfoot, Probyn & Desai, 2011). Interestingly, comments prior to the implementation of the CAPS cautioned the DBE that the CAPS is "…so stripped down, instrumental and lacking in imagination and purpose" (van der Mescht, 2010) yet these were ignored.

The nature of the CAPS document with its specified timeframes, textbook content specification and outlines of units of lessons and formal assessment per term (see Appendix A (2), CAPS, pp. 48-63) means that although CAPS emphasizes that the teaching plans provided for grades 10, 11 and 12 "…are only EXAMPLES of how to organise the teaching of the First Additional Language over the period of a year" (p.49), they could and did gain the status of facts and scripts to follow. Firstly, the format is descriptive and procedural in that it stipulates the content to be covered over a set timeframe and could thus be interpreted by teachers as a recipe to follow, especially given that they are frequently represented in a deficit discourse. Secondly, in relation to the assessment of writing, the CAPS only requires between 150 and 300 words for grades 10-12 and does not draw links between the organizational and linguistic properties of texts in assessment documents (see Appendix A (2), CAPS). Finally, the CAPS stipulates the number, types and nature of tasks for school-based assessment per term. Interestingly, Paper Three, which covers the outcome for

writing, would only need to be assessed twice per year (see Appendix A (2), CAPS, 77-79). An important consequence of the recipe-like format was that textbook developers followed the CAPS as the proto-type: all the activities and text types in textbooks mirror the 'examples' for teaching and assessment plans encapsulated in the CAPS. This is an indication that it is in fact not just 'an example' but has gained the status of a directive (see the examples Appendix A3 of nationally approved textbooks with content per week and term). These templates and 'examples' are then in contrast with principles of constructivist theory and more reminiscent of the traditional and top-down approach of the curriculum prior to democracy. This positions the CAPS as the producer of information given, with teachers and textbook writers represented as consumers that need to implement this information uncritically. The CAPS thus makes the same error as the NCS because it also fails to take account of teachers' prior professional habitus and cultural capital in relation to theories about language and literacy development.

The implementation of the CAPS could be further exacerbated by the DBE's own confusion regarding teaching grammar in context, as well as the limited focus on the genres of schooling in teaching plans that can result in severe challenges with implementation. Firstly, the specified tasks in the teaching plans show confusion concerning text-based approaches (week one refers to information with a focus on fact and opinion, then writing an informative paragraph focusing on sentence construction and clarity and finally writing a friendly letter giving information (CAPS, 2011, p. 49). Secondly, there is confusion between literary and other kinds of genres (see the CAPS glossary for explanation of genres (p. 88) and text types (p. 90), 2011). Finally, grammar is still presented in isolation, despite injunctions in the document for a grammar in context approach, and there is no attention to multimodal texts and how meaning is created jointly by image and text. Although the CAPS draws on definitions, examples and explanations of how teachers and textbook developers should understand and interpret a text-based approach, they have omitted to provide crucial meta-linguistic knowledge. Thus, neither teachers nor learners will have the *metalanguage* with which to engage in thinking, analysing, and talking about language choices and their understanding of texts would therefore in all probability be severely limited. As a result, teachers' pedagogical habitus will be radically challenged, which could see the continuation of past methodologies or an over-reliance on departmental guides and textbooks.

4.1.3 Mapping the field

Despite the appearance of the NCS, the CAPS and other rapidly changing policies, teachers had to ensure continuous curriculum implementation in classrooms at schools. The shifts in field required that many teachers, teacher educators and textbook developers had to adjust their fundamental assumptions about teaching and learning from a content-driven to an outcomes-based system. The overwhelming burden of switching from past methodologies towards embracing progressive teaching approaches often meant a loss of professional teacher identities and thus a shift in bureaucratic power. A teacher identity that had previously carried high value was severely altered by a curriculum that viewed teachers as facilitators and developers of learning materials.

As I have shown, the NCS (2003) portrayed institutional knowledge as the sole authority and consistently implied that teachers had limited power and agency to question information. This institutional power was achieved partly through the crafting of a new vocabulary embedded in a political discourse of democracy, equity and redress. Thus the policy's intentions were made clear; it was giving information about legitimate norms and values in the field after democracy. In other words, the NCS was the legitimate provider of knowledge and hence bureaucratic knowledge in the field had the power to decide and dictate change. Similar patterns were visible in the CAPS (2011), achieved through the 'keys' metaphor and a tagline that portrayed the CAPS as practical, structured and clear. Consequently, knowledge in the field remained hierarchical, affording the DOE the power to impose one form of knowledge and a particular way of doing, on teachers in the field.

It can thus be argued that the authors of both policies attained legitimacy in various ways such as making performative statements that carved out values and rules for appropriate actions, using democratic rhetoric and, most significantly, through the absence of voices and knowledge sources. That is, the authors did not acknowledge and situate the transformation in education within the disciplinary field that it drew on, other than the Constitution (1996). Thus the documents managed to present bureaucratic knowledge as true, objective and factual in a common-sense manner. Teachers were portrayed as consumers of bureaucratic knowledge even though this stood in direct contrast to the political discourse of democracy, transformation and equality implied by the progressive curriculum and the roles envisaged for teachers.

Furthermore, in the NCS (2003) and the CAPS (2011) the DBE aligned itself to poststructural language approaches in general, and specifically advocated a text-based approach in combination with the Communicative Language Teaching and Process approaches to the teaching of writing. Both documents displayed positive attitudes towards constructivist teaching approaches, opening up a space for representing teachers in a deficit discourse achieved via implicit negative judgement of old, traditional approaches to teaching language. In this sense, both documents are laden with ideology and normative values of what is required of language teachers, creating a context for the evaluation of good versus bad teaching practices. Similarly, both the NCS and the CAPS ignore the possibility that teachers' past habitus of skill-based training could impact on their ability to engage with the new pedagogy. These emphases and omissions set a platform from which the DBE was able to criticise, condemn and express disapproval towards teaching practices that were not aligned to the new proposed language theories.

More importantly, both the NCS (2003) and the CAPS (2011) curriculum attaches high value to text-based theory although certain factors may result in teachers and textbook-developers reverting to the old grammar- or skills-based approaches. These obstacles to adoption of the new approaches include the following: the fact that teachers are not trained in the theory and its associated curriculum cycle; the theoretical mismatches in the curriculum; the ill-conceived examples of tasks in teaching and term plans; and the omission of important elements of the theory. More worrying is that the CAPS has taken the form of a recipe to be followed, so that firstly the theoretical confusion holds implications for DBE guides and textbook developers, and secondly, teachers' over-reliance on DBE guides and nationally selected textbooks in the secondary school phases holds severe implications for the likelihood of enabling the academic writing identities that are necessary for success in the tertiary field.

4.1.4 The field as structuring structure

Knowledge of texts and text-based approaches have cultural capital and symbolic value under the current system; therefore, those that successfully manage to implement the curriculum will be able to convert this into economic and social capital. However, as indicated earlier, many teachers received their education during the apartheid era, with a focus on behaviourist teaching methodologies. Hence, after 1994 teachers found themselves in a rapidly changing field, with a shift in the value attached to certain kinds of cultural

capital. Their pedagogical identity was thus under constant pressure to adapt because the capital they had previously acquired no longer had value on the new market. Thus, although there was a shift towards new policies teachers were often caught between old and new policies, that is, between an established pedagogical identity or habitus and the new dispositions required.

In relation to assessment for writing, the CAPS include criteria such as content, planning and format (60%) and language, style and editing (40%). These criteria are contained in a national rubric for writing that follows a one size fits all approach to the different genres (see Appendix C (2), Paper Three memorandum). This is an indirect contradiction to text-based approaches: that is, a text-based approach focuses on the context of situation and the context of culture, phases in texts, how they develop and their associated language features. None of the criteria contained in the rubric referred to the use of the metalanguage to speak or write. Additionally, the rubric is reminiscent of traditional skill-based and grammar assessment features. This can severely impact on teachers' understanding of text-based approaches, and textbook-developers taking direction from it can and do design texts and tasks that reflect skills-based, decontextualised language activities. Most importantly, as is shown in Act Three Scene Three, the minimal required length of essays and inappropriate assessment practices can adversely impact on learners' ability to make the transition from school-based writing to academic literacies.

The CAPS textual framing of a text-based approach thus functions as pedagogical discourse to regulate, dictate and control local classroom contexts in relation to language teaching methods. However, this curriculum document also mistakenly assumes that through the information provided, language teachers would be empowered to change their pedagogical practices, resulting in improved teaching methodologies in the field. This assumption, combined with crucial theoretical features of text-based approaches (see the previous section) and ill-conceived examples in the tasks in teaching or term plans, meant that without adequate training in a linguistically genre-based pedagogy and language theory, together with systematic support, teachers would struggle to implement the curriculum and the 'keys' might not be the exact fit implied in the CAPS. This is exactly what I found during my fieldwork (see this Act, Scene Two).

I now move onto the next scene in order to look at the ways the NCS (2003) and the CAPS (2011) unfolded in two diverse school contexts.

4.2 SCENE TWO: Schools, practices and scripts

The previous scene focused on the field of policy and highlighted the ways that power and bureaucratic knowledge function in the NCS (2003) and CAPS (2011). In relation to pedagogy, it showed the emergence of a new linguistic market and the requirement of new cultural capital in the form of text-based theory. More importantly, Scene One revealed theoretical gaps that could result in an entangled linguistic market and complications in accessing the new text-based cultural capital.

In this scene, I shed light on the implications of the new entangled linguistic market in the FET Phase in two classrooms in two diverse school contexts. I build on the previous scene by highlighting that policy does not sufficiently take into account the historical and educational biographies of language teachers who were trained prior to democracy. It assumes that explanations and definitions of the new linguistic market would result in transformed teacher pedagogy. In developing this argument I first locate the backgrounds and histories of the two schools in space and time in order to offer a lens on the practices and discourses of the language teachers at these two schools. Then, I move on to examine classroom practices and teacher pedagogy in relation to the theoretical underpinnings of the NCS (2003) and CAPS (2011), in order to shed light on the effects of the entangled linguistic market.

4.2.1 Two schools on different sides of the railway track

This research was conducted in one of the major suburbs in Cape Town, set in an area with easy access to the city's magnificent beaches and world-renowned wine farms. The suburb has had a bustling business district since 1900 and attracted the headquarters of many national and international companies. Some noteworthy attractions within this sub-council include the Tygerberg Nature Reserve, popular wine routes, and its close proximity to Cape Town International Airport. The suburb is divided into nine sub-councils, each being responsible for a number of wards. The schools that form part of the current research project are located in Wards Two and Nine. Below is an image of the suburb. (tygerbergonline.co.za).

Figure 2. View of Table Mountain

During the apartheid era a railway track demarcated neighbourhoods along racial lines, that is, white, black and coloured (see the Prologue: *Postapartheid challenges in education* for definitions of these categories). In accordance with the Group Areas Act (1950), the northern side of the track was reserved for whites and the southern side for coloured people. Therefore, the apartheid era resulted in deeply divided and uneven neighbourhoods in relation to identity, culture, class and socio-economic conditions. Long-awaited democracy has not so far led to equity and access for all citizens because neighbourhoods on the southern side of the railway track are still challenged by the conditions created through apartheid.
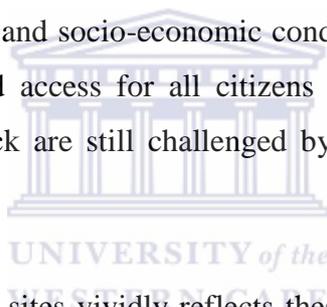
The location of my two research sites vividly reflects these ongoing contradictions. Ward Two included some of the most affluent, green and leafy areas, where 61% of residents were white with an average household size of 2.86, and 99% lived in formal dwellings. Ninety three percent of the population was employed and only 19% of households earned less than R3200 (Stats SA, 2013). Below are some images of properties in Ward Two.

Figure 3: Houses close to school A

On the other side of the track in Ward Nine, 88% were coloured, only 81% were living in houses, and the average household size was 4.08. While there was a relatively high employment rate of 80%, 37%[2] of households earned less than R3200 (SA Stats, 2013). Figure 4 contains some images of properties in Ward 9.

Figure 4: Houses close to school B

Comparing the two wards, it appeared that democracy had resulted in some upward social mobility into Ward Two, because people of colour [3] had moved there and it had become reasonably diverse in terms of culture, language, ethnicity, identity and social class. On the other hand, in Ward Nine socioeconomic conditions had remained static or had even deteriorated: the majority earned less than R3200 and faced severe challenges of precarious living conditions. In fact, in certain areas health challenges such as an escalation in tuberculosis rates and malnutrition had resulted in the establishment of soup kitchens supported through the sub-council's Grant-in-Aid funding in Ward Nine (SA Stats, 2013).

Focusing more specifically on the two schools, we note that since the abolition of racial demarcation the schools in these wards had begun to accept learners that would have been denied access prior to democracy by the Group Areas Act. At school A, some learners came from neighbouring areas where parents were able to afford the high school fees and this resulted in an influx of mostly coloured learners with different class and cultural profiles. Interestingly, even though the area was still predominantly white; the learner profile of this school reflected approximately 95% coloured learners. Meanwhile, school B remained 98% coloured with the acceptance of a few black learners from outlying townships who viewed it as a better option than township schools. Although the profiles at these two schools had

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' People of colour' refers to coloureds, a fuzzy-edged term constructed by apartheid discourse for all those of 'mixed' heritage, including descendants of Indonesian and Malay slaves as well as the Khoe-San. In post-apartheid South Africa, the terms Black (capitalised or lower case), African, and coloured are used variously and never without contestation, but retained by the state in order to be able to assess development needs and implement policies of redress and equity (Stroud & Kerfoot, 2013, p.4)
3

changed, there existed a taken-for-granted perception at school A that the predominantly coloured learners must assimilate and adapt to the unique ethos and philosophy of the school. At school B the few black learners faced similar expectations, especially in areas such as language policy, language of learning and teaching (LoLT), and sports codes. Consequently, these two wards are excellent examples of the socio-economic contrasts in the Western Cape: reminders of the legacy caused by racial divisions in South Africa and the contradictory impacts of democracy. As such they provided an interesting vantage point from which to view the enacted curriculum in relation to entangled pasts and presents.

I now move on to school A, which considered itself to be a pioneering school in the area, as a school that had opposed state-mandated Afrikaans language policies and the first school in the area to accept learners of colour.

4.2.2   Opening the doors: School A

The school history dates back to 1965 when it opened on 19 January with a vision of serving the English-speaking community in a then predominantly Afrikaans-speaking context. Because it stood in opposition to the apartheid government's imposition of Afrikaans medium of instruction schooling, it is viewed as having pioneered English education in this area. This English heritage was evident in several ways: the school itself was named after English immigrants who settled in the Cape, different sections of the school estate were named after influential British settlers in the Cape, and the names of sports houses also reflected British traditions. The school also emphasized appreciation for liberal arts, theatre, literature and classical music. In addition, it offered English as a Home Language only, although it divided this into two groups, 'subset one' and 'subset two'. Upon enrolment, an English language proficiency test was administered and based on these results learners were placed in either subset one or subset two (considered weaker) classes (see Act Three Scene Two, 3.2.1 for explanation).

Thus, since its inception the school has followed the culture and traditions of white, liberal and English speaking colonialists and has been highly regarded by parents and learners from the community. The site allocated to the school was part of an estate owned by an affluent family; it sat on the lower slopes of Tygerberg Hills and was conveniently situated for the proposed communities that it would serve (Haupt, 2005). The fact that this school is located in Ward Two gives it a huge advantage because the area was demarcated for whites

during apartheid in South Africa. Below is an image of the school, showing its view of Table Mountain.

Figure 5: Image of school A

The school history depicts abundant economic capital in several forms: generous state funding; the siting on part of an estate owned by an affluent English family; and investments from community members which combined to create trust funds and economic gains generally. Thus the school has a privileged history and today is still rated as one of the top schools in the Western Cape with a high reputation that extends far beyond its feeder area: the academic results are excellent, their sport teams participate in the top leagues, their traditions and customs have excellent standing and pastorally the learners have high morale and good discipline. Therefore, the school history localizes normative behaviour associated with the centre where privilege and positive sense of self are necessary to contribute to the welfare of those less fortunate. Most learners seemed to appreciate, assimilate and acquire dispositions that favour the notion of each individual entering the school having unique talents. The school provided the necessary support and guidance for each one to excel beyond their capabilities in order to work towards changed communities and democracy in South Africa as a whole.

Accordingly, learners were reminded on a daily basis of the responsibility that comes with the privilege of attending this school and those who did not conform to the expected practices associated with the school history, ethos and culture were considered to be atypical or not worthy of the privilege. For example, the tea lady who had worked at the school for more than 30 years said: *... there are the naughty ones that just don't understand what a privilege it is to come here ... the headmasters and I worked under three of them are all good people but our kids they are naughty... but they don't last long ...* The school thus reinforces its right to protect its history, culture and authority over learners. Parents are

explicitly informed about the norms and rules practised there, as in the extract from the school prospectus below:

> The school has pastoral care over its pupils […] in and out of school in the form of guidance, counselling and discipline… especially [when] there is misbehaviour, anti-social behaviour and illegal behaviour […] the school has an obligation to care [and to ensure] that [learners' conduct] is a credit to the school, to their parents and to themselves. When a pupil [is found] smoking, or drinking in public, [hitchhiking], possessing pornography or harmful drugs, driving without a licence, [committing acts of]vandalism, dishonesty, bullying [the school] will deal with the matter, particularly in cases of excess or wilful harm. Pupils are the school […] in school uniform or not in uniform […] they must ensure that there is no cause for criticism][pupils] must realize that success at school is dependent on themselves (School Prospectus, 2011, 2012 & 2013).

Accordingly, to encourage assimilation and acceptance of the norms, values and rules at the school, the code of conduct is viewed as central in making explicit the expectations of staff and governing body members. It stipulates that learners are under the school's control while on the school property, or in public and while representing the school. To facilitate compliance with the school ethos, the school identifies annual themes to encourage learners, parents and staff to uphold the culture and spirit of the school. These annual themes focus on the upliftment of the self in order to strengthen group unity and ideals of the school. During 2013 the theme was '*Never Give Up, No Excuses*' and learners were inspired to live by it by uplifting not only themselves, but every other learner around them in order to foster the importance of the individual in promoting a healthy school ethos and ultimately a healthy community and society. Accordingly, learners are positioned to understand and accept broader social values as South Africans; they are taught that they each have a role to play in facilitating the advancement of national unity. To this end the school promotes values such as self-belief and commitment in learners as individuals whilst also encouraging them to strive towards realizing respect, accountability, commitment and perseverance in the society as a whole.

Moreover, respect for school values associated with a liberal, white culture was reinforced through sports and cultural societies. For instance, the school had a strong exchange programme with schools in Germany and the United Kingdom that provided annual short and long term learner/staff exchanges. The school's cultural involvement was vast and consisted of a substantial number of cultural activities and societies such as the Debating Society, Art Club, Eco Society and Exposure Club (focused on cultural excursions) as well

as the Interact Society (focused on community awareness projects). The school asserted that all learners should

> Each learner enrolled [must]join at least one society [and are encouraged] to participate [and] to show a sense of commitment and loyalty to the society. Membership[offers]many opportunities for character growth, development of interests, meeting new friends, developing leadership potential, and appreciation of beauty and heritage (School Prospectus, 2013).

Another important pillar was that of sport and physical fitness. Besides offering Physical Education, the school required each learner to participate in one summer and one winter sport. Also, the school participated in national and international sports tours. The sporting facilities included five tennis courts, a swimming pool, an indoor basketball court, one outdoor court, three hockey fields and two rugby fields. Consequently, cricket, tennis, badminton, swimming, chess and rugby were offered; but, despite soccer being a sport that most black learners identified with more strongly than rugby, it was not offered as an option at the school. Sport is thus another means of developing and reproducing white English cultural values by encouraging norms, behaviours and practices from the 'centre' as appropriate despite significant changes in learner profiles after democracy. More importantly, sport functions as convertible cultural capital in that it provides access for those talented enough to apply for national sport trials and sports scholarships.

The stage

The school as my research setting is also conceptualised here as a stage with a range of props. Together the stage and props at this school provided a good example of cultural capital objectified in assets such as an impressive school hall, an art room, Apple Music Laboratories and four other music rooms. Moreover, the stage contained a geography laboratory, two history and four (fully equipped) science laboratories, two updated computer centres, a well-equipped and fully stocked consumer studies room and two seminar rooms, in addition to 35 other classrooms as well as a fully-fledged library for research and reading for enjoyment. All these 'props' contributed towards academic development. In addition, there was a forecourt in the front of the school for ceremonies such as Founders Day, Remembrance Day and the annual Carol Service.

The school took pride in the vibrant drama and music departments that had annual auditions for live theatre productions and participations in eisteddfods for which they continuously received outstanding awards in almost every category. This was evidence that learners at this school were moulded to become aesthetically appreciative of the finer things in life such as "Culture, societies, appreciation of heritage and beauty" (Prospectus, 2011,p.15). Also, to facilitate physical wellbeing the school has a sports centre (mentioned previously) that includes a gymnasium, a seminar room, five netball and six tennis courts, four hockey fields, two rugby fields and three cricket pitches and nets, as well as an olympic size swimming pool. It was thus clear that the school's privileged state funding of the past afforded them with economic capital that was converted into cultural and symbolic capitals. This stage combined with its props ensured that learners assimilated embodied cultural capital as well as institutional cultural capital that could be converted into symbolic capital in other fields of power.

In addition, the grounds and landscaped gardens with various indigenous trees such as Wild Oak, Cape Yellowwood, Rooi Els and Cape Ash provided shade to randomly placed tables and benches and were kept in this immaculate condition via a computerised irrigation system: the extensive and sophisticated nature of this system can be seen as representative of the symbolic capital of high culture, social class and prestige. Figure 6 is a representation of this computerised irrigation system.
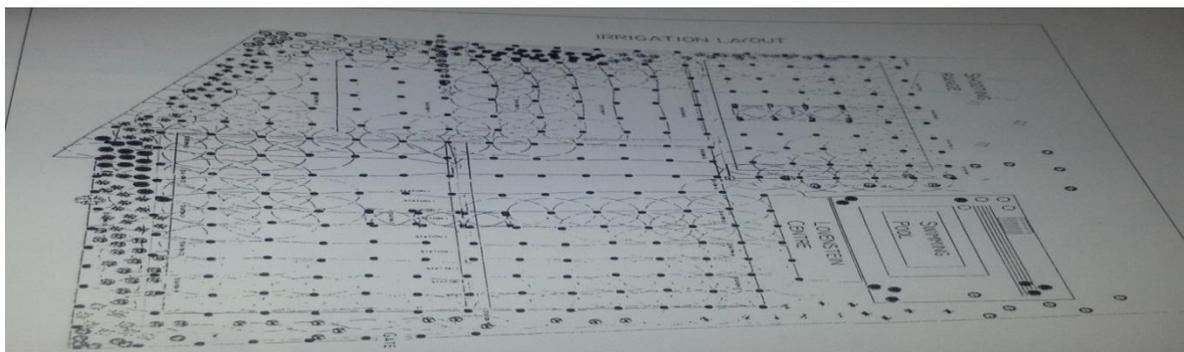
Figure 6: Layout of school A's irrigation system

Moreover, the School Governing Body (SGB) supervised a Trust Fund and additional income was derived from annual school fees, fund raising, active alumni and sponsor involvement as well as capital management of interests on investments. These investments and additional income enabled the SGB to employ an additional 22 teachers: thus only 34 of the 56 qualified teachers were employed by the DBE. This means that the school enjoyed an

abundance of *economic*, *cultural*, *social* and *symbolic capital* which enabled it, among other things, to maintain low learner-teacher ratios. Due to these conditions the school maintained its historic position of power in the field and this made it an attractive secondary schooling option for parents. More importantly, the amounts of capital visible at this school suggested that a crucial requirement for access was parents' access to economic capital. This requirement sets up the conditions in the field for the school to maintain its foothold of power amongst other game players (other ex-White schools) on the one hand but also because it draws on its *symbolic capital* to create "glory, honour, credit, reputation, fame, the principle of an egoistic quest for satisfactions [that] enables forms of domination which imply dependence on those who can be dominated by it" (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 166).

The school prospectus (2011, p. 15) stated that the staff "is committed to educating the whole child and developing a sense of balance". This commitment was built on four pillars: academics, sport, culture and pastoral care. These values, in combination with the objectified cultural capital described above and a committed staff that aimed to collectively develop well-balanced, unique individuals in preparation for their adult life, contributed towards the unspoken beliefs or *doxa* of a privileged school position in the field. Table 1 below indicated the admission policy of the school.
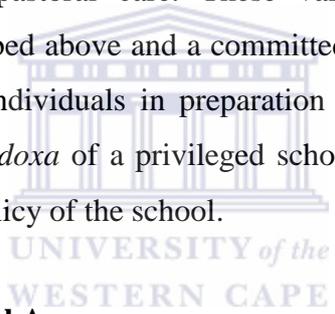
Table 1: Admission policy school A

4.1.1. **Place of residence is the closest** to the school measured by **taking vehicular distance** to the main vehicle entrance to the school in Settlers Road with the following proviso:
4.1.2. **Live in the area bounded by the Oosterzee** railway line from Oosterzee Railway Station to McIntyre Circle, Mike Pienaar Boulevard and the N1 National Road. This includes the suburb of Parow North. (4.1.2 is a joint agreement with Parow High School and can be amended following due consultation with Parow High School) with the following proviso 4.1.3:
4.1.3. Have **an older sibling currently enrolled** at the school and application is made by the due date.   4.1.4. Show **the highest academic potential** based on November (Grade 6) for Grade 8 applications or the latest two   reports (June /November) for other grades. (See point 4.1.8)   4.1.6 Demonstrate a high degree of excellence **in the sporting and cultural activities** offered by the school/s previously attended by them;   4.1.7. **Have a good disciplinary record**;
4.1.8. Display high achievement in Mathematics and/or Science as the school is a Mathematics/Science Dinaledi School.

The admission policy opened up access to wards that had been reserved for people of colour during the apartheid era; but access restrictions such as residence proximity created conditions where the school ensured that most learners were located in some of the middleclass neighbourhoods located close to school. Yet few of them lived in the affluent areas within walking distance. Therefore, a large proportion came from other neighbouring

areas and thus there seemed to be a focus on aligning appropriate cultural practices and habitual socialization at home with the school ethos. Family ties were therefore an important criterion for admissions. The expectation was thus that family/parents had already inculcated specific class-based dispositions towards respect for hierarchy, culture for learning, volunteering and liberal arts; or at least that new entrants would be open to developing an appropriate *habitus* and assimilating the forms of *capital* at their disposal. Also, the inclusion of sports and mathematics and science ensured an appropriate primary habitus related to dedication and motivation to succeed. In addition, the school fees ensured that parents possessed a combination of economic, cultural and/or linguistic capitals. However, new entrants were predominantly of mixed descent, bringing into the field an increasing diversity of race, cultures, social classes and linguistic repertoires; but the school did not set up new conditions. It rather expected that these learners adhere to the ethos of the school: a *meconnaissance* that results in the symbolic enactment of violence (Bourdieu, 1990, 5).

While I was a participant observer, I was struck by the joviality at daily staff meetings that were characterized by departmental clusters sitting together. However, this normally changed when the principal entered to motivate teachers regarding daily tasks, reminders of local school-related and institutional issues and personal announcements of school, teacher and learner achievements. These morning announcements followed a particular ritual: the principal would greet, remind and congratulate staff about institutional matters, then the deputies would raise any issues, and finally teachers who served as heads on any of the executive committees were given an opportunity to highlight achievements, news and events within their committees. While sitting there I was aware of the tremendous sense of pride that staff associated with their school. It was during these morning rituals that teachers were reminded of the privilege of teaching at a school like this and in fact they themselves only raised issues that positively enhanced or threatened the identity and culture of the school. This is evidenced in the excerpt below, where staff and learners were reminded at an assembly of the privilege of attending this school:

> *...we got a gift card of R20 000 for the school with the best spirit, so I'm going to hand over the gift card to Mr Principal on behalf of the music department...as the school with the best spirit in the Western Cape.*

In addition, during this handover process, the teacher gave a speech filled with pride and a sense of accomplishment,

> *...we showed how great we can be and what we have in us... this weekend at the high school jam... we showed that* [*school A*] *is probably one of the best places to be in the country.*

Also, at assemblies staff was seated on the stage in the fine hall, while learners sat in orderly rows below. As I sat on the stage, I was struck by the display and enactment of traditions associated with royalty and academia:

> As we enter the hall I am surprised by the hush and orderly manner of the learners. I walk to the stage…take a seat with the rest of the staff. To my left is a high back vintage, baroque chair, placed at such an angle that whoever sits in it, will be able to see the audience from every vantage point. Then, I hear a soft, slow melody coming from the piano to my right…learners and teachers rise with smiling eyes wide open, arched eyebrows and mouths curving up…I feel a quiet sense of expectation and wonder what is about to happen. Suddenly, the tempo changes…in walks the principal, his deputies and executive management staff… procession are all wearing academic attire, the principal frowns and stares straight ahead with lips pressed together and the rest of the procession have similar serious, thoughtful expressions. Learners turn to watch the procession. I am struck with wonder when I see most learners' smiley faces and facial expressions of delight and honour…The principal walks to the vintage chair, sits, nods his head and with this gesture learners and teachers sit down… (Personal notes, 30 August, 2011)

In fact it became clearer that these displays of grandeur facilitated the production of "…special, separate, sacred beings by merely getting everyone to be aware of and to recognize the boundary separating them from the commonplace…" (Bourdieu, 2000, p.103) which in turn created favourable conditions related to the unspoken rule or *nomos* that being at this school was indeed a privilege resulting in an increase in the *illusio:* a privileged history, culture, symbols, language and identity which, combined, functioned as forms of cultural capital. These abundant resources functioned symbolically as cultural capital with buying power in other fields and cemented the common-sense belief or *doxa* regarding this school's economic, social, cultural and linguistic privilege and prestige.

An even more highly valued element at the school was the value of respect and deference for hierarchy and power. This emerged in various spheres within the school: for example, in the staffroom, at assemblies and between teachers and learners, with clear manifestations in the classroom in both regulative and instructional discourses. Here is an example of how hierarchy and power emerged in grade 10 classes, where teachers spoke predominantly and learners remained silent or mumbled amongst each other,

You better not be eating bread in my class[…] No, I'm not saying, I'm telling you now[…] remember if you not done, I can let you do it in interval. If you want to waste your time here, I can always give you time […] I see you want to waste your time here

Another example of respect for hierarchy and position occurred where a learner did not have his English textbook:

Teacher: *You need to ask your class teacher to get you one, who is your class teacher?*
Learner: *Mr X.*
Teacher: *Mr X needs to ask Mr Y to organise you a poem book please, as soon as possible.*

Thus, through these routine rituals, practices and classroom discourses appropriate learner behaviours could be indexed on a matrix of appropriate to least appropriate performances. The school space prescribed normative legitimate practices and set up a reward system whereby learners assimilated symbolic capital associated with power and prestige.

Finally, the school took pride in its status of being an English Home Language school, and the appreciation for English is visible in the notices and posters pasted on noticeboards and walls; everyone spoke English inside the building, staffroom, offices and classroom. As a result, parents choose English, even if it was not the home language of their children, as *capital* associated with social, economic and cultural forms of capital that would place them at an advantage once they left this school and entered other *fields*. Thus, the hegemony and power of English was maintained; and parents of learners who did not cope were encouraged to get tutorial assistance in order to ensure academic success. In the field of education, this school then functioned as a formal linguistic market where a particular variety of English carried high value and power. As a result, learners' position in the field was dependent on their English proficiency. This resulted in the acquisition of *symbolic capital* with upward social mobility for some yet also operated as a form of *symbolic violence* against those who did not have a good command of the standard register.

Nonetheless, it was evident that the principal, parents and staff shared a similar belief that this school was one of the best schools in the country and that its history as a symbol of freedom was in accord with the current democratic South Africa. Many traditions, norms and rituals of a past history were visible in the staffroom, hallways, during breaks, assemblies and

classrooms. In addition, this resulted in a healthy culture, where morale and expectations were high: for instance, parents paid school fees timeously, learners were dressed according to expected regulations and the importance of group values and traditions was accepted. Each role-player was aware of the role that they needed to play in order to maintain the status quo and for this reason classroom management was smooth; teachers' authority had high value.

The next section highlights how the school history, culture, and ethos played out in the grade 10 English classrooms.

The actors: 'How goes it over there?'

Being in the field, that is, 'front stage', the teachers and I were all actors playing roles in the real world context. Through my presence in school A for over two years, I became both actor and spectator. In both roles I was very conscious that most teachers, specifically those that I worked closely with in the English Department, identified with the ethos, culture and identity of the school. These actors demonstrated the wider institutional school culture that advocated English as legitimate language and valued the reproduction of cultural capital such as literature and theatre as social class upliftment. Thus a profound sense of the school's position in the field existed among them and surfaced in the question that forms the sub-heading for this section. This question referred to School B and was directed after one of my many field experiences there. It indexed social class segregation where School B's position in the field was regarded as low both internally and externally. In contrast, as actor and spectator I noticed the embodiment of privilege associated with social mobility that was possible via school A's access to social capital, networks and opportunities for international staff exchanges. Other reasons for these teachers' views were the privileged institutional practices within the department such as having an annual allocated budget for resources and theatre excursions. See examples of institutional practices for the English Department (Appendices B.1).

The English Department consisted of one HOD and seven teachers who all had a wealth of experience. Although I worked closely with two grade 10 teachers, teaching either subset one or subset two, I was also allowed to follow other teachers in the department teaching grades 11 and 12. During my initial visits I relied on mental notes and audio recordings of interactions. I did 40 focused lesson observations; 20 in each class. As a result, I identified established common threads and patterns in classroom practices, discourse and pedagogy

during these focused observations and also through my informal interview chats with the teachers in the department.

I now present one lesson each from each class (see Appendix B.1 for more samples of observed lessons). It became clear after some time in the field that writing was not explicitly taught and that there appeared to be an examination-based focus in both classrooms. Therefore, the lessons included do not focus on the teaching of writing because there were no lessons that explicitly scaffolded writing development in the FET Phase at either of the two schools. Also, there was not much difference between teaching in the subset one and two classes despite claims that subset two learners got 'special language needs' attention. I therefore decided to foreground how teaching and learning occurs in general in the language classes in the FET Phase at this school.

The next section then focuses on the two classrooms and lessons from two teachers.

Scales of appropriate performance

In this section I focus on classroom conditions and pedagogy in order to illuminate the construction of measures of performance. In general the classroom conditions were similar from class to class: for instance, classrooms were arranged to facilitate group work, boasting a range of resources to facilitate teaching and learning, and most classrooms were bright and colourful. In the two English classes that I followed, the teachers' desks were in the front right hand corner, facing learners. Although learners were mostly quiet in corridors and during lunch break, when they sat in orderly groups talking and laughing in softer tones, they were surprisingly noisier here in class. In both classes the teachers and learners had formed warm and jovial relationships. It was clear that learners on the whole knew the boundaries, were well-disciplined and showed respect towards the teachers. When it came to the curriculum and imparting knowledge, however, despite the school's liberal outlook on education, respect for diversity and claims of constructivist teaching, learners were positioned as empty vessels and teachers as the authority. Even though there was ample evidence of democratic classroom discussions, innovative resources, access to technology and group work activities, the lessons remained largely teacher-centred and dominated by teacher talk, with learners mostly listening passively until asking questions related to content clarification, or seeking approval related to task procedures.

Teaching and pedagogy

Aspects such as textual development, genres of schooling and dealing with texts in context were not explicitly taught in either of these classrooms. In fact, the English Department was more concerned with literature studies and language-related teaching that was examination driven. There was limited evidence of explicit scaffolded attention to writer development in line with genre-based theory. Moreover, very few lessons focused on the development of control in any particular genre. Having not identified any lessons that spoke explicitly to writing development, I simply chose two observed lessons (one from each teacher) randomly in order to foreground teachers' pedagogical practices in grade 10 at this school. Drawing on SFL's curriculum cycle to analyse the lesson structure (setting the knowledge field, modelling the text, joint construction and independent writing: see Gibbons, 2002; Martin & Rose, 2005), I divided the lesson into an opening, introduction to new material, guided practice, independent practice and a closing.

The lessons below are thus representative of a large proportion of those that I observed in the English classroom.

Table 2: School A - Outline of two lessons

Use of malapropisms 15 September, 2011	Shorter transactional writing 25 October 2011
1. **The opening:** Management and administrative issues/ signal word 2. **Introduction to new material:** Instruction-reminder and foregrounding/ explanation of malapropisms 3. **Guided instruction:** Instructions for exercise to be done 4. **Individual practice:** Examples of questions and answers / Learners complete activity 5. **Closing:** Administrative issues	1. **The opening:** Management and administrative issues and signal word 2. **Introduction to new material:** Whole class discussion/ Reminder of writing requirements 3. **Guided instruction:** How learners must complete activity 4. **Individual practice:** Reminder of the requirements of Paper 3, Section C in the exam 5. **Closing:** Administrative issues

Script 1: Use of malapropisms

Below follows the lesson where **teacher Y** began to teach learners about malapropisms. The opening of most of the lessons that I observed was devoted to some administrative or management tasks, that is, books that needed to be handed to learners, followed by some signal word that indicated the start of the lesson.

> **Teacher:** *Right, let's quickly look at our page, now remember we starting with, well not really starting, remember when we said the last, in the beginning of the year we will be doing editing, textual editing. Now this part of textual editing where you need to edit and correct the mistakes. Now, malapropism is part of that mistake, the big word that basically means, um basically very simple, what is important for you to identify, is that you must know your spelling and you must know the meaning of the word. Otherwise you not going to know that something is incorrect okay. So let's quickly look at our sheet that I've just given you.*

During the opening, the teacher used instructions to provide direction and give commands: '*Right, lets quickly look at our page, now remember, we starting with, you must know your spelling, you must know the meaning of the word...*' Therefore, a procedural discourse informed this part of the lesson; learners were directed to the appropriate page in the textbook, reminded about textual editing and the knowledge that they would have to recall, '*what is important for you to identify, ...you must know your spelling and you must know the meaning... otherwise you not going to know*'. This reinforced the importance of knowledge recall. Also, there is evidence of some scaffolding because the teacher made connections with previous discussions that connected with malapropisms. Most importantly, this section highlighted the teachers' skills-based discourse, that is, a focus on spelling and meaning of words. Thus there was very little pedagogical discourse to scaffold language learning but further, and most striking, there was an absence of language in context. Drawing on SFL text-based theory, we can say that the knowledge field was not set adequately: no examples were used of malapropisms in social contexts, some limited level of context when the teacher referred to textual editing but surprisingly no focus on extended text, the context and purpose of communications in which malapropisms occurred, or why their occurrence was important and who would most likely use the malapropism. Also, there was no tapping into learners' background knowledge as a scaffold towards this new academic knowledge. All in all, learners were mostly exposed to decontextualized learning that hinged academic success on (and thus placed higher value on) learner memory and regurgitation of facts.

Then followed the introduction of new material; here the teacher explained malapropisms:

> **Teacher:** *Now, the word malapropism is an adjective or an adverb meaning inappropriate or inappropriately. A malapropism…is the substitution of a word, for a word with a similar sound in which the resulting phrase make no sense but often creates a comic effect. Sometimes you hear people they use a certain word but then the word comes out completely wrong, totally another word. It sounds the same as the word that they supposed to use and they feel that, that is the right word but then it's not okay. And that is what we call a malapropism. Okay, that's what we call a*

malapropism. Look at the definition (pointing to the textbook page), it is the substitution of a word with a similar sound where the resulting phrase make no sense but often creates a comic. Okay, so if you say he is an eligible bachelor: instead of saying he is an <u>eligible</u> bachelor you say he is an <u>illiterate</u> bachelor. So, if you don't know what illiterate means then you won't know that it's wrong. Do you understand what I'm saying with knowing your spelling and the meaning of the word? Let's look if you can see that

Learners: *Okay*

The above sequence lasted between two to three minutes; drawing on the definition in the textbook the teacher used high modality to define the new content: *...malapropism is an adjective, is the substitution of a word that is what we call a malapropism, okay that's what we call a malapropism look at the definition.* Activating the background knowledge of learners and evidence of the co-construction of knowledge were minimal. Furthermore, the teacher was positioned as the knowledgeable adult telling the learners what they might have heard: *...sometimes you hear people...they use a certain word...* The learners unquestioningly and passively listened to the definition; no one asked questions for clarification; and there were no turn-taking initiatives to gauge the degree of comprehension amongst learners. Again, we see limited evidence of Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) and text-based theory; the encounter was teacher-led with no focus on extended texts to explain the use of malapropisms in social contexts.

The lesson section described above was followed by some form of guided and individual practice. Here the teacher drew learners' attention towards the specific tasks in the textbook:

Teacher:	*Let's look if you can see it. It says there, the first exercise says underline the malapropism (an example below) and write the correct word on your answer sheet. There may be more than one in each sentence. The hydrogen bomb is considered a useful detergent*
Learner 1:	*Detergent mam*
Teacher:	*What is wrong with detergent?*
Learner 2:	*Detergent is a cleaning agent*
Teacher:	*Detergent is a cleaning agent, okay so the word should be?*
Learner 2:	*A deterrent,*
Teacher:	*A Deterrent that's right yes*
Learner 3:	*Does it start the same mam just without the g?*
Teacher:	*That's right, yes*

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This stage of the lesson lasted approximately three minutes; the teacher initiated a quick discussion by drawing on the examples in the textbook. She assumed that learners had understood the 'lesson' and thus effective teaching was positioned as explanation or definition of concepts followed by examples and then completing a task to evaluate whether learners had comprehended the knowledge.

Finally, during the closing of the lesson, the teacher reminded learners about the tasks that they needed to complete, how and in which books they should complete it and this was considered the end of the lesson. Learners then worked independently for the rest of the period to complete the activity and the teacher finished administrative-related tasks and gave reminders of outstanding tasks:

> **Teacher:** *You are going to do number 4, 5, 6. And then in the next one it says there that the text box features quotes by people which include malapropism. Try to explain the humour created by the speakers' inappropriate choice of each of the examples. What I want you to do is, <u>you are also going to underline it</u> for me and <u>then you going to like they say explain the humour</u> that is created by using malapropism okay, and <u>then C, I want you to make up your own malapropism</u> using number 2 and number 3, cannonball and cannibal and illusion and allusion <u>but it must be funny it must create humour</u>, okay that is the idea of malapropism, it creates humour, <u>I want it to do it in your language books</u> if you don't have your language book, you can take a page from your creative writing book and then you can just make sure you write neatly and paste it into your language books and you are welcome to use dictionaries, so that you can see exactly what it is you must do.*

This whole lesson lasted approximately 10 to 15 minutes, whereafter learners individually worked on completing the activity. The classroom discourse throughout this lesson was mostly procedural and explanatory, relating to information on how to complete the activities. There were few questions from learners for clarification; in fact, they appeared uninterested. The teacher demonstrated a pedagogical and linguistic habitus at odds with the underlying language theories of CAPS (2011) and more driven by past skills-based discourses focused on meeting curriculum expectations of knowledge and assessment. More importantly, the use of malapropisms was perceived as something applicable to learning in school for examination purposes, with no (or limited) links made with social contexts. The regurgitation of factual recall was particularly dominant in relation to the textbook definition and the use of a dictionary as assistance for learners to comprehend the task requirement. Also, the *teacher initiation, response and feedback* procedure was not much apparent except around the few examples drawn on from the textbook.

Script 2: Shorter transactional writing

Below follows the lesson of Teacher X who focused on shorter transactional writing. The opening was again devoted to some administrative tasks such as books that needed to be handed to learners.

> **Teacher:** *Sh..sh...Right, so I want you to write down these instructions and then I want you to do each one for me. Okay, remember this is an exercise grade 10. The only one that I did not put on there, like I said I'm not going to put on there, is a dialogue. Okay, you know how to do a dialogue; you have done dialogues from grade 8 and um also speeches. Okay that is the only one which I don't have. (lots of background noise) The speech I'm going to do separate, because they* [Department of Education, Grade 12 National Examination] *would love putting in speeches.*
> (Lots of background noise and voices.)

The teacher wrote all the tasks on the blackboard before learners came to the class. These tasks were all text types such as instructions and diary entries referred to in curriculum documents as shorter transactional writing. During the opening, the teacher used instructions to provide direction and give commands, that is, '*remember this is an exercise…the only one that I did not put there…you have done a dialogue from grade eight...*' In this lesson, the teacher assumed that all learners would know how to write dialogues yet even though learners were also familiar doing speeches, the teacher hinted at the importance of doing this separately, '*...they would love putting in speeches.*' Thus achievement in the external examination at the end of Grade 12 was positioned as the important yardstick for success, demonstrating institutionally valued knowledge as the most important end result of schooling. Again, there was limited co-construction of knowledge although the teacher attempted to relate the texts to previous learning in grade 8. More importantly, the social purpose of these texts, their likely audience and language use in social contexts were not highlighted, and they were dealt with as decontextualized school knowledge.

The next sequence, guided instruction, proceeded mainly through interrogatives of regulative discourse in relation to doing the task:

> **Teacher:**   *sh,..sh…*
> **Learner 1:**   *Miss, how long must it be?*
> **Teacher:**   *Excuse me*
> **Learner 1:**   *How long must it be?*

Teacher:	*Um, in the short pieces are usually, you must remember this should be the section C, which should be the shorter transactional piece which should be*
Learners:	*100 words, 80*
Teacher:	*80 to 100, 80 to a 100 words*
Learners:	*Each, yoh, on a diary entry, (lots of mumbling and voices in background)*
Teacher:	*No, no, together your diary entry should be 80 to 100*
Learners:	*Yoh, it's a little (with lots of voices in background)*
Teacher:	*Yah, <u>remember it's short,</u> a diary is a personal thing which is short (lots of mumbling and background noises). <u>Now remember in the exam grade 10</u>, <u>in the exam they will ask you 3 diary entries and that 3 diary entries</u> will obviously be 80 to 100 words*
Learners:	*That's a little words*
Teacher:	*We don't want you to write an essay, we want you just to write your feelings*

Here the learners enquired about the specifications for completing the diary entries. The teacher reminded them about exam requirements, where writing a diary text is limited to a number of words, and ignored the learners' protest that the specifications did not allow them to write much. The focus was on common ways of regulating task procedures; thus the social context and purpose were ignored, highlighting that learners' responses should focus on set specifications. Hence, there was no discussion of the structure or linguistic features appropriate to diary entries and learning to write was positioned as a set of procedures that needed to be followed, rather than something with a particular purpose and context, and an associated form, language and register.

Then this teacher continued with a new text type: that is, giving directions. Here, again the teacher reminded learners about task specifications: *...short concise to the point....* She did not explicitly teach social purpose or linguistic features and had no model text to scaffold learners' understanding of giving directions, yet she emphasised the importance of planning:

Learner:	(Asks about directions)
Teacher:	*Your directions must not be long*
Learner:	*Must we explain the literacy*
Teacher:	*You don't have to explain the literacy, <u>remember short concise to the point</u> you don't have to okay… you don't have to, remember and that is why grade 10, remember you asked the same thing yesterday<u>, planning is so important, okay planning is so important, <u>make use of the words that was used yester, um in the examples</u> okay so that we, so that you can um, um get, <u>write it down in a more concise manner,</u> luckily this is not far, it's actually a very straight road from here to Grand West you know</u>*

It was clear here that factual recall of institutional valued ways of doing was positioned as important and that 'the teacher knew best' the approaches to be followed in order to be successful: *...make use of the words...in the examples...write it down in a more concise manner...* Learners were thus positioned as possessing limited knowledge and agency to write concise and cohesive texts. There was no discussion or scaffolding of the genres, the social purposes of text were ignored, in fact, learners were told to plan with no explicit induction into structure, textual and language features.

The closing of the lesson centred on more questions by learners related to giving directions during which the teacher reminded them that they must remember to include three landmarks. She proceeded to provide landmarks to learners signalling the importance of it and then saying: *...Okay, any one of the 3 landmarks, everyone is busy...*

In all the lessons observed at this school there was a flexible yet systematic climate in class. For instance, lessons mostly started with learners entering classrooms in an orderly yet jovial manner. Additionally, learners were well inducted into the regulative discourse of the school and class and demonstrated an awareness of broader institutional practices like listening attentively when their teachers explained new content. Also, they were aware that during an initiation, response and feedback teaching strategy it was permissible to ask questions and contribute towards such discussions. However, in most cases the teacher determined the appropriate responses; in the case of Lesson 2 the teacher response was: *No. No. No not McDonalds, that is junk food...Sanlam Centre is a landmark, Sanlam Centre will be landmark, okay*. As a result, the sequence of observed lessons rather than being pedagogical strove towards the inculcation of institutionally valued knowledge and competence as indicators of success. For example, definitions and explanations were read

from guides or textbooks, and reminders of grade 12 examination for English were constantly referred to: *...they love to put in speeches...and so usually in the exam they ask you...they going to ask you three diary entries...* Therefore, the sequence of lessons followed a procedural and explanatory format that consisted of task procedures and explanation of new content that culminated with task instructions for completion rather than a carefully scaffolded sequence of tasks leading learners to independent control of a genre. There was also a tendency in most lessons that I observed to refer to the examination or the national assessment at the end of grade 12.

None of the lessons that I observed demonstrated teachers' ability to build the subject field or content knowledge about the topic. There was some evidence of drawing on prior knowledge but these instances were not pedagogic: rather, they consisted of reminders of past content. Thus learners were not exposed to scaffolded approaches for introducing new subject-specific terminology and concepts. For example, to set the field, the first phases of lessons could have drawn on listening and speaking, reading and viewing tasks where learners could have used skills such as locating, extracting and organizing information; rather, there was an over-reliance on textbook knowledge. Hardly any texts were used in lessons to teach topics such as malapropisms, irony and satire in social and authentic contexts. Therefore, there was only minimal scaffolding and consolidation of knowledge through questions, explanations and modelling. As a result, despite moves towards constructivist teaching approaches, an input/output model was prevalent with limited evidence of scaffolding and the co-construction of knowledge. Moreover, learners were inducted into factual recall of information as the most important scale of competence and success at this school. Nonetheless, there was an excellent atmosphere of positivity in classrooms that resulted from a healthy school culture together with high learner morale, motivation and achievement and great teacher collaboration and attitudes toward their jobs. The next section discusses the school context, culture and classroom pedagogy at school A in relation to *field* and *capital*.

4.2.3   Discussion of school A

The school at the time of my research had adopted a position of culture-blindness because it followed practices that ignored the histories, cultures and traditions of learners who entered the school. Accordingly, the school did not adapt to the needs of the 'new' school population

but rather expected that entrants must adhere to the ethos of the school. Drawing on Bourdieu's concept of *field*: since its inception, cultural traditions associated with white, liberal and English speaking colonialists meant that the school was highly regarded by parents and learners from the community. Now, since democracy, in their struggle to maintain their position in the *field*, the school's privileged history functioned as *symbolic power* because their high reputation as one of the top schools in the Western Cape remained steadfast. Therefore, their privileged past provided them with symbolic capital to attract learners and parents with similar values. Even more interesting is that this privileged history resulted in degrees of *autonomy* and high power in the *field*: they enjoyed "…a relative autonomy vis-a-vis the political and economic powers, thereby offering the possibility of some freedom …" (Bourdieu, 2000, p.103) because most of their alumni held affluent positions in other fields of power such as economics, the judiciary and politics. As a result, the school history "…grounds faith in the institution and in the future it promises…" (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 96). Accordingly, current parents and learners felt the need to appreciate, assimilate and acquire dispositions that contributed towards the maintenance of the school's position in the field and its associated forms of capital; those who manage to uphold the privileged position of the school stood to gain, and those who did not, stood to lose.

A further element in securing some autonomy was their performance in competition in the field, where the stakes are associated with high pass rates at the end of grade 12: contextual conditions at this school resulted in continued 100% pass rates after democracy and this rewarded them with power in the field and some independence. For example, this school did not have to adhere to all the field-related prescripts such as the DBE's compulsory after-school telematics classes (extra online learning support, compulsory for secondary schools with low grade 12 pass rates) and they did not always have to attend memorandum and standard-setting discussions at district level. All in all, this school possessed several types of capital (economic, social, cultural and linguistic) that afforded them positions of power in the field of secondary schooling.

In addition, their existing economic and social capital both yielded evident rewards in the field: the history and identity of this school afforded them financial returns on a trust fund managed by the SGB; they were well connected with alumni in high positions in government, theatre and national sports codes. As a result, this school could access social networks with high power and prestige in other fields and thus enjoy benefits such as scholarship exchanges

abroad for teachers and learners, international school sport tours as well as music and theatre venues, sponsored via these social networks. In addition, the SGB consisted of parents who had access to social capital because some of them (for example professors, medical doctors and lawyers) occupied professional positions with high levels of education. Overall, access to economic and social capital resulted in a dominant field-position for this school.

Another important form of visible capital was that of embodied, objectified and institutional cultural capital. First, the embodiment of respect for hierarchy and culture such as classical music, theatre, debating and compulsory society affiliations allowed for the inculcation of an appropriate *habitus* closely aligned to the school's position in the *field*; this in turn created embodied cultural capital convertible into *symbolic capital* of high culture, social class and prestige. Secondly, *field* power and positions were related to the possession of *objectified cultural capital* such as material objects, physical and human resources. This school's rich set of material and physical assets provided *objectified cultural capital* that functioned as *symbolic capital* recognized in other social fields. This objectified cultural capital was convertible into rewards such as high staff morale, higher learner success rates and the inculcation of an academically valued habitus that created conditions for this school to be part of the game and succeed in the competition. Most importantly, access to objectified cultural capital also resulted in forms of linguistic capital because the standard, official language variety was the norm at the school. Subset two learners from less advantaged backgrounds could assimilate Standard English in societal meetings, at debates and through the well-stocked library of English books. Thus, all of these forms of capital had value in other *fields*: they could be converted into *symbolic capital* associated with access to universities, social networks in the world of work and ultimately upward social mobility in the form of economic capital.

4.2.4   Opening the doors: School B

People in Ward Nine often referred to themselves as residents from the wrong side of the railway track as a result of their relocation during the apartheid era. Firstly, they did not have the privilege of spectacular mountain views; green slopes and large single-storey houses were mostly non-existent; there was much evidence of unemployment, poverty and various other socio-economic battles in existence in their neighbourhoods. Moreover, most neighbourhoods in Ward Nine were characterized by low cost houses from the past and since democracy even smaller housing schemes for low income groups. In addition, police statistics show that drug-

related crimes increased from 154 in March 2004 to a staggering 716 by the end of March 2012 (Crime and Research Report, 2004-2012, Ward 9). Predominantly, areas in this ward appeared to be trapped in a vicious cycle of poverty, gang violence, substance abuse, teenage pregnancy and other social ills associated with low socio-economic income areas. Consequently, severe disciplinary issues at school B reflected the challenges faced by the surrounding community. Overall, the location of this school placed it at a disadvantage in relation to *capital, field* and *habitus*. Firstly, its history, culture and identity meant that objectified cultural capital was minimal; secondly, this resulted in staff, learners and parents holding the perception that the school's position in the field was almost insignificant; and thirdly, learners' primary *habitus* was shaped at home and in a community characterized by low academic expectations where gang-related violence was a norm. As a result, the school battled with issues similar to those facing the surrounding neighbourhoods.

The area surrounding the school was littered with factories and industrial-type structures. In fact, at the fourth right turn-off approaching the school, the houses depicted diverse socio-economic circumstances in that some houses had large plots with huge structures while others were cramped on much smaller plots that contained other makeshift dwellings. The school is situated in an area dominated by wooden cabins known as wendy-houses (a common add-on in this area), businesses and industrial structures, a police station and other municipal support structures like the clinic, library and community hall that together almost form a squared fence around the school.

It was a cold, wet and dreary day when I drove to the school for the first time:

> I pass an old run of the mill petrol station, lacklustre buildings that badly need paint and repair, then depressing patches of grey, face-brick and dirty yellowish structures to my left. To my right, I glimpse some colour in the form of unexpectedly well-maintained double-storey houses but as I get closer to the school turn off, the houses become smaller, the factories and industrial buildings looming large, and the deeper I go the darker the clouds or is it smoke, it's too hard to tell… (Personal notes, 23 July 2011.)

The sketch in figure 7 below maps the journey to school B.
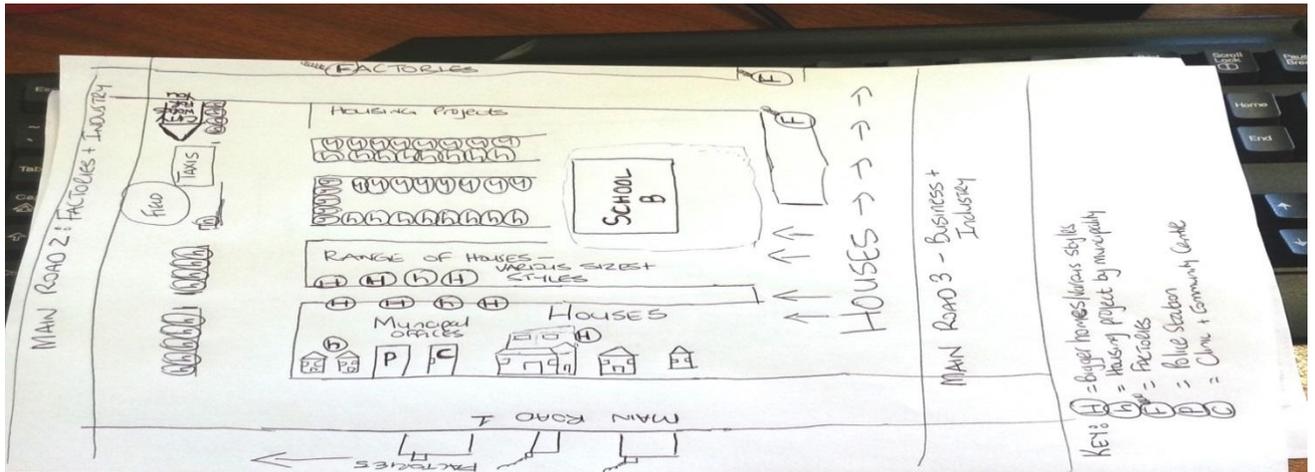
Figure 7: Map of journey to school B

Furthermore, dilapidated double storey structures formed a depressing setting as I went deeper into the suburb. These two-storey structures of two-bedroomed units were part of the apartheid era housing projects that accommodated four families: two families per level. Over the years these families had grown and on average one could easily find about five to seven adults living with three to five children in these two-bedroom structures. The streets were littered with papers and garbage and there was little evidence of the municipal services, despite the municipal office 's large billboard that said, 'The City Works for You'.

Figure 8: Double storey structures close to School B

The stage

The school was inaugurated in 1981 with 35 educators and 800 coloured learners (school information brochure, 2011) and now serves 1200 learners. It opened to serve a growing,

predominantly Afrikaans-speaking community and in 2011 it offered a dual medium curriculum, that is, learning and teaching were conducted through the medium of Afrikaans and English. In addition, it was classified as a comprehensive secondary school: one that offered an academic curriculum as well as a technical stream. The school prospectus (2011) states that staff "…will endeavour to give significance to the concept of education in totality" (p. 5). Staff explained that this means the school aspires towards being a school of unity, serving the community in a changing environment by offering "...a broad and balanced education which enables all role-players to function effectively in a changing society" (Information brochure, 2011, p. 2). As such, this school is also aligned to democratic principles espoused in an education policy that propagates a liberal/progressive curriculum designed to make learners aware of their role in society in order to contribute to the reconstruction of communities.

However, the school was limited by lack of various forms of capital, that is, economic, social and cultural capital, in working adequately towards change in the community that it served. The socio-economic conditions in the community contributed towards the challenges the school faced, such as discipline, drug-related offences and high dropout rates. For these reasons, the school was categorized as a no-fee school and as such it was predominantly dependent on the funding from the education department. As a result, the school was hampered by high learner-teacher ratios, overcrowded classes and a lack of basic resources such as overhead projectors and textbooks. Unsurprisingly, the school had limited symbolic capital in other fields of power which resulted in low morale amongst staff and learners.

Yet, as I approached the school it appeared in good shape with evidence of green grass although the surrounding area appeared polluted, underprivileged and neglected. I was stopped at the school entrance by a security-guard. After I had explained my presence and signed in, this old man opened the gates. I drove through, seeing green trees to my right, additional classes slightly apart from the rest of the school building, a primary school to my left, followed by the administration building that housed the principal's office, the offices of the deputies and the secretary, the staffroom and toilets to my right again. See figure 9.

Figure 9: Image of School B

The school has a history of disadvantage yet according to some teachers who have been there for over 20 years this was once a thriving school in the area. Since its inception, this school has followed a culture and traditions associated with fighting against segregation, inequality and poverty. For this reason, the school was viewed as revolutionary in that it had a common goal and vision, that is, the fight against apartheid and preparing their learners to become leaders in their communities. It was due to this history that parents outside its feeder area preferred to send their children to this school. Therefore, the school history of struggle localizes normative behaviour associated with the periphery, where survival against the odds and self-motivation are necessary attributes in the pursuit of upward social mobility. As a result, teachers displayed dispositions that favour the meritocratic view of society where the school provided the necessary support and guidance to those learners with the correct aptitude and determination to be successful.

The majority of the teachers had been teaching at the school for approximately 20-30 years, came from a previously disadvantaged group and were part of the apartheid schooling system. As a result, many of them often referred to the times when the school was a 'good' school; in fact they claimed that it was one of the best in the area. I got the sense that teachers were disappointed at how the identity and culture of the school was somehow different now. See, for example a comment by a teacher (Interview notes 2011-2012), who had been at the school for more than 25 years.

> *…we have produced very good results…um I'll be bold and say that we were one of the best schools in this district and then most of our learners went to study at XYZ University. Discipline was still good then, so maybe it's…you know that the community hasn't changed… I think maybe the system…um it changed, it changed and we have to deal with it…* (Teacher Y, 29 May, 2012)

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On the same point of school culture and identity, Teacher X stated,

...here we've always done multiple thing...like... it's not in the lesson plan you know...but we did all this in the past also...but we had good learners they worked hard and we could still get angry when they failed or did wrong things...they knew it was because we...um...we cared for them and their future...and they did well, most of them went to study. (21 November, 2012)

Also Teacher Z said,

...we produced excellent matric results you know...um I feel very proud when I get my old learners and they tell me...um... sir I am the head of this or the chief of that...yes it makes me proud you know, like I was part of something great, aai...those were the days when School B was still tops also in sports, music and other talents come from this community, those were good times... (15 March, 2011)

However, the identity and culture seemed to be different now and some teachers commented on the challenges of teaching in a community like this. Teacher X said,

...a major thing that stands in the way of us making an impact at this school is the community you see, it's complex, yes it's a complex thing...we deal with the daily crisis of a community in turmoil...it's like I can't make a difference, you know what I mean and slowly my belief own ability and purpose as a teacher gets less and less...and there is the department (education department) that's another story... (12 October, 2011)

One of the teachers who was fairly new in relation to the others (10 years at this school) commented as follows:

the learners are just plain rude...at least...maybe I must say not all but most of them...the parents just don't cooperate or discipline them I think...it's a problem in a community like this...so now it's almost like the school is a trauma room ...we um are just responding, sometimes not even feeling...so it breaks down my sense of who I was before I came here...being proactive is not an option...we are reactive and in most cases it involves discipline... I just don't um know anymore...' [Teacher XYZ, 12 September, 2012]

One gets the sense that there was discontent at the school with older staff members divided between a past ethos, culture and identity and the current culture of ill-discipline, disruptive behaviour and violence of the school. It seemed that postdemocracy, discipline and community-related issues trickled into the school and this seemed to impact dramatically on teaching and learning there. For instance, parents came to school frequently to 'argue' with teachers about the manner in which they had addressed their children or an issue. For this reason most teachers felt powerless to set norms and values and as a result the culture of the

community filtered into the school context and impacted on the institutional culture and curriculum in various ways: for example, class disruptions due to drug-related offenses, often contested by parents.

In addition, teachers dealt with the discourse of violence and ill-discipline on a daily basis during teaching. They often felt powerless, unacknowledged and unsupported by the education department. For example, a teacher stated,

> *...we face crises on a daily basis...and some of it does not relate to what one would think the normal school is about...we deal with issues like drugs, health, teenage pregnancy...we have to listen and provide guidance to these kids and their families, often after hours but when the departments wants proof of our work they only want teaching and learning stuff, then make us feel like we don't work here like teachers do at other good schools...we work twice as hard because we have other issues that do not directly link with the classroom....but what can we do when a learner is high...one cannot speak like before because what happens when the learner becomes violent...I must let him/her beat me or else the department will get me ...* [Teacher B, English Department, 17 May 2012]

From the above, it seemed that the school's position in the field impacted on teachers' positioning in local contexts such as school B. In this context, despite the limited access to various forms of capital, teachers worked hard, yet the sacrifices they made appeared to go unnoticed. Also, even though the classroom context at this school was at times volatile and highly charged, there was evidence of teaching and learning. Yet, teachers were caught between the education department's disciplinary procedures for educators and learner rights when it came to dealing with disruptive behaviour, that is, teachers felt that learners had more power in the field: when learners became disruptive teachers needed to deal with this sensitively or learners could report them to the education department. Ultimately, teachers felt powerless.

As in all state schools, the School Governing Body (SGB) was responsible for staff establishment, resources and finances, the admissions policy and school rules. However, in this context the SGB struggled to carry out its functions, partly because parents did not have high levels of education and thus had limited social and cultural capital to challenge decisions. Moreover, they did not have investments and trust fund portfolios to supervise and there was limited alumni involvement. These factors meant that it might be easy for the school management team and teachers to manipulate the SGB, a situation which was in fact evident at the school, which was deeply divided at the time of my research. For example,

the teachers formed two camps, with one camp being pro the SGB and the school management team while the other camp spoke out against them. During ethnographic conversations, teachers made their dissatisfaction known about teachers, school management, parents and the SGB:

> *The SGB mostly don't know what they deciding for, it's like the blind leading those who can see ... he has his favourites you know and if you speak out against decisions you not a favourite ... so you will go nowhere ...parents listen to their gangster kids... they threaten you with the department ... I had so many cases against me already just because I am trying to get these kids to learn ... there is just no parent support for teachers.* [Teacher ABC , 23 May 2012].

The division and deep frustration became public during the time that I was at the school when a grade 11 learner was fatally stabbed. Most teachers felt that the situation could have been avoided if the school management dealt with challenges in a different way and they publically voiced their dissatisfaction, as is evident in the newspaper clip below:

> *This...has been a long time coming...the department is not prepared to speak to us as teachers...Our school was one of the best schools in the area but discipline has been going down, the governing body is blaming us for everything that is going wrong.* (Teacher X, 27 July 2012).

Nonetheless, the SGB managed 38 qualified teachers, including only one SGB-funded post and 37 teachers paid by the DBE. Hampered by low levels of economic and social capital, this school did not have the financial resources to appoint more teachers and thus could not manage lower teacher-learner ratios. This meant that there was limited symbolic capital which resulted in a form of symbolic violence where classes were overcrowded, books needed to be shared, the blackboard was the only resource and teachers said that group work was limited by the noise-levels when it was attempted. As a result, dealing with discipline problems became a major focus of teaching and learning at this school.

Every morning staff gathered in the staffroom. The atmosphere was quiet and stilted and I sensed animosity that I initially did not understand:

> It is my first day at the school. As I enter the staffroom there are teachers sitting at the back mostly but to my amazement - no joviality other than the few young teachers sitting in front. No one looks up when I enter, I look to the table where the young teachers are sitting and they smile at me. I go sit with them, they laughingly tell each other about the past weekend with a twinkle in their eyes, eyes corners crinkling, and grinning mouths. Other than this, it is silent and by now more teachers sat at tables.

> To my left, about two tables from where I am sitting, a teacher reads a book, others mark scripts and another reads a daily newspaper while the principal spends 10 minutes reading the names of about 11 Grade Nine learners that were sent home the day before. He explains their offences and the process that the SGB will follow before these learners will be allowed onto the school premises...then he speaks about alcohol abuse...drugs...As soon as the principal is done, the scraping of chairs jostles me from mental notes… (Field notes, 25 July 2011)

Even though the daily practice at this school appeared similar as in School A (for instance, the principal greeted and made official announcements) the lack of various forms of capital resulted in a different discourse, associated with the surrounding area. Here there was no time to speak of the achievements of School B - in fact, one got the sense that there were none. The morning ritual at this school was framed in negative discourses; every morning the principal spoke about discipline, read out the names of learners who had been sent home for disciplinary misconduct the previous day, reminded teachers about the disciplinary process and issues raised by the SGB in relation to disciplinary policies. Then followed institutional matters and circulars from the education department and finally timetable logistics, because on most days these morning rituals resulted in the school day starting later. So, periods would become shorter most of the time. Generally, teachers did not respond to the announcements and appeared bored or eager to leave the staffroom.

There was minimal interaction at these morning rituals and a discourse around ill-discipline and violence was the norm in the staffroom. During conversations with teachers and student teachers I was told that this type of discourse prevails in the classrooms as well. While sitting in the staffroom in the mornings, I was constantly reminded of the challenging context these teachers faced on a daily basis. During every daily morning ritual, teachers were reminded of the challenges of teaching at a school like this and the predominance of violence and community related issues in the discourse resulted in staff referring to this as the identity and culture of the school: …*they bring the community into the school you know and so now the school is the community… we reflect the identity and culture of this area…* [casual conversation, 23 June, 2011). Yet, most of them still believed that they could make a difference but that the school was failing the learners and the community. Ethnographic conversations with random teachers at the school during May and June 2012 revealed the following:

> *The personal sacrifices you make at a school like this sometimes go unrecognized by the public and the department. They expect us to produce similar results like more advantaged schools you know...yet we have other issues, contextual issues you know*

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but the reward is certainly the difference you make in these kids' lives. It is stressful and sometimes you feel like it is a losing battle…and most of us have given up…It breaks your heart but what can you do…?(Teacher AB)

However, teachers seemed to take it in their stride and managed to teach despite disruptions such as timetable changes and threats of violence. These issues were part of their daily routine until brought to a head in various ways. While I was there, tragedy struck: a disagreement between two boys during break had fatal consequences when the one grade 11 boy was stabbed after school. It was a sad and traumatic time at the school and in tragedy the opposing camps united, even if just to share common grief. At the memorial service learners were devastatingly silent:

> As I enter the hall I am cold when I see these young kids' grief. I see the sad sudden death of a fellow learner etched on their vulnerable childlike, tear-streaked faces …gone are the smirks, the sneers, the glib tongues are silent, next to me, behind me and in front of me are the enveloping, melancholic despondency, a cloak that wraps me so chilly and cold. How did they get here, I wonder…why is this school a space of violence, fists, knives and loss that steadfastly gather lifeless young lives' as if they do not matter and then the minister of education walks to the podium…his face filled with grief, a white-ashen, pale invisible ghost hauntingly, reassuringly his voice breaks and he cries…this should never have happened […] [19 July 2012].

It was during such times of learner suffering that the school stood as one force, in fact teachers and learners were like family, and I was humbled when I saw the genuine empathy and pastoral role that staff provided to learners. However, the institutional discourse positioned teachers as powerless and this resulted in a lack of a shared vision and collegial discussions, with a tendency to blame external factors for the challenges that the school faced. The impact of the discourse of ill-discipline seemed to go unnoticed in the routine and ritualized practices of the school, that is, shorter periods, noisy classes and learners' non-attendance gradually became taken-for-granted. Thus learners displayed a position of resistance and defiance against authority which resulted in most teachers beginning to adopt a stance of teaching to those who wanted to be taught. As a result, the school identified certain cultural values that needed to be reproduced, and therefore respect for motivation and hard work related to academic achievement continued to be the primary values as they had been prior to democracy. These emphases encouraged the norms, behaviours and practices of a traditional teaching culture, where only those that display cognitive ability are rewarded. However, it was during a time of intense suffering and turmoil at this school that

I found the significance in '*How goes it over there?*' (from School A) and the annoyance of a teacher at School B when she said, *You cannot compare US to Them*.

The Actors: You cannot compare US to THEM

Being in the field and working closely with the teachers in the English Department, I had a sense that while most of them identified with the ethos, culture and identity of the school, for some the school had lost its past glory of academic achievement. Here, there was no cultural capital such as literature, love for theatre, and school societies and clubs. Accordingly, the teachers in the English Department had a profound sense of the school's position in the field and the above statement indicated the current social class segregation whereby school B's position in the field was regarded as low both internally and externally. Even though this school had an English department, it did not hold formal monthly meetings as in the case of School A. In fact, the HOD would have quick individual consultations with the others during free periods or break times. Their structured institutional practices were also different to those of school A: firstly, they always started exams on the official mid-term examination date; secondly, they attended all district meetings and in general all official circulars from the education department were adhered to; and finally, they did not have any budget allocation to plan trips to the theatre and other festivals.

The English Department consisted of one HOD and three teachers who were all very experienced. Even though, I worked closely with two Grade 10 teachers, teaching either English Home Language (H/L) or English as Additional Language (EAL), I was also allowed to follow other teachers in the department who all had to teach English from grades 8 to 12. As a result, these teachers did not have many free periods during the day to pursue administrative work such as team marking. During my initial visits I relied on mental notes and audio recordings of interactions. I did 45 focused lesson observations of which 30 were in the EAL class. During my research in the field, I realised that the HL teacher was covering the same content as in School A; the teaching focus was similar and I thus became more interested in understanding the EAL curriculum contexts better, given that these learners would be expected to make huge language adjustments (amongst many others) when entering university. As a result, I established common threads and patterns with classroom practices, discourse and pedagogy during these focused observations, while also drawing on my informal interview chats with the teachers in the department. These

conversations revealed that although the appropriate learner identity, behaviour and dispositions aligned to the school's history and culture were outlined explicitly to learners and parents in the school prospectus and code of conduct, applying the values of respect for authority was severely hampered by local community values, as evidenced in the excerpt below:

> *...these days we are the ones who have to be at our best behaviour, while learners can do as they please...their parents are the first to run and lay charges against us. ...yet we had a pupil who hit a teacher...must we stand still?* [Teacher A, English Department, 23 May 2012]

It is apparent that the institutional discourse was associated with managing ill-discipline, violence and lack of parental support. This discourse was manifested widely. Learners shouted, taunted and teased each other on the playground and, when they changed classes, in the hallways. Discussions during staff meetings centred on disciplinary procedures and updates of the learners that were sent home. During assemblies learners had to listen to talks related to ill-discipline and the consequences of it in and out classrooms. Thus, disruptive behaviour was the norm and these teachers needed to spend much time on classroom management issues. Nonetheless, there were learners who were motivated and dreamed of higher education; and I sensed that staff were focused on mentoring such learners to excel beyond the limitations imposed by these conditions:

> *...my learners know that life is tough and that I am even tougher on them...they only have one chance and I make sure that they realise it...I expect the best from them if they want to escape the harsh realities of the community...they must work hard much harder than kids who come from advantaged backgrounds...* [Teacher B, English Department, 25 May 2012]

These, then, were the kinds of conditions which teachers from this English Department had to contend with in their classrooms.

As in the case of school A, it became clear after some time that writing was not explicitly taught, curriculum stipulations only require two essays for summative assessment per year whereas reading with comprehension, literature and language are to be assessed summatively per term and thus these English classroom contexts followed these precise stipulations reflected largely in a more dominant focus on literature and reading with comprehension tasks. I now present two lessons from one EAL class; although they did not focus explicitly on writing, the lessons gave some idea of teaching and learning in the FET

Phase under the conditions at school B described above (see Appendix B.2. for more samples of observed lessons).

Scales of appropriate performance

In general, conditions were similar from classroom to classroom at this school: for instance, the classroom was over-crowded and excessively noisy; most desks were arranged to facilitate group work; and there were some posters on the walls, mostly reflecting content knowledge. In the two English classes that I followed, the teachers' desks were in the front right hand corner, facing 38-45 noisy learners. Group work seemed to be an institutional expectation despite this context not being conducive to effective facilitation of group interaction. However, evidence of group work was limited to the desk arrangement: lessons remained largely teacher-centred and dominated by teacher talk.

The next section highlights how the school history, culture, and ethos played out in grade 10 and11 English classrooms and also the ways in which this positioned learners and learning.

Teaching and pedagogy

The interior of this teacher's classroom was grey and drab yet it was given some colour by a range of posters on the wall to the left of the door and also at the back of the classroom. The teacher's desk was at the front in the right hand corner close to a window overlooking a quad and classrooms on the other side. The blackboard was filled with notes; some learners sat in groups in desks arranged against the two walls while the rest sat in desks in the centre of the room. The teacher and learners had formed an interactive albeit sarcastic relationship within which learners resisted a passive role, initiating a semblance of dialogue on aspects such as behaviour inside the class, homework or other pedagogically related issues. In most cases the teacher responded using a mixed code of English and Afrikaans or a variety of Afrikaans referred to as Kaapse Afrikaans[4]. The teacher routinely positioned learners as problems, with the exception of those few who completed tasks and did chores for her such as looking after the class when she left, or distributing hand-outs and other resources.

Once again, I drew on SFL's curriculum cycle (see school A, *Teaching and pedagogy* section) where I divided the lessons into an opening, introduction to new material, guided

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[3] A stigmatized mixed code of Afrikaans and English associated with coloured people

practice and independent practice in order to highlight how learning and teaching are positioned. Again, in this classroom context extended textual development that centred on texts in contexts was not explicitly taught. In fact, as in school A, here there was also a greater concern for literature and language-related teaching that was examination driven. For this reason, I randomly chose two lessons to foreground teachers' pedagogical practices in grades 10/11 at this school.

Table 3: School B - Outline of two lessons

Daughters of the Sun 18 August 2011	Summaries 27 October 2011
1. **The opening**: Management and administrative issues and signal word 2. **Introduction of new material**: Explanation/Instructions 3. **Guided instruction**: Whole class discussion 4. **Individual practice**: Learners complete activity **Closing**: administrative issues	1. **The opening**: Management and administrative issues and signal word 2. **Introduction of new material**: Instructions related to summary writing 3. **Guided instruction**: Whole class discussion/Explanation 4. **Individual practice**: Task to be completed/ Learners complete activity **Closing**: Administrative issues

Script 1: Daughters of the sun

Below follows the development of the lesson where the teacher began to teach *Daughters of the Sun* by Obi Egbuna. The opening of lessons was normally spent on administrative tasks, followed by some signal word that indicated the start of a lesson. This lesson began thus:

Teacher:	*Right, Grade 10's we doing Daughters of the sun by…today. I take it that you all read it like I asked you to. Grade 10's did you read it?* (Lots of background noise)
Learners:	(Loudly) *No miss*
Teacher:	*Eish, you know what that means…you won't be able to follow. Yor hoe het ek dit met julle?* (Gosh, I do not get you?)
Learner 1:	(Laughing) *Ja juffrou sal oek nooit* (yes Miss you never will miss)
Teacher:	*Yah yah ek wieti hoekom try ek nog nie* (Yes, yes I don't know why I am still trying) (Laughter from students)
Teacher:	*Ok, let's look at the story. If you read it you will know um that it is the story is about an old woman sitting at the water's edge…*
Learner 2:	*No miss, not sitting, in the story she is waiting at the river's edge*
Teacher:	*Oh is that so-you clearly read the story nuh. Ok, like I said before I was rudely interrupted…* (Laughter from students)

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Similar to School A, this teacher's signal words, *Right, grade 10's...* drew learners' attention to the topic/content of the lesson. Thus, the teacher facilitated an initiation, response and evaluation sequence, indicative of some level of interaction. In this context, the teacher drew on the interpersonal 'we' to show that she was part of the learning process. A mixture of English and Afrikaans (referred to as Kaapse Afrikaans) was used as regulative discourse but also to encourage learner interaction; however, when the teacher explained content she drew on English only. The interpersonal 'we' and the mixed code hinted at a relaxed atmosphere where learners could participate and even correct the teacher: *No miss, not sitting [...]*. This indexed a class where participation was encouraged, also that this learner had read the text under focus and that he was in fact motivated. Even though the mixed code encouraged classroom talk, learners' acquisition of institutionally valued linguistic capital was limited because institutionally-valued practices such as belonging to societies and debating were not assimilated as embodied cultural capital that could function as symbolic capital in other fields beyond the school.

Next was the introduction of new material; the teacher expected most of the learners to be unprepared and started to explain the context of the story, but surprisingly her learners resisted listening passively and turned this phase into a discussion:

> **Teacher:** *For those who didn't read the story, and I am sure it's most of you yah yah sh sh sh, I wanna start, ok so it's about an old woman sitting at the water's edge or waiting at the water edge. It is nearly sunset and she is waiting for someone to come along and help her. You all still with me? Stop that talking or I stop explaining! Ok, remember she waits for someone to help her to um, why did she need help? Oh now there is silence? Ok, she was waiting for someone to help her carry her water pot, and the pot water pot was heavy. Then someone, a man, a stranger comes; he is um he is about 40 years old and his occupation is to collect legends, legends are stories that is unbelievable, strange stories that is hard to believe. Kyle what are you doing?*

> **Learner 1:** *Me miss? Um I am busy collecting a legend miss*
> (Laughter from students)

> **Teacher:** *So, you are following? Great! I think we can make a legend and let you stay after school nuh. Sh sh silent, I want to finish. Where was I? Oh yes, the old woman waiting for someone to help carry her water pot. Then a stranger, a man of about 40 wants to help her and tells her that he collects stories um I mean legends. The old woman tells him a story that she insist is not a legend but the history of her people and the stranger carries her pot.*

> **Learner 2:** *Miss but the history of her people is that a legend?*
> (Lots of noise, learners laughing and talking)

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Teacher: Brilliant! A question and a thinking one nogal! Remember what I said about a legend; it is um something unbelievable or um maybe strange or even a myth. Grade 10, you can keep talking while I'm speaking!

Learner 1: Will do miss heheheh
(Lots of noise, learners laughing and talking)

This teacher seemed to engage with her learners in a manner different from that of the school A teachers I observed. She rewarded a student's response with *Brilliant!* which seemed to encourage questions and critical reasoning. However, the lesson did not focus on the metafunctions of interpersonal, experiential and textual meanings. The teacher explained the story without situating it in the context and culture of the time. Instead, she went on to foreground the type of assessment of literature that learners might expect in their examinations:

Learner 2:	*Miss but the history of her people is that a legend?*
Teacher:	*Brilliant! A question - and a thinking one nogal! Remember what I said about a legend; it is um something unbelievable or um maybe strange or even a myth. Grade 10, you can keep talking while I'm speaking!*
Learner 1:	*Will do miss heheheh*
Teacher:	*Yes, we all know how Brilliant you are, Kyle! As I was saying, that is what we must think about - um why is this man interested in her story of her people? Is it because it is almost like a legend or is it a legend that is what we must think about as we read the story. Remember grade 10s, with um short stories <u>they can ask you an essay question</u> and also <u>contextual ones</u> the contextual ones you must have read the story and <u>know where the piece</u> fits in that they put in the paper. Remember that <u>the contextual ones are short question and maybe easier to answer</u> so um maybe most of you must do the contextual ones if you choose the short story we um all know how great our literature essays are don't we grade 10's?*
	(Laughter from students)
Learners:	*Laughing yes miss we are the best*

Thus the teacher refocused the learners here by embarking on a procedural discourse in which she reminded them about examination requirements, directing them towards the requirements of literature question papers. She positioned these learners as challenged in relation to answering literature questions, urging them to do the easier contextual questions in the section on the short story when it came to the examination.

In the above exchange, then, while there was minimal activation of learners' background knowledge, there was some evidence of the co-construction of knowledge in the learner's questioning and the teacher's encouragement of this (*Brilliant! A question - and a thinking one nogal*). However, in the main, the teacher reinforced the importance of knowledge recall towards successful performance in the examination, thus assuming that learners wanted to achieve the educational objectives of the school

The next sequence, guided instruction, mainly proceeded with regulative discourse in relation to doing the task. During the guided instruction phase, there was a shift in that the teacher took a firmer hold when she gave instructions for the task to be completed. Learners, on the other hand, became more attentive.

Teacher:	*Yes, anyway turn to page 93 and answer the questions on the story please. Ok, I said answer the questions not TALK! Do questions one to ten.*
Learner 3:	*Yoh miss that's a lot of questions, where must we get time to finish all that?*
Teacher:	*Where do I get time when I must mark all your junk? I have to make time so I um guess you have to cause you want to pass matric don't you? Like I said, please answer in um full sentences and um follow the instructions because many of you lose marks because you um don't know how to read and also instructions. In the grade 12 examination they are very strict and we can't afford to lose marks unnecessary huh grade 10 can we?*

Here, the teacher reminded learners again about the expectations of the grade 12 examinations and although these learners were still only in grade 10, of the importance of writing in full sentences, reading and following instructions. This reference to the national grade 12 examination seemed to shift some power to the teacher in this phase of the lesson. Invoking an examination that these learners would have to write in two years' time and some tasks that they were supposed to submit (...*you want to pass matric, don't you...bring your essay tomorrow or else*...) appeared to work as an important motivator for learning at this school. The fact that completing grade 12 was felt to be important by these learners was evidenced in less backchat and humour during this phase of the lesson.

Finally, the individual practice and closing sections focused on independent work and the teacher finishing administrative tasks:

> **Teacher:** *So, you busy answering the question now. Sharnay where is my essay? I am still waiting for the essay that was due last week. Bring dit more of anners het tjy nie 'n punt vir vraestel drie nuh en ek soekie jou ma op my nek nie verstaan ons mekaar.* (Bring your essay tomorrow or else you won't have a mark for paper three and I don't want you mother on my case again). *Laat ek sien wie skuld my nog* (let me see who still owes me). *I want all essays tomorrow ASSEBLIEF* (PLEASE) *en DANKIE* (THANK YOU)
>
> (Lots of protest in the background by learners)
>
> **Teacher:** *I wanna hear no excuses and we should be busy with our questions so what is this noise and stuff. The essays were due last week and this is THIS week. Ons wiet mos die liewe is nie fair nie nuh so this is one of those moments heheheh* (we know that life is not fair)
>
> **Learner 1:** *Juffrou is evil* (miss you are evil/wicked)
>
> **Teacher:** *Yah yah I heard it all before.*

This whole lesson lasted approximately 10 to 15 minutes, whereafter learners worked individually to complete the activity. The classroom discourse throughout this lesson was mostly procedural and explanatory, involving information on how to complete the activities. There were few questions from learners in relation to clarification; in fact they appeared disinterested. More importantly, question types and assessment of reading (See Scene Three for reading assessment standards, NCS, 2003 and CAPS, 2011) were not scaffolded and recognising how dialogue and action are related to character and theme was mostly non-existent; issues of plot, subplot, character portrayal, conflict, dramatic purpose and dramatic irony were also not addressed. As a result, the teacher demonstrated a pedagogical and linguistic habitus contrasting with the underlying language theories of CAPS (2011) and driven rather by past skills-based discourses focused on meeting curriculum expectations of knowledge and assessment.

Script 2: Doing a Summary

Below follows the lesson that focused on doing summaries. Like previous lessons, it consisted of an opening, the introduction of new material, guided instruction and individual practice followed by the closing of the lesson. The opening went as follows:

Teacher:	*Grade 10's we doing summaries today, It…summaries are very important because they will ask you to do it in… um it is in Section B of Paper One. I am worried that too many of you are not getting it despite us going over it so many times.*
Learners:	*Mumbling*
Learner:	*It's not easy miss yoh its not like we not trying meaning I try maar ek kry dit aanhou verkeerd* (I always get it wrong) (Lots of noise: *is ja is ja* (it is so yes it is so))
Teacher:	*Dis omdat julle nie note vat nie julle speel mos maak mos jokes heel tyd* (it is because you are not taking notes you play and joke around the whole day). *Grade 10's I am going to explain again.A summary is, a definition of the word summary is um it is a brief and factual and shortened version of the main ideas or thoughts of a given text. Is this clear?*
Learners:	(Loudly) *Yes miss*
Learner:	*Ja juffrou die definisie is maklik maar ek kry altyd die main ideas verkeerd (Yes miss the definition is easy but I never get the main ideas)*

Here the teacher foregrounded the importance of the summary and learners not being able to do it well. This interaction also highlighted learners' frustration with getting it wrong. Interestingly, the teacher assumed that learners' problem with making summaries was that they did not understand the definition of a summary; she thus merely 'explained' it again.

Next, the teacher explained summary-writing in relation to the examination:

Teacher: Eish, soes ek gese het joke nog (like I said, keep joking around). *In the exam they will ask you to make a point form summary of an article or a um story. They um want you to list the facts and opinions in the text. There will be a summary in paper one and it is important that you know how to do it ok Grade 10's. Also remember, this is important. Remember your language or grammar nuh. It must be full sentences, even if you write a summary in point form; it must um at least have a subject and verb and start each sentence with a capital letter. And finish with a full stop because marks are deducted if full sentences and the correct grammar is not used. Remember, that if they ask you to write down a list of um say instructions, then you must use the command form of the sentence that means the verb, for example use a towel to dry your hands-what is the command? Yes, use! Another one, close the tap after use. You get it? Also, remember to always read the questions carefully and answer all instructions for example the number of words that you used at the bottom of your summary answer.*

Teacher: Any questions?
<div align="center">(Whispering and background talking by students)</div>

Again, the requirements of grade 12 surfaced here as an important motivator for learning; the teacher's advice implies that learners see it as some form of capital that has value beyond schooling. However, pedagogically, it can be noted that the purpose and contexts of doing summaries were not socially situated here, and learners were exposed to a decontextualised view of practising this genre which could have capital implications for them in other real world fields of power.

After this, the teacher focused on guided instructions:

Teacher:	*Ok, let's look go to page 10 and practice our summary writing. It says here, that in not more than 50 words list seven ways in which you can finance your own business. See the instructions, it um says that you must list seven full sentences, number your sentences from 1-7, write one fact per line, use your own words and indicate the number of words in brackets at the end of your summary. Remember grade 10's the importance of sticking to the number of words like we um said before it is um very important because can you see it says here that you will be penalized for exceeding the number of words and also for failing to indicate the number of words used? So please indicate the number of words used at the end of your summary.*

<div align="center">(Lots of noise, learners laughing and talking)</div>

Learner:	*Miss when must this be done?*
Teacher:	*Start now and then we can mark it when you done*

<div align="center">(Laughter from students)</div>

Here the teacher gave learners the specifications for making summaries for the examination, following the textbook guidelines which were a verbatim copy of DBE guidelines. Consequently, learners viewed the summary as a decontextualised text containing a limited number of words, rather than as a genre with a social purpose, audience, and language in context. The teacher focused on common task procedures, ignoring the social context and purpose and highlighting instead that learner responses should focus on set specifications. Hence she positioned learning to write as a set of procedures that needed to followed, rather than foregrounding the writing purpose and context which assist in shaping form, language and register. Clearly, factual recall of institutional valued ways of doing was positioned as important and accordingly, the teacher and the textbook were positioned as authorities that knew best the approaches learners should follow in order to be successful (*...the importance of sticking to the number of words... you will be penalized for exceeding the number of words...*) Learners were not given the cultural and linguistic tools for this skill area and were

thus positioned as empty vessels who lacked the knowledge and agency required for writing concise and cohesive texts.

This lesson phase was followed by individual practice and the closing phase of the lesson:

Teacher: *Write down the tips to do a summary, so that you have it nuh and then to the activity on page 10, Ok? You know, we writing exam soon and there will be a summary. So try and get it right this time please. Lots of noise, learners laughing and talking*

Learner: *Miss, we do both summaries in the book?*
Teacher: *I only said page 10, didn't I!*
(Laughter from students)

Teacher: *So, you busy working on your summary now. So, stop your talking and this noise!*

The individual practice and closing of the lesson centred on tips to do summaries and a task to be completed. The teacher reasserted her power by foregrounding the upcoming term examination.

In most of the lessons observed at this school there was a flexible yet at times chaotic climate in classes. For instance, lessons mostly started with learners entering the classroom in a disorderly and noisy manner. Additionally, the almost daily reductions in the duration of periods, together with the time spent on creating order before lessons could commence, resulted in less teaching time. However, even though the climate in class was in constant flux (mostly due to disruptions), teaching occurred, and in this context learners were not passive receivers of knowledge but challenged explanations with responses and questions, at times indicating an ability to think and reason despite being positioned as incompetent, disruptive and ill-mannered.

In both the home language and additional language classes observed, lesson time spent on some form of actual teaching was 10 minutes. Lessons started with a reminder, explanation and then procedure for task completion. As a result, the picture at school B was strikingly similar to that at School A, where the sequence of observed lessons rather than being pedagogical strove for the inculcation of institutionally valued knowledge and competence as indicators of success; and here, similarly, there was a tendency to refer to the examination or the national assessment at the end of grade 12. Clearly, then the grade 12 exit examination carries high symbolic power as evidenced in the two lessons where the

teacher managed to regulate behaviour when she referred to the grade 12 exit examinations. Definitions and explanations were read from textbooks and reminders of Grade 12 examination for English were issued repeatedly (*...you want to pass matric, don't you...There will be a summary in paper one... they will ask you to do it...in section b of paper one... In the grade 12 examination they are very strict...*).

Consequently, none of the observed lessons demonstrated SFL genre-based pedagogy. There was some evidence of scaffolding via discussions and in response to questions posed by learners, but in most lessons teachers' pedagogic discourse was limited in relation to building the subject field or content knowledge about topics. Writing-related topics were mostly taught through isolated texts, and if texts were utilized there was no focus on the three metafunctions of interpersonal, experiential and textual meanings. Thus learners got limited exposure or induction into how texts work: and more importantly, genres were not explicitly taught. Because learners were inducted into factual recall of information as the most important scale of competence for success, there was generally only minimal scaffolding, modelling and consolidation of knowledge in the lessons at this school.

4.2.5 Discussion of school B

Drawing on Bourdieu's concepts of field, habitus and capital, we see that firstly, the apartheid legacy resulted in the continuation of the school's earlier position in the field. During the apartheid era *economic capital* was awarded along racial lines. While R644 was spent on each 'white' learner, only R41.80 was spent on each 'black' learner (Bagulay, 2007) and as a result, not only did this school have limited *economic capital* to convert into other forms of *capital* at that time, but this educational racial segregation of the past also continued to have *symbolic power* in the democratic era. This produced a context of *symbolic violence*; whereas learners at school A had safe, secure, learning-friendly environments, learners at school B were not as fortunate. Additionally, this lack of economic capital resulted in high learner-educator ratios, which thus contributed towards different educational outcomes for school A and school B due to the absence of *cultural capital*. First, the learners' *embodied cultural capital* assimilated over time reflected forms of socialization associated with the surrounding community culture such as violence, drugs and teenage pregnancy. Secondly, *objectified cultural capital* in the community, homes and at the school was limited which impacted on the acquisition of the third form of cultural capital, namely *institutional cultural capital* as exemplified by educational or technical

qualifications. Thus, because these learners embodied a culture of violence and had few or limited physical objects and cultural goods that could be converted into both economic profit and symbolic capital, there were implications for their access to higher degrees of *institutional cultural capital* such as tertiary studies and prestige positions in the world of work.

Finally, the school's position in the *field* seemed to have impacted on staff morale; the staff at this school did not demonstrate a collective sense of responsibility and focus towards learners, learning and teaching. There was a sense, rather, that they rewarded those who wanted to work. The interviews or informal conversations revealed that they were entangled in their own histories and a set of old practices that viewed the school more as a place for basic instruction and less as a space to provide educational direction and a sense of belonging to learners who came from severe socio-economic circumstances. The lack of these symbolic resources (provision of which would require the services of an onsite-based counsellor and social worker) had resulted in a pervasive discourse of disrespect, ill-discipline and violence associated with most learners and visible in the hallways, during breaks, during assemblies and in the classrooms. As a result, teacher expectations of learners were low, learner motivation was generally even lower, and learners demonstrated resistance towards hierarchy, authority and classroom learning.

Interestingly, despite school A and school B's differential positions and acquisition of capital in the field, an area in which they were strikingly similar was pedagogical discourse and teaching strategies associated with institutionally valued knowledge and skills related to the national exit examination. I now move onto mapping the extent that position and *capital* in the field results in either similarities or instances of divergence between these secondary schooling contexts.

4.2.6 Mapping the sub-field

This study identified an underlying competition in the secondary schooling field associated with achieving high pass rates, especially at the end of grade 12. School A and school B, despite divergent contextual conditions, were both contenders seeking *consecration* for achieving accordingly. Yet, the odds were unfavourably stacked against School B: firstly, School A possessed higher levels of economic, social, cultural and even linguistic capital; secondly, these types of capital had value converted into symbolic capital; and lastly, this

enabled School A to maintain a position of power and some form of autonomy in the field. As a result, whereas one school's apartheid legacy resulted in privilege, in the other context there was a continuation of previously disadvantaged and unequal contextual conditions. Interestingly, these divergent capital holdings impacted differently on the cultivation of learners' *habitus*; the acquired school culture and classroom message combined to function as a symbolic resource in the one yet as symbolic violence in the other. For instance, the school and classroom culture at School B demonstrated limited cultural goods and mirrored community-related challenges which resulted in learners' embodiment of violence; yet at School A the institutional culture was a resource and a form of capital because it impacted on the positions that their learners could take in the field, such as accessing tertiary studies and prestigious positions in the world of work. Despite these divergent field conditions there were striking similarities between the two school contexts with regard to teacher perceptions of teaching writing in the FET Phase. In both there was a clear lack of pedagogy drawing on SFL genre-based approaches to develop writing proficiency.

Perceptions of teaching writing in the FET Phase

All in all, teachers in both schools A and B made no attempt to combine CLT and text-based approaches in order to teach writing, as required by the curriculum documents. They referred to the process approach only by placing emphasis on planning, drafting and writing final drafts. Furthermore, practices of teaching and learning in these language classrooms did not reflect any focus on the social purposes for language, learner awareness of language in context or explicit teaching of genres of schooling. Rather, the prevailing pedagogy perpetuated traditional views of language study as formal, decontextualized grammar or classroom activities, implemented in preparation for national examinations at the end of grade 12. In both contexts, teachers had limited knowledge of the language theories that underpin the official curriculum. This impacted negatively on their ability to teach about text and context or the social function of language, or to draw on the *metalanguage* that could enable the development of writer identities for learners. The teachers' pedagogical strategy was to rely on textbooks and other departmental handouts to teach literature, reading comprehensions, grammar, and summaries. Writing was viewed in isolation from the texts used in these classrooms and was taught rather as rules learners should follow in order to demonstrate proficiency in meeting the demands of the grade 12 exit examinations.

No attention was given to the key stages of genre development and overall learners were not taught about associated language features in texts.

As a result, learners demonstrated limited awareness of text and how texts work, with significant gaps apparent in their understanding of structure, language in context, sequential organisation, and register. Thus, despite the NCS (2003) and CAPS (2011) advocating constructivist teaching approaches, the teachers' pedagogical habitus remained in the realm of a skills-based discourse and pedagogical practices in School A and B remained traditional, providing learners with limited opportunities to develop writing abilities or appropriate writer identities.

Foregrounding of Grade 12 examination

In both school contexts, a great deal of teachers' pedagogic discourse was examination-driven. Although, the curriculum makes provision for various forms of assessment, that is, diagnostic, formative and summative assessment; teachers' pedagogical function of assessment was closely linked to the grade 12 national assessment for English Home and Additional Language (See quarterly question papers, Appendix B2-School B). In both of these previously mentioned quarterly question papers for grade 10, created by teachers, the structure and types of questions were closely aligned to the national paper exemplars that are available on DBE's website: that is, Paper One at both schools consisted of Section A focused on comprehensions, Section B on summary writing, Section C on visual literacy and Section D on Language in Context. Even more revealing was the frequency with which teachers in both contexts reminded learners of the requirements of the Grade 12 examinations. Thus an underlying institutional discourse in both contexts was the importance of succeeding in exit examinations and the institutionally valued cultural capital in these classrooms was strongly aligned with rules for passing grade 12.

However, the goal to produce better matric results can hold unintended consequences such as narrow teaching approaches which are examination driven and which as such can neglect the need for ongoing development of learners' ability to transfer language knowledge into coherent, cohesive and extended pieces of writing in school or beyond it.

4.2.7 The cultural capital that should be visible in classrooms

The policy document for English Home and Additional Language at the time of my data collection in 2011 was initially the NCS (2003) but changed to the CAPS (2011) towards the end of my period of data collection: that is, towards the end of 2012. Both documents refer to combining Communicative Language Teaching (CTL) and text-based approaches to teaching and assessing language (see Act Four, Scene One). This was evident in a number of terms used in these documents: for example, "use of writing frames…metalanguage… register… and importance of context". The principles and values of the language curriculum display characteristics of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) text-based theory because they emphasize the relationship between language, its social functions and texts. Similarly, SFL argues that texts need to be analysed as more than just a mere isolated sequence of clauses but as discourses that reflect how language reveals or obscures social reality. As discussed in Act Four, Scene One, the text-based approach is ideally suited to the development of critical literacy and critical language awareness: to achieve this development, language and grammar needs to be analysed in context.

However, in both school contexts evidence of SFL-driven approaches was lacking in the classroom in general but more so in the teaching and learning strategies employed by teachers. This suggests teachers did not understand the relevance of the new linguistically informed market underpinning the NCS and CAPS and it is likely that teachers will continue to teach traditional forms of grammar resulting in tasks and questions that focus on memorization or retrieval of facts. In fact, in both contexts, language teaching placed high value on the Grade 12 exit examination. The next scene will focus on the extent to which this high stakes assessment is aligned to SFL genre-based approaches.

4.3 SCENE THREE: National acts of competence: High stakes assessment

4.3.0 Introduction: "Remember, grade 10s, they will ask you to…"

As shown in Scene Two, in both school contexts teachers in the grade 10 classes that I observed laid great emphasis on the national grade 12 exit examination, to highlight the importance of specific curriculum content that they engaged with. For this reason, the above quote represents the omnipresence of the mysterious grade 12 examiners ("they"), even

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three years before the event. Hence, the national grade 12 examination holds implications for the writer habitus constructed at schools because the kinds of assessment tasks and texts can be seen as indicators of the valued cultural capital in the Further Education and Training Phase (FET). As shown, the symbolic value of the grade 12 examination can be seen to have had a substantial wash-back effect even in grade 10, resulting in practices of teaching and learning that focused on instruction, explanation of and information about the anticipated content to be assessed at the end of grade 12. For this reason, it became important that I analyse the national assessment question papers for English. I focused on the 2012 question papers because that year's examination was the one often referred to when I conducted most of my fieldwork in 2011 to 2012. This scene therefore intends firstly to highlight the degree to which the national exit examination for languages is aligned to the text-based theory present in the National Curriculum Statement (NCS, 2003), and secondly to focus on the implications this degree of alignment or non-alignment may hold for the construction of writer identities in the FET Phase. By thus analysing the language question papers against the national policy requirements and the expectations of an underpinning text-based theory, the scene builds on the previous two scenes focused on the implications of school and classroom contexts for developing enabling writer identities.

With this in mind, I examined the 2012 English Additional Language (EAL) papers in order to understand the ways that these might have contributed towards the particular kind of academic language proficiency demonstrated by second language learners of English entering the University of XYZ. Although my focus is on writing and writing identities constructed in the FET Phase, the theoretical mismatches highlighted in the NCS (2003) and the CAPS (2011) (see policy discussion, ACT 4 Scene One) sparked a desire to understand the implications of these gaps for the assessment of writing. I analysed Question Papers One and Three, since Paper One focuses on various text types (my intention was to establish these text types and the types of questions used to assess reading and writing) and Paper Three deals with essay writing (here guided by SFL, I explored in particular the interpersonal, experiential and textual metafunctions of language (Halliday, 1978; 1994)). With regard to the interpersonal metafunction I analysed the question papers for attention to stance, modality and audience; for the experiential metafunction I focused on participants, processes and circumstances; and the textual metafunction called for attention to the cohesion and logical flow achieved through theme/rheme. The exit assessment calls for both Home Language (HL) and English Additional Language (EAL) learners to demonstrate

competency in four areas: that is, reading a variety of text types, grammar, interpretation of literary texts and writing functional and transactional texts as referred to in the NCS (2003) and CAPS (2011).

To shed light on what should be expected from a theoretically informed text-based assessment, I used an analytical framework informed by 'Sydney school' SFL to examine EAL Question Papers One and Three. The reason for focusing on EAL is that a majority of students that enter university are second language users of English (Stroud & Kerfoot, 2013) and my purpose was to understand the ways that the exit question papers, in their wash-back effect, strengthened or impeded learners' ability to develop academic language proficiency. Another reason was to understand the link between the content and skills assessed and the text-based theory as encapsulated in the NCS (2003) but also to develop a critique of the NCS and the CAPS in the light of SFL text-based approaches. In fact, the variation between the EAL and HL question papers is relatively small in terms of complexity, other than length of reading and writing texts and mark allocations.

The next section discusses Paper One in relation to the text-based theory as encapsulated in the NCS in order to shed light on the extent that the above-mentioned theoretical gaps can impact on the writer identities constructed through assessment practices in the FET Phase.

4.3.1 Paper One (EAL, 2012): Overview (APPENDIX C.1)

Paper One for EAL exposed learners to a range of text types as required by the NCS (2003) and policy guidelines. It consisted of three sections: that is, comprehension, summary and language or grammar in context, with each section exposing learners to various texts such as a newspaper article that gives information on volunteering; three advertisements; a magazine text that gives instructions; a cartoon; and an argumentative text. In this regard then, it was set according to some of the stipulated standards encapsulated in the NCS (2003) and the CAPS (2011), which required that learners be exposed to a range of text types. Remarkably, however, the NCS (2003) and CAPS (2011) documents do not explicitly include multimodality and the implications of visual information for additional meaning-making beyond referring to it in the CAPS EAL document. Nonetheless, the examination guidelines (2012, 2014, Appendix D) stipulated the structure, lay-out and skills to be assessed and the number of text types to be included in the paper. Thus the basic structure and the focus on a range of text types adhered to policy prescripts.

Here, I analyse and discuss the text types and types of questions set in order to evaluate the manner in which reading with comprehension, language and grammar in contexts are assessed in this paper. Finally, I discuss the patterns that emerge in Paper One against SFL text-based theory.

4.3.2   Analysis of Paper One, Section A: *Reading comprehension*

Paper One Section A consisted of two texts, that is, a newspaper article and an advertisement; this could indicate an awareness of the importance of drawing on authentic text types. However, as I argue below, the choice of texts and the questions set for each show severe shortcomings in the examiners' understanding of 'genre'. I discuss each text below.

<p style="text-align:center">TEXT A.1: Original (Daily News, 3 October 2011) online version:</p>

Figure 10:Image from original Crow article

Crow's 'hands and feet'

Crow volunteer, Monique Deme, feeds a black springbok, Skippy

DAILYNEWS/OPINION / 03 October 2011 at 09:00am (IOL)

 Nosipho Luthuli

Getting down and dirty is not exactly how most of us would like to start the day.

But this is not a problem for Monique Demé, 19, and Brian Pieterse, 23, volunteers at the Centre for Rehabilitation of Wildlife (Crow).

"It's not glamorous but I do it for the love of the animals," Pieterse said.

Crow is a non-profit organisation based in Yellowwood Park, Durban.

It rescues and rehabilitates abandoned, orphaned and injured animals – animals in their care range from dogs to baboons and the odd mongoose.

At Crow, animals are nursed back to health and prepared for release into their natural habitat.

A volunteer's day starts at 7am with the preparation of breakfast for the animals. This involves chopping fruit and vegetables.

Demé and Pieterse ensure that the animals are not fed like pets – because their aim is to reintroduce the animals into the wild and they try to ensure that natural instincts are not lost.

"If they were in the wild, they will have to look for food themselves – we prepare them for release," Demé said.

When the breakfast run is over, the duo clean the animals' cages.

Removing old and wet hay from the baboon cages every day is important because wet hay lowers the baboons' immune system.

Crow has seven volunteers on its list, but ideally sixteen people are required to ensure the facility runs well.

Demé and Pieterse say the biggest challenge they face as volunteers is releasing the animals back into the wild and not getting attached to them during the rehabilitation phase.

For Demé, the latest test of her emotional juggling skills will come soon.

"Skippy, the black springbok, was here a week before I arrived. I have been volunteering here for a year and I've got used to her being a part of my life and now she has to go…"

Another challenge that Crow faces is "baby season", which starts in September and ends in March.

Space becomes a problem because most animals give birth during this period, so the parents and their children have to be accommodated and this is usually when they need an extra pair of hands.

"This is a problem with birds because they start hatching and then we have a lot of mouths to feed," Pieterse said.

Demé and Pieterse said many of the animals at Crow were at the facility because of people's misconceptions and because of encroachment of human beings into the animals' natural habitats.

Demé said Crow recently rescued a monkey that was chained and almost stoned to death by people because they believed it was used for witchcraft.

"It was not used for witchcraft, it was just at the wrong place at the wrong time," said Demé,

"People don't know as much as they need to know about animals, they turn a blind eye because they think it's not their problem," she added.

Pieterse said that most people make the mistake of feeding wild animals.

"You shouldn't feed them because they will come back wanting more. They will get used to people. Some people get irritated and attack the animals. They should just call us and we will take care of them," Pieterse said.

Volunteering at an animal shelter requires being passionate, hardworking, caring and patient, said Demé.

She said it took a lot of patience to deal with animals and people.

Crow's director, Samantha Terblanche, said volunteering strengthened one's character because it helped one contribute to society.

She also said volunteering helped to expose one to work experience.

Demé said it was a free opportunity to gain life and job skills like work ethics and understanding job requirements.

She said: "Volunteering shows that you have taken an initiative. It's a pity that in a country where employment is scarce the culture of volunteering is very weak. People don't realise that volunteering eventually leads to employment."

Demé added that it tested one's level of commitment and helped identify one's weaknesses and strengths and helped nurture one's interests. This would "hopefully help them do the job they loved".

"The more volunteers we have the better, because they are the lifeblood of Crow.

"Without them, we can't run our operations. They are Crow's hands and feet."

The original text A.1, *Crow's 'hands and feet'* by Nosipho Luthuli, appeared in the opinion section of a regional newspaper the Durban *Daily News* (3 October 2011). The online text is shown above. This text can be classified as a mixed genre; a newspaper report with a particular stance taken. Its purpose was on the one hand to provide information on volunteering at an organization referred to as CROW but also to persuade young inexperienced and unemployed youth about the advantages of volunteering. As a result, it contained elements of both information report and a persuasive genre. In relation to structure: Firstly, a headline attracted audience attention while providing information about the subject-matter, secondly the by-line gave information about the reporter, thirdly, the introductory sentences further set the scene, summarizing information on the topic/issue,

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participants, place and time. Moreover, a persuasive element was reflected in the evaluative statement: *Getting down and dirty is not exactly how most of us would like to start the day*, followed by a concession: *... but this is not a problem for Monique Demẻ...*, indicative of reporter stance. Therefore, the social purpose on the one hand was to persuade young adults about the advantages of volunteering while also providing information on Crow and the nature of volunteering there. In addition, both word and image (that is, the multimodality of this text) suggested this mixed purpose, since on the one hand the captioned photograph (Figure 10) gave additional information but also suggested stance and attitude towards working with animals. This purpose and stance was also visible in the body of the text, which focused on the process of volunteering and its rewards, placed value on the work done at CROW (validated by the projection of sources and the direct words of participants), and positioned the audience positively towards volunteering. Finally, the report culminated with a marked theme also indicative of stance: *Without them, we can't run our operations. They are Crow's hands and feet*: a reiteration of the title but also a reminder that CROW is a non-profit organization dependent on volunteers to perform its core function.

As a blurred genre, this text can be considered audience appropriate for several reasons. Firstly, there was a clear link between the title, written text and the photograph (figure 10) so that they jointly provided information and stance; secondly, heteroglossic devices projected the reporter's subjective stance into the text yet also concealed this perspective as neutral, as coming from other sources; thirdly, the audience was persuaded via the title, the captioned photograph (figure 10), the initial evaluative statement and dialogic devices such as direct quotes, of the actual work and the advantages of volunteering at CROW and finally, the alternation between participants' and reporter voice resulted in a conversation-like interaction where the audience participation was encouraged: thus the act of persuasion is concealed.

Text A.2 on the next page is the adapted version of *Crow's 'hands and feet'*, used in the 2012 grade 12 examination:

TEXT A.2: Adapted newspaper report

<div style="border:1px solid #000; padding:10px;">

THE HANDS AND FEET OF CROW

1. Volunteering at an animal shelter is a messy, but rewarding job. A visit to this sanctuary reveals what it takes. Getting down and dirty is not exactly how most of us would like to start the day. But this is not a problem for Monique Demé and Brian Pieterse, who volunteer at the Centre for Rehabilitation of Wildlife (CROW). 'It is not glamorous but I do it for the love of the animals,' Pieterse said.

2. CROW is a non-profit organisation based in Yellowwood Park, Durban. It rescues and rehabilitates abandoned, orphaned and injured animals. Animals in their care range from dogs to baboons and the odd mongoose. At CROW, animals are nursed back to health and prepared for release into their natural habitat.

3. A volunteer's day starts at 07:00 with the preparation of breakfast for the animals. This involves chopping fruit and vegetables. Demé and Pieterse ensure that the animals are not fed like pets. When the breakfast run is over, the duo clean the animals' cages. Removing old and wet hay from the baboon cages every day is important because wet hay lowers the baboons' immune system.

4. CROW has seven volunteers on its list, but ideally 16 people are required to ensure that the facility runs well. Demé and Pieterse say the biggest challenge they face as volunteers is releasing the animals back into the wild and not getting attached to them during the rehabilitation phase.

5. For Demé, the latest test of her emotional juggling skills will come soon. 'Skippy, the black springbok, was here a week before I arrived. I have been volunteering here for a year and I have got used to her being a part of my life and now she has to go ...'

6. Another challenge that CROW faces is 'baby season', which starts in September and ends in March. Space becomes a problem because most animals give birth during this period, so the parents and their children have to be accommodated and this is usually when they need an extra pair of hands. 'This is a problem with birds because they start hatching and then we have a lot of mouths to feed,' Pieterse said.

7. Many of the animals at CROW are at the facility because of people's misconceptions and because human beings invade the natural habitat of animals. CROW recently rescued a monkey that was chained and almost stoned to death by people because they believed it was used for witchcraft. 'People don't know as much as they need to know about animals, they turn a blind eye because they think it is not their problem,' Demé said.

8. Most people make the mistake of feeding wild animals. 'You should not feed them because they will come back wanting more. They will get used to people. Some people get irritated and attack the animals. They should just call us and we will take care of them,' Pieterse said.

9. Volunteering at an animal shelter requires being passionate, hardworking, caring and patient. It takes a lot of patience to deal with animals and people. CROW's director, Samantha Terblanche, said volunteering strengthened one's character because it helped one contribute to society. It also helped to expose one to work experience.

10. Demé said it was a free opportunity to gain life and job skills like work ethics and understanding job requirements. 'Volunteering shows that you have taken the initiative. It is a pity that in a country where employment is scarce, the culture of volunteering is very weak. People do not realise that volunteering eventually leads to employment.' Demé added that it tested one's level of commitment and helped to develop one's interests. 'This would hopefully help them to do the job they loved.'

11. 'The more volunteers we have, the better; because they are the lifeblood of CROW. Without them, we cannot run our operations. They are CROW's hands and feet.' To volunteer at CROW, you have to be 16 years or older.

[Adapted from DAILY NEWS, 3 October, 2011]

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In the adapted version of the article (Text A.2) the subject-field was similar but examiners deleted the captioned photograph and the by-line and moved the initial evaluative introductory sentence into third sentence position. This adaptation resulted in a shift in purpose from information and persuasion (in the original version) towards information or explanation about Crow and its context and about the challenges and advantages of volunteering. The generic structure now consisted of a title followed by paragraphs which contained information about Crow and/or the challenges experienced there, and explained the volunteering process, the characteristics required for volunteering and the advantages of volunteering, and culminated with a new statement, *To volunteer at CROW, you have to be 16 years or older*. This shift towards information was also evident in several other features. Firstly, we see it in the addition of the opening sentence *Volunteering at an animal shelter is a messy but rewarding job* and also the sentence *A visit to this sanctuary reveals what it takes* which functioned as a statement to introduce the material related to volunteering. Then, the deletion of the captioned photograph changed the dialogical nature of the original text towards a more formal written mode. In addition, combining the one-sentence quotes to form eleven paragraphs blurred the participants' direct words, creating the distance and formality typical of information and explanation genres.

Consequently, as a blurred information and explanation genre this text consisted of a title and paragraphs that provided additional information about CROW and about volunteering and examiners adapted participants' use of contractions into formal language; but, surprisingly, they concluded with new information about CROW. However, the examiners' adaptation did not take into account the social context where the original text was produced; it concealed the appropriate discoursal features reflecting real contexts, and omitted the heteroglossic devices that hid the reporter's subjective stance and participants' voice.

Table 5 compares the two texts to show how the experiential, interpersonal and textual meta-functions are represented in each and thus the implications for engaging young readers and making meaning.

Table 4: Comparison of metafunction in the original and adapted 'Crow' texts

Crow's 'hands and feet'	
Structure	
Title The issue Perspective on the issue Reiteration of title	

Original opinion text (A.1)	**Adapted opinion text (A.2)**
Textual - Bold title; date and reporter 's details. - Multi-modal - Title foregrounds, '**CROW'S Hands and Feet'** - Picture of participant; crouching/hands and feet, feeding bowl and Skippy **Opinion:** 'Getting down and dirty'-evaluation - Foregrounds the nature of volunteering - One-sentence paragraphs, punctuation that identifies participant voices: to make the text 'flow' - Participants' voices create a chain of statements - Conclusion that reiterates the title 'CROW's hands and feet'	Bold title; date and reporter's details omitted Written mode only Source of opinion obscured - Title foregrounds, '**Hands and Feet** of CROW' - Picture and caption omitted - Added two evaluative statements **Opinion:** 'Volunteering at an animal shelter is a messy…' - Foregrounds the act of volunteering - Participants' voices combined within conventional paragraph structure - Conclusion-new information-'To volunteer at CROW you have to be 16 years or older'
Experiential Title- *Crow's hand and feet*-whole to part classification- Crow, participants, processes, circumstances - Foregrounds CROW as participant and gives information about the place/ processes - Crow, people, animals as participants and processes as material Picture links-participants, processes and circumstances - Caption provides more information about participants/ processes/ circumstances - Timeless present tense when giving information about Crow	Title-The hands and feet of Crow- part to whole classification- hands and feet, participants, processes, circumstances No picture and caption
Interpersonal Lead sentence-situates the interactive nature of the text, <u>'Getting down and dirty is not exactly how most of us would like to start the day'</u> Picture evokes emotion-positive attitude of caring for animals, volunteering, and is a close-up: greater involvement of viewer - Frequent use of punctuation such as inverted commas to indicate other voices: indicates stance and makes the text interactive - Negative judgement of witchcraft, animal cruelty - Positive judgement of volunteering - Appreciation for animals	- No images or background information about Deme that focus on affect, evaluation. - Frequent use of punctuation such as inverted commas to indicate other voices-but more formal - Allows participants to speak but it is challenging to decipher comments from other voices inserted in the text combined-interferes with meaning - higher modality - All three added sentences are in the Imperative form

Text A.1, a typical newspaper report, blurs two genres, that of persuasion and information. Therefore, an expected structure would consist of a title, a background that includes information or stance on the issue and a conclusion that summarizes and reiterates the issue. Also, expected language features would include factual statements of information as well as subjective language of affect, judgement and attitude. Furthermore, as a newspaper report genre, the interjection of other voices to indicate objectivity and claims of a constructed, neutral persona is common practice in the social context of newspapers. However the examiner-writer of the adapted Text A.2 has combined sentences to achieve traditional paragraph structure associated with information genres, blurring the participant voices and that of the reporter. Moreover, examiners here demonstrated a misunderstanding of "text in social contexts": the original multimodal text (where headline, by-line, captioned photograph, and dialogic sentences jointly contributed towards meaning-making) was changed to a textual mode favouring only the information genre: that is, an opening statement, paragraphs dealing with the act of volunteering and information about CROW, and a conclusion that summarizes volunteering. However, examiners added a statement to the original conclusion that introduced new information, unexpected in information report genres and thus disrupting genre conventions. Even more revealing in relation to examiners' understanding of textual meaning was the addition of the first two statements as an introduction. This interfered with reference and theme progression. For instance, it first generalizes '*an animal shelter'* and then refers to '*this'* in the second sentence without making reference to CROW. This impacted on coherent theme development which could interfere with readers' ability to get the meaning of the text. More importantly, adapting this text from multimodal to purely textual mode would need cohesive devices to promote logical cohesion and textual flow. Finally, the interpersonal elements about judgement, attitude and the author's degree of certainty in the text appeared more formal in adapted Text A.2 and the use of higher modal verbs portrayed the writer's attitude and stance towards the issue. Also, the omission of the picture of Demé kneeling down protecting Skippy, meant that learners would not have an additional layer from which to draw meaning about the appreciation of things, affect and attitude. In the original text, features of persuasion and information promoted audience engagement: for example, the increased use of the interpersonal metafunction evident in the foregrounding of personal pronouns or projecting of sources, appreciation and judgement: *...is not exactly how most of us would like to start the day...Deme said...is a messy but rewarding job...at CROW animals are nursed back to health...people's misconceptions...human beings invade...CROW recently*

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rescued a monkey that was chained and almost stoned to death… These features contributed towards making the text interactive and youth-friendly. However, learners reading the adapted text A2 had very little scope to look for meaning beyond the clause and thus to identify patterns of meaning running through the text, essential when processing longer texts in a range of postschool environments.

Assessing comprehension

Next, I move on to the comprehension questions set for Text A. The NCS (2003, 22-31) refers to Learning Outcome 2, Reading and Viewing, and the associated assessment standards. I drew on the assessment standards set out below to evaluate the extent to which the set of questions for reading with comprehension were aligned to curriculum guidelines.

Table 5: Learning Outcome 2 (Reading and Viewing) with Assessment standards (NCS, 2003, pp. 22-30)

Learning Outcome 2 Reading and Viewing	
The learner is able to read and view for understanding and to evaluate critically and respond to a wide range of texts.	
Assessment standard 1: Demonstrate various reading and viewing strategies for comprehension and appreciation	• find relevant information and detail • recognise how selections and omissions in texts shape their meaning; • distinguish between fact and opinion, and motivate own response; • explain the difference between direct and implied meaning; • explain the writer's and/or the character's viewpoint and give supporting evidence from the text; • explain the socio-political and cultural background of texts; • recognise and explain the effect of a wide range of figurative and rhetorical language and literary devices such as metaphor, simile, personification, metonymy, onomatopoeia symbol, puns, hyperbole, contrast, sarcasm, caricature, irony, satire, paradox, antithesis and anti-climax on the meaning of texts; • explain the writer's inferences and conclusions and compare with own; • interpret and evaluate a wide range of graphic texts; • give and motivate personal responses to texts with conviction
Assessment standard 2: Explain the meaning of a wide range of written, visual, audio and audio-visual texts	• recognise how selections and omissions in texts can affect meaning; • distinguish between fact and opinion, and give own response; • recognise some implied meanings; • recognise the writer's and/or the character's viewpoint and give supporting evidence from the text; • recognise the socio-political and cultural background of texts with assistance; • recognise and explain the effect of a range of figurative and rhetorical language and literary devices such as metaphor, simile, personification, metonymy, onomatopoeia symbol, hyperbole, contrast, sarcasm and irony on the meaning of texts; • explain the writer's conclusions and compare with own; • interpret familiar graphic texts; • give and motivate personal responses to texts.
Assessment standard 3: Evaluate how language and images may reflect and shape values and attitudes	• explain socio-cultural and political values, attitudes and beliefs such as attitudes towards gender, class, age, power relations, human rights, inclusivity and environmental issues as found in texts; • recognise the nature of bias, prejudice and discrimination in texts.

Learning Outcome 2 Reading and Viewing	
Assessment standard 4: Explore the key features of texts and explain how they contribute to meaning	Transactional and creative texts: • identify and explain the purpose, structure and language use in texts across the curriculum such as reports, procedures, retelling, explanations, descriptions and expositions; • identify and explain the impact of techniques such as the use of font types and sizes.

The above table highlights the range and scope for assessment of reading and it is clear that a multi-modality is implied with Assessment Standard 2; in fact, four assessment standards include aspects of critical literacy and expect learners to explore the key features and to identify the text in relation to its purpose, to evaluate the effectiveness of the text in terms of its purpose and the author's attitude and intentions. All of these abilities are requirements in the NCS (2003) for assessing comprehension.

Also, CAPS (2011) states that "Formal assessments must cater for a range of cognitive levels and abilities of learners…" (p. 74) as depicted below.

Table 6: Cognitive levels and question types (CAPS, 2011, pp. 74-75)

Cognitive levels	Questions	Weighting
Literal (Level 1) Deals with information explicitly stated in the text.	Name the things/people/places/elements … -State the facts/reasons/points/ideas … -Identify the reasons/persons/causes … -List the points/facts/names/reasons … -Describe the place/person/character ... -Relate the incident/episode/experience …	
Reorganisation (Level 2) Questions that require analysis, synthesis or organisation of information explicitly stated in the text.	Summarise the main points/ideas/pros/cons/ … -Group the common elements/factors … -State the similarities/differences -Give an outline of …	**40%**
Inference (Level 3) Interpretation of messages not explicitly stated by linking information from different parts of the text or relating clues in the text to their prior knowledge or experience and drawing conclusions.	-Explain how the main idea links with theme/message … -Compare the ideas/attitudes/actions … -What is the writer's (or character's) intention/ attitude/motivation /reason -Explain the cause/effect of … -What does an action/comment/attitude (etc.) reveal about the narrator/ writer/character … -How does the metaphor/simile/image affect your understanding -What, do you think, will be the outcome/effect (etc.) of an action/situation	**40%**

Cognitive levels	Questions	Weighting
Evaluation **(Level 4)** Deal with judgements concerning value and worth. These include judgements regarding reality, credibility, facts and opinions, validity, logic and reasoning, and issues such as the desirability and acceptability of decisions and actions in terms of moral values.	Do you think that what transpires is credible/realistic/ possible …? -Is the writer's argument valid/logical/conclusive …? -Discuss/Comment critically on the action/intention/ motive /attitude /suggestion/implication … -Do you agree with the view/statement/observation/ interpretation? -In your view, is the writer/narrator/character justified in suggesting/ advocating that … (Substantiate your response/Give reasons for your answer.) -Is the character's attitude/behaviour/action justifiable or acceptable to you? Give a reason for your answer. -What does a character's actions/attitude(s)/motives … show about him/her in the context of universal values? -Discuss critically/Comment on the value judgements made in the text	**20%**
Appreciation **(Level 5)** Assess the psychological and aesthetic impact of the text on the candidate.	-Discuss your response to the text/incident/ situation/conflict/ dilemma -Do you empathise with the character? What action/decision would you have taken if you had been in the same situation? -Discuss/Comment on the writer's use of language … -Discuss the effectiveness of the writer's style /introduction /conclusion /imagery/metaphors/use of poetic techniques/literary devices …	

I now move on to the comprehension questions set for Text A. This section consisted of fourteen questions for Text A (2) as follows:

Questions for Text A

1.1 Refer to paragraph 1
    1.1.1 Which single word in the paragraph means the same as 'a place of safety'? (1)
    1.1.2 Why does Brian Pieterse work at CROW? (1)
1.3 Refer to paragraph 3
    1.3.1 Choose the correct answer to complete the following sentence.
     Write down ONLY the question number (1.3.1) and the letter (A-D).
1.4. Is the following statement TRUE or FALSE? Give a reason for your answer in your OWN words.
1.5. Do you agree that working at CROW can affect you emotionally? Discuss your view.
1.7. Refer to paragraph 8.
    Give a reason why the wild animals at CROW are not fed like pets. (2)
1.8 Refer to paragraph 10.
    According to the paragraph, why should more South Africans offer their services at places like CROW? (1)
1.9 Give ONE reason why a person under the age of 16 will not be allowed to volunteer at CROW. (1)
1.10 According to the passage, what are TWO of the challenges faced by workers at CROW?
1.11. Explain why the title 'THE HANDS AND FEET OF CROW is a suitable one for this passage.

Both the NCS (2003) and CAPS (2011) provide guidelines for assessing reading with comprehension that ranges from literal to more evaluative and critical questions (levels 4 and 5 in Table 6). Interesting, also, was the weighting assigned to these questions in both documents: for example level 4 and 5 question types (that is, evaluation and appreciation questions) combined only count for 20%. What then becomes clear is that the comprehension questions for Text A.2 above reflected a narrow focus when aligned to Assessment Standard

One summarized in the NCS (2003) and to the weighting for Levels 1 to 5 questions encapsulated in CAPS (2011). First, examiners mostly assessed explicitly stated information and their revision of the original text opened up a space for them to include more literal level questions such as 1.1.1 and 1.9, requiring learners to demonstrate an understanding of the basic experiential meaning of the text. For example, only two questions (1.5 and 1.11) could be seen as requiring a cohesive piece of text in response, with one (1.5) requiring learners to take a stance. Second, examiners predominantly ignored the textual metafunction; learners were not required to answer questions related to thematic organization, macro and hyper themes and key textual features of the text. Thirdly, except for 1.5, examiners mostly neglected to assess interpersonal meaning such as stance, attitude, projection and modality. Moreover, each paragraph in the text was numbered and each question directed learners to specific paragraphs; thus their ability to scan for relevant information or to use knowledge of markers of coherence was not required. Overall, higher order skills such as evaluating, synthesising and critiquing information which are crucial for post school studies are not activated. Consequently, the kind of writing required by these questions limits the development of writer identities associated with for instance critical reading and synthesis of research from multiple sources and constructing an argument using the research of others.

I now move on to Text B, provided as the text for a visual/multi-modal comprehension task in Paper One after the 'Crow' reading comprehension task.

When it comes to your career and your future, you owe yourself options so take control. Choosing Mathematics now as one of your subjects, would be a really smart move.

Figure 11: Choose Maths (Paper One TEXT B) [Adapted from *SEVENTEEN*, December 2008]

Text B (Figure 11 above) is an advertisement promoting the advantages of choosing mathematics for future career prospects. It was adapted from a magazine called *Seventeen* (the issue for December 2008). It is multimodal, with language and visual elements such as image, colour and font jointly contributing towards creating meaning. Making meaning of the text requires that learners draw on both image and print as well as contextual and background knowledge. Therefore, an understanding of visual grammar such as angling, positioning, colour and size is important for identifying social purpose and message. However, multimodality and the implications of visual information for additional meaning-making were not explicitly dealt with in the NCS (2003) or in the CAPS. Even though examiners provided a reference for Text B, I was unable to find the original version and therefore I cannot highlight the ways that the adaptation impacted on the textual, experiential and interpersonal metafunctions. For this reason, I limited my analysis to the available text in relation to the three metafunctions, drawing on visual grammar (Kress, 2000) to shed light on the extent to which the examiners drew on multimodal resources for assessment purposes.

Table 7: Metafunctions and some features for Text B *Choose Maths*

Text B	Features of text
Textual: Compositional elements	Left the given information-heading as the point of departure Right the image-the new, that which is not known Top- ideal; image of the older man (generalization) Bottom-real; specific information and more details/direction for action Framing-separate identity between older and young successful participants/no props on top versus high rise building/chauffeured car/boardroom One font size bigger
Experiential: Representation of participants/processes and circumstances	Narrative process-older participant stuck/younger participants active/busy/on the move actors/goals at the bottom/actor/no goal on top Circumstances (Props)-none on top other than the smiling bear contrasting with the sad participant face/ at the bottom: buildings, car ,male hand opening car door, boardroom table Whole to part framing- generalisation towards the real/actual Symbolic processes of power-car being opened/bending over suggests the participant's position of power in first frame at bottom

Interpersonal:
 Relationship between the reader and the writer
	Gaze-older participant down/ unequal relation with viewer
	     -younger participants straight towards the viewer/shared relationship
	 Shot-from above older participant (he appears as passive)
	     -close up of younger participants
	     - provide background of location/circumstance
	     -Perspective of shot from in front of or below younger participants (appear active)

From the above, it is clear that knowledge of visual grammar is as important as being able to read written modes, in order to critically understand the codes and resources that jointly

create meaning. This is especially crucial in a world where images are increasingly powerful in real life contexts. The image and words together here make demands on the reader because such text requires interpretation of the conceptual, associative, and connotative meanings that words and image jointly create. For instance, the participants in the bottom frames are all portrayed as powerful through stance, the types of shot and the framing. Yet, an underlying ideology of gender is also present: the females in the two left-hand frames are dressed in black suits and these frames include props such as a boardroom and chauffeur-driven cars as indications of power; whereas the male in the last frame simply dominates the frame and props are almost non-existent.

The textual metafunction of this text is firstly signalled through framing: the images in the advertisement function as a unit by means of the larger frame that joins the text as a whole. Then, the placement of images and words that are framed within the overarching border direct the flow of the text. For example, the placement of words and changes in font size from top to bottom signal that the top must be read first and the bottom last. The placement of the older man on top is in a bigger frame, also indicative of the top as key information. The smaller frames at the bottom have used vectors - lines to draw the direction of the eye towards first the wall and the female in the bottom left-hand frame, then, second the car and another female staring upwards; and finally, to the male in the bottom right frame. The use of vector lines seemed to serve as a cohesive device and a signal that the text must be read from left to right on top which then directs the eye to the vector lines formed in the smaller frames at the bottom as in conventional reading; disrupting generic conventions.

In relation to structure, the top frame consists of an image and a caption that varies in font and colour: *Choose Maths. Don't get stuck in one career*. Furthermore, the image of the man appears sad; his gaze is down, with his slumped posture signalling the writer's perspective on the issue. Thus this text is a form of argument, attempting to persuade the audience to take a similar stance; and it uses the participants, their actions and circumstances in the smaller frames as evidence of successful careers and upward financial and social mobility associated with choosing mathematics. In relation to the experiential metafunction, placement and size depicts the older male on top as passive, located in circumstances of reason and a relational process that identifies the reason for his passivity; while on the other hand it frames the participants in the smaller frames as active and involved in material processes associated with circumstances of location. Also, camera

angles and props again situate the participants in the bottom frame as successful, each with a purpose, while the participant on top is framed as standing passive and nowhere to go.

Finally, the interpersonal metafunction suggests an interactive relationship where the audience is invited into the text yet the use of imperatives such as *Choose Maths…Don't get stuck…* and the high modality in the tagline at the bottom depicts stance further foregrounded through placement of participants and gaze, and suggests unequal power relations. Furthermore, multi-modal resources such as direct versus indirect gaze, close-up shot and full frontal stance together with props like clothing, cars and location on the one hand depict positive attitudes towards choosing maths and being successful in life in conjunction with the appreciation of things and material possessions, while on the other hand negative attitude and judgement are portrayed towards failure and being stuck in life. Moreover, from a critical perspective multi-modal resources such as framing, camera angles and positioning can perpetuate common-sense beliefs related to power, gender and stereotyping: even though the females are represented as powerful here, framing in Text B could be seen as naturalizing male superiority and power since there are males in the large top and bottom-right frames. In both these frames the camera angles have enlarged the male images, thus giving prominence to males as more important, although as already noted, women are given position in this text. This kind of knowledge of visual grammar can promote critical literacy: yet this was not explicitly unpacked in the NCS and CAPS.

Assessing comprehension

Once again here I draw on tables 4 and 5: the assessment standards and the range of cognitive levels for formal assessment (NCS, 2003 & CAPS, 2011).

Questions for 'Choose Maths' text

1.12 Study the main picture. Name the career in which this man is 'stuck'.

1.13 How do the smaller pictures differ from the man in the main picture?

1.14 According to the text, state why it is important to study Mathematics.

1.15 Give one reason why it may be a good idea to spend one's whole life in the same career.

The above questions focused on experiential content only rather than explicitly assessing social purpose, generic and semiotic features as expected in a text-based approach. The opportunities for critically assessing multi-modal meaning-making were largely neglected.

For example, question 1.13 could have attended to the interpersonal metafunction by drawing attention to the effect of size and angle of shot in positioning the viewer; and question 1.14 could have dealt with textual metafunction by focusing on how framing, font, colour and lay-out mediates the importance of mathematics. However, there was no attention to how multimodal texts in advertisements create meaning via image, colour, framing, positioning and words working together. In this way Text B followed the same pattern as Text A; the required responses focused on explicitly stated information and thus remained in the realm of experiential meaning. Text B also makes a number of assumptions that can be challenged: that is, assumptions about what it means to be successful; about the dominance of science and mathematics in conferring social power and prestige; and around issues of gender in the workplace. However, no critical engagement in these areas was required and as such it did not address issues of bias, generalizations, or how language and visual choices revealed authors' motives. Finally, the questions required minimal writing, no extended and connected argument, and minimal critical thinking (1.15 only).

Discussion of Section A

In general, both texts adhered to the assessment guidelines for grade 12 in that they exposed learners to a range of text types, questions and tasks (see NCS, 2003 and CAPS, 2011). Yet, even though examiners demonstrated an awareness of the importance of using authentic texts (that is, a newspaper report and advertisements), the ways in which the former was adapted showed little understanding of text-based theory. The adapted text, A2, showed limited understanding of social purpose and intended audience. Assessment questions showed little of how to exploit texts to draw attention to crucial genre-specific textual and discourse elements. Hence, when this text was adapted the deletion of integral discoursal features showed that the adaptation was not informed by text-based theory as encapsulated in the NCS (2003) and the CAPS (2011), leading teachers and learners to potentially miss these crucial textual or discourse features. This was particularly evident in that texts were used largely to assess experiential meaning only and ignored opportunities to develop textual and interpersonal meaning-making abilities. Moreover, most questions required short answers where learners had to provide brief responses such as factual retrieval from texts (yes/no and true or false). Consequently, there were limited questions that required critical thinking and/or control of extended academic texts. This in turn impacts on learners' ability to control those genres of schooling (such as argument, information and explanation) that are especially necessary for first year academic writing at universities.

Finally, even though some minimally challenging questions were included, cognitive demands remained low. Most importantly, the Section A questions did not help to develop learners as critical deconstructors of text because they required no knowledge of social purpose, key semiotic resources or of how authors created meaning through structure and linguistic choices. This lack of attention to multimodality ignored the potential to explore how language, image, font and lay-out are used to position people in a variety of ways. Most importantly, the neglect of the textual metafunction in aspects such as theme/rheme, cohesion devices between parts of texts, distinguishing between main points and supporting ideas, and similarly the neglect of interpersonal meaning in modality and stance, rendered this section of the paper inadequate in relation to the NCS (2003) and the CAPS (2011).

I now move onto Section B and the discussion of texts included in this section.

4.3. 3 Analysis of Paper One, Section B: *Summary*

Section B of Paper One consisted of one text, Text C, which reflected a social purpose associated with a procedural genre. In this section of the paper learners were expected to extract main ideas, paraphrase and summarize the main ideas in the text.

TEXT C
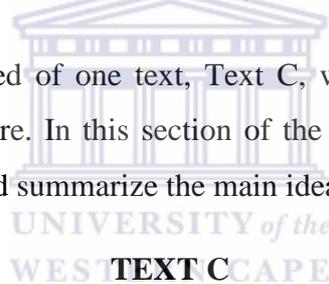
PLAY IT SAFE THIS SUMMER

1. Summer is here and those long winter days of being cooped up in the house are all but gone. But while we want to have fun, warmer weather comes with many hidden dangers, some of which can be fatal. The hot summer weather attracts all South Africans to water, but it is not just a pool that can pose a drowning risk. Our country also has many rivers, dams and beaches. Regardless of their swimming ability, children should never be allowed in the water without adult supervision.

2. Avoid sunburn. Applying a good sunscreen and reapplying often is vital. This goes for all skin types. Use a good product and wear a wide-brimmed hat for extra protection. Active people who sweat a great deal become dehydrated easily. Drinking plenty of fluids to prevent dehydration is essential. Water, milk and fruit juices are ideal, but drinks containing caffeine should be avoided.

3. Insects carrying diseases love bushy areas as much as nature lovers do. A person showing signs of fever, headache or fatigue may have been bitten by an insect. To avoid being bitten, use long-lasting insect repellent and treat clothes with it too. Food poisoning is no fun. Use caution when eating food from picnic baskets in hot weather. Pack food in insulated containers and keep it cool with ice bricks.

4. At a playground, ensure that all equipment is safe and be careful of hot surfaces like metal slides which can cause serious burns. Always adhere to safety regulations because a fun ride on a scooter or skateboard without protective gear might end with you landing in hospital. A few simple precautions can ensure a healthy, happy summer in the great South African outdoors.
[Adapted from YOU PULSE, 3 November 2011]

Table 8: Metafunctions of Text C - Play it safe this summer

Play it safe this summer
Structure
Title-Play it safe this summer Goal- Precautions for summer Orientation-Background; summer, but while we want to have fun, our country Procedure/Instructions-Applying good sunscreen, use long-lasting insect repellent, ensure all equipment is safe Result-A few simple precautions can ensure a healthy, happy summer in the great South African outdoors.
Metafunctions
Textual • Themes devoid of human subject/participant • Marked themes-to indicate change in location and contrast (at a playground, to avoid being bitten/regardless of their swimming ability; But while we want to have fun) • No or minimal theme re-iteration/thematic progression/reference/conjunction • Theme/rheme pattern confusing
Experiential • Whole to part-Summer followed by instructions for protection • Participants- South Africans, children, active people, insects, sunscreen • Circumstances-in the great South African outdoors, in hot weather, in the house, in water (mostly location) • Processes-range of processes
Interpersonal • Mostly generalised participants, avoids direct interaction with the audience-Insects, South Africans, active people • Two instances of personalization - *we, our* • Declarative orientation and concluding sentence (statements)-offering information • Imperative mood - demanding action • High modality indicative of authority and unequal power relationship
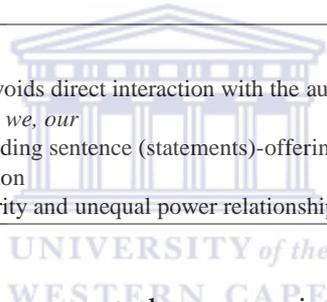
This text was adapted from what appears to be a magazine, *You Pulse* of November 2011. However, despite numerous attempts I was unable to find a copy of the original version and thus I am unable to shed light on how the adaptation of the text impacted on the textual, experiential and interpersonal meaning. However, the text portrays elements of a procedural genre: texts that have a social purpose of providing instructions on how to do something, normally visible in a number of sequential steps that leads to the achievement of some goal. Examples are giving directions, instruction manuals, science reports, cookbooks or recipes and rules modifying social behaviour. From the SFL genre perspective the schematic structure of procedural texts is: goal, list of materials and a logical sequence of steps. Seen through this lens, *Text C* seems to be an example of (at least) a blurred genre, in that it provides an orientation combined with the procedures to cope with the South African summer heat and examiners included a title that implicitly suggests a goal; however, they were not mindful of sequencing information drawing on temporal conjunctions, or numbering to indicate steps to be taken. Similarly, significant lexico-grammatical features

for the experiential, interpersonal and textual metafunctions also showed some deviations from procedural texts.

Firstly, applying the experiential metafunction lens reveals that examiners were aware of using appropriate participants, processes and circumstances, since the content of the text clearly demonstrates the subject matter and field of experience. However, procedural texts mainly draw on material processes and this text did not draw on action verbs to situate the field. Instead, examiners situated the field through relational processes that identify and attribute circumstance, resulting in statements and offers of information rather than demanding that the audience take action to achieve the particular goal of *Play it safe this summer*.

Secondly, if we consider the interpersonal metafunction we see that the text implicitly demonstrates that the writers have hierarchical power associated with expert knowledge such as infrequent contact and low affective involvement with the audience. This is evident in the use of generalized participants, high modality and the use of imperatives to show that the writers are trying to demand services. The convention is that instructions contained in procedural genres are in imperative form: however, examiners alternated between imperatives and statements when instructions were given in this text; this could have resulted in confusion in relation to learners being able to extract the main points from the text.

Finally, the textual metafunction seems to be the most problematic, because theme progression is haphazard and also reveals mismatches in the pattern of textual elements such as reference, conjunctions and lexical cohesion. This leads to choppy sections that are not in logical sequence such as paragraph three where the text refers to insects and food but does not link them. Therefore, there is a lack of cohesion in relation to a theme and rheme pattern: dominant examples are not clearly delineated; and the writers rely on topical themes rather than using textual theme markers such as temporal conjunctions or numbering to indicate sequence that would be typical of this genre. This is indicative of the ways that the text is blurred: that is, it shows examiners' neglect of the social purpose of procedures, normally reflected in textual organization such as sequencing and chronological ordering which enhance the cohesiveness and clarity of procedural texts.

Next, I move on to the assessment memorandum for Text C to shed light on summary writing and the extent that this develops writer identities in the FET Phase.

Table 9: The memorandum for Text C

Seven of the following points form the answer to the question QUOTATIONS	FACTS (NOTE: Candidates may phrase the facts differently).	Marking the summary
1. 'Regardless of their swimming ability, children should never be allowed in the water without adult supervision.' 2. 'Avoid sunburn. Applying a good sunscreen and reapplying often is vital. 'Use a good product and wear a wide- brimmed hat for extra protection.' 3. 'Drinking plenty of fluids to prevent dehydration is essential.' 'drinks containing caffeine should be avoided.' 4. 'To avoid being bitten, use long-lasting insect repellent and treat clothes with it too.' 5. Pack food in insulated containers and keep it cool with ice bricks.' 6. '...ensure that all equipment is safe and be careful of hot surfaces...' 7. 'adhere to safety regulations...' 8 '... a fun ride on a scooter or skateboard without protective gear might end with you landing in hospital.'	Always supervise children when they are near water. Avoid sunburn/use a good sunscreen/wear a wide-brimmed hat. Keep hydrated by drinking caffeine-free drinks./ Drink enough water/milk/juice. Protect yourself against insect bites by using insect repellent/treating your clothes with insect repellent. Avoid food poisoning by keeping food cool. Be careful of unsafe playing equipment. Follow all safety rules. Wear protective equipment when necessary.	**7 marks** for **7 points** (1 mark per main point) **3** marks for language **Total marks:** 10 **Distribution of language marks:** 1–3 points correct award **1** mark: 4–5 points correct award **2** marks 6–7 points correct: award **3** marks
NOTE: The points must be coherent, i.e. they must make sense to the marker **Format:** Even if the summary is presented in the incorrect format, it must be assessed. **Word count:** Markers are required to verify the number of words used. If the word limit is exceeded, the summary must be read up to a maximum of 5 words above the stipulated upper limit and the rest of the summary must be ignored.		

A key problem with the memorandum is that it assumed a generic format for summarizing texts; that is, that all texts can be summarized according to a 'one size fits all' approach. Secondly, language was assessed by the number of correct main points: that is, there were no explicit criteria setting out the expected language features for procedural genres, such as the use of imperatives; assessment was rather based on the number of correct summarized points learners extracted from the text. So if a learner managed to extract all the main points they would be awarded with the full three marks for language; and thus language reflecting logical order connected with textual meaning had limited value within this framing of the requirements. Finally, procedural genres do not lend themselves to summarizing information but rather towards rewriting, such as writing explanations of procedures and reports on activities carried out.

Discussion of Section B

Even though Text C appeared to be a fairly straight-forward procedural text consisting of generalized participants correctly and avoided human participants as subjects of themes; the generic structure of this procedural text was problematic because of the orientation that interferes with theme pattern. The analysis of Text C reveals that in terms of schematic structure, mood, conjunction, theme and transitivity systems it has not entirely met the criteria of procedural texts. Firstly, generic structure of this text-type was not consistent with its social purpose; some irregularities such as connectives to link sequenced steps were visible; paragraph two shifts from avoiding sunburn (line 1) to active people and dehydration (line 2), paragraph three line (1) starts with insects then moves to food poisoning (line 2) and similarly paragraph four shifts from the playground (line 1) to protective gear (line 3). Thus the text appeared to be a blurred procedural and explanation text. Secondly, seen in terms of the interpersonal metafunction, the text makes a number of assumptions about summer and how all South Africans spend their summers; these are indicative of power relations between writer, audience and context. Furthermore, the memorandum was not valid as an example of text-based assessment, that is, it did not make the text purpose, structure and language in context explicit as the basis for assessment criteria. Rather it made weak statements on surface language issues such as grammar, language and spelling errors in conjunction to main ideas. Hence, candidates could get confused identifying the main ideas of the text due to inconsistent use of imperatives, lack of temporal conjunctions or numbering to indicate sequence, and inconsistent use of material processes. Consequently, then, these inconsistencies can impede teachers' and learners' understanding of how texts work because the task does not enable an understanding of genre-specific meaning construction and is not transferable into learners' own writing at school and other post-school domains.

Finally, it appeared that examiners were adept at situating the field, the experiential meta-function; yet building more knowledge of field in relation to appropriate processes of the genre was problematic. More importantly, it was at textual level that this text was confusing: there was no theme pattern, which made it difficult to identify theme/rheme progression. Crucially, the social context, genre organisation and language features were not adhered to. For this reason, Text C was not an appropriate summary text or task, but was actually misleading and would tend to contribute to challenges for learners in academia

where first year students are tasked with summarizing texts of extended information, discussion and argument. Consequently, examiners' knowledge of how texts work (NSC, 2003; CAPS, 2011) apparent in these examination questions holds severe implications for learners' extended writing in post-school contexts. Similar problems were evident in the final section of this question paper where language and grammar were assessed.

4.3.4   Analysis of Paper One, Section C: *Language and editing*

This section of Paper One is intended to assess language or grammar in context; it contains a range of texts: two advertisements, a cartoon and a discussion genre. Therefore, this section contained more multi-modal text: for example, question 3, focused on the analysis of the advertisement; question 4, focused on a cartoon; and question 5, also an advertisement that provided for a focus on language and grammar. I present each text below, as it appeared in the question paper; then I analyse the types of questions; and finally, I discuss the patterns that emerge in section C.

The first text of section C was based on another multi-modal text - an advertisement which learners were required to analyse by answering a set of questions. The advertisement portrayed a specific skin care product and used colour, image, font, framing and size of picture to convey meaning.

Question Three: Analysing an advertisement

Figure 12: Clearasil Advertisement(Paper One TEXT D)

Table 10: Metafunctions of Text D

Metafunctions	Features of text
Textual Compositional elements	Left the given information-product as the point of departure (Clearasil Ultra) Right the image-the new, that which is not known (dog) Top- ideal; image of the white dog with black spots, looking away from the audience Bottom- real, reminder of product-specific information and more details/direction for action/guarantee Centre- promise of advert, different fonts; holds the elements/images together Framing- absence of frames; strong connections and linkage between image, font and product, belonging together Salience- image of dog on top - eye-catching/different colours; white and black/vector
Experiential Representation of participant, processes and circumstances	Narrative process-use of vectors (real) Participants are connected through words in the centre that connect with the dog on top and the product to the left and at the bottom Symbolic processes of power-Clearasil at the bottom and on top Process of action-the product on top is squirted and it clears the bottom half of the participant
Interpersonal Relationship between the reader and the writer	Shot -Frontal increase audience identification and involvement with product Vector connects elements-images, brand and brand association-interaction with audience Modality is high because of the image of the dog; seems like reality Appreciation of white as the ideal (can have racial undertones in a country like South Africa) Negative judgement/association of black

This text tries to persuade viewers to a particular viewpoint, one among many, that is, Clearasil is the best product. Firstly, from a textual metafunction perspective, it does this by using the product as the point of departure, the given, placing the product on the left and the notion of making spots vanish on the right. Second, in the centre there is a play with words and font in using the promise that links the top, which is the ideal image (white), with the actual product at the bottom of the page. In addition, the centre placement of the words appears to hold/connect the images; they belong together and this makes the promise almost real. The producers of the advertisement thus draw the reader into the text as persuasion.

Secondly, from an experiential metafunction perspective, the image producers use narrative processes that allow the audience to create a 'story' about the participants in the advertisement. Also, squirting the product towards the image creates a vector of motion indicative of action processes and draws attention from the given (product) to the new (the idea of making spots vanish), thus urging the audience to take action - buy the product. In addition, the advertisement uses symbolic processes to indicate the product's power, such as the placing of Clearasil both on top and at the bottom and thus creating a part to whole classification in conjunction with the placement of the words *Clearasil Ultra* at the bottom left , together with the centred promise and guarantee.

Thirdly, from an interpersonal metafunction perspective the text producers have also manipulated visual grammar to engage with the audience. For example, the shot was projected from the front, creating audience involvement related to brand identification and association and also reflected certain attitudes, such as negative judgement of black and appreciation of white, as ideal. Therefore, the text producers are creating an interactive relationship with the viewer through angle and framing in such a way that the viewer is directly confronted with the image; allowing for optimal involvement.

However, the exam questions did not draw on any of this rich configuration of meanings: how a combination of language, visual codes and conventions of the advertising world construct meaning between an ideal and real world. The questions did not show evidence of understanding multimodality: that is, how visuals and language jointly construct meaning in texts.

See below some examples of questions used with this text. They show that most of the question types used require low level, short answers such as factual retrieval of explicitly stated information from texts, a far cry from the complex extended engagement required in first year university courses in the Humanities and Social Science.
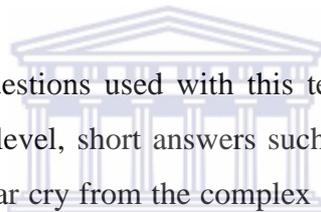
Assessment questions for Text D

3.1 What is the name of the advertised product? (1)

3.2 Who is likely to buy this product? (1)

3.3 Explain what the use of the words 'guaranteed' and 'money back' suggests about the advertisaer's view of the

   product? (2)

3.4 Give TWO reasons why the picture of the dog is suitable for this advertisement. (2)

3.5 How does the advertiser emphasise the speed at which the product works? (1)

3.6 Quote a single word which tells the reader that this product is the best of its kind on the market? (1)

3.7 How does the advertiser make the reader aware that there is a whole range of products available? (1)

3.8 How do we know that the advertiser is willing to communicate with customers? (1)

Question 4: Cartoon

In question 4 of section C, learners had to read and interpret another multimodal text, in this case a cartoon, and then also answer a set of questions.
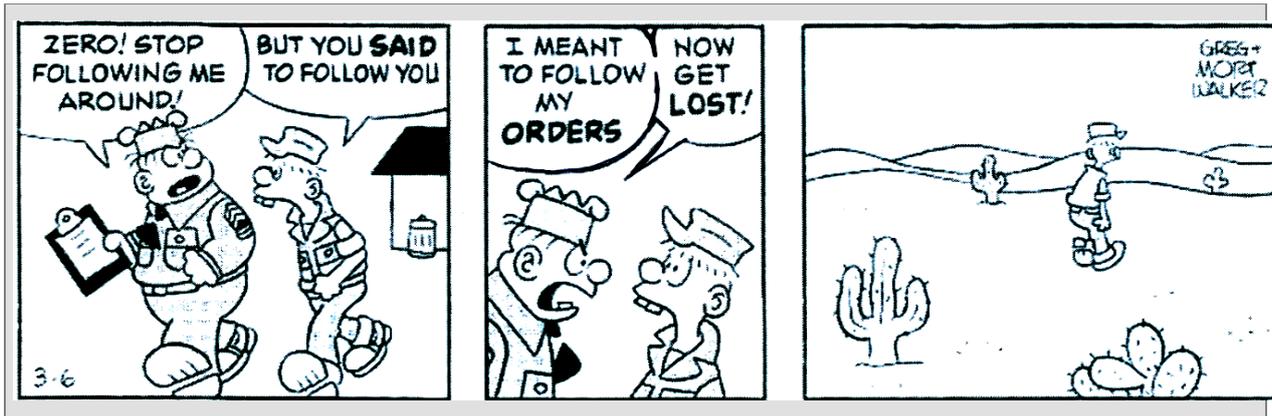
Figure 13: Cartoon (**PAPER ONE TEXT E**)

Table 11: Metafunctions of Text E

Metafunctions	Features of text
Textual: Composition	Panel-overall frame contains theme/s, what is communicated by the way the message is organized Frames-direct flow Gutter-space between frames-conceptual leap between frames Word balloons-representation of dialogue Left/given-right/new Framing-moment by moment flow
Experiential: Representational	Panel-represents the field Frames-represent participants/circumstance-setting Narrative processes -material/cognition
Interpersonal: Relationship between the reader and the writer	Vectors-direct eye contact Images-offer of information Side gaze- engaging with the viewer Closed/medium/very long shot

Text E draws on a range of resources to make meaning – for example, vectors, gutters (referring to the space between the borders of the panels) and word balloons - in conjunction with verbal language and other paralinguistic features such as body language and non-verbal communication. In addition, cartoons are associated with signs and symbolism, often requiring cultural knowledge to enable understanding of lexical meaning: the viewer needs to be able to grasp the conceptual, associative, connotative and affective meanings. Firstly, from a textual metafunction perspective, the text producer makes use of a panel that boxes the text in. This suggests the macro-theme and makes the text hang together; then the smaller frames and vectors direct the eye to the first frame and the speech bubble in the top left-hand corner is suggestive of a hyper-theme that facilitates logical flow. Additionally, the moment by moment framing achieved via panels and gutters creates cohesion and also contributes towards positioning of power in each frame. Secondly (from an experiential metafunction perspective), the image producers used narrative processes to show the

unfolding actions to the audience through changes in spatial arrangements and participant actions. Therefore, the audience can create narratives about the participants as actors and reactors and about their circumstances. Thus, text producers project power relations about real people, places and things in the field by means of material and behavioural processes. Thirdly (from an interpersonal metafunction perspective), the pictures in the first two frames were projected from the front, creating a relationship with the viewer who is directly confronted with the image. Finally, all of these meanings are conveyed through composition, representation, image language and word choices. However, once again none of the questions in this text probed beyond the literal level and meaning of this cartoon. See below for some examples of the questions.

Questions from Text E

4.1.1 How do we know that the sergeant does not want to be followed? (2)
4.1.2 How does the cartoonist show that the word 'said' is emphasised? (1)
4.2.1 How does the sergeant's mood change in frame 2? (2)
4.2.2 Why did Zero follow the sergeant around? (1)
4.2.3 What does the sergeant mean by, 'Now get lost!!'? (1)
4.2.4 In this frame, Zero is feeling….Happy/sad/surprised/bored (1)
4.3 How do you feel about Zero? (2)

Although some of these questions were phrased to draw learners' attention to certain features of cartoons, none of the questions drew attention to indicators of how the characters were positioned, their relationship and attitudes towards each other.

Question 5: Language and editing skills

This section consist of two texts, the first an adapted and blurred discussion genre and the second an advertisement. These texts are referred to as *Text F*: *Animal or Vegetable* and *Text G: What would you do with an extra R5000?* Despite numerous searches I was unable to locate the original copies of either of these text types. Both of these texts were used to assess language and grammar and examiners deliberately included grammar-related errors when adapting Text F.

The first text, titled *Animal or Vegetable*, appears to be a discussion genre (about the comparative advantages of eating meat or being a vegetarian). It was adapted from *Discovery Summer, 2007*. It seems that this text is another example of a blurred genre because although it is a discussion, elements of narrative and recount genres are visible. See text F, where I indicate in bold the deliberate errors included by examiners when adapting this text.

TEXT F

ANIMAL OR VEGETABLE?

1   Animals eat plants and humans eat both animals and plants. It sounds simple, but for some humans, the choice between eating meat and switching to a vegetarian diet is a difficult one.

2   'Have one of these,' says the tall man, popping open a pod and shaking **it's** contents into my hand. 'They're like candy.'

3   I hesitate for a moment, then toss the **hole** handful into my mouth. On contact with my teeth, the green, glistening balls explode with sweetness. I smile. Peas really are like candy after all.

4   The tall man is Jason Snell, owner of a vegetarian restaurant in Cape Town. He understands cabbage, brocolli and bean sprouts. But he did not always feel this way. 'I grew up on biltong, boerewors and beer,' he says, tearing open a packet of sunflower sprouts and offering it to me. 'It took me years to develop this well-balanced diet.' Snell tells me that when he decided to become a vegetarian, he stopped eating meat and just ate toasted cheese **sandwitches**. Of course he felt awful, so he went back to meat. Only after proper research did he perfect the art of survival without meat.

5   Humans are equipped to chew, digest and absorb what they need from both animals and plants. But for thousands of years, certain humans have chosen to avoid animal flesh for religious, ethical and spiritual reasons. Some vegetarians are activists for animal rights and for some, vegetarianism is just a weapon in the hunt for health.

6   Research has shown that a diet without meat is associated … a lower risk of diabetes, heart disease, hypertension and some cancers. So is science saying it is time to trade burgers for beans and steaks for sunflower seeds? 'Not (**quit/quite/quiet**),' says Johannesburg dietician, Anne Till. She says that the best diet is one that includes the widest possible variety of foods.

[Adapted from *Discovery*, Summer 2007]

See questions that follow.

Correct the single error in each of the following sentences. Write down only the question numbers and your answer.

'Have one of these,' says the tall man popping open a pod and shaking it's contents into my hand.
I hesitate for a moment, then toss the hole handful into my mouth.
He stopped eating meat and just ate toasted cheese sandwitches.

Study the following sentence:

He stopped eating meat.
Use a homophone for the word <u>meat</u> in a sentence of your own.
 NOTE: A Homophone is a word which sounds the same as another, but is spelt differently and has
          a different meaning.

Change the following question into a tag question.
He didn't always feel this way...?

Rewrite the following sentence in reported speech.
Jason said, 'It took me years to develop this well-balanced diet.'

Complete the following sentence by writing down only the missing word:
Research has shown that a diet without meat is associated … a lower risk of diabetes, heart disease, hypertension and some cancers.
Rewrite the following sentence in the negative
A well-balanced diet includes vegetables.
Choose the correct word from those given within brackets
Not (quit/quite/quiet) says Johannesburg dietician. Anne Till.
Combine the following sentences into a single sentence, using the word 'if'.
Your health improves.

understanding of assessing "grammar in context" as espoused by the NCS (2003).

I now move to Text G (figure 14 below).

This was another multi-modal text, an advertisement. However the focus of questions was also only on vocabulary and grammar isolated from context.

What would you do with an extra R5 000?
There's a freedom and independence that comes with being able to buy whatever you want, whenever you want it. Unfortunately your pocket money may not always allow for this.

Figure 14: Advertisement (**Paper One TEXT G**)

The questions for **Text G**

5.2.1 Give the correct form of the word in brackets:
Having enough money makes you (a) (independence). The more money you have, the (b) (happy) you might be.

5.2.2   Form suitable nouns from the words in brackets:
She sees expensive items in her (a) (imagine), but she must remember that she cannot buy (b) (happy).

5.2.3   Rewrite the following sentence in the passive voice starting with the given words:
Money provides financial freedom.
Start with: Financial freedom ...

It seems that examiners see such texts as value-free neutral aids existing for the purpose of assessing learners' knowledge of grammar. All the questions display limited knowledge of the textual choices made in achieving a social purpose. If teachers in the FET Phase draw on the national exit examination to inform pedagogy, then the misunderstandings of genre, social purpose and associated language features reflected there will mean that learners are not explicitly taught to understand how texts work, as the NCS (2003) and CAPS (2011) require. Moreover, if learners are not assisted in understanding the purpose of particular linguistic choices in texts they might not be able to transfer this knowledge to their own extended pieces of writing.

Discussion of Section C

In general, this section adhered to policy directives only in that it exposed learners to a range of text types, questions and tasks. However, the texts predominantly assessed knowledge of explicitly stated information and isolated grammar recall, ignoring the issue of critical thinking which would be crucial in post school contexts. Furthermore, examiners were not entirely familiar with the textual, visual grammar and linguistic features of multimodal texts such as advertisements. This was evident because there was no attention to multimodality or the interplay between language, visual and 'verbal' grammar. On this point, multimodality was not explicitly explained in the curriculum documents and this gap could be a contributor to the limited knowledge of how multimodal texts work.

Moreover, in this paper examiners also set questions that mostly required short answers related to language and grammar. In all three sections, the assessment questions focused predominantly on explicit experiential meaning; none focused on aspects of textual meaning such as cohesion and theme/rheme or on aspects of interpersonal meaning such as positioning, appraisal and stance, which should be the building blocks of a text-based curriculum. As a result, the cognitive demands were low as few questions required extended responses of evaluation in relation to power and ideologies in texts; similarly, there was no attention to social purpose and how the author of a text creates meaning through language choices, discoursal and visual features.

4.3.5   Patterns emerging in Paper One

One strong feature of the paper was the range of texts reflected, as well as examiners' use of authentic texts and topics, relevant to the learners' everyday world, for assessment purposes. For example, text A advocated the value of volunteering at a particular organization after matric, Text B focused on the value of doing maths and science and the summary texts dealt with sun protection during summer. Even though the range of texts and their topics were audience-appropriate, the generic text structures in relation to purpose, discourse and language features were ignored. Also, the paper included a range of visual texts such as advertisements and cartoons but examiners often tended to make these texts appear neutral and value-free by not focusing on linguistic or visual features. A closer examination of the selected codes and conventions used to construct textual, experiential and interpersonal meaning could have been extremely useful in identifying language, bias, and power. However, the paper reflected an autonomous rather than practice-based, functional view of literacy evident in the types of questions set and the value attached to correct grammar-related word and sentence-level answers. First, questions were context-reduced, second, there was a large focus on the ability to extract explicitly stated information and finally, questions requiring the critical evaluation of texts were largely ignored. Overall, language features reflecting social purpose, context and genre were not part of the assessment focus, an omission which can impede learners' ability to interpret textual information and their development of effective writer identities. The NCS (2003) advocates text-based approaches and critical language awareness but these were barely assessed in this paper.

Due to the lack of assessment items grounded in a functional approach to language as espoused in the NCS (2003) and the CAPS (2011), this paper did not comply with policy directives to expose learners to the social context of texts. Additionally, the texts and the associated tasks in this paper did not show evidence of text-based approaches and language in context. These serious shortcomings of Paper One pointed to a further, critical challenge: that is, whether teachers were addressing text-based approaches; whether teaching and learning in the classroom focused on the social purposes of genres and their linguistic realization; and whether the shortcomings of Paper One are an indication that formal decontextualized grammar drills remain the current practice at schools, all of which would be directly antithetical to the language theories and associated directives in the policy documents. The lack of attention to critical textual and interpersonal metafunctions such as cohesion, voice, attitude and stance has very serious implications for learners' ability to engage in academic writing at university.

The analysis above inevitably raises questions about examiners' knowledge of text-based theory. For instance, in some sections it should have been crucial to add genre-specific elements, language features and visuals in order to highlight the realization of the social purpose of the text as encapsulated in the NCS. Additionally, examiners tended to adapt texts to suit assessment purposes and this sometimes undermined adequate understanding of textual information and interfered with the appropriate genre structure and the realization of social purpose. In most cases their textual adaptations shed light on their limited ability to assess a text-based curriculum; their questions only required facts about language structures with no attention to the ways that language choices reveal purpose and stance, and similar neglect of aspects such as exploring language bias and the underlying assumptions and ideologies. The failure to assess proficiency in the academic register of schooling was particularly evident in the assessment of grammar: grammatical cohesion and how it is achieved in texts were not a test item, and thus explicit language and discoursal conventions that construct powerful meanings in some text types were ignored (for example, in the blurred information and persuasion report in newspaper texts A.1 and 2, analysed in this scene in the focus on section A of Paper One). Moreover, there was limited evidence of question types that focus on textual features of information flow, authors' purposes and language choices; this reinforced the sense of examiners' low level of knowledge of text-based theory and assessment. Inadequate knowledge of text-based theory were particularly evident in the serious gaps in understanding of the context of culture, that is, of the systematic link between text and context and also of how the genre is enacted in the context of situation and shaped by the textual, interpersonal and experiential metafunctions. This latter deficiency was most revealing in the multimodal texts like the advertisements and cartoon. As a result, most EAL learners in the FET Phase were exposed to limited opportunities to display cognitive academic language proficiency (See level 4 and 5 question types in Table 6) necessary for success at university and other post school contexts. This will impede them from developing an adequate understanding of meaning beyond the text required to successfully navigate writing across a university curriculum, especially when they make the transition to first year writing.

This section focused on Paper One for Language First Additional learners. I now move on to Paper Three that deals with extended writing. I did not include Paper Two, focused on literature, since it reflected only two question types; contextual questions requiring factual

retrieval and a literature essay. Also, the teachers in both contexts encouraged learners to choose the contextual question options rather than literature essays.

4.3.6. Paper Three: overview (see Appendix C. 2)

This Paper set a range of possible essay topics for learners to choose from. It consisted of three sections, referred to as Section A (Creative Writing), Section B (Longer Transactional Writing) and Section C (Shorter Transactional Writing) (NCS, 2003 & CAPS, 2011). Learners had to choose one question from each section and were provided with a range of topics and options in each of these sections. I first analyse Paper Three against policy stipulations encapsulated in the NCS (2003). For this reason, my analysis focuses on the social purposes for all the topics in Paper Three. Next, I categorize the essay topics and their social purposes into the associated genres and appropriate language features. After this, I evaluate Section B, focused on the longer transactional writing, and also discuss this in relation to Genre Theory, the memorandum and the assessment rubric. Finally, I evaluate Section C (shorter transactional writing) in relation to Genre Theory and its rubric. My analysis aims to shed light on the ways that assessment of writing and assessment tools for writing in the FET Phase can strengthen or impede academic writing at tertiary institutions.

4.3.7 Analysis of Paper Three, Section A: *Creative writing*

Section A consisted of nine topics; two were based on photographs and the other seven topics focused on various genres that to some extent guided learners' writing in relation to content and ideas. The two photographs included in this section allowed learners to interpret and decide on the focus of their essays. Within Hallidayan approaches to genres, narratives with a purpose to entertain or personal recounts are classified as *story genres*; personal responses, reviews, interpretation and critical responses are classified as *response genres*; and descriptions, information reports, biographical and historical recounts (inclusive of expository genres such as argument and discussion) are classified as *factual genres* (Martin & Rose, 2003). Based on this classification, this paper consisted of five story genres (including the photographs), one personal response genre and three factual genres.

I now move on to classifying the genres of the essay topics in Paper Three.

Essay Topics in Paper 3

Figure 15(a) and (b): Images for essay topic 1.8

The above essay topics reveal a predominant focus on assessing learners' ability to be creative through story genres that require personal, reflective and imaginative responses, and much less attention to assessing logical thinking required in argument, persuasion or discussion. For example, five questions required learners to provide recounts, that is, the two pictures (1.8.1 and 1.8.2) as well as questions 1.1, 1.2 and 1.7; question 1.4 required a personal response and only questions 1.3, 1.5 and 1.6 required factual genres. As such, learners' ability to express ideas logically, in a coherent, rational and balanced way, is assessed minimally. The latter ability is a central component for academic writing

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proficiency because it includes discourse competence, logical thinking and the ability to draw on a wide range of knowledge sources in order to create linguistically and socially appropriate extended pieces of writing. However, the essay topics did not address the essential writing skills necessary for success in post school academic contexts. Even more worrying was the emphasis on required length or the stipulated number of words rather than on the relevant genre conventions, with regard to the impact on first year students' ability to cope with extended writing requirements. I now move on to discuss the essay topics and the memorandum in relation to text-based theory and draw on SFL theory to analyse the topics in relation to purpose, field, tenor and mode.

Table 12: Essay topics in relation to genre

Essays/Genres	Purpose	Field	Tenor	Mode
1.1 I am an old desk in a classroom and this is my story... **Narrative genre**	To entertain or imagine	**Experiential** **Process**: The central processes would be saying, relational, action and mental **Participants**: I, me and Desk, **Circumstance**: classroom, time frame, reasons, events	**Interpersonal** **Declarative Mood**: Giving information-making statements about being a desk **High Modality**: degrees of certainty and polarity **Stance:** lexical items that convey affect, judgement, appreciation:	**Textual:** Written **Theme:** Given **Rheme:** New Connectors of substitution, reference, time, synonyms, antonyms
1.2 Suddenly there was absolute silence... **Personal or imaginative Recount**	To recount a personal/ imaginative event that happened in the past.	**Process**: Saying, action, mental, relational **Participants**: Human/ non-human **Circumstance**: Space, time, manner or cause	**Declarative Mood**: Giving information-making statements **High Modality**: degrees of certainty and polarity **Stance:** lexical items that convey affect, judgement, appreciation:	**Theme:** Given **Rheme:** New Clause structure Connectors of substitution, reference, time, synonyms, antonyms
1.3 The scene in the waiting area of a clinic OR a doctor's surgery **Description**	To describe features of particular people, places or things.	**Process**: Mental, relational and material **Participants**: I, waiting area, surgery room., patients and people part of the scene **Circumstance**: waiting area, clinic or doctor's surgery, timeframe, the event or situation	**Declarative Mood**: Giving information-making statements that describe **High Modality**: degrees of certainty and polarity **Stance:** lexical items that convey affect, judgement, appreciation:	**Theme:** Given **Rheme:** New

1.4 Things I would like to achieve by the time I turn 30 years old **Personal response**	To provide a personal response to a future or imagined situation or event.	**Process**: The central processes would be relational, mental, verbal/material **Participants**: I, goals **Circumstance**: Imagined space, timeframe, event or situation?	**Declarative Mood**: Giving information-making statements that imagine **Medium Modality**: degrees of certainty and polarity **Stance:** lexical items that convey affect, judgement, appreciation:	**Theme:** Given **Rheme:** New Connectors of substitution, reference, time, synonyms, antonyms
1.5 Today young people are influenced more by their friends than by their parents. Do you agree? **Argument**	To persuade the reader to agree with a particular point of view.	**Process**: saying and mental/relational **Participants**: I, peers, adults and goals **Circumstance**: Imagined space, timeframe, event or situation?	**Declarative Mood**: Giving information-making statements of reason **High Modality**: degrees of certainty and polarity **Stance:** lexical items that convey affect, judgement, appreciation:	**Theme:** Given **Rheme:** New Logical text connectors of time, elaboration, contrasts, reference, nomalization
1.6 Freedom of choice has both advantages and disadvantages. Discuss this statement. **Discussion**	To present a case for more than one point of view about an issue.	**Process**: The central processes would be relational/saying/mental **Participants**: I, goals **Circumstance**: space, timeframe, manner or cause	**Declarative Mood**: Giving information-making statements that imagine **High Modality**: degrees of certainty and polarity **Stance:** lexical items that convey affect, judgement, appreciation:	**Theme:** Given **Rheme:** New Logical text connectors of time, elaboration, contrasts, reference, nomalization
1.7. Life with my neighbours **Recount**	To provide a personal response to a past event or series of events.	**Process**: The central processes would be material/verbal/mental **Participants**: I, neighbours **Circumstance**: street, house, timeframe, event or situation	**Declarative Mood**: Giving information-making statements that imagine **High Modality**: degrees of certainty and polarity **Stance:** lexical items that convey affect, judgement, appreciation:	**Theme:** Given **Rheme:** New Connectors of substitution, reference, time, synonyms, antonyms

I now move on to discuss the essay genres and the memorandum in relation to text-based theory.

Genres of essay topics

There are four main problems with the manner in which genres are treated in this paper: social purpose, structure, language features and assessment drawing on text-based theory. I discuss these in turn. Firstly, question 1.1 had a social purpose of entertaining in that learners had to imagine themselves as '...*an old desk...*' and with question 1.2 learners had

recount a past event, '*Suddenly there was absolute silence...*' Thus the structure to demonstrate proficiency for 1.1 would be: An orientation, a chronological sequence of events, a complication and a resolution as well as an optional evaluation or moral of the story and for 1.2 it should include orientation, logical sequence of events and a summarising conclusion.

Table 13: Generic features of narrative and recounts

1.1 Purpose: to entertain Focus: sequential specific events **Framework/structure:** • orientation • initiating events in time sequence • complications/problems Resolution	**Defined characters**-proper nouns, common nouns and pronouns • descriptive language-adjectives, adverbs • dialogue • usually past tense but can be present tense based on the framing of the essay or it can alternate between the two e.g. when voices are introduced in direct speech.
1.2 and 1.7 Purpose: to retell Focus: sequential specific events **Framework/structure:** • orientation • initiating events in time sequence • concluding paragraph that summarises	**Defined characters**-proper nouns, common nouns and pronouns • descriptive language-adjectives, adverbs • dialogue • usually past tense but can be present tense based on the framing of the essay or it can alternate between the two e.g. when voices are introduced direct speech.

The memorandum (see Appendix C2) did not make explicit mention of the social purpose, structure and language features of these two essay topics. It did however; refer to narrative writing; yet it made allowances for the inclusion of a descriptive or reflective perspective. As such the memorandum provided an opportunity for different kinds of interpretations on these two topics and this resulted in mismatches between the curriculum stipulations of following a text-based approach and the external writing assessment at grade 12. Moreover, these mismatches could inform pedagogy and result in learner confusion because the genre could be unclear; descriptive writing normally describes a scene, an object, person or place in detail and reflective writing should evaluate a real-life experience in relation to an issue or event. Learners might therefore puzzle on the element that needs to be described – for example they could be confused about whether to use a description (factual genre) of an old desk in a classroom (topic 1.1) or take direction from *this is my story* (and use narrative). Similarly, it would be challenging to reflect on these topics because they are based on imagination rather than experience. In addition, question 1.7 appears to be a blurred genre: the purpose could be either to retell past events or to describe. All these problems suggest that genres should be clearly stated in examination question papers.

Secondly, topic 1.3 required learners to describe something convincingly and thus forms part of SFL's factual genres, that is, *description*. Descriptions can focus on a personal experience affecting the five senses or describe something from the natural world that requires exact factual description. Thus they can be either subjective or objective and here the question paper needed to provide more guidance.

Table 14: Description genre (Martin & Rose, 2003)

1.3 Description	Language Features:
Purpose: A description provides features of particular people, places or things. **Framework/structure:** • orientation of the thing/place or person • description through touch, smell, visual, sounds • Needs to answer the question-so what? towards the end or final paragraph	**Defined person, place or object**-proper nouns, common nouns and pronouns • descriptive language-using nouns and verb phrases • usually present tense based on the framing of the essay First person narrator • descriptive language-adjectives, adverbs • present tense

The memorandum stipulated that this topic could be written from both a narrative and reflective perspective. However, narrative writing implies an orientation, sequence of events, complication and resolution; thus a specific guideline in relation to textual and language features of a descriptive narrative were necessary. Also, reflective writing would be challenging because it requires an evaluation of past experience and this topic clearly indicated a scene that needed to be described as it is experienced in the here and now. Moreover, to fulfil genre requirements, learners needed to make a point in this kind of essay, for example the description must generalize some element/s of a waiting room or doctor's surgery. The most important thing was that the description needed to show and not tell, thus learners had to make extensive use of adjectives and adverbs to perform the descriptive work of the scene or the waiting room's attributes; through densely constructed nominal groups the audience will see the scene and with processes they will feel it. The instructions to markers did not make these kinds of textual and language features explicit in the memorandum and one gets the sense that examiners themselves were unaware of the subtle nuances necessary to make this text work.

In the same way, the memorandum gave two perspectives from which question 1.4 could be interpreted. This question required a personal response because it focuses on a personal experience; to envisage their achievements by the age of thirty. However, the subtle interpersonal, experiential and textual nuances below in Table 17 were not explicitly highlighted to markers. The instructions to learners did not stipulate audience or context; also the memorandum does not refer to the most appropriate textual and language features, thus compromising the quality of the paper. More importantly, it can result in mismatches

between the curriculum stipulations, assessment tasks for external assessment and learners' ability to successfully and appropriately develop their ideas in extended texts.

Table 15: Personal response genres (Martin & Rose, 2003)

Genre	Topic	Audience/domain	Metafunctions
1.4 Personal Response, imaginative-future **Purpose:** To predict or tell	Things I would like to achieve by the time I turn 30 years old.	Known: Personal Equal power relationship Domain: Personal, frequent contact Content: describing personal motivation for the future	**Textual:** Written; logical flow-theme progression **Experiential:** Identifying participant, process and circumstance through identifying and relational process related to circumstances of time and place **Interpersonal:** Affect and appreciation of values, actions and things **Register:** Informal

Next, I examine the features of expository writing. The table below applies features of a text-based approach to the topics provided.
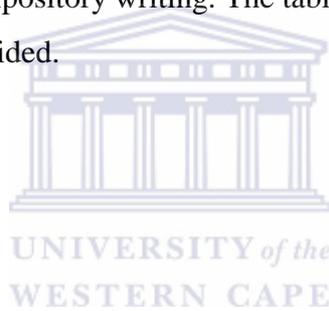
Table 16: Expository genres (adapted from Martin & Rose, 2003; Martin & White 2005)

Genre	Topic	Audience	Metafunctions
1.5 Argument **Purpose:** To persuade	Today young people are influenced more by their friends than their parents. Do you agree?	Unknown Unequal power relationship Domain: Infrequent contact Content: points for or against-peers versus parents	**Textual:** Written; logical flow-theme progression **Experiential:** Identifying participant, process and circumstance through material, mental, behavioural, identifying and relational process related to circumstances **Interpersonal:** Affect and appreciation of values, actions and things, judgement **Register:** formal
1.6 Discussion **Purpose**: To present a case for more than one point of view	Freedom of choice has both advantages and disadvantages. Discuss this statement	Unknown Unequal power relationship Domain: Infrequent contact Content: points for advantages and disadvantages freedom of choice, what it is and consequences	**Textual:** Written; logical flow-theme progression **Experiential:** Identifying participant, process and circumstance through behavioural, identifying and relational processes related to circumstances of time, place and manner **Interpersonal:** Judgement, Affect and appreciation of values, actions and things/Emotive language **Register:** Formal and informal depending on domain

Finally, Questions 1.5 and 1.6 were the only two topics that required learners to demonstrate more complex linguistic, discoursal and subject knowledge on a particular issue. As such, Paper Three included only two examples of argumentative and discursive writing. With these two topics learners had to present a strong position or thesis, for instance, the first topic required learners to persuade examiners to a particular point of view and the second required that they present a balanced and objective discussion on an issue. Learners would need to demonstrate writing proficiency in these domains at tertiary level and thus these types of essay topics have more value and can be referred to as the *genres of power*. However, the memorandum did not make this clear to markers. In fact, it made provision for reflective writing (EAL Memorandum, 2012, 3-5) when the questions clearly required a position or stance to be taken. This hinted at examiners' lack of understanding of these types of texts, despite the addition of a table with the different text types in EAL CAPS (2011, 38-45).

The rubric for assessing essay writing in Section A

Assessment in Section A exposed learners to a range of topics. However, the quality of the paper was compromised by the low demands in relation to length and word count and the

dominance of story and personal response genres; most topics could be written as narrative, personal or reflective stories. Furthermore, the rubric accommodated all possible interpretations that learners might bring to the texts; in fact the memorandum gave explicit instructions that, "full credit must be given for the candidate's own interpretation" (EAL Memorandum, 2012, p. 2). This could suggest insufficient understanding of essential textual and language features within a text-based curriculum. Again, this undermined the potential advantages of text-based approaches to writing and was restrictive in a curriculum that follows such an approach. The assessment rubric below illustrates these points.

Table 17: Criteria for Paper Three, Section A: *Creative writing*

Criteria	
CONTENT & PLANNING (32 MARKS)	**26–32** -Content shows impressive insight into topic. -Ideas thought- provoking, mature. -Planning &/or drafting has produced a virtually flawless, excellent essay.
LANGUAGE, STYLE & EDITING (12 MARKS)	**10–12** -Critical awareness of impact of language. -Language, punctuation effectively used. -Figurative language used. -Choice of words highly appropriate. -Style, tone, register highly suited to topic. -Virtually error-free following proof-reading & editing.
STRUCTURE (6 MARKS)	**5–6** -Coherent development of topic. Vivid detail. -Sentences, paragraphs coherently constructed. -Length in accordance with requirements of topic.

The rubric indicates that content and planning were rated the highest. For this criterion learners needed to show evidence of following a process approach to writing; learner instructions stipulated that they must cross out their draft so that examiners can see clearly distinguish between their drafts and final essays. In this category markers had to evaluate whether the content shows impressive insight, that ideas were thought provoking and that planning and drafting resulted in a flawless excellent essay. These are all subjective indicators because explicit criteria relating to the three metafunctions such as genre appropriate interpersonal, experiential and textual features were not included. Furthermore, this rubric reinforces the perception that writing proficiency is achieved when learners demonstrate correct grammar, appropriate vocabulary and spelling. Therefore, it displays a traditional approach to writing with no attention to genre specific requirements. This could unintentionally result in transmission pedagogy in classes where grammar could be taught in isolation and the teaching of extended writing in the FET Phase could be rooted in word

and sentence level tasks, that is, grammar, vocabulary and punctuation knowledge isolated from context, audience and social purpose.

Similarly, the second item on the rubric reflects a traditional grammar approach because it centres on word choices, punctuation and a virtually error free text. Although it refers to critical awareness of language, style, tone and register it does not unpack what this means for different types of text. It thus becomes questionable whether examiners are trained to use genre-based approaches as their knowledge of theory seems inadequate or limited. Furthermore, the last item refers to structure and markers were required to evaluate for coherence and development of topic. But again this was only viewed as generic sentences and paragraphs. This item then also provides insight into the apparently fragmented theoretical understanding of how to assess extended writing in relation to discoursal conventions and the structure of different text types.

4.3.8   Analysis of Paper Three, Section B: *Longer transactional writing*

According to the NCS (2003) this section evaluated learners' ability to use writing as a tool for communication, that is, learners had to engage with texts that required a response. As a result, teachers and learners are given the perception that essays do not require a particular purpose and audience; that this is only applicable in relation to longer transactional texts. The texts that learners were assessed on were a formal letter, obituary, memorandum and an interview, topics that appear relevant because candidates had to relate their texts to real-life situations and the world beyond Grade 12. However, texts like obituaries deal with a factual recount of an individual life and suggest some confusion about transactional writing as stipulated in the curriculum and policy documents. See the table (18) that follows for the texts in this section of paper one.

Table 18: Longer transactional texts (Martin & Rose, 2003)

Genre	Topic	Audience	Metafunctions
Formal letter	An international company is offering a limited number of bursaries to Grade 12 learners for further studies.	Unknown: International company includes male and female adults Unequal power relationship World of Work Content: describing personal attributes, achievements, motivation Bursary, education, further studies	**Textual:** Address, company address, salutation, subject heading, paragraphs, conclusion **Experiential:** Participant and identifying and relational circumstances of time, place and manner **Interpersonal:** Affect and appreciation of values, actions and things **Register:** Formal
Obituary Factual recount	A well-known person in your community has passed away. This person was actively involved in charity work.	Unknown/Known: Community members, peers Equal and unequal power relations depending on mode Content: description of person, attributes, activities and community involvement	**Textual:** Spoken/written /Speech or article **Experiential:** Participant and identifying and relational circumstances of time, place and manner **Interpersonal:** Affect and appreciation of values, actions and things/Emotive language **Register:** Formal and informal depending on domain
Memorandum Information	You are the chairperson of the Representative Council of learners (RCL) at your school. The RCL is trying to find ways of saving electricity and water at school.	Known: School, teachers and peers Equal and unequal power relations Content: RCL, saving water and electricity, learners, campaigns, concepts dealing with meeting	**Textual:** Addressees, date, subject, paragraphs, conclusion. written **Experiential:** Participants, circumstances of time, place and manner, verbal and material processes **Interpersonal:** Affect and appreciation of values, actions and things **Register:** Formal
Interview Personal response	Your local municipality needs male and female administrative assistants. You have applied for one of these positions.	Unknown: Municipal staff includes male and female adults Unequal Power relations Dialogue World of work, character strengths, skills, qualifications	**Textual:** Spoken, dialogue **Experiential:** Participant, circumstance of time, place/manner and verbal/behavioural/mental processes **Interpersonal:** Affect and appreciation of values, actions and things **Register:** Formal

Although the text types in Section B were appropriate, relevant and apt in that they addressed the world after Grade 12 they were not explicit in relation to audience and mode. Table 18 for example highlights that the text and language would be dependent on social purpose, the relation between writer and reader and the context. Yet again, the rubric for this section also applied a one size fits all approach, creating conditions for subjective marking.

The rubric for assessing writing in Section B

There were indicators that examiners were more adept at designing assessment tasks for transactional writing purposes than for what policy documents refer to as 'creative writing'. Firstly, the examiners exposed learners to a range of topics and text types. Secondly, the text types were relevant and appropriate for everyday situations and the world beyond Grade 12. Most importantly, for this section examiners included tone (not included in section A) and attempted to highlight the associated tone, register and language for the text types. Yet, they focused on tone in relation to format only (see Appendix C, FAL Question Paper 3, 2012, pp.6-8) and so even though this section consisted of applicable, well-thought out topics, examiners needed to refine the rubric for this section in relation to specific audience, text type and register. However, the EAL CAPS (2011) glossary refers to *genres* (90) as novels, dramas and short stories and *text types* (93) as recount, procedure and information report; a gap that hold implications for examiners' interpretation. The following table contains the criteria for section B.

Table 19: Criteria for Section B: *Longer transactional writing*

Criteria	
CONTENT, PLANNING & FORMAT (20 MARKS)	**16–20** -Specialised knowledge of requirements of the text. -Disciplined writing – maintains thorough focus, no digressions. -Text fully coherent in content & ideas & all details support the topic. -Evidence of planning &/or drafting has produced a virtually flawlessly presentable text. -Has applied all the necessary rules of format/outstanding.
LANGUAGE, STYLE & EDITING (10 MARKS)	**8–10** -Text is grammatically accurate & well- constructed. -Vocabulary is very appropriate to purpose, audience & context. -Style, tone, register very appropriate. -Text virtually error- free following proof-reading, editing. -Length correct.

Similar to the rubric for creative writing, examiners developed a generic rubric for all text types in this section. The above rubric indicates that content, planning and format are highly valued and that markers had to evaluate whether content showed specialized knowledge of text requirements, disciplined writing, evidence of planning and drafting and rules of form excellently adhered to. This can result in subjective marking because '*...maintaining a thorough focus...content and ideas support the topic..*' can be interpreted in various ways by different markers and can reinforce textual competence as correctness of grammar,

vocabulary and spelling aiming at '*...has produced a virtually flawlessly presentable text*'. Therefore, this rubric also displays evidence of a traditional and process approach outweighing genre-based approaches to writing and thus teachers taking direction from it can persist in prioritizing format, grammar and some process approach elements at the expense of social purpose, mode and register when teaching writing in the FET Phase.

4.3.9. Analysis of Paper Three, Section C: *Shorter transactional writing*

According to the NSC (2003) and CAPS (2011) this section focuses on shorter transactional texts in everyday contexts and they list examples of such texts, such as invitations, diaries, recipes, signs, schedules, maps, charts, graphs and pamphlets. Section C included a range of topics using these functional texts; all the topics were clear and guided learners in relation to length of text and time spent writing it. However, the memorandum could have been more explicit in relation to textual requirements, register and layout. Criteria such as these were not included and would have been more aligned to text-based theory as encapsulated in the NCS (2003).

Table 20: Shorter transactional texts

Genre	Topic	Audience	Metafunctions
Formal invitation Information	You have been asked to invite guests to your school prize-giving function	Known: Family, close friend, parents School, Content: education and academic achievement	**Textual:** Spoken/written/Visuals to persuade or reinforce the importance of attending **Experiential:**, circumstance of time, place and verbal/relational processes **Interpersonal:** Affect and appreciation of scholastic achievement, values and aspirations /values, actions and things **Register:** Formal
Diary entries Recount/respons e	You are in Grade 12 and you have been experiencing mixed feelings about the final examination	Known: Personal Content: examination, I and Me, feelings and Draw on senses to describe	**Textual:** Written, date **Experiential:** Participant, circumstance of time/manner and verbal /mental processes **Interpersonal:** Affect and appreciation of values, actions and things **Register:** Informal
Directions Procedure	You and your friends have decided to meet at your house to celebrate the end of the examinations	Known: Friends and peers Equal power Content: Procedural Street, direction, landmarks, transport, directives	**Textual:** Spoken/written/connectives of time Visual, map or drawing to accompany directions **Experiential:** circumstance of time, place/manner and verbal/material processes **Interpersonal:** Identification of actions and things **Register:** Informal

Although the text types above were appropriate and the topics focused on issues that learners could relate to in their everyday contexts, it did not engage the social purpose appropriately. Neglect of the social purpose was clear in the memorandum explicitly stating that learners were not to include illustrations and drawings, despite this being an appropriate textual feature for some genres (such as giving directions) in real life contexts, because drawings such as maps would be an additional meaning-making resource. Here, again, the examiners neglected multimodality. Furthermore, the memorandum included elements that were not necessary for these text type e.g. the section *content, planning and format* refers to '*Disciplined writing –maintains thorough focus, no digressions, Text fully coherent in content & ideas & all details support the topic'*, but what this means in a context where a text can create focus by playing with a range of modalities such as words, image and fonts is questionable, and raises again the issue of examiners' knowledge about multimodal texts.

Rubric to assess writing in Section C

This rubric disregards the specificity of various text types and their associated social purposes in this section. For example, the three metafunctions were not included as items. Even though the assessment tasks exposed learners to a range of topics and text types, examiners needed to refine the rubric in relation to the specific audience, text type and register. See criteria below.

Table 21: Criteria for shorter transactional texts

Criteria	
CONTENT, PLANNING & FORMAT (13 MARKS)	**10½–13** -Specialised knowledge of requirements of text. -Disciplined writing – learner maintains thorough focus, no digressions. -Text fully coherent in content & ideas, and all details support topic. -Evidence of planning &/or drafting has produced a virtually flawless, presentable text. -Has applied all the necessary rules of format.
LANGUAGE, STYLE & EDITING (7 MARKS)	**6–7** -Text is grammatically accurate and well- constructed. -Vocabulary is very appropriate to purpose, audience and context. -Style, tone, register very appropriate. -Text virtually error- free following proof- reading and editing. -Length correct.

It is clear from the above table that markers were not explicitly made aware of issues such as layout, purpose, organization, participants, processes and circumstances in texts. Furthermore, criteria did not include linguistic, multimodal and register choices that shape texts.

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4.3.10 Patterns emerging in Paper Three

In general, this paper exposed learners to a range of text types as encapsulated in policy documents and assessment guidelines, but this was only in relation to content, format and structure. In addition, the instructions were clear, easy to follow and also provided learners with a timeframe to spend on each section. However, even though the paper focused on writing proficiency, the social purpose, structure and associated language features of text types were not included in assessment criteria. The criteria are thus not aligned to the policy stipulations of a text-based curriculum.

In section A, the text types that examiners favoured were mostly narrative, personal response and story genres. Even though a wide variety of texts were included, the social contexts in which texts are produced and the genre-specific structures and language features were not considered as assessment criteria. A similar trend was evident for Sections B and C: examiners assessed topics based on traditional assessment criteria and did not include alternative representational modes, placing words alone at the centre of creating meaning. For instance, when learners were requested to give directions or to design a formal invitation, examiners gave explicit instruction to markers: '*No marks are awarded for sketches or maps*' (EAL Memorandum, 2012, p. 7). As a result, the potential role of images, gestures and sounds that are part of texts in learners' everyday world were ignored; this highlights insufficient attention to (and presumably also insufficient knowledge of) multimodality, the important role of social context and text-based theory, in particular. Due to the lack of assessment criteria related to functional language approaches NCS (2003), this paper did not comply with policy directives because there was no evidence of assessing texts in their social context. In summary, the paper and the associated tasks did not show evidence of text-based approaches.

Moreover, grammatical cohesion and how this is achieved in texts were not included as assessment criteria and therefore explicit linguistic and discoursal conventions that construct powerful meanings in some text types were ignored. Rather, there was a focus on assessment of correct grammar, appropriate language usage in relation to words or sentences and paragraph level proficiency. No attention was paid to voice, attitude and stance in discussion and argumentative writing. Taken together, all the omissions and emphases identified above seem to indicate examiners' limited knowledge of assessment aligned to text-based approaches.

4.3.11 Summary of EAL Papers One and Three

The theoretical gaps in the NCS (2003) (see Scene One of this Act) related to text-based theory seem to hold implications for the setting of EAL question papers. These theoretical gaps relate to understanding of how texts work in relation to contexts of culture and of situation. Therefore, the social purposes of genres are downplayed in these papers along with their associated structure and language features.

Question papers' cultural capital and the rules of the game

Overall, examiners deviated from text-based approaches in numerous instances such as text adaptations that revealed some textual, discoursal and contextual mismatches in relation to text-based theory (NCS, 2003); thus teachers engaging with such exam papers would not see the relevance of the new linguistically informed pedagogy and would continue to teach traditional forms of grammar, resulting in tasks and questions that focus on memorization or retrieval of facts (see Scene Two of this Act). This is due to the external examination still attaching high cultural capital to texts as neutral and free of bias and to a perception of language as a set of value-free resources largely isolated from meaning in social contexts. Overall, grammar is viewed and assessed as decontextualised rules to be mastered; thus language teaching is likely to remain focused on sentence and clause-level tasks and, as a result, proficiency in language learning will exclude effective development of extended writing, academic language proficiency and discourse competence due to the lack of explicit induction into genres of schooling.

Implications for strengthening first year academic writing

Firstly, in relation to genre structure, students emerging from the inadequate grounding described above would be challenged to understand the structure and key features of complex academic genres such as argument, information and explanation. Consequently, academic texts that form hybrid genres where sections shift between information, explanation and discussion would probably be difficult for first year students to read, comprehend and, in turn, appropriate in their written assignments. Firstly, the tasks, texts and question types that were analysed highlighted an understanding of only the most superficial aspects of the experiential metafunction. Therefore, it is debatable whether first year students would be able to shift from descriptive nominal expressions towards technical and abstract language associated with information, explanation and argument. It is at this

point that first year students in transition could show severe misunderstanding of interpreting the experiential metafunction and this could seriously jeopardise their success when making the transition to academic writing. For this reason, first year students might be unable to take a position that needs to be substantiated through a rational objective argument because of their inability to recognise social purpose and apply genre-specific structural features combined with the associated linguistic choices. Secondly, an analysis of the interpersonal metafunction revealed that tasks, questions and assessment did not include positioning, stance and evaluative language dealing with attitude, affect and judgement. Therefore, learners would not have the appropriate linguistic resources for extended written assignments and could be insecure in taking a stance. Finally, analysis of the textual meaning showed that examiners were insecure when adapting texts and that their questions, tasks and assessment criteria did not explicitly include the textual metafunction. So, even if learners were able to create some semblance of macro-coherence via content repetition and lexical items, they might find this difficult to maintain at paragraph and clause level. For instance, due to the focus on narrative and personal response genres along with the very limited length required of essays, conjunctive links to support points in an argument could be problematic.
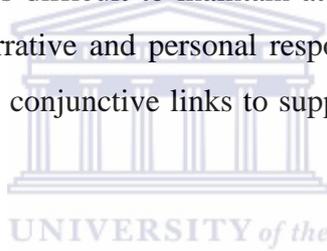
4.3.12 Implications for the construction of writer *habitus* in schools

This Scene has highlighted the clear gap between the official policy (NCS, 2003; CAPS, 2011) in relation to text-based theory and the national assessment for languages at the end of grade 12. The previous scene (Scene 2) has shown that classroom pedagogy and discourse were strikingly similar in the FET Phase at both schools - both being driven almost entirely by the national examination requirements. So, despite learners coming from diverse socio-educational backgrounds, the national external assessment informed what teachers foregrounded as important; two kinds of shorter transactional texts foregrounded by teachers at one school were in fact part of Paper Three, '*they love putting in directions and dialogues…*'. This results in a writer mould that consists of a set of procedures and techniques geared to success in the national assessment at the end of grade 12 rather than one with a solid grounding in the multimodal resources needed to create the key genres of schooling and academia. If the focus of this assessment is traditional and the criteria do not include text-based metafunctions then grade 12 learners are likely to enter universities with

narrative, descriptive constructs of writing: that is, schemata based on decontextualized language rules and grammar devoid of social context.

Based on the national question papers for English as an Additional Language (2012), the main cultural capital that learners acquired on exiting schools was the ability to regurgitate language rules, a repertoire of grammar facts and writing for narrative and personal response purposes. As a result, they exited the school system with varying degrees of grammatical control, they could display some basic understanding of controlling the experiential metafunction and at textual level they had some understanding of whole text cohesion but little grasp of theme/rheme development. At the interpersonal level, learners acquired capital related to informal, descriptive language usage and decontextualized parts of speech yet limited ability to control voice, stance and modality. As a result, this acquired capital at school will have low value in the new field and its associated discourses of writing that hinge on textual organization, hedging, technical abstract language usage and audience.

The next scene analyses first year Bachelor of Education students' scripts, drawing on SFL to shed light on the implications that their acquired writing capital in the FET Phase hold for the transition into academic writing.
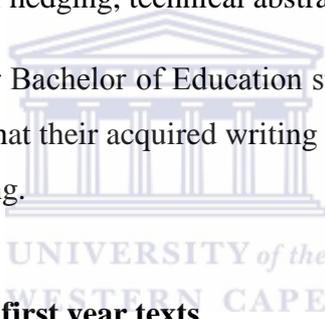
4.4 SCENE FOUR: Producing first year texts

> …At school I was on top of the game and now I have to start all over again… (First year student, school A, 2011)

4.4.0   Introduction: A sense of losing the script

This scene analyses student scripts written during a first year module on the topic of whether first year writing at university is challenging or manageable. It builds on previous scenes by highlighting the significance of school contexts, histories and identities visible in student texts written by ex-pupils of both schools. Secondly, it sheds light on the impact of classroom and assessment practices on students' ability to write at first year level. The intention is to highlight the ways that school contexts, school-based practices and English as an Additional Language (EAL) external question papers at the end of grade 12 impact on students' ability to engage in the writing practices valued at university. It uses an analytical framework drawn from Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and appraisal

theory (Martin & White, 2005) in order to shed light on the nature of student challenges in making the transition from school to first year university writing.

As mentioned before, the shift to democracy resulted in a transformed higher education system, yet an uneven success rate between advantaged and less advantaged students enrolled at tertiary institutions prevails. For this reason, I analysed a selection of first year student scripts from ex-pupils of school A and school B in order to shed light on the meaning-making practices and textual identities that emerged when the *habitus* developed under the Further Education and Training (FET) writing curriculum converged with first year academic writing discourses. Hence, after a brief discussion of the content of the scripts, this scene uses the three metafunctions of interpersonal, experiential and textual meaning to highlight the ways that content and structure reveal school-constructed writer identities. My intention is to highlight the strengths and weaknesses that student texts reflect in their control of each metafunction so that higher education institutions can give more specific focus to student academic literacies and scaffold first year students towards academic discourses. In addition, I argue that FET curriculum developers can use this analysis to understand how better to prepare learners for tertiary studies. In so doing, I illuminate the ways in which writer habitus that is developed in the FET Phase limits first year writing in relation to the realization of social purpose, genre and the three metafunctions of textual, experiential and interpersonal meaning.

First year student writing

In this scene, I present 10 randomly selected student texts, five from each school A and B. During 2011, as part of a compulsory first year academic literacy module, the students received an assignment where they had to write an argument on whether writing at university was challenging or manageable. Towards the end of the semester I gained permission from these students to analyse their scripts. My aim is thus to shed light on first year writer moulds in transition from school pedagogical and assessment practices to new academic practices at university. In this case the purpose was to persuade the audience, other new first year students of 2012, that *Writing at university is challenging or manageable*.

In this scene, then, I first analyse these student texts in relation to social purpose and generic structure in order to highlight commonalities with regard to stages, linguistic

choices and development of the thesis. Secondly, after a brief comment on the content of the texts, I analyse in turn experiential, interpersonal and textual metafunctions in each text in order to see whether patterns of control of particular metafunctions could be discerned. Finally, I draw out the implications of these patterns for the development of an academic writer habitus.

Table 22: Criteria for student texts: Argument

Social purpose	Writing at university is challenging or manageable?
Generic structure	Background, thesis, arguments, logical series of points to reinforce thesis,
Experiential	Abstract nominal groups, technical and abstract vocabulary, generalized participants, relational processes that define/classify, highlight cause and effect or report when referring to school and university, mental and verbal processes to introduce sources and stance Nominalizations to construct abstractions and generalizations
Interpersonal	Engagement and voice realized through modality to construct necessity and possibility, intersubjective stance, dialogic contraction and expansion, appraisal of affect, judgement and appreciation
Textual	Presenting message as text in context: Written mode-logical coherence, cohesion through reference, markers of consequential relationships to draw conclusions, support stance

4.4.1   Student texts from school A

As described earlier in this Act (Scene Two), students from school A had inhabited a context of privilege there with regard to the school culture, identity and history. They had experienced a context where teaching and learning occurred relatively smoothly and was well-resourced: classes had low teacher-learner ratios, the school maintained excellent social networks and partnerships with alumni and schools abroad, and learners enjoyed effective support in the spheres of academics, pastoral care, sport and cultural initiatives. This symbolic and cultural capital privilege was evident in some texts: for instance, text 1 mentioned being at a model C school, text 2 claimed that only "the underprivileged [were] struggling to adapt to essay writing". More striking was the similarity in content referring to school-based writing practices; all five texts referred to the difference in cognitive demands between writing at school and university. For example, text 1 mentioned the requirement of the rubric to get top marks, text 2 referred to adjusting to the new style and making the transition from creative writing towards academic writing, text 3 focused on copying and pasting at schools as a practice not encouraged at university, text 4 referred to uncertainty about academic conventions and text 5 mentioned losing track of the question and the topic. There was thus a common thread of opinion among these students that

confirmed the central thesis of this study - that school-based writing practices did not prepare them adequately for writing at university.

Table 23 presents a breakdown of the school A student texts in terms of structure and key stages.

Table 23: The genre and key stages, school A texts

Social purpose: To argue	Text 1	Text 2	Text 3	Text 4	Text 5
Background	Student perceptions before entering university	Literacy rates in South Africa	The transition to university impact on bright students.	Dictionary definition on writing	Personal experiences related to writing
Thesis	Discussion of the factors that impact on the academic journey	Discussion on challenges faced by students in general, specifically the disadvantaged	Although academic writing can be challenging it is manageable	I see writing at university as a challenge but one that is manageable	I find writing at university quite challenging it is manageable
Supporting points	Leap from secondary schooling, most unexpected obstacle, writing, do not fully understand new environment, coming from a Model C school	Past and quality education, adjustment to university, writing and research at university, as opposed to school-based writing	Transition, plagiarism, school system and language as challenges Time management and self-discipline to make it manageable	Transition, plagiarism, resources, school system and language	Narrative on writing as complete enjoyment, the better we write the easier it becomes, why is writing so hard.
Reiteration and closing statements	Personal reflection on the writer's journey	Writing is challenging and students that struggle must seek guidance and assistance	Thesis and quote to turn negative challenges into more manageable ones.	Transition with its resources/support will eventually turn negative challenges into more manageable ones.	Ashby (2005) and the issue of style, clarity and audience
Register	Sounds formal	Sounds formal	Conversational	Sounds formal	Conversational

In relation to genre structure, three of the five student texts provided an adequate context related to issues such as South Africa's poor literacy rates, student preconceptions about university and bright students failing. One text provided an orientation in the form of an anecdotal recount relating to his/her personal writing experiences and another text started with a definition - an indication of a blurred genre, as it focused on giving information and then arguing for a stance, thus suggesting a confusion of genre structure. However, in the sub-points in texts 2, 3 and 4 each text focused on the reasons for student writing challenges and mostly culminated in a reiteration of the issues highlighted throughout their essays. On the negative side, the provision of an explicit thesis varied across these texts: only three students explicitly provided a thesis ("writing at university is challenging but manageable"), but they then realized the argument genre either as discussion or as

information. In addition, the register also varied across these scripts, with some (texts 1 and 2) attempting to use formal language while three texts (3, 4 and 5) displayed conversational rather than depersonalized linguistic choices. In relation to key stages, these texts are erratic: firstly, 3 texts included a background while one included information and another a recount; secondly, 3 included an explicit stance even though it was not entirely substantiated; thirdly, conclusions did not reiterate the initial stance taken, especially in texts 1 and 5; and finally, the register for the genre was uneven in texts 3, 4 and 5. As a result, despite tutorials and lectures explicitly focusing on social purpose, register and genre structure, students from this privileged school were not entirely able to make the shift towards appropriate structure and register.

I now present an analysis of the experiential metafunctions of each text in order to explore realization of field in relation to participants, processes and audience. Paragraphs have been numbered for ease of reference.

Text One: Student essay

	Title: Writing at university
1	Before entering the university community students are filled with preconceived ideas of what to expect and what will be expected of them. These perceptions are drawn from various sources, such as the media portrayal of university or college life; interactions with graduates or current students; parents and of course teachers. They all have an impact on a student's perception of what their academic journey will entail
2	The common denominator that all first year students share is that of having mixed feelings towards their journey ahead. Their feelings of anxiety, excitement and the fear of the unknown are commonly shared amongst them. First year students are aware that this leap from their secondary schooling career, with regards to work load and the standard of work will be a drastic one. However, the reality of this will only become apparent once they have settled into university life. Coping mechanisms to this huge adjustment will of course vary with each individual. Their life experiences, social backgrounds and the education they received are just some of the factors which may have influenced how prepared they are for the journey that they are about to begin. By exploring the background of different individuals we may be able to understand what the actual challenges are, the reason for them and the coping mechanism that each individual will use, to eventually adjust and settle down into the most important journey of their lives.
3	Research has shown that there are a number of factors Essay writing is probably one of the most unexpected obstacles that many first year students would ever expect to experience. No matter which course or career path that you choose to follow, the ability to too express one's self in writing is critical to your success. Whether it be a geological study, the solving of an equation or the interpretation of a Shakespeare play, the ability to successfully articulate your understanding is crucial.
4	There are a number of factors why students find the task of writing an essay so challenging. The sheer volume of essays that you are expected to produce can be extremely daunting and demotivating. For a student who was previously expected to produce one essay per term and is now required to produce three or more essays per week, this can prove to be a major challenge not only too your writing ability but also to your time management skills. Another challenge is the fear of not meeting the standards required. You are now in a new environment and do not fully understand the expectations and the standards required. Essays at a university level are structured differently to that of a high school as there is more freedom to approach topics critically and there is a larger focus on referencing and the sourcing of information. In my experience, it's the combination of these elements which has made the essay writing process an overwhelming one.
5	Undoubtedly your schooling journey is one of the factors that have played a major role in your preparation for university. Coming from a model C school, we were constantly aware of the fact that the primary focus of the educators was completing the syllabus on time and the discipline of the learners. These were the factors that would determine your success in completing high school, which was schools ultimate goal. Furthering your education at a tertiary institution was of course encouraged, but with the high dropout rates in high schools, completing grade twelve was a more realistic goal. Preparation for university was therefore not the primary objective.

Title: Writing at university

6	When writing essays at high school, thinking outside the box, challenging the status quo and creativity was only rewarded to a certain extent. One needed to ensure that they followed the requirements of the rubric accurately, to make top marks a certainty. This is my biggest challenge I am grappling with in my first semester as a university student. At university I am constantly reminded to think outside the box and to analyse the questions critically. This is almost like asking me to forget everything that I have learnt in my journey through high school and to start from scratch with a new way thinking. This new approach, though appealing, is challenging as it I am having difficulty balancing my creative thinking with expressing myself academically. At school I was one of the top students in English and particularly with essay writing and the main reason for this success was my ability to instantly recognize what was required of me. This made, off the cuff writing, the norm for me but is has become blatantly obvious, even in the short time I have been at university, that this will not be viable option for success at university.
7	At this early stage in my journey, it's difficult to confidently answer the question of whether essay writing will be a challenge that I will overcome. Even though I have been able to identify this as a challenge the solution is not yet blatantly obvious to me. I am however comforted by the fact that I am not alone and these challenges that I am experiencing are shared by my peers. The one thing I am however certain of is my drive and motivation to succeed and not let any obstacles prevent me from completing this journey.

Experiential meaning of student text 1

Writing at university	
Semantic chains	university community/first year students/ university life/essays at university level/ your schooling journey
Nominal groups and participants	students/pre-conceived ideas/The common denominator that all first year students/ Their life experiences, social backgrounds and the education they received/Essays at a university level
Processes	**Mental** (instantly recognise what was expected/I am grappling with in my first semester to think, to analyse, to forget **Verbal** (asking me/Articulate/express) **Existential** There is/There are Material: (filled/ drawn/ rewarded) **Relational** (this is my biggest challenge /at school I was one of the top students in English)
Circumstances	Before entering the university/once they have settled/ is now required to/now in/the short time/ at this early stage **(Time)** Towards their journey ahead/From their secondary schooling career/into university life/I have been at university/at school I was/a new environment **(location)**

Text 1 attempts the structure of argumentative writing, provides a background and names

the point to be developed: the academic journey. Therefore, there is a clear semantic chain

in terms of abstract nominal groups such as "these perceptions", "essay writing", "coping

mechanisms" that identified some conditions that contribute towards the unexpected

challenges that first year students encounter. Furthermore, circumstances of location and

time were used to depict student challenges ("…essays at university level...when writing

essays at school…"): thus, identification of the subject field was clear. In addition, the

writer drew on a range of processes such as mental, material, verbal and relational

processes, but in ways not entirely appropriate for the genre: firstly, relational processes

correctly identified cause and effect ("at school I was one of the top students…this is my

biggest challenge") that contributed towards stance; and, secondly, mental and verbal

processes introduced author stance ("asking me…to articulate…to instantly recognise…to

think"); yet none of these processes were utilized to cite authorities in support of stance.

Consequently, in relation to genre, this text managed to situate the experiential meaning

through nominal groups and generalized participants: these formed a semantic chain that

clearly situated the field, creating a formal tone. However, the writer needed to draw on processes that go beyond situating a personal stance, and therefore this text lacked a key feature of persuasion: thesis presentation supported by mental, verbal and relational processes to realize projection of other sources as evidence.

Text 2: Student essay

	The challenges faced by students
1	Literacy rates or levels in South Africa on the African content as a matter of fact are not strong when compared to most of the world. Formal writing has been a challenge to most high school learners, and it tends to haunt them come university. Writing at university is particularly challenging and can become a major stressor in the lives of a student, if not dealt with students. There are various issues students have with regards to writing, from meeting the required length of an essay to researching about the required topic of an essay. The purpose of this essay is to establish what challenges are faced by university students in particular as far as writing essays are concerned.
2	When trying to assess why South Africa's literacy rate is so poor, we need take our past into consideration. The majority of South Africans' did not have a quality education and therefore a gap in the education system was created. Student writing at university has had a set back with most of the under privileged struggling to adapt to essay writing, Lillis(2007) "...in relation to student writing in HE, the current 'crisis' can be linked to the widening of access to students from social groups previously excluded."
3	A problem experienced by students at university is that they battle adjusting to the certain style required of them. Adjusting to the style is a major problem, because of the vast amounts of styles that can be used. The style can vary in the form of the actual lay out to the style of language being used for various topics. The style of the writing piece can set the tone for what the essay is about and the purpose of it.
4	For many first year students at university, adapting to the new/ modern technology used may be daunting. Not all students are computer literate and this may affect or impact in their research and essay writing, negatively. There are structures in place to learn to use modern technology such as computers, internet and email, and it is highly advised that those struggling with technology take full advantage of those courses.
5	One of the biggest challenges of writing is that in university, most pieces of writing requires research where as in school not much research was required or none at all. Research can be plaguing as it can be time consuming going out and finding sources to use. Researching is most probably the biggest reason why students do not like essays. With researching, comes referencing. Referencing is new to many first year students and can be very confusing. Referencing is time consuming as well and may be quite a challenge to most students, attempting to remember the format when there are a variety of styles.
6	The topics given to students at university are designed for students to actually think and go researching on the topic, where as in school they were straight forward and not much thinking would be required. University topics may be quite complex in the manner it is asked, therefore it is of vital importance that students read on their own. Reading helps you understand slightly more complex questions as it broadens one's mind and encourages the reader to think.
7	The term, writer's block, may be a common one as people of any age that write may encounter. Writer's block, can definitely affect anyone and therefore it is important to start your essays as soon as possible, thus not placing extra pressure on yourself by leaving your essay for the last minute.
8	One of the largest problems in the academic world has been that of fighting plagiarism. Plagiarism is a massive and broad topic, but in essence it is when one copies someone else's work or a part of their work, and takes full credit for it without acknowledging the source used. Plagiarism may be very confusing in defining what qualifies as plagiarism or not, evidence of this confusion is seen in the census for students discovered by Street and Lea (1998) "They were unclear about what actually constituted plagiarism and yet at the same time were concerned about how to acknowledge the authority of academic texts." Plagiarism is an illegal and punishable offence.
9	Writing essays at university level is difficult and can cause problems and unwanted stress. It is important that if you are finding writing challenging, then you need to get help as soon as possible.

Experiential meaning of student text 2

	The challenges faced by university students
Semantic chains	Writing at university/student writing/a problem experienced by students/research/university topics/referencing/plagiarism
Participants	Literacy rates **or** levels in South Africa/Formal writing has been a challenge to most high school learners/Writing at university is particularly challenging/The majority of South Africans' did not have/A problem experienced by students at university

Processes	**Mental** (tends to haunt them, /to actually think and go researching/ not much thinking/attempting to remember / read on their own **Verbal** (it is highly advised that) **Existential** (There are structures in place /There are various issues students have) **Relational** (formal writing has been a challenge/the majority of South Africans did not have a quality education/student writing at university has had a setback/writing at university is particularly challenging)
Circumstances	come university, past into consideration**(Time)** in South Africa, on the African continent/ at university/ /whereas in school **(location)**

This student also attempted the structure of argumentative writing, providing a more generalized background that focused on South African literacy rates and then named the points to be developed, which identified various issues such as the essay requirements and doing research for topics. As in Text 2, there was a clear semantic chain in terms of abstract nominal groups such as "literacy rates…formal writing…research…referencing" that identified some issues that contributed to student writing challenges. Again, this and circumstances of location (”Literacy rates or levels in South Africa…writing at school…writing at university…”) and time ("…we need to take our past into consideration…it tends to haunt them come university…") enabled a clear identification of the subject field. In addition, the writer situated experiences in the field through mental ("thinking, researching, and reading on their own"), existential and relational processes that identified and compared the issues that make writing challenging in the new field. This writer included citations (paragraphs 2 and 8) but without any verbal processes, which could be an indicator of confusion regarding projection of voice and sources. Nonetheless, processes, a generalized background and abstract nominal groups resulting in a formal tone enabled the presentation of authorial stance, even though it was hampered by the inadequate integration of supporting evidence into the text. Consequently, in relation to genre, this text managed to situate the experiential meaning but was also challenged in moving from personal stance towards discoursal stance.

Text 3: Student essay

Academic writing can be challenging but is manageable
1 Why do bright students sometimes fail their first year at university? Many students believe that if they excel in high school and get straight A's in matric, when they get to university it will be a breeze and they will excel and also get straight A's. These "bright" students soon realize that the transition to university is an overwhelming experience and one they sometimes cannot handle. The following essay will focus on the challenges at university. For the first year student it may be an overwhelming experience,, when they are tasked with writing an academic essay. Challenges at university are influenced by many factors such as: transition, plagiarism, an overflow of resources, our school system and language situation. These factors will be discussed in this essay. Drawing on the work of Lillis, Street and Lea, Souix Mckenna and Jenny Clarence, this essay will argue that although academic writing can be challenging it is manageable.
2 Students come from a protected environment at high school, unto one of freedom of choices at university. At university the first year student is alone: with nobody to spoon-feed them. Nobody will tell them when to study or when to use their time effectively. In contrast at high school students were all "looked" after and actually spoon-feed which results in negatively on studies at university. Students come to the realization that they now have to fend for themselves, and cannot depend on other people or expect other people to help them. This then impacts on students' academic performance at university.

	Academic writing can be challenging but is manageable
3	According to Street and Lea, "They are unclear about what actually constituted plagiarism and yet at the same time were concerned about how to acknowledge the authority of academic tests." We can agree with Street and Lea, as plagiarism is difficult at university. It was not implemented at high school, so students end up coming to university with the same mentality: where copying and pasting everything in our essays, is acceptable, everything was fine, and there were no penalties against us. Plagiarism rules needs to be implemented at high schools already. This will be making it easier when going to university as well as coping with writing at university. Writing at university may be challenging, because of the irritating word which often arises "plagiarism". Plagiarism is an offence and students are encouraged to never plagiarise at university, but not to plagiarise is difficult because often writers have put it already in the simplest wording, which makes it hard for the students to try and format in into their own.
4	Another reason why writing at university is difficult is because there is an overflow of resources. There are so many places where newcomers to the academic community can get information, in order to help with assignments. How do students know that the information that they uses in their assignments is correct? So the vast range of information sources like journal articles, internet articles, books, etc that students need to use in assignments often leaves students feeling very overwhelmed and unable to decide which resources to use in assignments.
5	According to Sioux Mckemmer, he wants to know who is to blame " I acknowledge that we need not shoulder all the blame. Our school system sends us students we can justifiably call unprepared." The standard of English, be it written or verbally amongst freshman students, is extremely awful. P:21 Undoubtedly, university is not the same as school. After years of writing in first person at high school , students now need to adjust and be able to write all essays in third person, writing from a generalized point of view and not personalized, this is a huge adjustment.
6	According to Lillis, " Writing is a key assessment tool, with students passing or failing courses according to the ways in which they respond to, and engage in academic writing tasks." Students cannot write the way they chose, one is now expected to write academically. Street and Lea quotes and states " The thing I'm finding most difficult in my first term here is moving from subject to subject and knowing how to you're meant to write in each one" One may agree with this statement , as each subject varies in content. Similarly lectures expect students to write differently and that further contributes to making academic writing difficult. Students say they struggle to use to the difficult writing strategies they are now introduced to all at once. That is why students often finds writing at university difficult.
7	When students come to university, they are now taught in another language and not in their own. They also have to write examinations in another language whilst other students get to write in their own home language. Universities have tutorials set up for students , and in these tutorials students can improve their language proficiency and broaden their knowledge within that tutorial.P:17 As Jenny Clarence states, "Students entering university for the first time do indeed have a language problem but they are challenged, not by one language but by several languages, each related to different disciple."
8	With all the assignments, tutorial exercise, class tests, practicals and examinations which are coming up: can students be expected to manage it effectively? The academic environment at university is basically about good time management. Students need to prioritize their work and give up their free time for study time. Students need to know that they should not leave their assignments for the last minute. Also, if they procrastinate, their marks will surely reflect this. Therefore in order to survive at university students need to be self-discipline, responsible in what they do and able to plan their time wisely, and that will equal success in their studies.
9	In this essay we have pointed out what factors make academic writing at university difficult and how it could be manageable. in this regard Yos (2004,pg.50) states: "Change can be frightening , but only by changing can you experience growth. Only by challenging yourself to do what seems impossible can you ever know how much you can achieve." In conclusion now students can turn these negative challenges into more manageable ones. resulting in them being successful at university.

Experiential meaning of student text 3

	Academic writing can be challenging but is manageable
Semantic chains	Excelling at high school/transition overwhelming/First year student/ challenges at university/ protected environment at high school/ nobody at university/plagiarism at high school
Participants	bright students sometimes fail/ first year student it/ overwhelming experience/ university/Students/high school/ the first year student/ high school students
Processes	**Mental** (believe that if they/ soon realize that the transition/how do students know/often leaves students feeling/unable to decide) **Verbal** (we can agree with/one may agree with this statement/quotes and states/will argue) **Material** (fail/excel/come to the realization/ copying and pasting/ expect students/were all looked after **Existential** (There is an overflow of resources/There are so many places where newcomers) **Relational** (it will be a breeze/the transition to university is an overwhelming experience/at university the first year student is alone/at high school students r/plagiarism is difficult
Circumstances	Before entering the university/once they have settled/ now / the short time/ at this early stage **(Time)** Towards their journey ahead/From their secondary schooling career/into university life/ at university/at school/new environment **(location)**

Text 3 posed a question, "Why do bright students sometimes fail…" thus foregrounding bright students. Furthermore, the writer provided an explicit thesis stating that writing at university can be overwhelming but manageable. Here, too, is a clear semantic chain that attempts to situate generalized nominal groups - thus the subject field was clear, as in previous texts. Furthermore, circumstances of location and time were used to foreground bright students' challenges: "…the academic environment at university is basically about… students need to prioritize… students need to know … therefore, in order to survive at university…".The experiential content was realized through a range of processes such as verbal, especially visible when projecting sources into the text ("…Yos states…nobody will tell them…we can agree with Street and Lea…"), as well as mental processes that situate writing at university as impacting on the mental wellbeing of first year students. Additionally, relational processes identified prior circumstances of being at school and contrasted them with circumstances of being at university. In addition, even though the writer made attempts to move from a purely authorial identity to an appropriate discoursal writer identity – signalled by the use of markers of attribution and verbal processes such as '*states*' − these features could be better integrated. As a result, this text managed to situate the subject field appropriately but needed assistance with abstract nominal groups and register – for example, with integrating citations of authority to substantiate his/her claims.

Text 4: Student essay

*Writing at univerity is a challenge but one that it manageable*
1	According to the website: The Free Dictionary by Farlex writing is defined as "Meaningful letters or characters that constitute readable matter" and a challenge is often seen as a mere obstacle waiting to be overcome. Hence I see writing at university as a Challenge but one that is manageable. Difficulties with this include; unfamiliarity with academic conventions and having to use other sources to support my arguments including finding, analysing and referencing these. Supporting the argument of this task being manageable I refer to the many resources provided to us by the university such as the writing centre and tutorial groups, all aimed at assisting the first years. Sources used to enrich my essay include various articles such as Student writing in Higher Education by Street and Lea. This assignment is of key importance as writing is a primary tool used in assessment and the relaying of information between the university, lecturer and student.
2	A major factor contributing to the difficulty of writing at university is that students are often unaware of the expectations of all the lecturers and in many circumstances not realising that these expectations differ from lecturer to lecturer. This idea is reinforced by Street and Lea (1998) in saying "contrasting expectations and interpretations of academic staff and students regarding undergraduate students' written assignments" coming from a school environment where there was only one way of doing things this may prove to be a problem. Students are now faced with "discipline specific guidelines" as presented by van Heerden (2012). After 5 to 7 years of being under a teacher's guidance one becomes familiar with their styles and expectations, therefore the multiple lecturers and tutors assessing your work makes writing a daunting task.

	Writing at university is a challenge but one that it manageable
3	This shift from being a learner to a student has it's own challenges many of which are unaffiliated with academics, according to Krause (2001) "integration operates on several levels", even so the University has in many ways attempted to assist first year students with this transition. The provision of mentor and tutors to assist and enable students to perform at their optimal, this idea is supported by Krause (2001) in stating that to form a connection and understanding of university life (academic) physical communication and interaction between the university and student are essential. Having and using these resources lighten the burden of unexpected, they readily assess your progress on you request and assist you in bettering it and following academic conventions.
4	Using sources other than your own ideas will be a challenge as this forms part academic conventions. Ballard and Clanchy (1988); Flower (1990); Gee (1990); Lea and Street (1998) (as cited in Ratangee 2007) all emphasize "students need to become familiar specialist concepts, theories, methods, rules and writing conventions", the use of these is imperative, Ratangee (2007) enforces it's importance once more. The first challenge here is finding the necessary and relevant data for use. Although attending various library training sessions putting this into practise is yet another challenge. Once successfully outsourcing information a certain skill is required in analysing multiple pages of information that is unfamiliar. After many hours of research the hard work beings in incorporating the students ideas with those of the various articles and journals used and most importantly establishing them from one another as to not commit plagiarism, a serious offence punishable by expulsion.
5	The American Psychological Association (APA) referencing style as preferred by the university is to many first time students unchartered territory. Learning how to use and understand this is a primary concern. Avoiding plagiarism is of grave importance as often students plagiarise without realising this, it a punishable offence and requires great detail and practise to avoid. Having several lectures dedicated to this, lectures in point van Heerden (2012) lectures one to fourteen, have proven to be extremely helpful as the lecturer fully explained what is required and how to successfully put it into practise. This points out both an obstacle as well as a means of overcoming it to reinstate that writing at university is challenging but manageable.
6	Being English home language speakers these students have advantage over those whom are not. Braine (1996) argues that "first-year writing courses are often a challenge to ESL students", ESL being English Second Language students. Requiring a certain level of language and vocabulary in university writing this would be a challenge to those whom are "ESL students" whereas communicating in English on an everyday basis would benefit the home language student. Although a so-called higher level of English is required along with discipline specific vocabulary the successful completion of writing tasks are manageable at the university level.
7	At any stage, be it school, university or work an ever present concern is procrastination. Some have this down as a mastered art and others as an enemy that they cannot defeat, at many levels this is manageable but I am of the opinion that this can only be a downfall for first time university students as the load of work is so large. Leaving things to the last minute can cause many a sleepless night and unnecessary grey hairs as work like essays such as this one requires planning and the use of several references both of which are time consuming tasks. Procrastinating may compromise the quality of work produced and as such in no way benefits the student, but when faced with the numerous appealing distractions of modern society this is an on-going problem that will be a challenge to overcome.
8	Faced with many unfamiliar challenges in writing it still remains that the physical act and concept of writing is familiar to all students and in bringing writing from a schooling level to university level all that is required are several adaptations. Therefore writing is challenging but manageable as we learn to adjust our circumstances as such so does our writing.

Experiential meaning of student text 4

	I see writing at university as a challenge but one that it manageable
Semantic chains	challenges at university/unaware of expectations of lecturers/referencing/plagiarism/academic conventions/shift from being a learner to a student
Participants	Using sources other than your own/ writing at university as/this assignment is of key importance/a certain skill is required/coming from a school environment where there was only one way
Processes	**Mental** (unaware/learning how to use/ to form a connection and understanding of university/not realising/in analysing) **Verbal** (request/explained/communicating) **Material** (assist/assess/perform) **Relational processes** (A major factor contributing to the difficulty of writing is/The shift from being a learner at school to a student has)
Circumstances	After 5-7 years/once they have settled/after many hours of research, at any stage, be it school or **(Time)** At university/coming from a school environment/understanding of university life/ attending various library training sessions **(location)**

Text 4 begins with a definition in paragraph 1, an attempt to use academic conventions. Here there is a clear semantic chain in terms of generalized nominal groups, thus (as in the previous texts) the identification of the subject field was clear. The shift from school to university was realized through a range of processes but mostly relational processes that identify transitional challenges ("A major factor contributing to the difficulty of writing is that…The shift from being a learner at school to a student at university has…") as well as mental processes that situated the importance of conscious thought during the transition phases at university. Interestingly, the use of processes to interject sources into the texts was haphazard but effective; a range of material processes were utilized, such as those evidenced in paragraphs 2, 3 and 4: for example "this idea is reinforced by…"(2), and "…is supported by Krause" (3) and some verbal processes in paragraphs 5 and 6 ("lecturer explained…Braine argue…"). Consequently, in relation to genre, this text managed to situate the experiential meaning through nominal groups that created a semantic chain and generalized participants, as well as source projection that created a formal tone; and the use of processes to project discoursal stance was the most successful so far.

Text 5: Student essay

	An overwhelming experience vs. a challenging but manageable component
1	As a 1st year student at the University of Western Cape, I have been lucky to be blessed with very few small-scale assignments and hardly any homework, but as the 1st quarter of the year has reached an end I have suddenly been shocked with some pretty huge tests and a few titanic assignments that require adequate writing skill and nothing less – therefore we argue why writing at university is:
2	I find writing at university to be quite challenging but manageable if done properly and in the given time period but to be quite frank I have rarely enjoyed writing, not because of perhaps being lazy or easily distracted but more because of the fact that my creativity of expression lies within verbal explanation or imagery. Other times I try to be too creative in my writing skills and completely forget the question that I am supposed to be answering and lose track of the topic.
3	In high school most learners were used to the 'spoon feeding' factor and everything was basically handed to us on a 'silver platter', our teachers held our hands along the way and 'babied' us when we needed help with our work – after secondary school we were all thrust into a jungle-survival situation, where university is all about surviving on your own where we must eat or be eaten!
4	Writing at university is not that easy as we as students are expected to have a higher level of intelligence as to when we were in high school, even though we are taught how to write, reference, reason and argue in university; sometimes we as students still do not manage to reach the levels and grades that we hope for. Without arguing, we are expected to adapt to our surroundings and our learning environments – we cannot remain in our egg shells and be scared to use 'big words' as explained: "Learning in higher education involves adapting to new ways of knowing: new ways of understanding, interpreting and organising knowledge". (Gibbs, 1994). For many other students, writing may be a complete enjoyment and something that students look forward to. Perhaps they have weaknesses in other areas of their tuition, such as public speaking or even reading.
5	So basically at a varsity level, we have those with a writing strength and those that see writing as a personal weakness, in other words we can simply state that we are all born with different gifts and those that can write without struggle are simply just driven to do so because no other practise is appropriate to them. When I came to write my first assignment, I cried, I just didn't know what I was doing. At the beginning, the most difficult thing was understanding the academic words. Then putting my own words into academic language was hard. And it was difficult to believe I was entitled to my own opinion or to disagree with all these academics who'd done years of research. Elliston, D. (2011)

	An overwhelming experience vs. a challenging but manageable component
6	The true fact of the matter is that the better we write, the easier it becomes to impress the people reading our work, and writing in a sense becomes an art but to make things simpler we ask ourselves sometimes: Why do we write? Is it to improve our vocabulary? Is it there to waste our time because our educators don't have enough work for us to do? Alas, we will never know the answers to this until the day we finally become pedagogists.
7	Now that we have cleared the confusion of why we need to write essays, let us ask ourselves why does the majority of us struggle to write adequately? I am sure not one of us can say that we have thought up a topic in our imaginations to write about and suddenly gone forth with that single idea, perfected the essay and aced that mark. We all seem to search for our unseen reader when we create our story but for most we never really seem to turn that vision into reality.
8	Explained by Bonnie D. Singer "Why is writing so hard?" - It demands the integration of diverse cognitive, memory, linguistic, motor, and affective systems, each of which makes its own unique contribution to the writing process and the text that gets written. Writers must juggle all of these systems simultaneously. Naturally, if jugglers focus on how they are throwing and catching only one or two of five balls, they are likely to drop the others. The key to keeping all the balls in the air is to understand and master the many foundation skills required for juggling so that they can be integrated fluidly. The same principle holds for writing.
9	In order for us to reach our 'dream mark' our next essay we need to prepare, evaluate the questions properly, read what is needed from us as the writer and brainstorm. Hopefully at the end of that process, we would have surpassed our previous marks for the essays we have handed in. We are the future generation and the future book writers, journalists, teachers, publishers. How are we expected to teach if we struggle to learn? The world is still too young to lose the art of essay writing.
10	Stated by (Ashby, 2005) Style takes its final shape from an attitude of mind, not from principles of composition. Focus on clarity. Make sure you've said what you think you've said. And remember who your readers are; seek to express your results and ideas in ways they will most easily grasp

Experiential meaning of student text 5

	An overwhelming experience vs. a challenging but manageable component
Semantic chains	1st year student/University of the Western Cape/titanic assignments/require adequate academic writing/my creativity of expression/handed to us on a silver platter/all thrust into jungle-survival situation, at varsity level/to reach our dream mark our next essay we need to prepare
Participants	As a first year student, I have been lucky to be blessed/I have suddenly been shocked with some pretty huge tests/ a few titanic assignments/other times I try to be too creative in my writing/In high school most learners were used to spoon-feeding/writing at university is not that easy
Processes	**Mental** (read what is needed/brainstorm/if we struggle to learn/suddenly been shocked/or easily distracted/lies within…imagery/forget the question/higher level of intelligence/reason and argue at university/I find writing at university/thought up a topic in our imagination) **Verbal** (ask/to be quite frank/my creativity of expression/I am supposed to be answering/ without arguing/such as public speaking/we can simply state/let's ask ourselves) **Materia**l (lazy/write/prepare/thrusted/juggle/reach/when we create our stories/teachers held our hands/we must eat or be eaten/we are expected to adapt/we cannot remain in our egg shells) **Relational** (As a 1st year student/in high school most learners were used to/after secondary school we were/so basically at a varsity level)
Circumstances	1st quarter of the year/as a 1st year student/after secondary school/we are the future generation, **(Time)** At the University of the Western Cape/writing at university/in high school/where university is all about survival/as to when we were in high school **(location)** With some pretty huge tests and titanic assignments/everything was basically handed to us on a silver platter/our teachers held our hands along the way/we were all thrust into a jungle-survival situation **(Cause)**

Unlike the previous four writers, who all made attempts to follow the argument or discussion genre, text 5 appears more as a personal recount. It starts with an orientation that foregrounds writing at university as a survival skill. The writer mostly drew on mental, material and verbal processes to describe first year student writing challenges. This

signalled a personal recount based on experiential content reflected, firstly, as physical actions occurring and existing within the school/university setting; then as verbal processes in the form of dialogues with the audience; and finally as mental processes framing writing at university as shifts in cognitive processes. Interestingly, this writer also demonstrated an awareness of discoursal stance, realized through some verbal processes that substantiated his/her personal recount, perhaps indicative of entanglement between argument and recount genres. Furthermore, circumstances of location, time and cause were representations of experiences in the new field: "as a first year student … 1st quarter of the year … at the University of the Western Cape … where university is all about survival … teachers held our hands…" Therefore, there is a clear semantic chain in terms of nominal groups; thus identification of the subject field remained clear, and the use of processes made intersubjective stance explicit. As a result, in relation to genre, this text managed to situate the basic experiential meaning, but needed assistance with moving towards abstract generalizations and the more effective realization of discoursal stance.

Discussion of Field

All five texts displayed similar semantic links that focused on being a first year student. Thus, these texts displayed a similar pattern for constructing the field, that is, the circumstances of location and time clearly foregrounded that the topic was about writing at university. This meant that the subject-field was appropriate and recognizable; for instance, similar lexical items across the essays (such as 'referencing', 'plagiarism' and 'research') were commonly described as challenging for first year students; and schools' practices were consistently represented as contributing towards writing issues that these first year students face. Therefore, all five texts managed to situate nominal groups appropriately, included a range of processes, and to a large extent foregrounded a stance that situated the field in comparative terms (school/university). Yet, in terms of genre and realizing the field, these five texts varied: firstly, texts 1 to 4 mostly foregrounded abstract nominal groups (more technical and abstract language was visible in texts 1 and 2); secondly, only texts 2, 3, 4 and 5 included external sources; and finally, all these essays positioned the field in relation to audience differently. As a result, the experiential meta-function revealed that these students were generally challenged by realizing source projection appropriately through mental and verbal processes. A further weakness in some texts was insufficient levels of technicality and abstraction in the register and thus even though some texts were relatively formal, they were still closer to a conversational register

than to academic discourse. Finally, the experiential content demonstrated varied approaches in dealing with audience (in this case, first year students of 2012): texts 1, 2 and 4 set up unequal relationships through register that obscured the personal and were more in line with academic discourse, while text 3 started with a question and text 5 reflected an orientation towards a more equal relationship. As a result, all these texts clearly indicate an entanglement of the practices at school and university.

Interpersonal meaning

Interpersonal meaning deals with the relationship that the writer constructs with the audience. I drew on appraisal theory (Martin & Rose, 2003) to shed light on the resources that these students used to negotiate their positions and construct stances on the issue of writing at university. Similarly, I drew on interpersonal meaning dealing with *engagement*, *attitude* and *graduation*. *Engagement* refers to the range of resources that writers draw on to adjust or negotiate the arguability of their statements; *attitude* highlights writers' positive or negative feelings, judgement of behaviours and appreciation of things; and *graduation* sheds light on degrees of focus (soften/sharpen) and force (raise/lower) (Martin & White, 2005). Accordingly, my aim is to gain insights into these students' linguistic resources in order to explain writers' stance and relationship with the audience.

Table 24 presents a breakdown of the criteria used to evaluate School A student texts in terms of interpersonal meaning.

Table 24: Interpersonal meaning criteria

Interpersonal metafunction	Key elements of stance
Engagement	Projection/modality/concession
Attitude	Affect/ judgement/appreciation Modality
Graduation	Force/focus

Interpersonal meaning of student text 1

Interpersonal metafunction	Key elements
Engagement	**Projection**-media/research **Modality**- will be expected of them/the reality of this will only become/standard of work will be a drastic one/reality of this will only/we may be able to understand/can be/is probably one Concession-but/however

Interpersonal metafunction	Key elements
Attitude	**Affect**- my biggest challenge /essay writing is probably one of the most unexpected obstacles/fear of not meeting the standards / writing an essay so challenging/ huge adjustment/extremely daunting and demotivating **Judgement**- preparation for university was therefore not the primary objective/primary focus of the educators was completing the syllabus on time/the sheer volume of essays/to start from scratch with a new way of thinking **Appreciation**-coming from a model C school/at school I was one of the top students
Graduation Acknowledge/ engage with/ align with respect to positions/	**Focus** **Sharpen-**mixed feelings/huge adjustment/most important journey/extremely daunting and demotivating/ thinking outside the box/to start from scratch with a new way of thinking/my ability to instantly recognise/ blatantly obvious/ undoubtedly your schooling journey **Force** Raise-sheer volume of essays/successfully articulate/ultimate goal/a more realistic goal/constantly reminded/

Firstly, this text is mostly monoglossic; the only instances of other voices are references to the media and research and thus there was limited engagement with multiple voices; indicative of the value given to writer stance. Secondly, this valued stance is also visible in the use of modality; the modal 'will' (paragraphs 1 &2) consistently closes the space for negotiation regarding stance on entry and experiences at university, projecting an all-knowing stance. Thirdly, the concealing of the writer's identity through generalized nominal groups creates a sense of formality and a neutral, objective persona of a writer in possession of information. Additionally, this writer's attitudinal lexis, "…this new approach, though appealing…coping mechanisms to this huge adjustment will of course vary…" is not supported with the inclusion of academic sources also indicative of his/her value stance. Interestingly, the use of concession in 'but' (paragraphs 4, 5 and 6) and 'however' (paragraph 7) adjusts this value stance from formal towards one that opens up a space for audience engagement. Even though the writer states that writing is "challenging but manageable", the lexical choices indicate a negative stance and affect: "…extremely daunting and demotivating…huge adjustment challenging…the fear…obstacles… grappling...". Moreover, evaluative expressions such as "…a major challenge…one of the most unexpected obstacles…sheer volume of essays…do not fully understand the expectations…" amplify that the transition to university practices, and specifically writing, affects the mental well-being of students. In relation to genre requirements, this writer was aware that the audience would be 2012 first year students and projected a stance of information giver but neglected some key features such as engagement of other more experienced voices through projection of sources and opening up dialogic space for his stance to be negotiated.

Interpersonal meaning of student text 2

Interpersonal metafunction	Key elements of stance
Engagement	**Projection**-Lillis, 2007/Street and Lea, 1998 **Modality**- can become/can vary/can set/may be daunting/may affect/can be plaguing/ can be time consuming/ may be quite complex **Concession**-none
Attitude	**Affect**- tends to haunt them/a stressor/battle adjusting/ daunting/ plaguing/referencing confusing/university topics complex/unwanted stress **Judgement**- literacy rates in South Africa/ plagiarism is illegal and punishable **Appreciation**- reading/structures in place to learn/take full advantage of courses
Graduation Acknowledge/ engage with/align with respect to positions/	**Focus** **Sharpen**-quality education/battle adjusting to style/ highly advised/research can be plaguing/university topics may be quite complex/it is of vital importance/fighting plagiarism **Soften-** **Force** **Raise**-a challenge to most high school learners/majority of South Africans/plagiarism is illegal and punishable offense

Unlike the previous text, this one shows evidence of being heteroglossic because the writer projected other voices such as "Lillis, 2007" and "Street and Lea, 1998" and "for many first years students". However, impersonal projection in the form of generalized nominal groups and the inclusion of academic sources without mental or verbal processes creates distance between the writer and audience, an indicator of writer stance. Interestingly, modality is used tentatively when referring to university space and practices (paragraphs 1, 4 &5) indicative that statements are negotiated as possibility rather than concrete facts. This writer thus shifted between opening up a space for audience negotiation and an all-knowing stance. Yet, the absence of statements of concession and the prevalence of statements of high obligation ("…it is highly advised that those struggling…it is of vital importance that students read…to start your essays as soon as possible…you need to get help as soon as possible…') point more towards a writer projecting a privileged stance. Generalizations on student writing challenges and the exclusion of an explicit thesis allowed this writer to obscure his writer identity but negative affect towards university practices such as referencing and plagiarism as well as negative judgment about the South African education system reveal a negative stance in relation to writing at university. In relation to genre requirements, this text writer was also aware that the audience would be 2012 first year students and projected a stance of privilege and information giver but did not entirely succeed in using modality and information presented to create stance because the insertion of sources interfered with the negotiation of stance.

Interpersonal meaning of student text 3

Interpersonal metafunction	Key elements of stance
Engagement	**Projection**-Lillis/Street and Lea/Mckenna/Clarence/students believe, say/nobody/one may agree/we can agree **Modality**- it may be overwheleming/ will be discussed/will argue/will tell them/can get information/can improve their **Concession**-in contrast
Attitude	**Affect**- transition to university overwhelming/first year student is alone/to fend for themselves/the irritating word plagiarism/students feeling overwhelmed/huge adjustment/ **Judgement**- it was not implemented at high school/ plagiarism rules needs to be implemented at high school already/lecturers expect students to write differently/actually spoon feed…results negatively on studies/after years of writing in first person/were looked after/nobody will tell them when to study **Appreciation**- protected environment at school/universities have tutorials
Graduation Acknowledge/engage with/align with respect to positions/	**Focus** **Sharpen-**an overwhelming experience/protected environment at school/ feeling very overwhelmed/unable to decide/huge adjustment/undoubtedly university is not the same **Force** Raise-student is alone/vast range of information/academic environment

Firstly, this writer addressed an audience of "bright students" suggested by the framing of the initial question ("Why do bright students sometimes fail…?") and thus projected a shared writer-audience relationship, with an engaged writer persona providing spaces for the audience to contest or respond to the questions. The writer further implied a shared bond with the audience by projecting negative attitude related to individual experiences in the university space ("...the first year student is alone…nobody to spoon-feed…now have to fend for themselves…") and also negative judgement towards university practices ("...irritating word which often arises, plagiarism…plagiarism is an offense…vast range of information…often leaves students feeling overwhelmed…"). This implied relationship was further reinforced by the use of personal pronouns ("…thing I'm finding most difficult…my first term here…knowing how you're meant to…this essay we have…") and interrogatives ("…why do bright students sometimes fail…many students believe…how do students…can students be expected…"). On the other hand, the interrogatives also indicated unequal positioning, because the writer was projected as having the answers to the questions. The writer's stance of expertise is also visible through the projection of other sources ("…Street and Lea… Jenny Clarence,") and the projection of attitudes such as " …university is basically about…the first year student is alone…nobody will tell them when to study…plagiarism is an offense…not to plagiarise is difficult…". Finally, in relation to modality, the writer took on a position of certainty: "…get to university it will be a breeze…nobody will tell them…why writing at university is difficult…university is not the same as school…". These expressions indicate a

stance of authority and an attempt to create social distance with the audience, also suggesting a passive audience with less power to disagree. This text thus reflects movement between a persona of equal status with the audience and a stance of expertise and privilege in that relation. Interestingly, although this writer moved between interacting with the audience and distancing herself, the use of modals of high obligation convey advice rather than demand and thus reinforce a sense of personal relationship ("…students need to prioritise…should not leave their assignments…need to be self-discipline…responsible and plan time wisely…"). Also, although this writer provided a thesis that writing at university is challenging but manageable, the lexical choices and evaluative language project a predominantly negative stance ("…fail…overwhelming experience…sometimes cannot handle…alone…nobody… plagiarism is difficult…no penalties against us…irritating word…plagiarism is an offense…huge adjustment…") with only one paragraph that projects individual choice and personal motivation as the solution to make writing manageable at university. In relation to genre requirements, then, this text writer was also aware that the audience would be 2012 first year students and in this regard projected an overall stance of privileged information giver, but neglected some key features, namely, expressions of concession and also the appropriate insertion of sources, omissions which interfered with discoursal stance.

Interpersonal meaning of student text 4

Interpersonal metafunction	Key elements of stance
Engagement	**Projection**-Lillis, 2007/Street and Lea, 1998/Van Heerden/Flower/Gee/ Braine **Modality**- your own ideas will be a challenge/this can only be a downfall/can cause many a sleepless night/may compromise **Concession**-but (thesis statement
Attitude	**Affect**- students are often unaware of the expectations/makes writing a daunting task/ putting this into practice is yet another challenge/not to commit plagiarism/first time students unchartered territory, cause many a sleepless night/plagiarism is an offense **Judgement**- expectations differ from lecturer to lecturer/ they readily assess your progress on request/ lecturer fully explained/ procrastination **Appreciation**- lectures helpful/ these resources lighten the burden/ mentors and tutors
Graduation Acknowledge/engage with/align with respect to positions/	**Focus** **Sharpen-** a major factor contributing/ often unaware of the expectations/ makes writing a daunting task/ grave importance/ uncharted territory/ feelings**/** huge adjustment/ most important journey/ extremely daunting and demotivating/ thinking outside the box /to start from scratch with a new way of thinking/ my ability to instantly recognise/ blatantly obvious/ **Force** **Raise**- a serious offence punishable by expulsion/ lecturer fully explained/ to be extremely helpful/ it is a punishable offense/ discipline specific vocabulary/ sleepless nights and unnecessary grey hairs

Firstly, this writer, like the others, made attempts to distance herself from the audience through the use of declarative statements, impersonal pronouns and the projection of

academic sources. In doing this, the writer situated herself as an expert: someone in possession of information on the topic. The projection of a knowledgeable stance is also evident in expressions such as "I am of the opinion…leaving things to the last minute can cause many sleepless… this is an ongoing problem that will be a challenge to overcome", all suggesting a passive audience with less power to disagree. Also, although this writer provided a thesis that writing at university was both challenging and manageable, the lexical choices and evaluative language (as in text 3) predominantly project a negative stance ("…daunting…plagiarism, offence, punishable, expulsion…"), with minimal examples of resources that make writing manageable: "…mentors and tutors to assist…resources lighten the burden…lecturer fully explained…" Finally, in relation to modality the writer took on a position of certainty indicative of her authority and reflected in continued attempts to create stance: "…I see writing…I refer to many resources…the difficulty of writing is that students are unaware…this idea is reinforced by…students are now faced with…your own ideas will be a challenge…the first challenge here is…". In relation to genre requirements, this text writer was also aware that the audience would be 2012 first year students, and projected a stance of privilege and information giver; however, a better understanding of modality and the appropriate insertion of sources would have enabled her to negotiate this stance more successfully.

Interpersonal meaning of student text 5

Interpersonal metafunction	Key elements of stance	
Engagement	**Projection-** I/we/Gibbs/Singer/Ashby/Elliston **Modality-** we must eat or be eaten/do not manage/cannot remain/we will never know/can say/would have **Concession-** but/even though	
Attitude	**Affect-** titanic assignments/ rarely enjoyed writing/ lose track of the topic/ our teachers held our hands after secondary school / small-scale assignments/ hardly any homework/ everything basically handed to us on a silver platter **Judgement-** adequate writing skill and nothing less/a jungle-survival situation/where university is all about surviving on your own/we must eat or be eaten **Appreciation-** high school teachers/	
Graduation Acknowledge/engage with/align with respect to positions	**Focus** **Sharpen-** mixed spoon feeding factor / handed to us on a silver platter/ babied us/ held our hands/ jungle-survival situation / eat or be eaten **Force** Raise- small-scale assignments/pretty huge tests/a few titanic assignments/higher level of intelligence/sheer volume of essays/successfully articulate/ultimate goal/a more realistic goal/constantly reminded/	

Firstly, the writer revealed himself to the audience through the personal pronoun 'I', an informal register ("…varsity level…to be quite frank…we must eat or be eaten…") and

descriptives such as "…titanic assignments…pretty huge tests…jungle-survival…'. Additionally, the inclusion of pronouns such as "us…we…our" create solidarity and a shared social relationship. This shared relationship is further consolidated with declaratives that create the impression of an interaction: "…the true fact of the matter is…now that we have cleared up the confusion…I have suddenly been shocked…but to be quite frank…". However, the projection of a knowledgeable stance is evident through attitude: "…adequate writing skill and nothing less…where university is all about surviving on your own… I find writing at university quite challenging but manageable…" Also, although this writer provided a thesis that writing at university is both challenging and manageable, the lexical choices and evaluative language projected a predominantly negative stance ("…suddenly been shocked…we were all thrust into a jungle-survival…surviving on your own…is not that easy…still do not manage to reach the levels…alas we will never know the answers…"). In relation to genre requirements, the text demonstrated that the audience would be 2012 first year students, this being evident in the conversation-like register and the projection of equal relationship with the audience indicated in the nominal groups. However, like the other writers, this student neglected some key features of argument such as concession and the appropriate insertion of sources, which interfered with a discoursal stance.
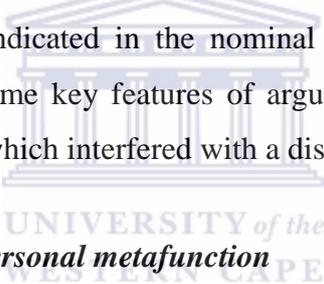
Discussion of the interpersonal metafunction

The writers from school A all drew on interpersonal resources reflecting engagement, attitude and graduation. Firstly, they drew on expressions of modality such as *will, must, is and are* (texts 1, 2 and 4) when giving information about university practices, as well as citations (texts 2 and 4) and *can be* and *may be* when making recommendations (texts 2 and 4), all of which positioned these writers as givers of information with limited possibilities for the audience to contest such information. Secondly, there were four heteroglossic student texts (2, 3, 4 and 5) that included projection of sources, and four texts drew on concession (texts 1, 3, 4 and 5) but only three texts (1, 3 and 5) used concession to highlight contrasting points. Thirdly, even though all these writers situated writing as challenging and manageable, they mostly showed negative affect and judgement towards writing at university. For instance negative evaluations of writing included amplified adjectives describing feelings ("…haunt them …challenge… writing is overwhelming…") and positive and negative judgement of school practices ("school is to blame… follow the rubric to ensure top marks" versus

"protected environment… silver platter…") and university ("nobody will tell you to study… survival jungle" versus "writing centres…lecturer fully explained").

However, even though student texts included these elements, some key issues in relation to interpersonal metafunction were lacking: students were unclear about the appropriate manner in which to project sources into texts and the purposes for doing so. Also, the expression of concession varied in texts: for example, text 1 used concession to engage with the audience and text 5 used it to signal elaboration on his/her recount. Finally, shifts in audience engagement were common. For example, statements of high obligation disguised in the form of advice projected highly neutral and privileged stances in some texts (text 1, 2. 3 and 4) yet most texts also moved between a positioning of privilege and that of opening up a space for an addressed audience through modality, affect and judgement. All in all, although these students drew on a range of interpersonal resources such as the use of modality and projection, their texts also reflected the fact that as new-comers into the field they do not clearly and entirely understand social purpose, audience and the appropriate use of modality in academic texts.
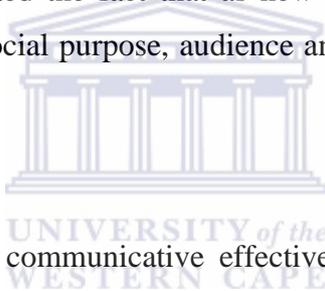
Textual meaning

Textual meaning deals with the communicative effectiveness of texts and is thus largely concerned with whether or not a text achieves its purpose. Therefore, this resource refers to the structuring of the experiential content in order to facilitate meaning or ensure that the text is easy to follow – that is, cohesive and logical. Accordingly, my aim here was to highlight how the newcomer to university makes sense of thematic positioning and theme progression in texts. I therefore focused on theme/rheme analysis to discuss the logicality and cohesiveness of the five student texts, drawing on the criteria below.

Textual meaning in student text 1

	Theme	Rheme
1	Before entering the university community	students are filled with preconceived ideas of what to expect and what will be expected of them.
	These perceptions	are drawn from various sources, such as the media portrayal of university life or college life; interactions with graduates or current students, parents and of course teachers.
	They	all have an impact on the student's perception of what their academic journey will entail.
2	The common denominator	that all first year students share is that of having mixed feelings towards their journey ahead.
	Their feelings	of anxiety, excitement and fear of the unknown are commonly shared amongst them.

	Theme	Rheme
	First year students	are aware that this leap from their secondary schooling career, with regards to work load and the standard of work will be a drastic one.
	However, the reality	of this will only become apparent once they have settled into university life.
	Coping mechanisms	to this huge adjustment will of course vary with each individual.
	Their life experiences,	social backgrounds and the education they received are just some of the factors which may have influenced how prepared they are for the journey that they are about to begin.
	By exploring the background we	of different individuals may be able to understand what the actual challenges are, the reason for them and the coping mechanism that each individual will use, to eventually adjust and settle down into the most important journey of their lives.
3	Essay writing	is probably one of the most unexpected obstacles that many first year students would ever expect to experience.
	No matter which course the ability	or career path that you choose to follow, too express one's self in writing is critical to your success.
	Whether it be a geological study, the ability	the solving of an equation or the interpretation of a Shakespeare play, to successfully articulate your understanding is crucial.
4	There	are a number of factors why students find the task of writing an essay so challenging.
	The sheer volume of essays	that you are expected to produce can be extremely daunting and demotivating.
	For a student and (who) is now this	who was previously expected to produce one essay per term required to produce three or more essays per week, can prove to be a major challenge not only too your writing ability but also to your time management skills.
	Another challenge	is the fear of not meeting the standards required.
	You and (you)	are now in a new environment do not fully understand the expectations and the standards required.
	Essays as there and there	at a university level are structured differently to that of a high school is more freedom to approach topics critically is a larger focus on referencing and the sourcing of information.
	In my experience	it is the combination of these elements which has made the essay writing process an overwhelming one.
5	Undoubtedly your schooling journey	is one of the factors that have played a major role in your preparation for university.
	Coming from a model C school,	we were constantly aware of the fact that the primary focus of the educators was completing the syllabus on time and the discipline of the learners.
	These were the factors	that would determine your success in completing high school, which was schools ultimate goal.
	Furthering your education but, with the high dropout rates	at a tertiary institution was of course encouraged, in high schools completing grade twelve was a more realistic goal.
	Preparation for university	was therefore not the primary objective.
6	When writing essays	at high school, thinking outside the box, challenging the status quo and creativity was only rewarded to a certain extent.
	One	needed to ensure that they followed the requirements of the rubric accurately, to make top marks a certainty.
	This (that) I am	is my biggest challenge grappling with in my first semester as a university student.
	At university	I am constantly reminded to think outside the box and to analyse the questions critically.
	This	is almost like asking me to forget everything that I have learnt in my journey through high school and to start from scratch with a new way thinking.

	Theme	Rheme
	This new approach,	though appealing, is challenging as I am having difficulty balancing my creative thinking with expressing myself academically.
	At school and the main reason for this success	I was one of the top students in English and particularly with essay writing was my ability to instantly recognize what was required of me.
	This made, off the cuff writing, but it has become blatantly obvious, even in the short time I that this	the norm for me have been at university, will not be viable option for success at university.
7	At this early stage in my journey,	it is difficult to confidently answer the question of whether essay writing will be a challenge that I will overcome.
	Even though I the solution ,	have been able to identify this as a challenge is not yet blatantly obvious to me.
	I am and [that] these challenges I am	however comforted by the fact that I am not alone experiencing are shared by my peers.
	The one thing	I am however certain of is my drive and motivation to succeed and not let any obstacles prevent me from completing this journey.

Firstly, cohesion and thematic organization is achieved through repetition of lexical items, grammatical cohesion such as reference (you, my, we), and time and place adverbials as well as logical cohesion (however, another); but this is limited. Further than this, the text appropriately signals the theme of each paragraph, predominantly a zigzag theme/rheme pattern visible in the macro-theme that is carried through in the hyper-theme of each paragraph signalled via clause themes that are derived from previous rhemes. Also, the writer skilfully uses marked circumstantial themes, that enable logicality in the written mode: "before entering university …by exploring the background…no matter which course…in my experience…undoubtedly your schooling…coming from a model C school…".Therefore, the text is well-developed through the foregrounding of topical and marked themes that compare circumstances at school or university: "…your schooling journey, furthering your education… my biggest, this new approach, even though I, I am however, the one thing I am…". As a result, the student's writing showed evidence of logic and whole text coherence. However, it also reflected a need to develop a better grasp of interpersonal and textual themes, towards clarifying the structure of argument (for example, by the use of *first*/*second)* and stance.

Textual meaning in student text 2

	Theme	Rheme
1	Literacy rates	**or** levels in South Africa on the African content as a matter of fact are not strong when compared to most of the world.
	Writing at university and it	has been a challenge to most high school learners, tends to haunt them come university.
	Formal writing and it	is particularly challenging can become a major stressor in the lives of a student, if not dealt with students.
	There	are various issues students have with regards to writing, from meeting the required length of an essay to researching about the required topic of an essay.
	The purpose of this essay	is to establish what challenges are faced by university students in particular as far as writing essays are concerned.
2	When trying to assess why South Africa's literacy rate is so poor,	we need to take our past into consideration
	The majority of South Africans' and therefore a gap	did not have a quality education in the education system was created.
	Student writing	at university has had a set back with most of the under privileged struggling to adapt to essay writing, Lillis(2007) "...in relation to student writing in HE, the current 'crisis' can be linked to the widening of access to students from social groups previously excluded."
3	A problem experienced	by students at university is that they battle adjusting to the certain style required of them.
	Adjusting to the style	is a major problem, because of the vast amounts of styles that can be used.
	The style	can vary in the form of the actual lay out to the style of language being used for various topics.
	The style of the writing piece	can set the tone for what the essay is about and the purpose of it.
4	For many first year students at university, and this	adapting to the new/ modern technology used may be daunting may affect or impact in their research and essay writing, negatively.
	Not all students	are computer literate
	There and it	are structures in place to learn to use modern technology such as computers, internet and email, is highly advised that those struggling with technology take full advantage of those courses.
5	One of the biggest challenges of writing where as in school	is that in university, most pieces of writing requires research not much research was required or none at all.
	Research as it	can be plaguing can be time consuming going out and finding sources to use.
	Researching With researching	is most probably the biggest reason why students do not like essays. comes referencing.
	Referencing and (it)	is new to many first year students can be very confusing.
	Referencing and (it)	is time consuming as well, may be quite a challenge to most students, attempting to remember the format when there are a variety of styles.
	The topics where as in school	given to students at university are designed for students to actually think and go researching on the topic, they were straight forward and not much thinking would be required.
	University topics therefore it	may be quite complex in the manner it is asked, is of vital importance that students read on their own.
6	Reading and (it)	helps you understand slightly more complex questions as it broadens one's mind encourages the reader to think.

	Theme	Rheme
	The term, writer's block,	may be a common one as people of any age that write may encounter.
	Writer's block, and therefore it	can definitely affect anyone, is important to start your essays as soon as possible, thus not placing extra pressure on yourself by leaving your essay for the last minute.
7	One of the largest problems in the academic world	has been that of fighting plagiarism.
	Plagiarism but in essence it	is a massive and broad topic, is when one copies someone else's work or a part of their work, and takes full credit for it without acknowledging the source used.
	Plagiarism evidence of this confusion	may be very confusing in defining what qualifies as plagiarism or not, is seen in the census for students discovered by Street and Lea (1998) "They were unclear about what actually constituted plagiarism and yet at the same time were concerned about how to acknowledge the authority of academic texts."
	Plagiarism	is an illegal and punishable offence.
8	Writing essays and it	at university level is difficult, can cause problems and unwanted stress.
	It that if you then you	is important are finding writing challenging, need to get help as soon as possible.

Firstly, the writer's macro-theme, "Literacy rates in South Africa…are not strong" had a clear link with the hyper-theme of the second paragraph ("…when trying to assess why South Africa's literacy …"). The writer was apparently attempting to link the past and low literacy rates to students' experience at university, which created coherence; but this was not clearly carried through after the third paragraph. The theme of each paragraph is not entirely developed other than in paragraph three which follows a zigzag thematic pattern. The rest of the text follows a largely haphazard theme/rheme pattern. In addition, argument structure was visible in the use of logical markers such as 'therefore' and 'whereas' to sum up or contrast information. Even though logicality of argument was visible in terms of structure and macro-theme, whole text coherence was not entirely achieved. This is particularly visible at paragraph level where clausal shifts in theme interfere with cohesion. Therefore, even though lexical repetition, formal language, reference, circumstances of location and cause all contribute towards cohesion and thematic organization, coherence achieved through textual themes is limited.

Secondly, the writer predominantly draws on topical themes but none in theme position. More importantly, the use of other sources interferes with cohesion; this makes textual development haphazard, because the writer does not clearly signal linkage between citations and positioning on the issue. Thus, although this student's writing shows

evidence of logic and stance, he needs to develop his understanding of using theme/rheme and citations appropriately in order to create coherence.

Textual meaning in student text 3

	Theme	Rheme
1	Why do bright students	sometimes fail their first year at university?
	Many students	believe that if they excel in high school and get straight A's in matric, when they get to university it will be a breeze and they will excel and also get straight A's.
	These 'bright' students and one [that] they	soon realize that the transition to university is an overwhelming experience sometimes cannot handle.
	The following essay	<u>will focus</u> on the challenges at university.
	For first year students	it may be an overwhelming experience, when they are tasked with writing an academic essay.
	Challenges at university	<u>are influenced</u> by many factors such as: transition, plagiarism, an overflow of resources, our school system and language situation
	These factors Drawing on the work of Lillis, Street and Lea, Sioux Mckenna and Jenny Clarence, this essay	<u>will be discussed</u> in this essay <u>will discuss</u> that although academic writing can be challenging it is manageable
2	Students	come from a protected environment at high school, unto one of freedom of choices at university.
	At university	the first year student is alone: with nobody to spoon feed them.
	Nobody	will tell them when to study or when to use their time effectively.
	In contrast at high school	students <u>were</u> all 'looked' after and actually spoon-fed which results negatively on studies at university.
	Students and [that they] cannot	come to the realisation that they now have to fend for themselves, depend on other people or expect other people to help them.
	This	then impacts on students' academic performance at university
3	According to Street and Lea	'They were unclear about what actually constituted plagiarism...how to acknowledge the authority of academic texts.'
	We	can agree with Street and Lea, as plagiarism is difficult at university.
	It so students	was not implemented at high school, end up coming to university with the same mentality: where copying and pasting everything in our essays, is acceptable, everything was fine and there were no penalties against us.
	Plagiarism	rules needs to be implemented at high school already.
	This	will be making it easier when going to university as well as coping with writing at university.
	Writing at university	maybe challenging because of the irritating word that often arises, 'plagiarism'.
	Plagiarism	is an offense and students are encouraged to never plagiarised at university,
	but not to plagiarise	is difficult because often writers have put it already in the simplest wording, which makes it hard for students to try and format it into their own.
4	Another reason	why writing at university is difficult is because there is an overflow of resources
	There	are so many places where newcomers to the academic community can get information, in order to help with assignments.
	How do students	know that the information that they use in their assignments is correct?

	Theme	Rheme
	So the vast range of information sources	like journal articles, internet, articles, books, etc that students need to use in assignments, often leaves students feeling very overwhelmed and unable to decide which resources to use in assignments.
5	According to Sioux Mckemmer,	he wants to know who is to blame, 'I acknowledge that we need to not shoulder all the blame. Our school system sends us students...unprepared'. The standard of English...is extremely awful (Pg:21).
	Undoubtedly, university	is not the same as school.
	After years of writing	in first person at high school, students now need to adjust and be able to write all essays in third person, writing from a generalised point of view and not personalised.
	This	is a huge adjustment
	According to Lillis,	'Writing is the key assessment tool, with students passing or failing courses according to the ways in which they respond to, and engage in academic writing tasks.'
	Students one	cannot write the way they chose, is now expected to write academically.
	Street and Lea	quotes and states, '...most difficult...is moving from one subject to subject...how you meant to write in each in each one'
	One	may agree with this statement, as each subject varies in content.
	Similarly, lecturers	expect students to write differently and that further contributes to making academic writing difficult.
	Students	say they struggle to use the difficult writing strategies they are now introduced to all at once.
	That is why students	often find writing at university difficult
6	When students come to university,	they are now taught in another language and not in their own.
	They whilst other students	also have to write examinations in another language get to write their own home language.
	Universities and in these tutorials	have tutorials set up for students, students can improve their language proficiency and broaden their knowledge within that tutorial.
		Pg:17. As Jenny Clarence states, 'Students entering university for the first time...are challenged, not by one language but by several different languages...'
7	With all the assignments, Can students	tutorial exercises, class tests, practicals and examinations which <u>are coming up</u>: be expected to manage it effectively?
	The academic environment	at university is basically about good time management.
	Students	need to prioritize their work and give up their free time for study time.
	Students	need to know that they should not leave their assignments for the last minute.
	Also, if they procrastinate,	their marks will surely reflect this.
	Therefore, in order to survive at university and (they must) be able and that	students need to be self-discipline, responsible in what they do to plan their time wisely, will equal success in their studies
8	In this essay	we have pointed that out what factors make academic writing at university difficult and how it could be manageable.
	In this regard Yost (2004, pg.50) states:	'Change can be frightening but only by changing...can you ever know how much you can achieve'
	In conclusion, now students	<u>can</u> turn these negative challenges into more manageable ones resulting in them being successful at university

Firstly, the writer predominantly used topical themes that foregrounded circumstances at school and university and this contributed towards text coherence. Secondly, the writer included marked themes to foreground the condition and cause: "…for the first year student it may be an overwhelming experience…after years of writing in first person at "high school…'. Thirdly, interpersonal themes ("…Why do bright students…Can students…How do students…") and textual themes ("…And there…Whilst the other students…Therefore, in order…") pointed towards the impact of the new location, discourses and practices, thus contributing to coherence and logicality. However, the writer's macro-theme ("Why do bright students sometimes fail…?") does not relate logically to the hyper-themes in each following paragraph ("…students come from protected environments…According to Street and Lea…Another reason why writing at university is difficult…According to Sioux Mckenna, he wants to know…When students come to university…With all the assignments, tutorial exercises…class tests...In this essay we have pointed out…"). This logical disjuncture between the macro-theme and the hyper-themes occurs because only the second paragraph and the "…protected environment…" implies a reference to the 'bright' students. Thereafter, hyper-themes for instance focus on a quote that did not link with the previous paragraph; also, "Another reason" does not refer back to a previous reason and this is followed by another quote that also fails to link with previous points mentioned. Therefore, at whole text level there are mismatches between the sequencing and progression of new and old information. So, although the text appears logical and makes sense at topical level, the patterns of cohesion do not always connect because old and new information were introduced interchangeably within theme and rheme clauses. As a result, this student's writing showed evidence of logical thinking but needed further development in clause structuring, thematic progression and introducing new and old information in academic texts.

Textual meaning in student text 4

	Theme	Rheme
1	According to the website:	The Free Dictionary by Farlex writing is defined as "Meaningful letters or characters that constitute readable matter" and a challenge is often seen as a mere obstacle waiting to be overcome.
	Hence I	see writing at university as a Challenge but one that is manageable
	Difficulties with this include;	unfamiliarity with academic conventions and having to use other sources to support my arguments including finding, analysing and referencing these.
	Supporting the argument	of this task being manageable I refer to the many resources provided to us by the university such as the writing centre and tutorial groups, all aimed at assisting the first years.

Theme	Rheme
Sources	used to enrich my essay include various articles such as Student writing in Higher Education by Street and Lea.
This assignment	is of key importance as writing is a primary tool used in assessment and the relaying of information between the university, lecturer and student.

	Theme	Rheme
2	A major factor	contributing to the difficulty of writing at university is that students are often unaware of the expectations of all the lecturers and in many circumstances not realising that these expectations differ from lecturer to lecturer.
	This idea	is reinforced by Street and Lea (1998)in saying "contrasting expectations and interpretations of academic staff and students regarding undergraduate students' written assignments", coming from a school environment where there was only one way of doing things this may prove to be a problem.
	Students	are now faced with "discipline specific guidelines" as presented by van Heerden (2011).
	After 5 to 7 years one therefore the multiple lecturers	of being under a teacher's guidance becomes familiar with their styles and expectations, and tutors assessing your work makes writing a daunting task.
3	This shift	from being a learner to a student, has it's own challenges many of which are unaffiliated with academics.
	According to Krause (2001) Even so, the University	"integration even operates on several levels". has in many ways attempted to assist first year students with this transition.
	The provision of mentor this idea	and tutors to assist and enable students to perform at their optimal, is supported by Krause (2001) in stating that to form a connection and understanding of university life (academic) physical communication and interaction between the university and student are essential.
	Having and using these resources they and they	lighten the burden of the unexpected, readily assess your progress on you request assist you in bettering it and following academic conventions.
4	Using sources	other than your own ideas will be a challenge as this forms part academic conventions.
	Ballard and Clanchy (1988); Flower (1990); Gee (1990); Lea and Street (1998)	(as cited in Ratangee 2007) all emphasize "students,need to become familiar specialist concepts, theories, methods, rules and writing conventions", the use of these is imperative Ratangee (2007) enforces it's importance once more.
	The first challenge	here is finding the necessary and relevant data for use.
	Although attending various library training sessions	putting this into practise is yet another challenge
	Once successfully outsourcing information	a certain skill is required in analysing multiple pages of information that is unfamiliar.
	After many hours of research and most importantly	the hard work begins in incorporating the students ideas with those of the various articles and journals used establishing them from one another as to not commit plagiarism, a serious offence punishable by expulsion
5	The American Psychological Association (APA) referencing style	as preferred by the university is to many first time students unchartered territory.
	Learning	how to use and understand this is a primary concern.
	Avoiding plagiarism it and [it]	is of grave importance as often students plagiarise without realising this, a punishable offence requires great detail and practise to avoid.
	Having several lectures dedicated to this,	lectures in point van Heerden (2011) lectures one to fourteen have proven to be extremely helpful as the lecturer fully explained what is required and how to successfully put it into practise.
	This	points out both an obstacle as well as a means of overcoming it to reinstate that writing at university is challenging but manageable

	Theme	Rheme
6	Being English home language speakers	these students have advantage over those whom are not.
	Braine (1996)	argues that "first-year writing courses are often a challenge to ESL students" ESL being English Second Language students.
	Requiring a certain level of language this whereas communicating in English	and vocabulary in university writing would be a challenge to those whom are "ESL students" on an everyday basis would benefit the home language student.
	Although a so-called higher level of English	is required along with discipline specific vocabulary, the successful completion of writing tasks are manageable at the university level.
7	At any stage,	be it school, university or work an ever present concern is procrastination
	Some and others at many levels this but I am	have this down as a mastered art as an enemy that they cannot defeat, is manageable of the opinion that this can only be a downfall for first time university students as the load of work is so large.
	Leaving things to the last minute	can cause many a sleepless night and unnecessary grey hairs as work like essays such as this one requires planning and the use of several references both of which are time consuming tasks.
	Procrastinating but when this	may compromise the quality of work produced and as such in no way benefits the student, faced with the numerous appealing distractions of modern society is an on-going problem that will be a challenge to overcome.
8	Faced with many unfamiliar challenges in writing	it still remains that the physical act and concept of writing is familiar to all students and in bringing writing from a schooling level to university level all that is required are several adaptations.
	Therefore writing	is challenging but manageable as we learn to adjust our circumstances as such so does our writing.

Firstly, the writer's macro-theme, "Writing at university as challenge but one that is manageable", linked with the hyper-themes of each paragraph ("…major factor contributing to the difficulty of writing…shift from being a learner to a student…using sources…"). Thus the writer developed the writing challenges in hyper-themes but did not represent issues that make writing manageable in hyper-theme position. As a result, whole text coherence was not entirely achieved. This is particularly visible at paragraph level where clausal shifts in theme interfere with cohesion. For example, the theme of each paragraph is not logically developed because theme clauses do not follow a thematic pattern. Thus the text predominantly follows a disorganized theme/rheme pattern. Therefore, even though cohesion and thematic organization was achieved through repetition of wording, reference, circumstances of location and cause, coherence through thematic development of theme progression is limited. Secondly, this writer also drew on topical themes that are both marked and unmarked. Marked themes situate conditions and causes that make writing challenging at university; however, none are abstract nominalizations, but merely descriptions of processes and circumstances. More

importantly, the use of other sources interferes with coherence, making textual development haphazard because the writer did not clearly signal linkage between citations and positioning on the issue. As a result, even though this writer included markers of logicality he/she needed further development in understanding marked and unmarked themes, patterns of thematic development and the importance of nominalized abstract themes in academic texts. Consequently, the limited use of abstractions, disjointed theme/rheme development and the use of citations impact on coherence.

Textual meaning in student text 5

	Theme	Rheme
1	As a 1st year student at the University of Western Cape, I but as the 1st quarter of the year I therefore we	have been lucky to be blessed with very few small-scale assignments and hardly any homework, has reached an end have suddenly been shocked with some pretty huge tests and a few titanic assignments that require adequate writing skill and nothing less argue why writing at university is: An over whelming experience vs. A challenging but manageable component.
2	I but to be quite frank I but more because of the fact that my	find writing at university to be quite challenging but manageable if done properly and in the given time period have rarely enjoyed writing, not because of perhaps being lazy or easily distracted creativity of expression lies within verbal explanation or imagery.
	Other times I try and [I] and [I]	to be too creative in my writing skills completely forget the question that I am supposed to be answering lose track of the topic.
3	In high school our teachers After secondary school where university where we	most learners were used to the 'spoon feeding' factor and everything was basically handed to us on a 'silver platter' held our hands along the way and 'babied' us when we needed help with our work. we were all thrust into a jungle-survival situation, is all about surviving on your own must eat or be eaten!
4	Writing at university even though we sometimes we	is not that easy as we as students are expected to have a higher level of intelligence as to when we were in high school, are taught how to write, reference, reason and argue in university as students still do not manage to reach the levels and grades that we hope for.
	Without arguing, we We	are expected to adapt to our surroundings and our learning environments. cannot remain in our egg shells and be scared to use 'big words' as explained: "Learning in higher education involves adapting to new ways of knowing: new ways of understanding, interpreting and organising knowledge". (Gibbs, 1994).
	For many other students,	writing may be a complete enjoyment and something that students look forward to.
	Perhaps they	have weaknesses in other areas of their tuition, such as public speaking or even reading.

	Theme	Rheme
5	So basically at a varsity level, we	have those with a writing strength and those that see writing as a personal weakness,
	in other words we	can simply state that we are all born with different gifts and those that can write without struggle are simply just driven to do so because no other practise is appropriate to them: When I came to write my first assignment, I cried I just didn't know what I was doing. At the beginning, the most difficult thing was understanding the academic words. Then putting my own words into academic language was hard. And it was difficult to believe I was entitled to my own opinion or to disagree with all these academics who'd done years of research. Elliston, D. (2011)
6	The true fact of the matter	is that the better we write the easier it becomes to impress the people reading our work and writing in a sense becomes an art
	but to make things simpler we	ask ourselves sometimes: Why do we write? Is it to improve our vocabulary? Is it there to waste our time because our educators don't have enough work for us to do?
	Alas, we	will never know the answers to this until the day we finally become pedagogists
7	Now that we	have cleared the confusion of why we need to write essays,
	let us	ask ourselves why does the majority of us struggle to write adequately?
	I am	sure not one of us can say that we have thought up a topic in our imaginations to write about and suddenly gone forth with that single idea, perfected the essay and aced that mark
	We when we but for most we	all seem to search for our unseen reader create our story never really seem to turn that vision into reality
8	Explained by Bonnie D. Singer	"Why is writing so hard?" - It demands the integration of diverse cognitive, memory, linguistic, motor, and affective systems, each of which makes its own unique contribution to the writing process and the text that gets written. Writers must juggle all of these systems simultaneously. Naturally, if jugglers focus on how they are throwing and catching only one or two of five balls, they are likely to drop the others. The key to keeping all the balls in the air is to understand and master the many foundation skills required for juggling so that they can be integrated fluidly.
	The same principle	holds for writing.
9	In order for us we	to reach our 'dream mark' in our next essay need to prepare, evaluate the questions properly, read what is needed from us as the writer and brainstorm.
	Hopefully at the end of that process, we	would have surpassed our previous marks for the essays we have handed in.
	We	are the future generation and the future book writers, journalists, teachers, publishers.
	How are we	expected to teach if we struggle to learn?
	The world	is still too young to lose the art of essay writing.
10	Stated by (Ashby, 2005)	Style takes its final shape from an attitude of mind, not from principles of composition. Focus on clarity. Make sure you've said what you think you've said. And remember who your readers are; seek to express your results and ideas in ways they will most easily grasp

Firstly, this writer's macro-theme, "Writing at university is a survival skill", clearly indicated a personal response to the issue which was also evident in the hyper-themes of each paragraph: "…I, we…basically at varsity level…I am not sure any of us…"

Secondly, the writer predominantly drew on topical themes that are both marked and unmarked but most of these contain personal pronouns. Additionally, none of these themes are nominalized; in fact they are dialogic, containing simple nominal groups that refer to the self or simple circumstantial issues that situate conditions and causes in relation to writing being challenging at university. Interestingly, the writer includes interpersonal themes through a few rhetorical questions and a subjective attitudinal lexis, such as: "…Hopefully at the end of that process, we… The true fact of the matter is…Alas, we…" These are indicative of narrative texts or dialogues that appear better at constructing stance. More importantly, the use of other sources interferes with coherence; because the writer did not clearly signal linkage between citations and positioning on each issue, textual development appears to be haphazard. This is particularly visible at paragraph level where clausal shifts in theme interfere with cohesion; the theme of each paragraph is not logically developed and does not always follow a logical thematic pattern. As a result, this writer needed further knowledge about marked and unmarked themes, patterns of thematic development and the importance of nominalized abstract themes in academic texts. Overall, the limited use of abstractions, disjointed theme/rheme development and the use of citations impact on coherence, as with the previous texts.

Discussion of the textual metafunction

The texts revealed that students generally showed a good awareness of structure, macro-theme development and the inclusion of logical connectors to develop their stance. These student texts had several apparent strengths. Firstly, in relation to structure all five texts managed to create coherence by situating their point, including evidence and in most cases providing a conclusion that reminded readers of the initial stance taken (texts 1 and 3) or gave recommendations (texts 2 and 4). Second, the texts mostly managed to develop the macro-theme by linking it well with hyper-themes in each paragraph, which created logicality. Thirdly, all texts appropriately included logical markers of elaboration and concession (except text 2, which had no concession), contributing towards coherence of argument. However, the inappropriate register in text 5 and to some extent texts 3 and 4 impacted on coherence. Finally, even though cohesion and thematic organization was achieved, the use of concession was limited and academic citations mostly interfered with whole text cohesion because students could not clearly signal the linkage between citations and their stance.

4.4.2   Emerging patterns in student texts (school A)

Experiential meaning

In relation to experiential meaning, all five texts revealed a good sense of constructing field experiences. In all texts the language and vocabulary indicated a shared semantic field; vocabulary associated with the circumstances students face during the transition from school to higher education. Furthermore, there were clear connections in relation to lexical items, concepts and vocabulary identifying issues impacting on first year writing. Moreover, the circumstances of location, time and cause as well as projection of sources also showed evidence of sharing a similar field. However, four student texts (1, 3, 4 and 5) displayed limited instances of technical and abstract language associated with argument. Another pattern was their varied representation of processes; even though a range of processes were used (such as mental, verbal and relational), these did not entirely contribute towards construction of abstract generalizations. Inclusion of mental processes suggested that the shift to university impacted on students' mental wellbeing or that conscious thought is needed to make the transition more manageable; thus making clear the cognitive demands in relation to sense-making of location, time and cause. Although all of these texts included relational processes, four of them mostly neglected to filter information through abstraction and technicality.

Interpersonal meaning

In relation to interpersonal meaning, positioning in student texts was diverse: some writers attempted to portray themselves as formal, objective and impersonal givers of information, while others alternated between opening up dialogic spaces and being expert information givers. This highlights that these writers appeared unsure about positioning in relation to audience and social context. For instance, text 1 made clear attempts to sound formal while the use of personal pronouns and drawing on his/her own experience on the topic opened up a dialogic space; text 2 was highly formal, with the use of imperatives constructing an unequal relationship with the audience; and text 3 included interrogatives in the text, which implied an addressed audience. Finally, student texts demonstrated evidence of source projection but also showed that their writers were unclear about the manner and purpose of projecting sources into texts.

Textual meaning

Although student texts displayed varied control of textual meaning they all managed to create logicality and coherence through logical markers in theme positions and the use of concession that situated the comparative nature of the construction of field. Therefore, macro and hyper-themes were generally linked, and topical themes organized information flow; but the positioning and progression of clause themes that mostly lacked coherence. For instance, student texts displayed disparity in thematic progression: only one student controlled the zigzag theme/rheme development to some extent. In most cases thematic choices did not situate sub-arguments in theme position, impacting on thematic progression. Furthermore, packaging information as dense abstractions through nominalizations was limited, with limited textual themes; thus linking words and phrases were not employed as strategic moves towards development of thesis and overall position. Most importantly, limited marked themes were visible where academic citations were projected, and thus most student texts displayed an inappropriate use of sources, which had serious impact on the logical flow of information.

4.4.3. Student texts from school B

Students coming to university from school B had been exposed to a context of disadvantage in relation to the school culture, identity and history. That is, they had experienced a context where teaching and learning were often interrupted due to ill-discipline, bad behaviour and community-related issues that infiltrated the school. Furthermore, these learners had faced challenges such as overcrowded classes, lack of resources and low parental involvement in issues related to teaching and learning. Interestingly, like the school A student writers, these students from school B emphasized schools as being responsible for the issues they faced with academic writing. Even more striking was the similarity in lexical content referring to language, school-based writing practices, socio-economic backgrounds and university practices and thus all five texts referred to the difference in cognitive demands between writing at school and at university. Finally, all the student texts from this school explicitly revealed their autobiographical self: that is, their roots as coming from a bilingual school and being first additional language users; their social background as it impacted on writing; and their school's writing practices (see Act Two, Scene 2.1.3 on writing and identity; also Ivanic, 1998).

Similarly to the previous section dealing with school A student texts, my analysis and discussion of school B student texts draws on table 22 repeated below .

Table 22 (repeated here)**: Criteria for student texts: Argument**

Social purpose	Writing at university is challenging or manageable?
Generic structure	Background, thesis, arguments, logical series of points to reinforce thesis,
Experiential	Abstract nominal groups, technical and abstract vocabulary, generalized participants, relational processes that define/classify, highlight cause and effect or report when referring to school and university, mental and verbal processes to introduce sources and stance Nominalizations to construct abstractions and generalizations
Interpersonal	Engagement and voice realized through modality to construct necessity and possibility, intersubjective stance, dialogic contraction and expansion, appraisal of affect, judgement and appreciation
Textual	Presenting message as text in context: Written mode-logical coherence, cohesion through reference, markers of consequential relationships to draw conclusions, support stance

Below I present five student texts (verbatim) from school B. I first focus on genre and its key stages, thereafter I present the experiential, interpersonal and textual meanings visible in these student texts.

Table 25 presents a breakdown of the School B student texts in terms of structure and key stages.

Table 25: The genre and key stages, school B texts

Social purpose: To argue	Text 1	Text 2	Text 3	Text 4	Text 5
Background	Secondary schooling context	The ability to write as an essential component to survive at any educational level	1994 and changes in South Africa	First years trying to adapt; drawing on a quote	High school writing
Thesis	Writing at university is difficult/discuss why first years find it difficult	Writing at university is overwhelming/ Discuss	Objective of the essay is to identify the problem areas in academic writing and how a new student can manage	Writing is overwhelming/schools never prepared me	Writing essays becomes more difficult
Supporting points	Language, students not prepared for university writing, different requirements and expectations, research for assignments	Topics in general made writing a fun exercise, embarking on a writing journey, in most cases writing an essay would basically be writing a story, which was a relatively easy task, gaining access, academic language	Language proficiency, school literacy, English as 1st additional language, unstructured essays, time management	Language problem, school literacy, plagiarism, workload, research, identity, managing time	Integration, academic difficulty, new forms of assessment

Social purpose: To argue	Text 1	Text 2	Text 3	Text 4	Text 5
Reiteration and closing statements	Restate the supporting reasons	Thesis and change towards it can be managed	First year students should not be discouraged, practice	Writing is overwhelming, school never prepared me	University is challenging but manageable
Language	Conversational	Objective/formal	Conversational	Conversational	Conversational

In relation to generic structure, all five school B texts provided a context to the issue: "secondary schooling"; "the ability to write as an essential component"; " changes in South Africa post 1994"; "first years trying to adapt"; and "high school writing". These issues provided a background that linked with points blaming high school writing practices for challenges students experienced in relation to academic writing: "…did not familiarise students with formal writing…allowed you to write your assignments in informal language…never expected you to reference you're your work…our schooling background also plays a role..." Although all texts provided explicit titles indicating that writing at university is challenging, they all opted to *discuss* and identify the reasons for writing at university being overwhelming. Only two of the five writers from this school provided an explicit thesis regarding the topic but, interestingly, these two essays followed an interactive, conversational tone and showed more grammatical inconsistencies than the other texts. In addition, one of these students changed her thesis in the conclusion section to "challenging but manageable". Therefore, the students were largely unable to take a position; if they did, it was framed not as argument but as discussion on the issue of writing at university.

Most texts concluded with issues that they highlighted in their introduction and thus in this sense students addressed the essay question, but overall their positions on the issue were not explicitly clear and meaning was obscured due to inappropriate language and inconsistencies with sentence construction, subject-verb agreement, spelling, punctuation and colloquial language ("it is to overwhelming"; "coping work from your friends"; "University is a lot more tens full"; "the same way as I would have wrote it in school"; "most of the problems starts for students"; "non-traditional students speaks"; "not ayoba"). In addition, the use of register also varied across these scripts: only text 2 attempted to use formal language while the other four texts displayed a more conversational tone.

I now present an analysis of the experiential metafunctions of each text in order to explore realization of field in relation to participants, processes and audience. Paragraphs have been numbered for ease of reference.

Text 1: Student essay

	Writing is difficult at Universities
1	Writing at university is difficult for first year students, because a lot of them are coming from secondary schools where most of their writing were extended to narrative writing and where most of their assignments contained plagiarism. They are also not use to critical thinking and to using their own ideas which must also be referenced and supported. The moment students starts writing at universities their informal way of writing must now change to formal writing. Essays which were limited to a number of words and did not contained research at schools are now limited to a number of pages and must contain research at universities. Language is a major issue students must deal with at universities. Most students study in a second language on a first language level which makes it difficult for students to excel and express themselves in their assignments. Therefore, students find it difficult to write at universities. In this essay I will discuss the reasons why first year students find it difficult to write at universities. The reasons are language, not prepared for writing at university, difficulty writing, research and referencing.
2	'*Lecturers talked in a language and with words in sentences construction I'd never heard before, and how can you struggle to understand the concepts when you can't even understand the words they use to describe them? I couldn't take notes properly because putting things into my own words was impossible…It would have taken a week! The only way was to try to take it down word for word and then when you get home you haven't got a bloody clue what it means*' (Biddlecombe et al 1989: 91). Language is not only a problem for those studying in a second, third or fourth language but for those who study in their first language as well. '*While academic language is no-ones mother tongue some students bring with them literacy practices which allow for easier acquisition of values, beliefs and attitudes and resultant language forms and processes*' (Mckenna 2009:24). Students face problems with different languages on universities according to the different disciplines. Meaning that every academic discipline has their own language, first year students had to adapt to. According to Vardi (2000:1) '*learning a new language with special requirements that they were unclear about, including what to put in the introduction, where the description goes and where the analysis goes*'. First years find it hard to familiarize themselves with the languages of the different disciplines and therefore find difficulty in writing for example assignments in that discipline. Writing for those who are not studying in their first language is more difficult because they must adapt to the medium of instruction and the different languages of academic disciplines. The problems students face with languages unable students to meet up with the lecturers expectations what to write in their assignments and essays.
3	Many students are not prepared to for writing at universities especially those who came directly from school to universities. Schools are actually to blame for this because they did not familiarize students with formal writing. In school they allowed you to write your assignments and essays in informal language, to plagiarise in your assignments and they never expected you to reference your work. Essays were extended to a number of words and narrative writing meaning you never had to do research for essays in schools. At universities essays are extended to a number of pages, must contain research and references. When you come to university as a first year student, they expect you to write as a university student writing them becomes more difficult because on university academic writing is totally different from what it was on school. For example at school you were allowed to use contractions, '*I'm, won't, don't*' etcetera in your writing whereas that is seen as wrong at universities. According to McKenna (2009: 12) '*the literacy practices students brings from their school or home environment will determine if they fail or pass*'. Taking it from my experience it is true what McKenna stated I as a first year student failed my first assignment on university because I wrote my assignment the same way as I would have wrote it in school. This means that I actually cracked the schools code and not the university code. Therefore, I failed my first assignment. None of the above-mentioned environments literacy practices cracks the same code as universities, '*Our school system sends us students we can justifiably call underprepared*' (McKenna 2009:12).

4	Another problem first years face is difficulty writing. The reason for this is because of the different requirements and expectations every academic discipline has. This becomes challenging for students and can cause a lot of confusion. They get confused because they have to adapt to more then one academic disciplines writing style. First years normally thinks that one academic disciplines writing styles counts for all the disciplines on universities. An example of the different writing styles every academic discipline has is clear in their different referencing conventions. *According to Vardi (2002:2), each discipline has their own views of the world which could be recognize in the writing of each discipline. The different disciplines have an impact on tasks given to students and an impact on the writing requirements (Vardi, 2002:2).* 'Several researchers (e.g. see Buckingham, 1994, Kaldor, Herriman and Rochecouste, 1998) have examined students writing from units representing a range of disciplines. These students demonstrate the significant differences in writing requirements which can occur between units in different disciplines including differences in the discourse patterns adopted and the linguistic features used. How easily can these examples of disciplinary practice within specific units of certain disciplines be generalized for students?' As Lea and Street (1998) points out, not all the players agree or interpret expectations in the same way, the codes and conventions of academics and even of the disciplines cannot be assumed to be a given. Certainly amongst lectures, there appears, even within a given discipline, to be wide variation in expectations (John 1997, lea, 1994, Lea and Street 1998). It would appear that literacy practices at university are not dearly agreed upon or even universal in their nature, rather they are contested, resulting in an unclear and confusing path for many students"* (Vardi 2000:2)
5	First years find it difficult to do research for assignments/tasks. Normally students are forced by lecturers or tutors to search for more references other than their lecture notes, course readers or textbooks. First years fail most of the time in searching for references as libraries does not normally have the sources first years want their lecturers or tutors. Another reason why first years fail to find references is because they are lazy to search at libraries for information. *"And for most students, especially those in the first year, the Internet has become their library of choice. To quote one first year student "In the dawn of the Internet age, my laziness has caused my library-going experience to be less enjoyable over the years"*(Watts, 2005:314).*Many first year students are not information literate which means they do not have the ability to recognize the needed information and how to locate, evaluate, and to use the needed information effectively* (Watts, 2005:340). This means that some first years find it difficult to find the right information to write in their assignments and essays. They then label the writing of essay as difficult. *"In all essay tasks, another major area which was affected by the reason for setting the task concerned the sources the lecturer expected the students to use" (Vardi, 2000:5). According to Lea and Street* (1998:157), *"They also dealt fully with referencing, bibliographies and footnotes, and supplied warnings about plagiarism."*
6	<u>**Conclusion**</u> I find that the reasons why first years find it difficult to write at universities are because they are not the type of language used at universities, schools did not prepare them for writing at universities, they are not use to the different writing styles every academic discipline has and they find I difficult to do research and to find references. There could possibly be many reasons why first year students find difficulty writing at universities, but the reasons I highlighted which were language, not prepared, difficulty writing, research and referencing are the main reasons according to me why students experience difficulty writing. It could also be the academics as Ralph Burden (2009:1), stated *"Many academics expect students to be independent learners and to cope with the demands of a university culture. This is difficult for many first year students who go directly from school to university.*" Students are just not to the way academics work and therefore they find it hard to crack the code of academic literacy at universities.

Experiential meaning of student text 1

Writing is difficult at Universities	
Semantic chains	Writing at university/research/first years/students/lecturers/tutors/academic discipline, assignments
Nominal groups **describing circumstances and process**	Students face problems/many students are not prepared/schools are actually to blame/when you come to university as a first year student/that means that I actually cracked schools code/they get confused because they/first years normally thinks that/first years find it difficult to
Processes	**Mental** (critical thinking/ understand/ study/ studying/ thinks/ get confused) **Verbal** (to express/discuss) **Relational** (writing at university are difficult/ they are also not used to critical thinking/ language is a major issue/ every academic discipline has their own language/ many students are not prepared for writing at universities/ schools are actually to blame/ essays were extended to a number of words and narrative writing)
Circumstances	Before entering the university/once they have settled/is now required to/the short time/at this early stage **(time)** Writing at universities/coming from secondary schools/in schools they allowed you to/at universities essays/when you come to university/at schools you were allowed to/ **(location)**

In relation to the field, text 1 focused on the reasons why first year students find academic writing challenging. This was achieved through the use of generalized participants such as "…students…universities…first year students…' and the use of mostly depersonalized reference (they, you) as well as through the projection of other voices such as "Mckenna (2009)…According to Vardi (2000:1)". The writer compared secondary school writing practices ("…a lot of them are coming from secondary schools…narrative writing…their assignments contained plagiarism…not used to critical thinking") and university practices ("…must now change to formal writing…did not contain research at schools…must now contain research at university…"). In addition, the use of nominal groups such as "…language…most students study in their second language…research…referencing" resulted in a comparative framing achieved mostly through relational processes: "…language is a major issue…schools are to blame…the reason for this is…essays were extended to a number of words and narrative writing… because they are not use to the type of language…" Consequently, the field foregrounds circumstances of location and time as contributing to the challenges faced by first year students, thus creating a clear semantic chain in terms of nominal groups, despite these being mostly descriptions of circumstances and processes rather than abstract nominalizations. Even though this writer managed to situate the field, he/she had limited semantic and vocabulary skills to achieve this effectively: for example 'difficult' appears 14 times in the text (difficult, very difficult, more difficult); paragraph structure is inconsistent; there is an over-reliance on sources; and grammatical inconsistencies interfere with meaning-making. As a result, in relation to genre, this writer managed to situate the basic experiential meaning but needed assistance with moving towards abstract generalizations and understanding processes in order to realize effective discoursal stance.

Text 2: Student essay

	Writing at University is overwhelming
1	Writing, or rather the ability to write has become an essential component of surviving academically at any level of education; be it primary, secondary or at tertiary level. "All writing is a venture into communication" (Chalker et al, 1991: 444), hence to be able to write well means any individual will be able to generally communicate and communication is vital in all spheres of life. When one looks at the fact that writing is the essence of academic success, it becomes clear that writing well at university level is very important.
2	When we were at school, specifically high school, the level at which we were expected to write and the topics in general made w[…] a fun exercise. One was almost excited about embarking on a writing journey, because in most cases writing an essay would basi[…] be writing a story, which was a relatively easy task. However, at university the expectations and requirements when writing carry[…] differences from that which writing at high school carried. The level of research and also thinking while writing at university ten[…] perplex one.

	Writing at University is overwhelming
3	I believe that it is not only first year students who experience this feeling, but really most students, even up to post-graduation levels of study. But truly, coming from the high school environment into academic discourse and being expected to oblige to the task of writing at university can be daunting for anyone, if not all first year university students. However, even when faced with this challenge, we must remain mindful of this reality and must learn to manage ourselves and also how we write accordingly. It is for this reason that analysing and discussing the difficulties of writing at university and also the managing of this challenge, is important and very relevant. This essay will discuss writing at university and also the elements that make writing at university an overwhelming task for first year students. The essay will also elaborate on a few strategies that can make this challenge manageable.
4	To be able to first of all, gain access to an institution of higher education such as a university, a student must show forms of impeccable general understanding of certain subjects and disciplines. This understanding is usually obtained during high school (secondary level of education). With this in mind it is obvious that writing plays a big role in the acquiring of this earlier mentioned general understanding because this understanding must adequately be expressed when writing. Therefore student writing is the core of learning at any university (Lillis, 2001) as it is the window through which a student's progress is monitored. Contrary to possessing this general understanding of different disciplines, some students gain access to university based on life-long learning (Conradie, 2009). These students must then acquire the knowledge of how to sufficiently write at university, having in a lot of cases, finished grade 12 many years prior to starting university. Even so, the ability to write adequately is the manner by which access to any university is granted, perhaps not a direct manner (considering the personal capacities of the specific student) but a vital component none-the-less.
5	Gaining access to university is but the first part of the process of actually being apart of a university. Learning academic language and how to academically engage with other scholars is essential in becoming apart of a university. The heart of any community is the language spoken in that community (du Plessis, 2011). First year students must acquire the knowledge of academic language and then be able to express themselves as well as what they have learnt by using academic language when and in the way they write at university. This fact adds to just how overwhelming writing at university can be for first year students because all the research and resources to complete an essay or assignment might be there, but a lack of vocabulary as well as the know how of academic language could make writing a nightmare. McKenna (2010) writes that in order for students to succeed in writing, they must learn the language of the university. This is true and especially first year students must make a point of learning the academic language, so that writing at university can be less overwhelming.
6	Along with acquiring adequate academic language, writing at university and the quality there of is also influenced by the students' manners by which he/she reads and speaks. Firstly, to read properly and with intent is the reading required at university level. At high school learners were told specifically what chapters and pieces to read from specific books or articles. This changes at university level as the broader one's readings are, the higher ones of knowledge and understanding will be (Chalker et al, 1991). Many first year students are reluctant in this regard, refusing to read. This is why many first year students are unable to write properly as their renouncing of reading negatively influences the quality of their writing. According to du Plessis (2011) a more 'hands on' approach should be taken to make first year students aware of the importance of reading, not only the fact that it influences writing but also that reading constructs structures in the mind that arms one with the ability to survive in everyday life.
7	Secondly, first year students must learn to alter the way they speak in perhaps all spheres of life, to avoid having informal manne speaking negatively influencing their academic performance and in turn the way they write. However, this alteration in both read and speaking brings about more stress on first year students, adding to how overwhelming writing at university is. Baring this in first year students gradually should adopt and then adapt to new ways of reading and writing in order for the quality of their writi be enhanced.
8	Acquiring an ability to read and speak better is not an impossible feat, however coming from a social background where academic discourse is literally just a film on television or a far off dream makes writing at university level even more overwhelming. Perhaps this should not be used as an excuse, but it still is a reality amongst many first year students. I, myself come from a social background where none of my immediate family has ever been to university, but my will to succeed drives me to take on and conquer every challenge that comes my way. We must not concentrate on where we come from, fair enough. However how does one ignore the fact that never before we heard of academic language or writing? McKenna (2010: 14) attempts to answer this: "We help students on the periphery to comprehend the strange customs and norms which they are to acquire"-the 'we' of cause being lecturers and general academic staff at universities. This is true as we cannot deny or look pass our social backgrounds, but we have people within the academic community who attempt to help us and lessen the level of how overwhelming writing and really surviving at university is. We should seek this help and apply what we are taught in our writing at university.
9	Besides our social backgrounds affecting the quality of our writing as first year students; our schooling background also plays a r in how we write at university. "The school system sends out learners who can justifiably be called 'underprepared'" (McKenna, 2010:14). This statement becomes truer by the year, as none of what we are suppose to do at university was taught to us at school mentioned earlier in the essay, we did write essays at school, but never at the level required at university; never by using academi discourse. One can point fingers everywhere, but the reality remains: once at university, our writing must reflect our environmen unfortunately an inadequate social and schooling background can negatively impact a student's writing at university, adding to h overwhelming writing is.

10	Understanding the concept of academic literacy and cracking the code thereof is important. More so, understanding the literacy of a specific discipline is vital for the writing at university (McKenna, 2010).In order for a student to write effectively, they must be able to contextualise what they are writing. This is to ensure that there is sense and meaning in that which is being written (Lillis, 2001). Furthermore, writing must be within the context of the given discipline. This may imply that writing cannot simply just be writing, because making sense of what one writes can add to how overwhelming writing is as constant analysis of what is going on the page must be observed. Developing strong levels of literacy is something that should happen from an early age and in a lot of contexts, does happen. However, there are differences in what is expected at university and to be able to survive with this different type of literacy such as academic literacy, a student should be fully prepared (Conradie, 2009). The believe that literacy is a neutral ability is not entirely adequate(McKenna, 2010) , because literacy will alter given the context and discipline hence it is important that students contextualise their writing according to first of all topic and then in accordance with the requirements of the discipline(Chalker et al, 1991). Practicing this on all writing occasions should decrease how overwhelming writing at university will be for the given student.
11	One cannot ignore all these relevant external factors which add to how overwhelming writing at university is. However, there are internal factors which too cause difficulty, such as lecturers at times not being clear enough or tutors that are underprepared as far the required content knowledge is concerned. One must remain mindful of the fact that as a university student one must be able to critically think for oneself, but that which is to be thought about must be made cleared to us by those in the 'positions'. Furthermore, this level of uncertainty about whatever given task or assignment, does lead to that which is written by the first year student to be rule out as wrong or incompetent. McKenna (2010) writes that for a student to write effectively, the tutor must deliver the work effectively or else a misunderstanding can prove disastrous as far as the writing of the student are concerned. As a first year student, being at university is tough enough let alone having to contend with unclear lectures and tutors. It is for this reason that writing becomes even more overwhelming at university and in most cases attempting to take on a lecturer or tutor will end badly for that student.
12	Developing an academic voice as well as identity is essential for any university student who plans to succeed at university. First year students find developing these things, a tough task as in most cases it can only be achieved through quality writing (Chalker et al, 1991). A clear academic identity is essential for each student so as to ensure that each student reaches the goals they have set out for themselves. Infusing such identity into their academic writing gives an examiner a view of the student he/she is working with. This is important for the development of the student into an academic in his/her own right. These are all positive aspects of developing an academic voice and identity and this is how it should be. However, the fact that writing at university is so overwhelming, tends to stand as a barrier in developing a good and strong academic voice and identity, resulting in not only first year students' inadequate writing, but also eventual failure because the voice behind the writing is not strong and developed enough, therefore the writing does not come off strong enough.
13	To actually write a sufficient essay or assignment at university, one must have adequate resources to add in the writing of the work (Conradie, 2009). These resources must be acknowledged and this is called referencing. At high school one could do an assignment and not acknowledge any author/s, but at university this would be considered plagiarism which is a serious offence. Acquiring the correct knowledge about referencing and its conventions is almost an entire university module on its own. Indeed referencing has proven to be a phenomenon to nearly all first year students because getting it right can be difficult. This phenomenon makes writing at university even more overwhelming but like every aspect of university it is a reality and must be practised.
14	Writing at university is truly an overwhelming experience and not succeeding at it makes succeeding at university almost impossible. However writing can be managed and it starts simply with the student as an individual.
15	This essay has endeavoured to discuss the factors and aspects that make the writing of essays and assignments at university an overwhelming task. The essay has also, in many instances attempted to elaborate on how this challenge could be managed. The importance of writing cannot be questioned, even more the importance of writing at first year level. Many aspects must be taken into consideration when evaluating and analysing the writing of first year students. These aspects include, how and on what level the student gained access to university, the background the student comes from, the efficiency of the student on the level of literacy and also how well the student adapts to university. Of cause academic discourses also plays a role in the writing of first year students, but acquiring knowledge about these discourses is not impossible; hence writing, even though difficult, can be managed and can be a successful experience.
16	It is at this level that we are able to judge our entire university journey and so observing quality writing is important. Practising academic discourse in our writing is essential (as mentioned above), as basing ones work on substantiated research is a good quality to have as a developing academic and is beneficial even after completing ones studies. Truly, in order for us to build a society which is well read and spoken, we must develop our writing especially while in first year. We are to concentrate less on how overwhelming it is and more on how this media of expression can benefit the world around us.

Experiential meaning of student text 2

Writing at university is overwhelming	
Semantic chains	Level of education/ surviving academically/ academic success/ school/ high school/ institution of higher education /write at university /gaining access to university /academic language
Nominal groups describing circumstances and process	When we were at schools/I believe that it is/coming from the high school environment/we must remain mindful/first year students must/at high school learners were not/many first year students are/this is why many first year students/first year students must learn
Processes	**Mental** (I believe that it is/ /understanding/learning academic language/to read/must learn to alter/we must not concentrate/that which is to be thought about) **Verbal** (will discuss/be expressed when writing/the language spoken/able to express themselves/learners were told to/the way they speak/manners of speaking negatively influencing/we cannot deny/all this talk) **Existential** (There are internal factors which too cause difficulty) **Relational** (when we were at school/coming from the high school environment/student writing is the core of learning at any university/this understanding is usually obtained during high school/coming from a social background/understanding the concept of academic literacy and cracking the code/a clear academic identity is essential for each student/)
Circumstances	When we were at school/during high school/from an early age/ **(Time)** Writing well at university/coming from the high school environment/gain access to an institution of higher education/learning at any university/the reading required at university level/at high school learners/this changes at university level **(location)**

This student attempted the structure of argumentative writing, providing a more generalized background focus on the importance of writing, and then ending paragraph 1 with the point "it becomes clear that writing well at university level is very important". However, instead of foregrounding the thesis as argument, the writer opted to *discuss* writing at university, the elements that make it overwhelming and strategies to deal with it (paragraph 3). The text thus resembled a discussion on writing at university and the writer highlighted factors contributing towards making writing overwhelming at university, such as "…social backgrounds, schooling background…lecturers at times not being clear enough…tutors that are underprepared…attempting to take on a lecturer or tutor will end badly…". The lexical items, language and vocabulary resulted in a semantic chain that clearly indicated the content of the text: "…first year students…students at university…academic world…fighting plagiarism…" Although this writer also used a range of processes, the mental and relational were more dominant. Through mental processes the writer highlighted conscious thought as important when writing at university. In addition, relational processes construct the circumstances in the field: "coming from the high school environment…learning at any university…the reading required at university level…tutors that are underprepared…". The writer included citations in 11 of the 16 paragraphs that contributed towards realizing the field, showing good control of source projection. Consequently, in relation to genre, this text managed to situate the experiential meaning well, but the nominal groups were at times descriptions of circumstances and processes rather than abstract nominalizations.

Text 3: Student essay

|	**Problem areas in academic writing and how a new student can manage**
1	Since 1994 there has been a significant change in South-African educational structures. Students who recently graduated from the schooling system have a different writing style then which are used in universities. The contrasting differences between those two writing styles will mostly confuse first year students at universities, which will lead them struggling to cope with academic writing. The objective of the essay is to identify problematic areas in academic writing and how a new student can manage to overcome these challenges.
2	According to Fouche(2007) most of the problems starts for students and their studies is based on their language proficiency and students do not become familiar with the knowledge of academic discipline Mckenna(2004). Their proficiency with a language such as English depends on their ability to learn from school, television, reading and the community. For instance the differences between the school's method of teaching a language. Literacy levels of students are based on their understand ability of a language e.g. is the way a student use a word such as "off" in a sentence. ' My dad was off this weekend from work" instead off of putting it in correct grammar as " my dad was on leave this weekend from work" . This indicates that a student just used a direct translation of the word from other language and put it in English. A student's proficiency with a language will effect their academic writing skills at university, but with the help of student writing centers that is available at most universities they can minimize their errors in e.g. grammar of a language.
3	Further according to Fouche (2007) the gap between school literacy and university literacy plays an important role when it comes to the process of writing and the development of academic writing at university. There are differences that students find difficult to cope with and manage. More complex terminology is used at universities e.g. lingua franca which means people uses different languages from different varieties. Another example is university essay writing must be more in detail to accommodate the reader. The differences in academic writing and literacy between universities and schools will confuse first year students who attend university for the first time. It is important for first time universities students to broaden their literacy level and knowledge of a language by reading more complex literature. This in turn broadens their vocabulary too.
4	Non-traditional students speaks English as a first additional language, comes from lower socio-economic groups and students who belong to ethnic-minority communities (Fouche,2007). This means that their preferred language of usage is not English but another language which in this case means their home language. Little to no exposure to English can cause major damage to a student's effectiveness in writing e.g. answers for questions in a written test in English. Another example is the Cape Flats communities in Cape Town. They prefer their home language but have proficient knowledge of their first additional language. Preference will be shown for their home language, because in their development stages that was the language in which they communicated with their family friends etc. Even though they can speak and understand their first additional language, their preferred language will have a major impact in their writing skills. First year students may feel disadvantaged because of which background they come from. For instance at school they were taught in Afrikaans and now they must adapt to an English based teaching style. They should not be worried as faculty members do encourage students to communicate in their lingua franca. This in turn will help them to be more comfortable with the language the university uses in their lectures, test and assignments.
5	One of the main issues that might be going through a student minds as they are reading this is time management. According to C Badenhorst(2007) this is the most common excuse or explanation given to her , why her students have not handed in their written assignments. Students may feel that they are being swamped with assignments, test preparations or preparations for the next day's classes. This will certainly lead to pressure situations for e.g. as a written assignment due date creeps near and the student have to study for a test on that due date, he or she will definitely feel conflicted between those two decisions. Which one should they give more priority to will be the major question that will going through their minds. The answer is both. Just as they should not neglect their test preparation. They should also not forget that their writing assignment is also of importance towards their overall good for studying in their preferred course. To make studying at the university bearable to oneself is to manage one time. Time management is the answer to all assignments and preparations. Time management problems starts from being unorganized and chaotic. To help new students, they should organize their schedules and tasks to the point where they should know what they are going to do at home that afternoon before classes even begin. Students must always know when they get an assignment, they must start immediately and not wait for the due date to arrive otherwise they will feel stressed.
6	The lack of guidance is a great deal and students tend to do that in their writing. This leads to most of the work not guiding the marker or reader to a certain point. This is a bad habit that most students have who is currently studying in tertiary institutions.
7	According to Lillis (2001) writing is a key which determine the passing or failing of students in their courses to the way in which they respond. Student writing is the way students consolidate their understanding of the subject. Writing is also important to express your ideas and to share knowledge with others. For example most students struggle with writing especially at universities, because they are not familiar with the writing structures. This point also leads to the problem that first years students are experiencing, because the new learning environment is challenging them to new limits of frustration. Students have to do an in depth research on how their writing assignments should flow to interest the reader and keep him or her captivated with the essay or written work handed in.

	Problem areas in academic writing and how a new student can manage
8	Referencing is important in an academic context because it serves as evidence from secondary sources for your research. Readers will look at your evidence carefully in order to establish whether or not they believe the claims you make (C Badenhorst 2007) . Which means if you do not give enough references or it's not relevant to the topic which are being discussed it will put a huge doubt in the reader's mind if it's a fact or just a plain assumption. Take the example of a lawyer who is trying to proof his or her client innocence. If his evidence is not relevant or not facts the out right fact is that he would lose the case as his evidence was lacking credibility. The same can be said about a written assignment. When you do research you have to make use of referencing e.g. (author's name and surname, place and date of publication etc) otherwise readers will assume that it is your own ideas and statements. This will also means that you have copied someone else's work if you do not reference your statements. For first year students I'll suggest that they should memorize the method of how to correctly reference at universities to make their academic life and writing easier. It will also help in future academic writings.
9	Now that you know writing is difficult what can we do to make it easier? (C Badenhorst; 2007) Said that writers should always separate the layers that go into writing, focus on creativity first, then divide writing into different stages, then develop the text and most importantly is to not try to write an assignment correctly the first time. This issue comes in when a student attempts to write without planning and is in a frame of mind that first attempts are correct. That is clearly wrong as this way one should always remember the first thing is to always plan ahead and that mistakes will occur. For instance you get a first draft and second draft. A student should know that you must learn from mistakes of the first draft and on the second attempt rectify as many or most of the errors.
10	Even with all these challenges and difficulties such as how to correctly referencing, problem with time management, etc in academic writing. First year students should not be discouraged and easily give up hope, with practice students will manage to cope and understand the purpose of using academic writing correctly. If manage correctly it will become a major source for creative output for students ideas.

Experiential meaning of student text 3

Problem areas in academic writing and how a new student can manage	
Semantic chains	South African educational structures/students/studies/academic writing/first year students/referencing/
Nominal groups describing circumstances and process	Most of the problems start for students/students do not become familiar with/their proficiency with a language such as English/a student's proficiency/the gap between school literacy and university literacy/they should not worried/one of the main issues/this will certainly lead to pressure/
Processes	**Mental** (confuse first year students/ability to learn/reading/will confuse/understand/reason-making/understanding/not forget/know/feel stressed/studying/they believe/must learn) **Verbal** (speaks English/they communicated/can speak/communicate/are answered/to express/ways of speaking/suggest) **Existential** (there are differences) **Relational** (their studies is based on their language proficiency/students do not become familiar with the knowledge/a student's proficiency with a language will effect their academic writing/more complex terminology is used/time management is the answer to all assignments/the lack of guidance is a great deal/students have to have an in depth research/referencing is important/readers will look at your evidence)
Circumstances	Since 1994/ recently graduated from the schooling system (**Time**) In South African educational/knowledge of academic discipline/depends on their ability to learn from school/academic writing skills at university/writing centers/cape flats community in cape town/which background they come from/ (**location**) Proficiency with a language/gap between school literacy and university literacy/little or no exposure to English/ (**Cause**)

The writer of text 3 provided a context in paragraph 1, but instead of providing a thesis offered an objective: "to identify problematic areas in academic writing and how a new student can manage to overcome…". Thus, the writer gave information about the ways that language, university discourses and certain practices ("language proficiency…complex terminology...referencing…research…") contribute towards writing challenges at university. Here there is also a clear semantic chain in terms of nominal groups that clearly situate the subject-matter ("…students…studies…school literacy…university literacy…"), and thus the

identification of field is clear. Although this writer used a range of processes, including verbal and existential, mental and relational processes appear as the most dominant. Through mental processes the writer foregrounds the experience of the transition to university as an internal struggle that results in major mental shifts in thinking about writing. In addition, the relational process foregrounds the issues in the field: "a student's proficiency with a language will affect their academic writing…more complex terminology is used…" This links well with circumstances in the field that compare location and time as being responsible for student challenges in the new space ("since 1994…recently graduated from the schooling system…depends on their ability to learn from school…academic writing skills at university…"). In addition, this writer included external sources aligned to the objective of the essay. However, despite situating the field, this text reflects limited vocabulary knowledge, inconsistent paragraph structure and grammatical inconsistencies that interfere with effective realization of the field. Hence, in relation to genre, while this writer managed to situate the basic experiential meaning, this text reflects an informal register especially apparent in the use of nominal groups (rather than abstract nominalizations) to describe circumstances and processes.

Text 4: Student essay

	Writing at university is overwhelming
1	In many Universities all around the country, there are many first year students trying to adapt to the life as a student "Learning in Higher Education involve adapting to new ways of knowing: new ways of understanding, interpreting and organizing knowledge" (Lillis, T, 2001, 'Language, Literacy and access to Higher Education') p.16-32. I find it hard to cope with all the major assignments that are given to me. Therefore the focus of the essay is to firstly find out if High school prepared me as a first year student for the nightmare in which I am in. Secondly I will prove to the first year students of 2012, why I find University writing overwhelming so that the students of 2012 can interpret things from my perspective. There is evidence that mostly first year students do not know how to write essays or to speak in their own language. "Basic writing courses aimed a problem with standard English grammar, syntax and spelling" Lillis, T, (2001). According to McKenna, S (2007), students entering University for the first time does indeed have a language problem, but they are challenged not by one but by several languages. I argue that the school I attended really never prepared me for University at all. Even though we had many essays to write in school, but the essays were never so much as it is now. The essays we got in school were very easy and challenging. The essays I get in University are far more difficult and overwhelming for me, because I do not have any experiences of essays being overwhelming.
2	In High School time managing was never a problem for me, I just had to tell myself quit playing and start working. In University it is much more different than the "better days" I had in school, where everything has been done for you. The essays done in University are not the same as those which is done in school. Yes, High school essays were far better and easier to do because there were varieties of topics to choose from and the topics were more understandable. I never struggled with any essays before when I was still in school, but when I came to University my life changed. I cannot cope with my workload anymore, because it is to overwhelming for me to handle on my own. Now I have no choice, I have to do my work on my own. I was so use to asking the work by my friends when I haven't done it at home.
3	University is a lot different than school. You cannot copy and paste your work from the internet and think you can hand it in just like that. You have to do your own work and if it is not your words you have to QUOTE and reference every single thing so that you don't plagiarize.
4	Referencing was never that important in school and it is a new experience for me, because I never took referencing as serious as I do now. In school we were not taught how to reference our assignments. We could take something from the internet and past it in our work, and maybe change it a little more so that it can look like our own work. No one would notice anything, but at University there is a kind of system they use to check for plagiarizing.

	Writing at university is overwhelming
5	Coping work from your friends is plagiarism. Plagiarism can bring you into big trouble. Teachers never paid attention to plagiarism as what the lectures do at University. "In one particular instance, a standard feedback sheet for tutors to comment on student essays gave considerable attention to plagiarism in a document that was necessarily constrained for space and where the choice of topic in relation to student writing is therefore highly significant." Lea, & Street, (1998) p.168. I never knew plagiarism was such a big thing in University. Coming to University widened my eyes to face the reality I am in.
6	I attended a school which was bilingual and coming to a University where only English are approached, I find it very difficult for me to understand mostly what is being said in the lectures because my first language is Afrikaans. "The language problem is much bigger and transcends ethnic boundaries, for example, in the Western Cape; it is especially Afrikaans and Xhosa-speaking students who are struggling academically because of an English-only approach at Universities." (http://www.sangonet.org.za). According to The Cape Times news paper, language support should be first priority in any effort aimed at addressing the language issue at institutions of Higher learning.
7	English language is a huge problem for me, even though I understand and speak the language fluently, some grammar is still very difficult to learn and understand. There are always some things you will find hard to understand properly. The English language are far more difficult for me, because I use to have English First Additional Language in school. English language was never my strong point, that is why some grammar are very unfamiliar to me. But with more practice it will get better for me.
8	University is a lot more tens full than High school. According to Lillis (2001) in her first part of the chapter, she points to the increasing number of students participating in Higher Education whilst also signalling the tensions surrounding such participants. The workload is too much to handle and every time an assignment is handed out the stress begins and I feel very pressurized and then I become scared. Research has to be done for every assignment that is handed out, it is very important. "It may seem obvious that if your interest is student writing then you need to treat student text as a worthy research focus, rather than start from some idealized notion of what the written text should be." Lillis, (2001)
9	I remember last year when I was still a scholar, our teachers at school always gave us extra notes which will helped us to do our assignments. It was nice for me when the teachers helped me with my assignments, but it also made me lazy to not want to go out and do research by myself. That is why I feel that doing research is unfamiliar to me, because doing research was never necessary for me to do on school, and that is also the reason why I struggle today. "It is very different to A-level where we used dictated notes for essays." Lea, & Street, (1998)
10	Student finds their identity when they enter University and socialize with new friend they meet, some get influenced by those friends by the way in which they use their language. "Only by working together we can reach a common understanding of language issue and develop support strategies aimed at overcoming the obstacles inherent in an English-only approach" (Cape Times, July, 7, 2009 p.13 'Language an obstacle to academic success')
11	Managing your time well can help you a lot. When you come to University students of 2012, you might meet new friend you are not use to being with and they will lead you into the wrong direction. Then you will start doing things you never done before, and you will have assignments you have to hand in. you will feel that it is not necessary to do now and you will postpone it everyday just to go out with your friends. The day when it has to be handed in it won't be finished and you will lose your marks for handing it in late. Time managing is very important for a student to do. I cant relate to myself. When I was in school I always use to wait for the last day to do my assignments, even though I could finish it in time, but that is because it was not so difficult as in University and in school you still get plenty of chances to hand in your assignments. At university if you hand in your assignments late, they deduct 5% of your marks. Always plan your work and start immediately on your assignments.
12	First year students do not know how to handle the pressure there are placed in, because this haven't been done in schools. Every year the curriculum of schools changes and it become more difficult for a learner to understand the work they are doing in schools. If you want to attend a good University like 'The University of Western Cape' you will have to be prepared.
13	School are there to help and support us for the years when we go and study for our dream career. Each child need the necessary experiences to help them achieve their goals and to become successful. Teacher and parents has to support their children and help them to make the right choices. Being a student is not an easy job, it is very difficult. I use to think being in school is the worst thing but then I came to University and my whole mind set changed.
14	The first week of University was just about work, work and more work. I use to think University is much more fun, unfortunately not. I never knew essays can be so complicated but when this task was handed out and explained to me I still did not understand what to do, but after a while you get use to it, and things become easier for you when you manage your work properly.
15	Everyone finds University as a difficult phase in their live, but it is not that difficult once you are use to all the work and writing. And it will be better if you are prepared for University. Do you think that you are being prepared for University by your High school or not, students of 2012? If I can give all you students of 2012 any advice, I will advise you to ask your teachers anything you want to know about University and the writing at University. "A lot of high school students take some time, weeks, years, or never, to "get" the difference between university studies and high school." (Cape Times, July, 7, 2009 p.13 'Language an obstacle to academic success')

Writing at university is overwhelming	
16	I have come to a conclusion that student writing is very overwhelming for me and for most other students all around the country and that student writing in University are far more different and difficult than the essays we use to do in school. School also never prepared me for University writing or anything considering University at all. So ask yourself one thing, do you want to go through this next year when you enter University for your first time? I think not, so stand up at tell your teachers that you want to learn and know more about the "new life" you are about to enter next year.

Experiential meaning of student text 4

Writing at university is overwhelming	
Semantic chains	Universities/first year students/high school/referencing/plagiarism/lecturers and tutors/teachers/
Nominal groups describing circumstances and process	In many universities/there are many first year students/the nightmare in which I am/in high school/the better days I had in school/yes, high school essays were far better/university is a lot different than school/teachers never paid attention to/the first week at university was just about work, work and more work
Processes	**Mental** (more understandable/struggled with any essays/and think you can/never knew/difficult for me to understand/even though I understand/scared/the stress begins/remember last year/do not know/use to think/never knew essays/still did not understand/I think not/you want to learn and know more) **Behavioural** (quit playing/start working/to handle on my own/when I haven't done t at home/they use to check for/you cannot copy and paste/managing your time/then you will start doing things/I always use to wait for the last day/always plan your work/you will have to be prepared **Verbal** (had to tell myself/I was so use to asking/what is being said in the lectures/speak the language/I will advise you/to ask your teachers/so ask yourself one thing/tell your teachers) **Existential** (There are many first years trying to adapt/ there is evidence that mostly first year students/) **Relational** (they are challenged by not one but many languages/essays I get in university are far more difficult/in high school time management was never a problem/in university it is much more different/the essays done in university are not the same/university is a lot different/referencing was never that important/it is a new experience for me/plagiarism can bring you into trouble/English language is a huge problem for me/university is a lot more tens full/the workload is too much/managing your time can help you a lot/)
Circumstances	First year students of 2012/last year when I was still/every year the school curriculum changes/the first week of university/ **(Time)** In many universities/essays I get in university/in high school/high school essays/coming to university/university is a lot more tens full than high school/teachers at school/they enter university and socialise with new friends/student writing in university **(location)** I attended a school which was bilingual/my first language is Afrikaans/English language a huge problem for me/teachers at school always gave us extra notes/ **(Cause)**

This student inserted a thesis that writing at university is overwhelming as the title of the assignment. The writer put forward the following as factors that impact on his/her writing abilities at university: "… time management… essays at university not the same … referencing… plagiarism can bring you into big trouble… my first language is Afrikaans… English language is a huge problem for me…". The text also focused on comparing writing practices at school with writing at university. The writer adhered to this focus and managed to portray the experiential content: "…in many universities…there are many first year students…the better days I had in school…yes, high school essays were far better…".

Accordingly, the language and vocabulary created a semantic chain that clearly situated the subject-matter. In addition, this writer used a range of processes of which mental, behavioural, verbal and relational were the most dominant. Through mental processes the writer posited that writing at university leads to stressful mental shifts in thinking about appropriate practices and behaviours necessary in the university space. Furthermore, the relational processes contribute towards linking the comparative points through the text: "they are challenged not by one but many languages…essays I get at university is far more difficult…in high school time management was never a problem…". This links well with circumstances in the field that compare location, and time ("first year students of 2012…last year when I was still…the first week of university…in many universities…essays I get in university…university is a lot more tens full…") in conjunction with circumstance of cause ("…I attended a school that was bilingual…English is a huge problem for me…") as being responsible for student challenges in the new space. However, this text also displays limited vocabulary knowledge, inconsistent paragraph structure and grammatical inconsistencies interfering with effective realization of the field. Thus overall, in relation to genre, this writer managed to situate the basic experiential meaning but this text shows an informal register rather than the abstract nominalizations expected in argumentation at tertiary level.
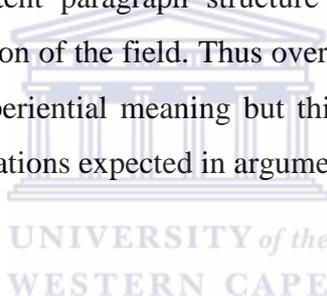
Text 5: Student essay

	Writing essays becomes more difficult
1	Writing at University sounded very exciting and easy for me or let me say that is what I have heard. Experiencing it yourself??Not ayoba!!!
2	At high school writing essays was the easiest thing for me to do because the teachers provides us with formulas, offers you a ready-made structure to work with, teaches just one model for any essay that you then apply in all of your courses, encourage repetition, provides the rules and rewards you for demonstrating your knowledge of material but at university everything changes and writing essays becomes more difficult for me because the lecturers' or tutors discourages formulas, provides freedom for you to come up with your own way of structuring your argument, offers discipline-specific guidelines for approaching wriiten work, discourage repetiton encourages critical thinking and rewards you for engaging in analysis.
3	According to (Bruner,1986;Vygotsky,1986) *the complex task of becoming integrated into the university context is further complicated by the fact that students bring to the learning situation a unique set of experiences and perceptions which, combined with contextual variables, impact on cognitive development and the quality of learning. One example illustrating the inter-dependence the learner's cognitive development and quality interactions at university is that of the first major writing assignment. According to (Higher Education Council,1992)is the essay a common form of assessment at university and the ability to express oneself competently in written form is one of the skills most highly prized by employers. Yet students frequently nominate this as among the more challenging of academic demands at university, particularly in the first year(Krause,1998;Krause&Duchesne,2000).*
4	Tinto(1996)cites *"academic difficulty" as one of the most common forms of attrition and research indicates that a significant source of such difficulty for many students is that of the first assignment(Krause&Duchesne,2000).This includes the often discouraging "reality shock" (McInnis,James,&Hartley,2000,p.19)of receiving a lower-than-expected assignment grade.By* having to adjust their expectations and become accustomed to new forms of assessment and grading may present sufficient academic difficulty for us as students that we considor leaving. By the task of completing your first major writing assignment provides one pathway by which us as university students may become academically integrated, if it is used wisely within a supportive learning environment.

	Writing essays becomes more difficult
5	According to (Rubin,1998) *writing is,in essence,a social act which occurs in social contexts. The academic writing process brings with it new challenges and demands requiring acculturation on the part of the writer. Students admit to being afraid of the size of the group(Krause,1998;Krause&Duchesne,2000)and the alienation experienced within the context of large lecture halls and tutorials,and tutors they meet once a week at most.*
6	In this case I think that writing at university is a challenging but manageable component of surviving at university. For all these reasons, the experience of completing the first major writing assignment presents itself as an ideal opportunity to make a difference in us as students' early educational experiences with a view to proactively integrating them into the academic context.

Experiential meaning of student text 5

Writing essays becomes more difficult	
Semantic chains	Writing at university/high school writing essays/first major assignment/discipline-specific guidelines/new forms of assessment
Nominal groups describing circumstances and process	Writing at university sounded very exciting/let me say that is what I have heard/writing essays was the easiest/having to adjust their expectations/by the task of completing your first major writing assignment/I think that writing at university/ for all these reasons
Processes	**Mental** (sounded very exciting/that is what I have heard/demonstrating your knowledge/encourages cognitive development/learning/ critical thinking/engaging in analysis/I think) **Verbal** (nominate this/admit/ability to express oneself) **Material** (provides us with formulas/offers a ready-made structure/teaches just one model/encourages repetition/rewards you for demonstrating your knowledge/ **Relational** (at high schools writing essays was the easiest thing/students bring to the learning situation a unique set of experiences/)
Circumstances	Meet once week at most (**Time**) Writing at university/at high school writing essays/at university everything changes/into the university context/a common form of assessment at university/within the context of large lecture halls and tutorials/ (**location**)

The writer of this essay supplied a title, "Writing at university", and an introduction (paragraph 1) that mostly resembled interactive, spoken discourse: "Writing at University sounded very exciting and easy…experiencing it for yourself?? Not ayoba!!!" (*Not ayoba* meaning not nice). This indicated a personal experience: how writing at university affected the writer. Paragraph 2 continued with this conversational tone: "At high school writing essays was the easiest thing for me…but at university everything changes…" The writer started with a circumstance of location, "At high school writing essays…" that highlighted the comparative nature of the experiential content, and continued circumstances of location were largely represented as contributing to the challenges that students face. In addition, a range of processes constructed the experiential meaning. First, material processes introduced the comparative elements in the field ("…teachers provides us…offers you a…teaches just one model…encourage repetition…"), contrasting these school practices with university practices, thus almost indicating that writing at university requires active agents. Also, verbal processes were used to project other sources as generalized participants, including students and oneself as writer: ("…students admit to…Tinto cites…Yet, students frequently nominate…the ability to express oneself…") Furthermore, relational processes of identifying

and attributing circumstances ("…at university is that of the first major writing assignment…the alienation experienced within the context of large lecture halls and tutorials…") hinted at the ways that participants needed to adapt during the transitional phase at university. Although one could follow the writer's point of view to some extent due to the text containing a number of semantic relations that could be tracked as the domain of experience ("...high school, unique set of experiences…new forms of assessment, writing is challenging but manageable"), the realization of field was affected by inconsistent paragraph structure, vocabulary, punctuation and grammatical errors (as in texts 1 and 4). As a result, this writer could also only situate the basic experiential meaning rather than the abstract nominalizations expected at first year level.

Discussion of Field

All the texts depicted a similar pattern in constructing the field, that is, the vocabulary and language clearly foregrounded the subject-matter as being about writing at university. Thus the content of the essays was easily recognizable; for instance, there were similar lexical items across these essays. Additionally, the construction of field in all essays represented schools as not preparing students for writing at university and set out the challenges posed by discourses and practices such as referencing, plagiarism and research for first year students. However, although students' experiential meanings indicated a shared field, only text 2 used some abstract nominal groups as representation of a rational and logical argument. This was particularly visible in the wide-ranging representations of processes: for example, actions in the field were realized by material and verbal processes, and mental processes situated writing at university as shifts in cognition, with existential and relational processes comparing location, time and cause. Interestingly, most texts (especially texts 1, 3, 4 and 5) highlighted cause and effect such as school discourses, language proficiency and socio-economic background, thus realizing the field through relational processes to refer or report on conditions at school or university. Additionally, all students seemed to realize the importance of projecting sources into academic writing: all five student texts included external sources, although only text 2 used citations well. Moreover, while texts 1, 3, 4 and 5 demonstrated basic experiential meaning, these texts were all weak in relation to lexicon, paragraph structure and grammatical consistency. Therefore, students were able to exploit the experiential content but the construction of field through argument was not entirely achieved: all these texts provided descriptions of

circumstances rather than normalized evaluations of situations in the field, but this is especially so for student texts 1, 3, 4 and 5 that showed no more than a basic understanding of language technicality and abstraction necessary in argumentation.

Interpersonal meaning

As in the section in 4.4.1 analysing interpersonal meaning in school A student texts, I draw on appraisal theory here (Martin & Rose, 2003) in order to shed light on the resources that these students use to negotiate their positions and construct stances with their audience on the issue of writing at university. Table 24 is repeated here to present a breakdown of the criteria used to evaluate School B student texts in terms of interpersonal meaning.

Table 24 (repeated)**: Interpersonal meaning criteria**

Interpersonal metafunction	Key elements of stance
Engagement	Projection/modality/concession
Attitude	Affect/ judgement/appreciation Modality
Graduation	Force/focus

Interpersonal meaning in student text 1

Interpersonal meta-function	Key elements
Engagement	**Projection**- Mckenna/Vardi/Street and Lea/Burden/first year students/schools, lecturers/ I/My drawing on own experiences **Modality**- must/will/could possibly Concession-but
Attitude	**Affect**- difficult/difficulty/more difficult/confusion/fail **Judgement**- medium of instruction/schools are actually to blame/ students are forced by lecturers and tutors to search/ (students) they are lazy/could also be academics **Appreciation**
Graduation Acknowledge/engage with/align with respect to positions/	**Focus** **Sharpen-** language is a major issue/not studying in first language is more difficult/ studying in a second language on a first language level/students face problems **Force** Raise- many students are not prepared

Firstly, this text appears heteroglossic and displays some engagement with other voices due to the projection of sources (paragraphs 2-6); yet the use of modality evident in 'will', 'must'

(paragraphs 1 and 2) and in statements of high obligation ("taking it from my experience it is true…I as a first year student…but the reasons I highlighted") consistently closes the space for audience negotiation regarding experiences and practices at university. Secondly, the writer's value stance is also visible in the use of negative judgement ("schools are actually to blame…students are forced by lecturers and tutors to search… (students) they are lazy") and the use of one concession ('but'- paragraph 6) that projects the writer as the giver of information. Although the writer states that writing is challenging, the lexical choices are limited, hence the limited evidence of affect and graduation in, for example, "difficult…difficulty… more difficult… confusion… fail"; yet a negative stance is visible in evaluative expressions such as "language is a major issue… not studying in first language is more difficult… studying in a second language on a first language level…many students are not…" which amplifies the sense of the stressful transition to university and the writing challenges. In relation to genre requirements, this writer demonstrated an understanding of audience, but showed only minimal understanding of the use of modality, projection and concession. Finally, even though the writer projected academic sources into the text, there was no engagement with these other voices, which were mostly quotes devoid of interpretation; and this together with the limited lexical vocabulary and informal register impacted on negotiation of stance.

Interpersonal meaning in student text 2

Interpersonal meta-function	Key elements
Engagement	**Projection**- Chalker/Lillis/Mckenna/Du Plessis/Conradie **Modality**- has become/will be able to/we must remain mindful/must learn to/will (purpose of essay) must (students)/can/must be/may imply/can be/cannot be **Concession**-but/however/
Attitude	**Affect**- one was almost excited about embarking on a writing journey/how overwhelming writing is/writing a nightmare/more stress **Judgement**- high school environment/informal manners of speaking/our schooling background/ social backgrounds **Appreciation**- people in the academic community/topics in general made writing a fun exercise/ /an essay would basically be writing a story

Graduation
Acknowledge/engage with/align with respect to positions/
	Focus
	  Sharpen- overwhelming writing/ adding to how overwhelming writing /
	Force
	  Raise- more stress/ / is literally just a film on television/far off dream
	
	  Lower- lessen the level/is almost an entire module

This text is heteroglossic, opening up spaces for dialogue such as addressing the audience (paragraphs 1-3) and showing ample engagement with other voices throughout; yet still managing to portray the audience as unequal with less power to disagree, and thus creating a

persona of expertise. The writer further consolidated this persona of expertise through statements of high obligation ("…first year students must learn to alter the way they speak…they must be able to contextualise…writing must be in the context of the given discipline…"), signalling that he/she was not merely imparting information, but proceeding to offer advice. However, the writer also created a more equal relationship through the use of personalized pronouns indicative of identity, as in: "I, myself come from a social background…none of my immediate family…my will to succeed…we must not concentrate on where we come from…besides our social backgrounds…". In addition, the writer's stance is visible in the use of negative judgement ("informal manners of speaking...our schooling background…social backgrounds") and affect dealing with emotions regarding writing at school and university ("one was almost excited about embarking on a writing journey…how overwhelming writing is…writing a nightmare…more stress") as well as appreciation for writing at school and helpful staff at universities ("people in the academic community, topics in general made writing a fun exercise, an essay would basically be writing a story"). These stances also indicate comparison between school and university, further visible in the use of concession (but, however) in almost every paragraph (paragraphs 2, 3, 4, 5 and 7-13) that situates the comparative stance. In relation to modality, the writer shifted between opening up a space for audience negotiation and adopting a stance of certainty, thus for instance closing possibilities to contest stance when referring to student writing and their challenges ("first year students must acquire the knowledge…first year students must learn…ability to read and speak better is not an impossible feat, this is true, they must be able to contextualise…") while opening up a space when projecting other sources into the text ("One may agree with this…we can agree with Street and Lea…"). Finally, this text drew on *graduation*, amplifying how overwhelming writing is but also putting forward ways that it can be managed; thus *graduation* and *engagement* are indicative of *attitude*: ("I believe…but truly coming from the high school environment…this fact adds to just how overwhelming…this is true and especially first year students…"). Overall, then, the writer managed the interpersonal field better than all the other four texts from School B but needed guidance on the appropriate use of modality.

Interpersonal meaning in student text 3

Interpersonal meta-function	Key elements of stance
Engagement	**Projection**- Badenhorst/According to Fouche/Lillis/students/non-traditional students media **Modality**- will be expected of them/the reality of this will only become/standard of work will be a drastic one/reality of this will only/we may be able to understand/can be **Concession**-but/however and of course/ is probably one
Attitude	**Affect**- my biggest challenge /essay writing is probably one of the most unexpected obstacles/fear of not meeting the standards / writing an essay so challenging/ huge adjustment/extremely daunting and demotivating **Judgement**- differences in academic writing and literacy between universities and schools will confuse first year students/bad habit (not guiding the reader)/writing without planning/essays written by students are unstructured **Appreciation**- writing centre/ faculty members
Graduation Acknowledge/engage with/align with respect to positions/	**Focus** **Sharpen-**mixed feelings/huge adjustment/most important journey/extremely daunting and demotivating/thinking outside the box/to start from scratch with a new way of thinking/my ability to instantly recognise/blatantly obvious/ proficiency with a language/struggling to cope/gap between school literacy and university/referencing **Force** Raise-sheer volume of essays/successfully articulate/ultimate goal/a more realistic goal/constantly reminded/

This writer identified problem areas in relation to academic writing and engaged with the audience in various ways such as addressing the audience (paragraph 9), giving advice (paragraphs 2, 3) and posing questions (paragraph 9); thus this text is heteroglossic. First, there is evidence of some engagement with other voices due to the projection of sources (see some examples in paragraphs 1, 2, 3, 5, 7). Secondly, in relation to modality the writer moved between his/her stance of superiority and uncertainty. For instance the writer took on a position of certainty in relation to students and essay writing at university ("...students must always know…they must start immediately…students have to do…") yet also opened a space for negotiation ("…they should not be worried…they should not…they should organise their schedules…"), indicating that these claims can be contested. However, the use of modality and statements of high obligation ("…it is important for first time university students to broaden…they must start immediately and not wait…") closes the space for audience negotiation regarding writing practices at university. Thirdly, the writer's stance is visible in the use of negative judgement related to students' bad writing habits ("…writing without planning…being unorganised and chaotic…") (paragraph 5), and also in appreciation of the writing centre/ faculty members (paragraph 4) as well as in the use of concession (but/even though): all signalling stance in relation to schools' versus university practices and advice given. Overall, this writer demonstrated an understanding of audience awareness (that is, of 2012 first year students) but on the other hand inappropriate register, source projection and grammar impacted on his/her stance.

Interpersonal meaning in student text 4

Interpersonal meta-function	Key elements
Engagement	**Projection**- first year students/I/ students/McKenna/Lillis/she/Street and Lea **Modality**- will be expected of them/the reality of this will only become/standard of work will be a drastic one/reality of this will only/we may be able to understand/can be Concession -but/however and of course/ is probably one
Attitude	**Affect**- the nightmare which I am in/never prepared me for university/essays I get in university are far more difficult/coming to university widened my eyes to face the reality I am in **Judgement**- essays at university **Appreciation**- essays at school

Graduation
Acknowledge/engage with/align   with respect to positions/
	Focus
	  Sharpen- mixed feelings/huge adjustment/most important journey/extremely daunting and demotivating/ thinking outside the box/to start from scratch with a new way of thinking/my ability to instantly recognise/blatantly obvious/
	  the nightmare that I am in/writing overwhelming/life changed/cannot cope with the workload/into big trouble/very unfamiliar/stress begins/complicated/difficult phase
	Force
	  Raise- sheer volume of essays/ successfully articulate/ ultimate goal/ a more realistic goal/ constantly reminded/

This writer provided a thesis, " I argue that the school I attended never really prepared me for university at all" (paragraph 1), but the lexical choices convey a spoken register ("I just had to tell myself…I become scared…first week just about work, work and more work…") that indicates an equal relationship with the audience ("…the true fact of the matter is…now that we have cleared up the confusion…I have suddenly been shocked…but to be quite frank…") and poses a question in paragraph 15. This shared relationship is also visible in the inclusion of pronouns such as *us, we, our*. However the projection of a more knowledgeable stance is achieved through modality ("writing at university is not… we as students are expected to have...even though we are taught… without arguing we are expected to adapt to our surroundings…in other words we can simply state that… the true fact of the matter is…") and statements of high obligation ("you have to do the work on your own…you have to QUOTE"), projecting a stance not open for contestation. Thus overall this writer made attempts to be heteroglossic, engaging with other voices and projecting academic sources into the text (paragraphs 2-6). In relation to genre requirements, the text demonstrated an understanding of audience levels of awareness (that is, of the 2012 first year students) but this was reflected in an informal register and a subjective stance of authority.

Interpersonal meaning in student text 5

Interpersonal metafunction	Key elements
Engagement	**Projection**- Bruner/Tinto/Rubin/students **Modality**- limited Concession- but
Attitude	**Affect**- very exciting and easy **Judgement**- at university everything changes **Appreciation**- essay writing at school was the easiest
Graduation Acknowledge/ engage with/ align with respect to positions/	**Focus** **Sharpen-** essays becomes more difficult//university context is further complicated by **Force** Raise-

Firstly, the writer indicated that "…writing essays becomes more difficult for me…", using informal register and thus creating an equal relationship with the audience. Additionally, the inclusion of pronouns such as, 'me, I, us, we, you, your, there' suggests the writer's uncertainty about social distance with the audience. This tension between social distance and a shared relationship was also visible in statements indicative of informal interaction ("at high school writing essays was the easiest thing…writing at university sounded very exciting…let me say that is what I heard…experiencing it for yourself…not *ayoba*…") versus statements that drew on established sources ("…according to Bruner…Tinto cites academic difficulty"). Nonetheless, this text is heteroglossic as a whole: the writer both addresses the audience (paragraph 1) and projects sources into the text (paragraph 3-5), thus engaging with other voices. However, although this writer projected academic sources into the text, there was no apparent engagement with these other voices: they appear only as quotations devoid of interpretation, thus stance is limited. Moreover, the writer also uses modality minimally (paragraph 4) yet when he/she does it opens up the space for audience negotiation regarding the writer's personal experiences at university. Although negative judgement ("…at university everything changes…writing essays becomes more difficult…the writing process brings with it new challenges…"), positive affect ("…at high school writing essays was the easiest thing") and concession ('but') indicate the contrast between school and university the writer's stance is minimal in this respect. Overall, this writer demonstrated an understanding of audience awareness but used register, modality and projection of sources inappropriately, with the result that little nuance was reflected in the writer's stance concerning the information presented.

Discussion of the interpersonal metafunction

The writers at school B projected a range of stances in relation to the audience. For example, in text 2 the writer projected a position of privilege in relation to the audience while texts 1, 4 and 5 mostly used informal or conversational register. Secondly, all texts projected sources into their texts but again only the writer of text 2 demonstrated the ability to integrate additional voices into his/her stance whereas texts 3 and 4 attempted to integrate sources as part of their stance, while texts 1 and 5 writers 'dumped' quotes into their texts without interpretation. Thirdly, the use of modality also varied between texts; Texts 1, 4 and 5 used displayed minimal use of modality, thus creating limited stance in relation to points made; and the remaining texts demonstrated uncertainty about drawing on modality to support stance. For example, texts 2 and3 alternated between opening up and closing down dialogic spaces. Finally, only text 2 displayed the appropriate linguistic resources to negotiate stance effectively because the lexical content in the remaining texts impacted on writers' stance due to sentence level, paragraph and grammatical inconsistencies. As a result, although these students drew on a range of interpersonal resources their use of these highlighted the fact that as new-comers into the field students from school B (except the writer of text 2) mostly lacked the necessary linguistic resources in English to negotiate their stance by drawing on modality, projection and graduation in academic texts.

Textual meaning

Textual meaning deals with the communicative effectiveness of texts and is thus concerned with whether a text achieves its purpose. It is realized particularly in the structuring of experiential content to facilitate meaning and ensure that text is easy to follow, that is, coherent and logical. Accordingly, my aim in probing textual meaning here is to highlight how the new-comer to university makes sense of thematic positioning and theme progression in texts. I focus on theme/rheme analysis to discuss and evaluate logical development and cohesion in texts 1 to 5 from School B (reproduced here verbatim, including errors).

Textual meaning in student text 1

	Theme	Rheme
1	Writing at university where and where	is difficult for first year students, because a lot of them are coming from secondary schools most of their writing were extended to narrative writing most of their assignments contained plagiarism.
	They	are also not use to critical thinking and to using their own ideas which must also be referenced and supported.
	The moment students	starts writing at universities their informal way of writing must now change to formal writing.
	Essays are now and (they)	which were limited to a number of words and did not contained research at schools limited to a number of pages must contain research at universities.
	Language	is a major issue students must deal with at universities.
	Most students	study in a second language on a first language level which makes it difficult for students to excel and express themselves in their assignments.
	Therefore, students	find it difficult to write at universities.
	In this essay I	will discuss the reasons why first year students find it difficult to write at universities.
	The reasons	are language, not prepared for writing at university, difficulty writing, research and referencing.
2	'*Lecturers talked in a language*	*extended quote*
	Language	is not only a problem for those studying in a second, third or fourth language but for those who study in their first language as well.
	'*While academic language is no-ones mother tongue some students*	*extended quote*
	Students	face problems with different languages on universities according to the different disciplines.
	Meaning that every academic discipline	has their own language, first year students had to adapt to.
	According to Vardi (2000:1)	'*learning a new language with special requirements that they were unclear about, including what to put in the introduction, where the description goes and where the analysis goes*'
	First years and therefore (they)	find it hard to familiarize themselves with the languages of the different disciplines find difficulty in writing for example assignments in that discipline.
	Writing	for those who are not studying in their first language is more difficult because they must adapt to the medium of instruction and the different languages of academic disciplines.
	The problems students face with languages	unable students to meet up with the lecturers expectations what to write in their assignments and essays.
3	Many students especially those who	are not prepared to for writing at universities came directly from school to universities.
	Schools	are actually to blame for this because they did not familiarize students with formal writing.
	In school they and they	allowed you to write your assignments and essays in informal language, to plagiarise in your assignments never expected you to reference your work.
	Essays	were extended to a number of words and narrative writing meaning you never had to do research for essays in schools.
	At universities essays	are extended to a number of pages, must contain research and references.

	Theme	Rheme
	When you they writing then	come to university as a first year student, expect you to write as a university student becomes more difficult because on university academic writing is totally different from what it was on school.
	For example at school you whereas that	were allowed to use contractions, '*I'm, won't, don't*' etcetera in your writing is seen as wrong at universities
	According to McKenna (2009: 12)	'*the literacy practices students brings from their school or home environment will determine if they fail or pass*'.
	Taking it from my experience I because I	it is true what McKenna stated as a first year student failed my first assignment on university wrote my assignment the same way as I would have wrote it in school.
	This means that I	actually cracked the schools code and not the university code.
	Therefore, I	failed my first assignment.
	None of the above-mentioned environments literacy practices	cracks the same code as universities, '*Our school system sends us students we can justifiably call underprepared*' (McKenna 2009:12).
4	Another problem first years face	is difficulty writing.
	The reason for this	is because of the different requirements and expectations every academic discipline has.
	This and (this)	becomes challenging for students can cause a lot of confusion.
	They because they	get confused have to adapt to more then one academic disciplines writing style.
	First years	normally thinks that one academic disciplines writing styles counts for all the disciplines on universities.
	An example of the different writing styles	every academic discipline has is clear in their different referencing conventions.
	According to Vardi (2002:2),	*extended quote*
	As Lea and Street (1998) points out,	*not all the players agree or interpret expectations in the same way, the codes and conventions of academics and even of the disciplines cannot be assumed to be a given.*
	Certainly amongst lectures, there	*appears, even within a given discipline, to be wide variation in expectations (John 1997, lea, 1994, Lea and Street 1998).*
	It	*would appear that literacy practices at university are not dearly agreed upon or even universal in their nature, rather they are contested, resulting in an unclear and confusing path for many students" (Vardi 2000:2)*
5	First years	find it difficult to do research for assignments/tasks.
	Normally students	are forced by lecturers or tutors to search for more references other than their lecture notes, course readers or textbooks.
	First years	fail most of the time in searching for references as libraries does not normally have the sources first years want their lecturers or tutors.
	Another reason	why first years fail to find references is because they are lazy to search at libraries for information.
	"And for most students, especially those in the first year,	*extended quote*
	Many first year students	*extended quote*
	This	means that some first years find it difficult to find the right information to write in their assignments and essays.
	They	then label the writing of essay as difficult.
	"In all essay tasks,	*another major area which was affected by the reason for setting the task concerned the sources the lecturer expected the students to use" (Vardi, 2000:5).*
	According to Lea and Street (1998:157),	*"They also dealt fully with referencing, bibliographies and footnotes, and supplied warnings about plagiarism."*

	Theme	Rheme
6	**<u>Conclusion</u>** I schools they and they	find that the reasons why first years find it difficult to write at universities are because they are not the type of language used at universities, did not prepare them for writing at universities, are not use to the different writing styles every academic discipline has find it difficult to do research and to find references.
	There could possibly be many reasons but the reasons I	why first year students find difficulty writing at universities, highlighted which were language, not prepared, difficulty writing, research and referencing are the main reasons according to me why students experience difficulty writing.
	It could also be the academics	as Ralph Burden (2009:1), stated "*Many academics expect students to be independent learners and to cope with the demands of a university culture. This is difficult for many first year students who go directly from school to university.*"
	Students and therefore they	find it hard to crack the code of academic literacy at universities. are just not to the way academics work.

Firstly, in relation to structure we see that the writer pointed out that writing at university is challenging (paragraph 1, line 1) and managed to situate reasons why it is so, in each paragraph. The structure consists of a point of view, evidence in each paragraph and a conclusion that summarizes the main points made. However, although the main points are indeed summarized in the conclusion, an unexpected additional point also appears there (paragraph 6, line 5). Nonetheless, the argument is well-developed because the writer's macro-theme ("Writing at universities are difficult…") successfully links with the hyper-themes of the paragraphs that follow ("…lecturers talked in a language…many students are not prepared…another problem first years face…first years find it difficult to do research…"). Thus the structure contributes to whole text coherence also visible in the markers of logical connection such as 'therefore', 'for example', 'another problem', all of which are in theme position. However, while cohesion and thematic organization was thus broadly achieved, this was not always clearly carried through at paragraph level. For instance, theme/rheme development is limited in some places and the use of other sources interferes with cohesion because the writer does not clearly signal the linkage between citations and his/her positioning and this, combined with grammatical errors, makes textual development haphazard. As a result, even though this student's writing showed some evidence of logic he/she could signpost main points more clearly through markers such as 'first', 'second' and 'finally', as well as including more markers of comparison and concession.

Textual meaning in student text 2

	Theme	Rheme
1	Writing,	or rather the ability to write has become an essential component of surviving academically at any level of education; be it primary, secondary or at tertiary level.
	"All writing is a venture into communication" (Chalker et al, 1991: 444), hence to be able to write well	means any individual will be able to generally communicate and communication is vital in all spheres of life.
	When one it becomes clear that writing well	looks at the fact that writing is the essence of academic success, at university level is very important.
2	When we	were at school, specifically high school, the level at which we were expected to write and the topics in general made writing a fun exercise.
	One	was almost excited about embarking on a writing journey, because in most cases writing an essay would basically be writing a story, which was a relatively easy task.
	However, at university	the expectations and requirements when writing carry vast differences from that which writing at high school carried.
	The level of research	and also thinking while writing at university tends to perplex one.
3	I	believe that it is not only first year students who experience this feeling, but really most students, even up to post-graduation levels of study.
	But truly, coming from the high school environment	into academic discourse and being expected to oblige to the task of writing at university can be daunting for anyone, if not all first year university students.
	However, even when faced with this challenge we, And (we)	must remain mindful of this reality must learn to manage ourselves and also how we write accordingly.
	It	is for this reason that analysing and discussing the difficulties of writing at university and also the managing of this challenge, is important and very relevant.
	This essay	will discuss writing at university and also the elements that make writing at university an overwhelming task for first year students.
	The essay	will also elaborate on a few strategies that can make this challenge manageable.
4	To be able to first of all, gain access a student	to an institution of higher education such as a university, must show forms of impeccable general understanding of certain subjects and disciplines.
	This understanding	is usually obtained during high school (secondary level of education).
	With this in mind because this understanding	it is obvious that writing plays a big role in the acquiring of this earlier mentioned general understanding must adequately be expressed when writing.
	Therefore student writing	is the core of learning at any university (Lillis, 2001) as it is the window through which a student's progress is monitored.
	Contrary to possessing this general understanding of different disciplines,	some students gain access to university based on life-long learning (Conradie, 2009).
	These students	must then acquire the knowledge of how to sufficiently write at university, having in a lot of cases, finished grade 12 many years prior to starting university.
	Even so, the ability to write adequately	is the manner by which access to any university is granted, perhaps not a direct manner (considering the personal capacities of the specific student) but a vital component none-the-less.
5	Gaining access to university	is but the first part of the process of actually being apart of a university.
	Learning academic language	and how to academically engage with other scholars is essential in becoming apart of a university.
	The heart of any community	is the language spoken in that community (du Plessis, 2011).

Theme	Rheme
First year students	must acquire the knowledge of academic language and then be able to express themselves as well as what they have learnt by using academic language when and in the way they write at university.
This fact but a lack of vocabulary	adds to just how overwhelming writing at university can be for first year students because all the research and resources to complete an essay or assignment might be there, as well as the know how of academic language could make writing a nightmare.
McKenna (2010)	writes that in order for students to succeed in writing, they must learn the language of the university.
This is true so that writing	and especially first year students must make a point of learning the academic language, at university can be less overwhelming.
6 Along with acquiring adequate academic language,	writing at university and the quality there of is also influenced by the students' manners by which he/she reads and speaks.
Firstly, to read properly	and with intent is the reading required at university level.
At high school	learners were told specifically what chapters and pieces to read from specific books or articles.
This changes at university level	as the broader one's readings are, the higher ones of knowledge and understanding will be (Chalker et al, 1991).
Many first year students	are reluctant in this regard, refusing to read.
This is why many first year students	are unable to write properly as their renouncing of reading negatively influences the quality of their writing.
According to du Plessis (2011)	a more 'hands on' approach should be taken to make first year students aware of the importance of reading, not only the fact that it influences writing but also that reading constructs structures in the mind that arms one with the ability to survive in everyday life.
7 Secondly, first year students	must learn to alter the way they speak in perhaps all spheres of life, to avoid having informal manners of speaking negatively influencing their academic performance and in turn the way they write.
However, this alteration	in both reading and speaking brings about more stress on first year students, adding to how overwhelming writing at university is.
Baring this in mind	first year students gradually should adopt and then adapt to new ways of reading and writing in order for the quality of their writing to be enhanced.
8 Acquiring an ability however coming from a social background	to read and speak better, is not an impossible feat where academic discourse is literally just a film on television or a far off dream makes writing at university level even more overwhelming.
Perhaps this but it	should not be used as an excuse, still is a reality amongst many first year students.
I, myself but my will	come from a social background where none of my immediate family has ever been to university, to succeed drives me to take on and conquer every challenge that comes my way.
We	must not concentrate on where we come from, fair enough.
However how does one	ignore the fact that never before we heard of academic language or writing?
McKenna (2010: 14)	attempts to answer this: "We help students on the periphery to comprehend the strange customs and norms which they are to acquire"-the 'we' of cause being lecturers and general academic staff at universities.
This as we but we	is true cannot deny or look pass our social backgrounds, have people within the academic community who attempt to help us and lessen the level of how overwhelming writing and really surviving at university is.
We should	seek this help and apply what we are taught in our writing at university.
9 Besides our social backgrounds our schooling background also	affecting the quality of our writing as first year students; plays a role in how we write at university.

Theme	Rheme
	"The school system sends out learners who can justifiably be called 'underprepared'" (McKenna, 2010:14).
This statement	becomes truer by the year, as none of what we are suppose to do at university was taught to us at school.
As mentioned earlier in the essay, we but never at the level	did write essays at school, required at university; never by using academic discourse.
One but the reality remains: and unfortunately an inadequate social and schooling background	can point fingers everywhere, once at university, our writing must reflect our environment can negatively impact a student's writing at university, adding to how overwhelming writing is.

	Theme	Rheme
10	Understanding the concept	of academic literacy and cracking the code thereof is important.
	More so, understanding the literacy	of a specific discipline is vital for the writing at university (McKenna, 2010).
	In order for a student they	to write effectively must be able to contextualise what they are writing.
	This is to ensure that there	is sense and meaning in that which is being written (Lillis, 2001).
	Furthermore, writing	must be within the context of the given discipline.
	This may imply that writing	cannot simply just be writing, because making sense of what one writes as constant analysis of what is going on the page can add to how overwhelming writing is must be observed.
	Developing strong levels of literacy and in a lot of contexts [it]	is something that should happen from an early age, does happen.
	However, there are differences	in what is expected at university and to be able to survive with this different type of literacy such as academic literacy, a student should be fully prepared (Conradie, 2009).
	The believe that literacy because literacy hence it	is a neutral ability is not entirely adequate(McKenna, 2010) , will alter given the context and discipline is important that students contextualise their writing according to first of all topic and then in accordance with the requirements of the discipline(Chalker et al, 1991).
	Practicing this on all writing occasions	should decrease how overwhelming writing at university will be for the given student.
11	One	cannot ignore all these relevant external factors which add to how overwhelming writing at university is.
	However, there are internal factors such as lecturers or tutors that	which too cause difficulty, at times not being clear enough are underprepared as far the required content knowledge is concerned.
	One One but that which is to be thought about	must remain mindful of the fact that as a university student must be able to critically think for oneself, must be made cleared to us by those in the 'positions'.
	Furthermore, this level of uncertainty.	about whatever given task or assignment does lead to that which is written by the first year student to be rule out as wrong or incompetent.
	McKenna (2010)	writes that for a student to write effectively, the tutor must deliver the work effectively or else a misunderstanding can prove disastrous as far as the writing of the student are concerned.
	As a first year student,	being at university is tough enough let alone having to contend with unclear lectures and tutors.
	It is for this reason	that writing becomes even more overwhelming at university and in most cases attempting to take on a lecturer or tutor will end badly for that student.
12	Developing an academic voice	as well as identity is essential for any university student who plans to succeed at university.
	First year students	find developing these things, a tough task as in most cases it can only be achieved through quality writing (Chalker et al, 1991).

	Theme	Rheme
	A clear academic identity	is essential for each student so as to ensure that each student reaches the goals they have set out for themselves.
	Infusing such identity	into their academic writing gives an examiner a view of the student he/she is working with.
	This	is important for the development of the student into an academic in his/her own right.
	These and this	are all positive aspects of developing an academic voice and identity is how it should be.
	However, the fact that writing but also eventual failure therefore the writing	at university is so overwhelming, tends to stand as a barrier in developing a good and strong academic voice and identity, resulting in not only first year students' inadequate writing, because the voice behind the writing is not strong and developed enough, does not come off strong enough.
13	To actually write	a sufficient essay or assignment at university, one must have adequate resources to add in the writing of the work (Conradie, 2009).
	These resources and this	must be acknowledged is called referencing.
	At high school but at university	one could do an assignment and not acknowledge any author/s, this would be considered plagiarism which is a serious offence.
	Acquiring the correct knowledge	about referencing and its conventions is almost an entire university module on its own.
	Indeed referencing	has proven to be a phenomenon to nearly all first year students because getting it right can be difficult.
	This phenomenon but like every aspect of university it and [it]	makes writing at university even more overwhelming is a reality must be practised.
14	Writing at university	is truly an overwhelming experience and not succeeding at it makes succeeding at university almost impossible.
	However writing and it	can be managed starts simply with the student as an individual.
15	This essay	has endeavoured to discuss the factors and aspects that make the writing of essays and assignments at university an overwhelming task.
	The essay	has also, in many instances attempted to elaborate on how this challenge could be managed
	The importance of writing	cannot be questioned, even more the importance of writing at first year level.
	Many aspects	must be taken into consideration when evaluating and analysing the writing of first year students.
	These aspects include, the background the efficiency and also how well the student	how and on what level the student gained access to university, the student comes from, of the student on the level of literacy adapts to university.
	Of cause academic discourses also, but acquiring knowledge hence writing, and [it]	plays a role in the writing of first year students about these discourses is not impossible; even though difficult, can be managed can be a successful experience.
16	It is at this level and so observing quality writing	that we are able to judge our entire university journey is important.
	Practising academic discourse And (it)	in our writing is essential (as mentioned above), as basing ones work on substantiated research is a good quality to have as a developing academic is beneficial even after completing ones studies.
	Truly, in order for us we	to build a society which is well read and spoken, must develop our writing especially while in first year.
	We	are to concentrate less on how overwhelming it is and more on how this media of expression can benefit the world around us.

This text displays several strengths. Firstly, in relation to structure the writer discusses writing at university and the factors that make it challenging as well as offering recommendations to make writing at university more manageable. Thus the structure incorporates point of view, contributing factors with supporting evidence in each paragraph (see for example paragraphs 5, 6, 7, 8), a conclusion (paragraph 15) that reinforces points made, and a further paragraph (16) which offers recommendations. Secondly, the writer successfully draws on concession ('but', 'however') to situate the comparative nature of his/her points contributing towards logicality of argument. Thirdly, the writer uses topical, interpersonal (see paragraphs 13, 14, 15) and textual themes (see paragraphs 9, 10, 11, 12) appropriately and effectively. As a result, the macro-theme ("Writing or the ability to write has become an essential component of surviving academically…") clearly links with the hyper-themes of each paragraph ("…when we were at school…acquiring adequate academic language…alteration in reading and speaking…our social backgrounds…understanding the concept of academic literacy…") that contribute towards coherence, successful staging of his/her point and structure. More importantly, markers or logical connectors such as 'furthermore', 'hence', (see paragraph 10, 11) 'first' and 'second' (see paragraphs 6, 7, 15), as well as markers of comparison and concession ('but', 'however', 'besides') clearly signpost main points in theme position. However, while cohesion and thematic organization is achieved, the use of other sources interferes with cohesion because the writer does not always clearly signal the linkage between citations and his/her positioning. Nonetheless, this text is the most successful of the five texts in relation to logical argument in academic writing.

Textual meaning in student text 3

	Theme	Rheme
1	Since 1994	there has been a significant change in South-African educational structures.
	Students	who recently graduated from the schooling system have a different writing style then which are used in universities.
	The contrasting differences	between those two writing styles will mostly confuse first year students at universities, which will lead them struggling to cope with academic writing.
	The objective of the essay	is to identify problematic areas in academic writing and how a new student can manage to overcome these challenges.
2	According to Fouche(2007)	most of the problems starts for students and their studies is based on their language proficiency and students do not become familiar with the knowledge of academic discipline Mckenna(2004).
	Their proficiency	with a language such as English depends on their ability to learn from school, television, reading and the community.
	For instance the differences	between the school's method of teaching a language.

	Theme	Rheme
	Literacy levels	of students are based on their understand ability of a language e.g. is the way a student use a word such as "off" in a sentence. ' My dad was off this weekend from work" instead off of putting it in correct grammar as " my dad was on leave this weekend from work" .
	This	indicates that a student just used a direct translation of the word from other language and put it in English.
	A student's proficiency but with the help they	with a language will effect their academic writing skills at university, of student writing centers that is available at most universities can minimize their errors in e.g. grammar of a language.
3	Further according to Fouche (2007)	the gap between school literacy and university literacy plays an important role when it comes to the process of writing and the development of academic writing at university.
	There are differences	that students find difficult to cope with and manage.
	More complex terminology	is used at universities e.g. lingua franca which means people uses different languages from different varieties.
	Another example	is university essay writing must be more in detail to accommodate the reader.
	The differences	in academic writing and literacy between universities and schools will confuse first year students who attend university for the first time.
	It is important	for first time <u>universities</u> students to broaden their literacy level and knowledge of a language by reading more complex literature.
	This in turn	broadens their vocabulary too.
4	Non-traditional students	speaks English as a first additional language, comes from lower socio-economic groups and students who belong to ethnic-minority communities (Fouche,2007).
	This means that their preferred language but another language	of usage is not English which in this case means their home language.
	Little to no exposure to English	can cause major damage to a student's effectiveness in writing e.g. answers for questions in a written test in English.
	Another example	is the Cape Flats communities in Cape Town.
	They but [they]	prefer their home language have proficient knowledge of their first additional language.
	Preference	will be shown for their home language, because in their development stages that was the language in which they communicated with their family friends etc.
	Even though they their preferred language	can speak and understand their first additional language, will have a major impact in their writing skills.
	First year students	may feel disadvantaged because of which background they come from.
	For instance at school and now	they were taught in Afrikaans they must adapt to an English based teaching style.
	They	should not be worried as faculty members do encourage students to communicate in their lingua franca.
	This in turn	will help them to be more comfortable with the language the university uses in their lectures, test and assignments.
5	One of the main issues	that might be going through a <u>student minds</u> as they are reading this is time management.
	According to C Badenhorst(2007)	this is the most common excuse or explanation given to her , why her students have not handed in their written assignments.
	Students	may feel that they are being swamped with assignments, test preparations or preparations for the next day's classes.
	This will certainly he or she	lead to pressure situations for e.g. as a written assignment due date creeps near and the student have to study for a test on that due date, will definitely feel conflicted between those two decisions.
	Which one	should they give more priority to will be the major question that will going through their minds.
	The answer	is both.

	Theme	Rheme
	Just as they	should not neglect their test preparation.
	They	should also not forget that their writing assignment is also of importance towards their overall good for studying in their preferred course.
	To make studying	at the university bearable to oneself is to manage <u>one time</u>.
	Time management	is the answer to all assignments and preparations.
	Time management problems	starts from being unorganized and chaotic.
	To help new students,	they should organize their schedules and tasks to the point where they should know what they are going to do at home that afternoon before classes even begin.
	Students they otherwise they	must always know when they get an assignment, must start immediately and not wait for the due date to arrive will feel stressed.
6	The lack of guidance and students	<u>is a great deal</u> tend to do that in their writing.
	This	leads to most of the work not guiding the marker or reader to a certain point.
	This	is a bad habit <u>that most students have who is currently studying in tertiary institutions.</u>
7	According to Lillis (2001)	writing is a key which determine the passing or failing of students in their courses to the way in which they respond.
	Student writing	is the way students consolidate their understanding of the subject.
	Writing	is also important to express your ideas and to share knowledge with others.
	For example most students because they	struggle with writing especially at universities, are not familiar with the writing structures.
	This	point also leads to the problem that first years students are experiencing, because the new learning environment <u>is challenging them to new limits of frustration.</u>
	Students	have to do <u>an in depth research</u> on how their writing assignments should flow to interest the reader and keep him or her captivated with the essay or written work handed in.
8	Referencing because it	is important in an academic context serves as evidence from secondary sources for your research.
	Readers	will look at your evidence carefully in order to establish whether or not they believe the claims you make (C Badenhorst 2007) .
	Which means if you it Take the example of a lawyer If his evidence	do not give enough references or it's not relevant to the topic which are being discussed will put a huge doubt in the reader's mind if it is a fact or just a plain assumption. who is trying to <u>proof</u> his or her client innocence. is not relevant or not facts <u>the out right fact</u> is that he would lose the case as his evidence was lacking credibility.
	The same	can be said about a written assignment.
	When you You otherwise [your] readers that it	do research have to make use of referencing e.g. (author's name and surname, place and date of publication etc) will assume is your own ideas and statements.
	This if you	will also means that you have copied someone else's work do not reference your statements.
	For first year students that they	I 'll suggest should memorize the method of how to correctly reference at universities to make their academic life and writing easier.
	It	will also help in future academic writings.
9	Now that you	know writing is difficult what can we do to make it easier?
	(C Badenhorst; 2007)	Said that writers should always separate the layers that go into writing, focus on creativity first, then divide writing into different stages, then develop the text and most importantly is to not try to write an assignment correctly the first time.

Theme	Rheme
This issue	comes in when a student attempts to write without planning and is in a frame of mind that first attempts are correct.
That one	is clearly <u>wrong as this way</u> should always remember the first thing is to always plan ahead and that mistakes will occur.
For instance you	get a first draft and second draft.
A student	should know that you must learn from mistakes of the first draft and on the second attempt rectify as many or most of the errors.
10 Even with all these challenges and difficulties First year students with practice students	such as how to correctly referencing, problem with time management, etc in academic writing. should not be discouraged and easily give up hope, will manage to cope and understand the purpose of using academic writing correctly.
If manage correctly it	will become a major source for creative output for students ideas.

In relation to structure we see that at the outset (paragraph 1) this writer identifies problematic areas in academic writing and makes recommendations on managing academic writing challenges. The essay is structured around the above objective: most of the following paragraphs put points of view, information or explanations with supporting evidence (see for example paragraphs 1-9); and the conclusion (paragraph 10) attempts to remind the reader about the initial objective, that is, identifying academic writing problems (line 1) and offering advice (lines 2-4). Thus the structure contributes to whole text coherence, also visible in logical connectors such as 'therefore', 'for example', 'another example', all in theme position. Consequently, the argument is quite well-developed because the writer's macro-theme ("to identify problematic areas in academic writing and how a new student can manage to overcome these challenges") links well with the hyper themes introduced through paragraphs 2 to 10 ("According to Fouche (2007)…Further according to Fouche (2007)…One of the main issues…According to Lillis (2001)…"). However although these linkages achieved a level of cohesion and thematic organization, this was not always clearly carried through at paragraph level and thus this text also shows limited understanding of theme/rheme development. Overall, then, even though text 3 displays a level of macro-text coherence, other important textual features of academic writing are not in evidence: for example, informed use of markers; patterns of thematic development; and nominalized abstract themes.

Textual meaning in student text 4

	Theme	Rheme
1	In many Universities there	all around the country, are many first year students trying to adapt to the life as a student "Learning in Higher Education involve adapting to new ways of knowing: new ways of understanding, interpreting and organizing knowledge" (Lillis, T, 2001, 'Language, Literacy and access to Higher Education') p.16-32.
	I	find it hard to cope with all the major assignments that are given to me.
	Therefore the focus of the essay	is to firstly find out if High school prepared me as a first year student for the nightmare in which I am in..
	Secondly I so that the students of 2012	<u>will prove</u> to the first year students of 2012, why I find University writing overwhelming can interpret things <u>from my perspective</u>
	There is evidence	that mostly first year students do not know how to write essays or to speak in their own language. "Basic writing courses aimed a problem with standard English grammar, syntax and spelling" Lillis, T, (2001).
	According to McKenna, S (2007), but they	students entering University for the first time does indeed have a language problem are challenged not by one but by several languages.
	I	argue that the school I attended really never prepared me for University at all.
	Even though we but the essays	had many essays to write in school, were never so much as it is now.
	The essays we	got in school were very easy and challenging.
	The essays I because I	get in University are far more difficult and overwhelming for me, do not have any experiences of essays being overwhelming.
2	In High School I	time managing was never a problem for me, just had to tell myself quit playing and start working.
	In University	it is much more different than the "better days" I had in school, where everything has been done for you.
	The essays	done in University are not the same as those which is done in school.
	Yes, High school essays because there and the topics	were far better and easier to do were varieties of topics to choose from were more understandable.
	I but when I	never struggled with any essays before when I was still in school, came to University my life changed.
	I because it	cannot cope with my workload anymore, is to overwhelming for me to handle on my own.
	Now I I	have no choice, have to do my work on my own.
	I	was so use to asking the work by my friends when I haven't done it at home.
3	University	is a lot different than school.
	You	cannot copy and paste your work from the internet and think you can hand it in just like that.
	You and if it is not your words so that you	have to do your own work you have to QUOTE and reference every single thing don't plagiarize.
4	Referencing And it because I never	was never that important in school is a new experience for me, took referencing as serious as I do now.
	In school we	were not taught how to reference our assignments.

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	Theme	Rheme
	We And [we could] And [we] maybe so that it	could take something from the internet past it in our work, change it a little more can look like our own work.
	No one but at University there	would notice anything, is a kind of system they use to check for plagiarizing.
5	Coping work	from your friends is plagiarism.
	Plagiarism	can bring you into big trouble.
	Teachers	never paid attention to plagiarism as what the lectures do at University.
		"In one particular instance, a standard feedback sheet for tutors [extended quote]
	I	never knew plagiarism was such a big thing in University.
	Coming to University	widened my eyes to face the reality I am in.
6	I I because my first language	attended a school which was bilingual and coming to a University where only English are approached, find it very difficult for me to understand mostly what is being said in the lectures is Afrikaans.
		"The language problem [extended quote]
	According to The Cape Times news paper,	language support should be first priority in any effort aimed at addressing the language issue at institutions of Higher learning.
7	English language even though [I] some grammar	is a huge problem for me, understand and speak the language fluently, is still very difficult to learn and understand.
	There	are always some things you will find hard to understand properly.
	The English language because I	are far more difficult for me, use to have English First Additional Language in school.
	English language that is why some grammar	was never my strong point, are very unfamiliar to me.
	But with more practice	it will get better for me.
8	University	is a lot more tens full than High school.
	According to Lillis (2001)	in her first part of the chapter, she points to the increasing number of students participating in Higher Education whilst also signalling the tensions surrounding such participants.
	The workload and I and then I	is too much to handle and every time an assignment is handed out the stress begins feel very pressurized become scared.
	Research, it	has to be done for every assignment that is handed out is very important.
		"It may seem obvious that if your interest is student writing then you need to treat student text as a worthy research focus, rather than start from some idealized notion of what the written text should be." Lillis, (2001)
9	I when I our teachers	remember last year was still a scholar, at school always gave us extra notes which will helped us to do our assignments.
	It but it	was nice for me when the teachers helped me with my assignments, also made me lazy to not want to go out and do research by myself.
	That is why I because doing research and that is also the reason why I	feel that doing research is unfamiliar to me, was never necessary for me to do on school, struggle today.

	Theme	Rheme
		"It is very different to A-level where we used dictated notes for essays." Lea, & Street, (1998)
10	Student some [students]	finds their identity when they enter University and socialize with new friend they meet, get influenced by those friends by the way in which they use their language.
		"Only by working together we can reach a common understanding of language issue and develop support strategies aimed at overcoming the obstacles inherent in an English-only approach" (Cape Times, July, 7, 2009 p.13 'Language an obstacle to academic success')
11	Managing your time well	can help you a lot.
	When you you and they	come to University students of 2012, might meet new friend you are not use to being with will lead you into the wrong direction.
	Then you and you	will start doing things you never done before, will have assignments you have to hand in.
	you and you	will feel that it is not necessary to do now will postpone it everyday just to go out with your friends
	The day and you	when it has to be handed in it won't be finished will lose your marks for handing it in late.
	Time managing	is very important for a student to do.
	I	cant relate to myself.
	When I even though I but that is because it	was in school I always use to wait for the last day to do my assignments, could finish it in time, was not so difficult as in University and in school you still get plenty of chances to hand in your assignments.
	At university they	if you hand in your assignments late, deduct 5% of your marks.
	Always plan your work	and start immediately on your assignments.
12	First year students	do not know how to handle the pressure there are placed in, because this haven't been done in schools.
	Every year and it	the curriculum of schools changes become more difficult for a learner to understand the work they are doing in schools.
	If you you	want to attend a good University like 'The University of Western Cape' will have to be prepared.
13	School	are there to help and support us for the years when we go and study for our dream career.
	Each child	need the necessary experiences to help them achieve their goals and to become successful.
	Teacher and parents	has to support their children and help them to make the right choices.
	Being a student it	is not an easy job, is very difficult.
	I but then I	use to think being in school is the worst thing came to University and my whole mind set changed.
14	The first week	of University was just about work, work and more work.
	I	use to think University is much more fun, unfortunately not.

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	Theme	Rheme
	I but when this task I still, but after a while you	never knew essays can be so complicated was handed out and explained to me did not understand what to do get use to it, and things become easier for you when you manage your work properly.
15	Everyone but it	finds University as a difficult phase in their live, is not that difficult once you are use to all the work and writing.
	And it	will be better if you are prepared for University.
	Do you	think that you are being prepared for University by your High school or not, students of 2012?
	If I I	can give all you students of 2012 any advice, will advise you to ask your teachers anything you want to know about University and the writing at University.
		"A lot of high school students take some time, weeks, years, or never, to "get" the difference between university studies and high school." (Cape Times, July, 7, 2009 p.13 'Language an obstacle to academic success')
16	I	have come to a conclusion that student writing is very overwhelming for me and for most other students all around the country and that student writing in University are far more different and difficult than the essays we use to do in school.
	School	also never prepared me for University writing or anything considering University at all.
	So ask yourself	one thing, do you want to go through this next year when you enter University for your first time?
	I so	think not, stand up and tell your teachers that you want to learn and know more about the "new life" you are about to enter next year.

In this text, the writer argued that, "the school I attended really never prepared me" (paragraph 1, lines 4 and 10), and compared school-based versus university practices (paragraph 1 line 1; paragraph 2, line 1; paragraph 4, line 2; paragraph 11, line 1). In relation to structure the writer provided a thesis and reasons, supported with evidence as well as a conclusion that reiterates the initial point made and makes a recommendation (paragraph 15, line 1). Therefore, the structure contributes to whole text coherence because the writer's macro-theme ("to find out if high schools prepared me as a first year student…' links well with the hyper themes, such as 'In high school, university is a lot different, referencing was never that important…' (see paragraphs 1 to 15). In addition, this writer included markers of logical connection such as 'therefore', 'secondly'; including markers of cause (paragraph 1, line 12 and paragraph, 7, line 3) and concession ('but', 'even though'). These devices successfully created an argument that compares two contexts and overall it can be seen that this writer made a good attempt to link macro-theme with location, cause and contrast. Nonetheless, thematic organization was not always clearly carried through at paragraph level. More importantly, the use of academic sources combined with frequent grammatical inconsistencies and inappropriate register at

times interfere with the logicality of argument, because the writer did not clearly signal his/her positioning when including citations. As a result, even though this text shows some evidence of macro-text coherence, knowledge about clause structuring, thematic progression and introducing new and old information in academic texts is lacking.

Textual meaning in student text 5

|	Theme	Rheme
1	Writing	at University sounded very exciting and easy for me or let me say that is what I have heard.
	Experiencing it yourself??	Not ayoba!!!
2	At high school	writing essays <u>was</u> the easiest thing for me to do
	because <u>the</u> teachers	<u>provides</u> <u>us</u> with formulas, offers <u>you</u> a ready-made structure to work with, <u>teaches</u> just one model for any essay that you then apply in all of your courses, encourage repetition, <u>provides</u> the rules and <u>rewards</u> you for demonstrating your knowledge of material
	but at university	everything changes and writing <u>essays</u> becomes more difficult for me
	because the lecturers' or tutors	discourages formulas, provides freedom for you to come up with your own way of structuring your argument, offers discipline-specific guidelines for approaching wriiten work, discourage <u>repetiton</u> encourages critical thinking and rewards you for engaging in analysis.
3		*According to (Bruner,1986;Vygotsky,1986) the complex task of becoming integrated into the university context is further complicated by the fact that students bring to the learning situation a unique set of experiences and perceptions which, combined with contextual variables, impact on cognitive development and the quality of learning. One example illustrating the inter-dependence the learner's cognitive development and quality interactions at university is that of the first major writing assignment.*
		According to (Higher Education Council,1992) and the ability to express oneself competently in written form is the essay a common form of assessment at university is one of the skills most highly prized by employers.
		Yet students frequently nominate this as among the more challenging of academic demands at university, particularly in the first year (Krause,1998;Krause &Duchesne,2000).
4	Tinto(1996)	cites *"academic difficulty" as one of the most common forms of attriction and research indicates that a significant source of such difficulty for many students is that of the first assignment(Krause&Duchesne,2000).*
		This includes the often discouraging "reality shock" (McInnis,James,&Hartley,2000,p.19)of receiving a lower-than-expected assignment grade.
	By having to adjust their expectations	and become accustomed to new forms of assessment and grading may present sufficient academic difficulty for us as students that we considor leaving.
	By the task	of completing your first major writing assignment provides one pathway by which us as university students may become academically integrated, if it is used wisely within a supportive learning environment.
5	According to (Rubin,1998)	*writing is, in essence, a social act which occurs in social contexts. The academic writing process brings with it new challenges and demands requiring acculturation on the part of the writer.*

	Theme	Rheme
		Students admit to being afraid of the size of the group (Krause,1998;Krause&Duchesne,2000) and the alienation experienced within the context of large lecture halls and tutorials, and tutors they meet once a week at most.
6	In this case I	think that writing at university is a challenging but manageable component of surviving at university.
	For all these reasons,	the experience of completing the first major writing assignment presents itself as an ideal opportunity to make a difference in us as students' early educational experiences with a view to proactively integrating them into the academic context.

In this text, the writer argues that "at university writing essays becomes more difficult for me" (paragraph 1, line 4). In relation to structure, he/she provided this thesis supported with evidence as well as a conclusion, but changed his/her initial stance to "…writing at university is a challenging but manageable component" (paragraph 6, line 1). Nevertheless, the structure still contributes to whole text coherence. First, the writer included markers such as logical connectors indicating cause ("for all these reasons" paragraph 6, line 1) and concession (for example, 'but' in paragraph 1, line 3). Second, the macro-theme ("At high school writing essays was the easiest…") links well with the hyper-themes of the paragraphs that followed ("…the complex task of becoming integrated in the university context…first assignment…academic writing process brings with it new challenges…"). However, these hyper-themes include three academic citations in theme position that impact on whole text cohesion because the writer has not clearly signalled the linkage between citations and positioning (in paragraphs 2 and 3 especially) with the result that thematic organization is not always clearly carried through at paragraph level. Thus there is limited evidence of the signposting of stance, drawing on theme/rheme. Overall, this text although less sophisticated is adequate in terms of basic structure; however, the stages of argument are not clearly signposted. A stronger grasp of theme/rheme development and connectors to support logicality in argument was needed.

Discussion of textual metafunction

The texts revealed that in general students from this school showed awareness of structure, macro-theme development and the role of logical connectors in developing their stance. The strengths of these texts are as follows: First, in relation to structure all five texts managed to create coherence by situating their point, including evidence and in most cases a conclusion that reminded readers of the initial stance taken. For example texts 2 and 3

successfully discussed academic writing challenges, offered recommendations to make writing more manageable and concluded with advice, while texts 1, 4 and 5 provided a thesis that writing is challenging for them but had anomalous conclusions (text 1 concluded with a new point (paragraph 6, line 5) and text 5 changed the initial stance taken (paragraph 6, line 1)). Secondly, all five texts successfully developed the macro-theme by linking it with the hyper-themes in each paragraph, thus achieving logicality. Thirdly, all five texts included some appropriate logical markers of elaboration and concession that contributed towards argument coherence. However, only text 2 used topical, interpersonal and textual themes appropriately and effectively and successfully included a range of logical markers such as 'furthermore', 'hence' (see paragraph 10, 11), 'first' and 'second' (see paragraph 6, 7, 15) as well as markers of comparison and concession ('but', 'however', 'besides') that clearly signposted main points in theme position. Finally, even though a level of cohesion and thematic organization was achieved, the use of other sources (in texts 1, 3, 4 and 5) interfered with cohesion because these texts do not clearly signal the linkage between citations and the writers' positioning. This issue is discussed further under interpersonal meaning in the next section.
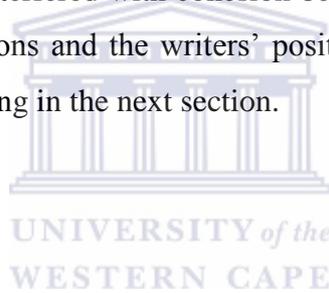
4.4.4. Emerging patterns in student texts (schools A and B)

Experiential Meaning

In relation to experiential meaning all student texts at school A and school B displayed a similar pattern to construct the field, that is, the circumstances of location and time clearly foregrounded that the topic was about writing at university. Therefore, all five texts at both schools managed to situate nominal groups appropriately, included a range of processes and to a large extent foregrounded structure that situated the field in comparative terms (school/university). Moreover, projection of sources also showed evidence of sharing a similar subject-field. However, even though a range of processes were used (mental, verbal and relational), they did not entirely contribute towards construction of abstract generalizations. Overall students' construction of the field in texts from both school A and school B was appropriate and recognisable; for instance, there were similar lexical items across all essays such as referencing, plagiarism and research and descriptors of schools practices. Yet, in terms of genre and realizing the field, interesting variation was visible in relation to social purpose: first texts from school A demonstrated more variation in complexity and technicality in relation to the purpose and the intended audience, while only two school B texts managed to achieve this. Secondly, most student texts (1, 2, 3 & 4) from school A demonstrated control of a written register to realize the field whereas student text 2 at school B was the only text that appropriately situated the field; the remaining texts (1, 3, 4 and 5) were characterized by grammatical inconsistencies and a more spoken register. Although all of these texts included relational processes, four of the School B texts thus neglected to filter information through abstraction and technicality whereas texts 1 to 4 of school A mostly managed to foreground abstract nominal groups (with more technical and abstract language visible in texts 1 and 2). Therefore, in most of the school B texts, students' representation of the experiential metafunction was achieved as simple nominal structures with low levels of lexical density, nominalization and abstract generalization. Overall, then, it was in control of grammar and nominalised abstractions that the schools varied greatly. Insufficient experience with these crucial elements of the experiential field could jeopardise EAL student success in academic writing.

Interpersonal Meaning

Overall, the control of interpersonal meaning in all student texts was weak: however, school A texts were marginally stronger than those from school B This can be seen in the

following features: First with regard to the control of projection, all but one text projected additional academic voices into their texts but only two texts in each school demonstrated the ability to integrate these voices into their stance; but the weaker School A texts still managed a better control of projection. Thus projection of sources was achieved but it showed that most students were unclear about the manner and purpose of projecting sources into texts.; Second, the use of modality also varied between the two schools; four out of five school A texts (Texts 1 – 4) demonstrated some use of modality as part of their stance whereas at school B only text 2 showed similar control of modality. For example, the four student texts at school A included 'is/are' when they provided information or drew on citations which meant that the audience had limited space for contestation while only text 2 at school B did the same. So, even though modality was generally weak it better controlled in four out of five texts from school A with only one text from school B. Finally, in relation to concession, all student texts at school A and School B demonstrated some ability to draw on concession to negotiate stance in their use of (but/however/even though) indicative of contrast and concession . A comparison of graduation resources revealed that all School A texts drew on some intensification and quantification to construct appraisal while only one text from school B (text 2) evidenced this ability. There was some quantification in the other four texts (school B) but this was obscured by sentence level, paragraph and grammatical inconsistencies. Overall, nuanced use of modality to indicate stance towards sources or information was lacking across all texts and even though concession was adequately used across both sets of texts, it was used infrequently. Second, in relation to appraisal, student texts from both schools showed affect, judgement and appreciation but at school B limited linguistic resources impacted on the construction of writer stance in this regard. Finally, graduation resources were more effectively used to create stance in student texts from school A whereas only one text (text 2) from school B managed to create stance effectively drawing on graduation. As a result, even though students drew on a range of interpersonal resources, it is clear that as newcomers into the field both sets of texts demonstrate some evidence of modality, projection and graduation resources but that students from school B (except for text 2) mostly lacked the necessary linguistic resources in English to construct their stance appropriately.

Textual meaning

Here, texts revealed that students from both schools showed some awareness of structure, macro-theme development and the use of logical connectors to develop their argument. The strengths of these texts are as follows: First, in relation to structure all student texts managed to create coherence by developing a series of logically related points to support their theses, including evidence and in most cases a conclusion that reminded readers of the initial stance taken (school A, texts 1 and 3) or a conclusion with recommendations (school A, text 2 & school B texts 2, 3 and 4). Second, all ten texts successfully developed macro-theme because these linked well with the hyper-themes in each paragraphs but theme-rheme development was uneven So quite weak overall because there were not many textual elements are in the theme position in both sets of texts, but weaker in texts from School B. The exception to this was the successful use of logical markers of elaboration and concession in all ten texts that contributed towards argument coherence. Overall, the analysis of textual meaning showed that students from both schools included some logical markers as well as markers of comparison and concession that signposted main points, they all managed to effectively create logicality through macro-theme progression but it was at paragraph level and theme/rheme development that inconsistencies were found in all student texts and the degree of sophistication in the use of textual and interpersonal themes varied across the two schools; only one student from school B managed to situate stance successfully whereas three from school A managed this successfully.

4.4.5   First year student texts and writer habitus

As seen in section 4.4.4 overall control of generic structure and experiential meaning was adequately realised in all texts with some unevennesses: lexical density and abstraction were less evident in School B texts, pointing to a lack of experience with more technical disciplinary registers. However, with regard to interpersonal and textual meaning, patterns of realization revealed substantially less control of key aspects such as projection, modality, graduation and theme/rheme development in texts from both schools, with this control on the whole being weaker in school B texts. Register development overall was thus weaker in school B, with occasional exceptions, and exacerbated by colloquial language and grammatical inconsistencies such as sentence construction, subject-verb agreement, the use of prepositions, spelling and punctuation. As a result, developing and

supporting arguments, sharing and evaluating information and opinions in an extended writing assignment indicated:

a) weakness in both schools as a reflection of gaps in policy, curriculum documents and similar pedagogical practices at both schools

b) the additional impact of the lack of different kinds and amounts of cultural capital in school B

As indicated earlier in this thesis, these EAL students (school B) and Home Language students (school A) came from diverse socio-educational backgrounds. Despite some difference in their ability to realize elements of attitude, modality and textual logicality it is striking that their texts mostly reveal similar patterns of dealing with academic writing based on experiential, interpersonal and textual metafunctions. It can be argued that these similarities could be a result of exposure to the field of policy implemented in pedagogical and assessment practices. Previous sections highlighted a gap between the official policy and the national assessment for languages at the end of grade 12. This has been shown to impact on classroom pedagogy and discourse: a key and conspicuous similarity between the two schools was the constant presence of the grade 12 examination in classroom discourse. As highlighted in the previous scene (Scene Three), the national examination can be said to focus largely on traditional forms of assessment: that is, language devoid of social context and limited extended writing tasks with a predominance of narrative genres. Therefore, first year students are likely to have a writer mould that consists of narrative schemata as well as a range of language rules and grammar isolated from actual use in textual context. Their results for English in grade 12 are not necessarily a determiner of success in writing at university where they are required to make rapid and demanding changes in writer habitus. As a result, the cultural capital acquired at school is devalued when they enter university. Secondly, the different types of cultural capital available such as physical resources and low teacher-learner ratios seemed to have impacted on the writing development in different ways; at school A learner texts were team-marked by the teachers in the department who thus identified common gaps to be developed during the FET Phase, feedback was prompt and access to a well-stocked library meant exposure to books and sources to include in assignments. This was not the case for learners at school B and thus the availability of cultural capital in developing writer habitus in the FET Phase matters.

ACT FIVE: Conclusions and recommendations

Introduction

The purpose of this dissertation was to shed light on the construction of writer identities in the FET Phase and the implications for academic writing at first year university level. Here, I was guided by Bourdieu's notion of field, habitus and capital, Halliday's SFL theory and ethnography as method. Findings have focused on the enactment of national curriculum policies in two diverse school contexts. They have also, on the basis of a detailed linguistic analysis, highlighted the gaps between these policies and the national exit assessment for Grade 12 English as Additional Language. Finally, an analysis of first year student scripts has shown the intersecting effects of policy, assessment and pedagogy in the FET Phase on students' ability to construct the kind of writer identities necessary for success at university. I now conclude with a discussion of the main findings gathered from each scene of Act 4.

In this conclusion, I first discuss the impact of the field on teachers' pedagogical moulds and how these moulds in turn shape the development of writer identities in the FET Phase. Then I focus on the national assessment at the end of the FET Phase and its effect on the kind of cultural capital that was valued throughout grades 10 to 12. After this, I return to the notion of field in relation to the effects of policy and assessment on the construction of writer identities. Finally, I summarize the consequences of these combined factors as observed in students' first year academic writing.

5.0 THE DENOUEMENT BEGINS: Reviewing the field scenario

As this study has noted and discussed throughout, teachers are guided in their teaching of writing by the curriculum policy for languages that provides the theoretical framework, a pedagogical toolkit and relevant text types to read and write in the FET Phase (CAPS, 2011). Ever since 1994 there have been constant shifts in curriculum policy, from the ambitious Curriculum 2005 (C2005) with its predominantly outcomes-based approach to the National Curriculum Statement (NCS) and the current Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS). Despite these shifts, a common thread in all these documents has been the underpinning of more socially sensitive understandings of language, advocating a text-based approach in combination with Communicative Language Teaching and Process approaches for the teaching of writing.

The bureaucratic field of policy

The field reformulated appropriate pedagogical action in curriculum documents as part of rapidly changing policy formation and implementation. First it presented new theoretical underpinnings, second it presented teachers with a new way of behaving in the field, attempting to frame a new pedagogical habitus associated with language teaching, and third it created a new valued capital in the field: a linguistically informed embodiment of a *metalanguage* of how texts work. As a result, the move to more socially oriented language approaches in the field resulted in a shift in cultural capital: that is, a shift in which knowledge of texts in relation to social contexts gained value, and which also represented an emerging market with new field-specific exchange value. However, teachers' access to these forms of cultural capital was hampered by the Department of Basic Education's (DBE) own confusion regarding teaching grammar in context, along with their apparently superficial understanding of the genres of schooling as represented in teaching plans and specifically in assessment rubrics. In fact, policy drafters' limited understanding of the theoretical underpinnings of the new language curriculum seriously impacted on the implementation of CAPS (2011), as we have seen. This means that the under-theorized official policy set up a frame that counteracted the intended shift towards the new pedagogical habitus. This under-theorization in turn resulted in ineffective and dysfunctional forms of capital with limited exchange value in the field, creating the basis for a teacher deficit discourse where schools and specifically teachers shoulder the blame for the challenges with curriculum implementation.

Field specific capitals and school positioning

In relation to the policy field, the two schools in this study illustrated a struggle for positions in this educational field where history, identity and socio-economic conditions created different configurations of power relations that could be converted into cultural, social and symbolic capitals. Teachers in both contexts revealed their awareness of this positioning when they referred to the 'other' school contexts as: *Shame, how goes it over there?* and *You cannot compare them with us*. Competition in the field is over symbolic capital associated with high pass rates at the end of grade 12. Contextual conditions at school A resulted in continued 100% pass rates which rewarded this school with power and some form of autonomy. For example, this school did not have to adhere to field-related prescribes such as the DBE compulsory after-school telematics classes (extra online learning support which was

compulsory for school B) and did not always attend memorandum and standard-setting discussions at district level. These two schools were thus differently inserted into the set of power relations operating in the field.

Findings have revealed different overlapping forms of cultural capital in the two schools, dependent in each case on the amount of economic capital available: these forms can be identified as embodied, objectified and institutional. First, embodied capital was visible in relation to local school contexts at school A: school A learners assimilated dispositions associated with a respect for hierarchy and 'western' culture such as classical music, theatre, debating, compulsory society affiliations and programmes of volunteering. At the other school, however, learners embodied resistance to authority and had limited or no exposure to societies and clubs. As a result, assimilation and inculcation of bodily dispositions was converted into some form of habitus: where at one school it resulted in the inculcation of middle class 'high' culture, at the other it culminated in a discourse of violence and disadvantage, closely tied in each case to the embodiment of a privileged or underprivileged habitus and access to symbolic capital.

Secondly, objectified cultural capital in the form of material resources available as a result of economic capital was also relational to position and field power. One school possessed a fine hall, a media room, a swimming pool, a well-resourced library and science laboratories, while the other school had none of these things. Moreover, school A was able to fund an additional 20 posts through the School Governing Body (SGB) whereas School B had only one SGB post. This resulted in substantial differences in learner-teacher ratios and in relation to school practices such as collaborative departmental meetings, staff seminars, team-marking practices and the nature of feedback to learners at school A. Obviously less feedback means less scope for learner development, thus the possession of objectified cultural capital was convertible into rewards such as high staff morale, higher learner success rates and the inculcation of an academically valued habitus that created conditions for school A to be part of the game and succeed in the competition, thus maintaining the status quo of the past. Embodied and objectified cultural capital combined were a powerful resource that enabled teachers and learners from school A to access or to maintain a position of status in the field-specific hierarchy.

Third, higher amounts of embodied and objectified cultural capital translated into greater amounts of institutionalized cultural capital in the form of National Senior Certificates at the end of the FET Phase that learners could convert into bachelor degrees, diplomas or certificated passes. Thus schools with high amounts of embodied, objectified and institutional cultural capital had more buying power and symbolic capital, and more positions in post-school education and training contexts (including access to university and the world of work) which ultimately lead to upward social mobility.

Another form of capital closely tied to economic capital that was clearly evident in the field was social capital. The economic capital such as the SGB-managed investments of a trust fund afforded school A with social capital such as alumni in high positions in other fields of power: for instance government, theatre and national sports codes. This access to social capital and social networks with high power and prestige resulted in international scholarship exchanges for teachers and learners, international school sport tours as well as music and theatre halls sponsored by these social networks. In addition, the SGBs at these two schools were headed by parents with access to divergent social capital: in the school A context the SGB consisted of parents who were professors, medical doctors and lawyers with high levels of education whereas the SGB parent members in the other context had low levels of employment and literacy. Therefore, access to social capital is associated with school positioning in the field, where the possession of this capital results in dominant positions and related strategies that preserve the status quo. As a result, access to various forms of field specific capital matters. The next section discusses the field-specific capital as set out in the NCS (2003) and CAPS (2010) in relation to teaching in the FET Phase.

Field-specific capital: FET teaching, learning and classroom discourses

The field-specific capital as set out in the NCS (2003) and CAPS (2011) apparently valued knowledge of DBE policy expectations and rewarded implementation strategies based on knowledge of texts and the ways that texts work in social contexts. Accordingly, teachers were required to change the form of their cultural capital from relatively decontextualised pedagogical practices to the explicit teaching of the genres of schooling. This shift necessitated the adoption of new cultural capital. However, rather than demonstrating a focus on the acquisition of this new capital – and thus attending to the scaffolding of the genres of schooling – teachers in the FET Phase in both school contexts were focussed rather on end points, that is, the grade 12 examination. Interestingly, despite the differences between the

two school in terms of cultural and social capitals, the theories encapsulated in NCS (2003) and CAPS (2011) were missing in the classroom discourses at both schools (see Act Four Scene Two). This lack can be ascribed to teachers' existing grammar habitus which had not been transformed. The necessary shift in pedagogy called for an adequate knowledge of text-based and communicative language teaching by teachers who did not have communicative language teaching experience, an effect compounded by the fact that in both contexts teachers were dependent on inadequate textbooks or departmental hand-outs. It became clear that teachers needed to let go of their embodied cultural capital rooted in training associated with grammar approaches to teaching writing, and with the curriculum and expectations of assessment. It was difficult to untangle what teachers felt they must do with the curriculum from what teachers might believe was good practice. As a result, even though both key curriculum documents advocated that teachers should combine an uneasy mix of communicative language teaching, text-based and process approaches to teach writing, pedagogical practices in both school contexts were characterized by the following: limited and limiting pedagogical interactions; a lack of pedagogical framing or scaffolding; a lack of connection to other learning or real world communicative contexts and a lack of principled theoretically driven focus on genre-specific stages and linguistic features (See the detailed discussion in Act Four, Scene Two). Consequently, in both classroom contexts learners assimilated the traditional cultural capital related to the conscious acquisition of formal knowledge, grammatical rules, and regurgitation of facts; in fact, learners were inculcated to embody dispositions and skills that met the demands of the grade 12 exit examinations which, surprisingly, were an almost total antithesis to the curriculum policy. The section that follows sheds light on the ways that the field policy structures assessment in the FET Phase.

Field structures and assessment

First, the theoretical gaps in the NCS (2003) and CAPS (2011) in relation to text-based theory (see Act Four Scene One) held implications for the setting of English Additional Language question papers, both in schools and nationally. At school and national level, the theoretical gaps already mentioned resulted in the treatment of texts in isolation from context and a lack of attention to the genres of schooling, as well as a complete disregard for textual and interpersonal meanings and their linguistic instantiation in texts. More importantly the question papers suggested that examiners themselves had limited understanding of text-based theory and consequently assessment tasks undermined curriculum implementation. The grade

12 exit examination has symbolic capital yet its form and content have resulted in unintended consequences such as narrow, examination-driven teaching approaches that can hinder the transfer of language knowledge into coherent, cohesive and extended pieces of writing in school or beyond the field of schooling.

A second major factor in the grade 12 national examination was the high cultural capital attached to traditional textual practices that largely ignored the meta-linguistic properties of texts. Observations of classroom discourse and pedagogy revealed that teachers at both schools did not see the relevance of the new linguistically informed pedagogy and continued to teach traditional forms of grammar that ignored identity and power relations visible through linguistic choices as well as meaning in social contexts. If assessment of writing is not aligned along theoretical underpinnings of text-based theories then language pedagogy will continue to focus on sentence-level and decontextualized clause-level tasks which are unlikely to develop the kind of academic language proficiency and discourse competence valued at university.

This study has shown that even though the curriculum makes provision for various forms of assessment, a great deal of teachers' pedagogic discourse and assessment practice was examination-driven and especially closely linked to the grade 12 national assessments for English Home and Additional Language. In both contexts, there was investment in grade 10 quarterly question papers; teachers inculcated guidelines for answering the grade 12 question papers in learners over the three-year span of the FET phase: the structure and types of questions throughout these years were closely aligned to the national paper exemplars available on DBE's website (see Act Four Scene Two and Three). Even more revealing was the classroom discoursal investment in the requirements of the grade 12 examination. Thus an underlying institutional discourse from the beginning of grade 10 in both contexts emphasised the importance of succeeding in the grade 12 exit examinations, carriers of high degrees of cultural and symbolic capital.

Even though learners at both schools were moulded to embody textual practices and dispositions aligned to the exit examination, it was access to other 'cultural goods' - the objectified cultural capital such as exchange programmes abroad and the compulsory cultural societies and clubs that learners at school A belonged to - that inculcated in these learners bodily dispositions of social prestige and also exposed them to standard versions of English,

expansion of spoken and written vocabularies and cultural conventions associated with communities of practice which, it could be argued, impact on academic writing in positive ways. This lack of other cultural goods combined with the lack of material resources and other social factors in school B contributed to writer habitus that was less well aligned to valued academic practices. Feeding into the grade 12 high-stakes assessment and the policy effects delineated above is a set of gaps evident in pedagogical and assessment practices. The next section focuses on the field effects that impacted on teachers' unawareness of how much there is to know and how much they do not know about text-based approaches and teaching of writing in the FET Phase.

5.1 SCENE ONE: Field effects that structure the teaching of writing in FET Phase

Field effects seen to be operating in this study include: teachers' pedagogical habitus as embodiment of the outdated cultural capital acquired in their professional training (which nevertheless still serves them well, given the assessment issues outlined above), limited attention to multimodal meaning, the omission of a metalinguistic knowledge component from CAPS, and the lack of focus on extended writing, especially for second language writers, to develop control of the three metafunctions. As a result, this section is a summary of the gaps evident in policy and practice in relation to genre-based approaches and the implications this holds for enabling writer identities.

5.1.1   Teachers' pedagogical *habitus*

First, as discussed in depth in Act Four, Scene Two, the FET teachers in the language department at these two schools (except for one) received training trained prior to 1994. Professional teacher training then focused on behaviourist teaching methodologies; thus teachers' habitus was reminiscent of acquired cultural capitals associated with decontextualised rules inculcated via skills-based discourses and practices. The political shift in 1994 resulted in a new curriculum underpinned by constructivist pedagogy which demanded a pedagogical paradigm shift yet this shift was accompanied by inadequate and insufficiently informed in-service language teacher training. Thus post democracy a rapidly changing policy field with shifting cultural capital resulted in a pedagogical identity under constant pressure to adapt: previously acquired cultural capital no longer had value on the new market. Without proper theoretical and pedagogical guidance teachers would not be able to meaningfully practice genre-based language pedagogies: first, teachers meta-linguistic

knowledge would be limited; second, teachers' enduring skills-based habitus inevitably holds implications for classroom discourse, pedagogy and assessment; and third, learners' induction into textual engagement would be minimized. Thus teachers' cultural capital in the form of the meta-language to induct learners into an understanding of how texts work was limited. So, although there was a shift towards new policies, teachers were caught between old and new policies.

Secondly, even more revealing, teachers in my study never dealt explicitly with multimodal texts or explored the ways in which meaning is constructed jointly by text, image, design, and so on. Once again, this lack of adequately dealing with multimodality reflects a corresponding gap in the policy documents. First, it points towards policy writers' limited theoretical understanding of SFL text-based approaches because an outdated grammar approach is still presented in isolation despite injunctions in the document of a grammar in context approach. Secondly, theoretically inappropriate assessment rubrics for writing and the lack of explicitly unpacking multi-modal texts contributed to teachers' inability to explicitly highlight the ways that linguistic, symbolic and visual grammar function in meaning-making. Thirdly, this global meaning-making practice and theoretical gap in policy considerably stacked the odds against teachers' pedagogical ability to be innovative in language classrooms as observed in the FET Phase at the two schools, where pedagogical practices relied on departmental guidance in the form of curriculum documentation and focused on traditional decontextualised grammar and extended writing approaches. As a result of the theoretical gaps in CAPS, the field has been plagued with implementation challenges, especially with regard to shifts towards innovative pedagogy in language classrooms; and thus at both schools A and B teacher habitus and embodied cultural capital were entangled with valued assessment practices that worked for them in the past.

Third, the metalinguistic knowledge component encapsulated in the NCS (2003) has been omitted in CAPS. Consequently, neither teachers nor learners appear able to construct a coherent *metalanguage* that enables analytical thinking about language choices in texts. This is important because a text-based approach is ideally suited to the development of critical language awareness and without the *metalinguistic* component it will be very difficult to develop learners as critical readers of texts. Indeed, teachers in my study resorted to explanations of language facts and providing mostly explanations of examination requirements for writing rather than engaging learners in thinking about aspects such as

authors' choices; what to foreground on theme-position; participants and process; or learners' representation of degree of commitment to information presented. Although CAPS gives some direction and guidance, the lack of sufficient pedagogical and theoretical knowledge severely hampered the possibility of change of pedagogical, discoursal and classroom practices.

Fourth, teachers' lack of theoretical training related to SFL text-based approaches combined with the omission of *metalanguage* in CAPS impacted on the assimilation of genre-specific writing capital in classroom contexts at both schools. Observations of extended writing pedagogy in the FET Phase showed that teachers had very little explicit focus on the meaning-making potential of language and thus discoursal, situational and cultural contexts of writing received little attention: there was no coherent, systematic and explicit induction into the genres of schooling and thus no unpacking of good model texts for learners. Moreover, SFL metafunctions to facilitate textual analysis associated with rheme/theme development and appraisal in particular were ignored. Thus despite the inclusion of register appropriacy in the national rubric guiding assessment of extended writing, this crucial criterion received minimal focus.

5.1.2   Field-specific discourses, genres and textual practices

If the focus of assessment is traditional and the criteria do not include text-based *metafunctions* then grade 12 learners are entering universities with only narrative, descriptive constructs of text combined with decontextualised language rules and grammar. As shown in Act four Scene Four, they are then challenged when required to show their understanding of content through extended analytical assignments at tertiary level. Learners have therefore acquired cultural capital at the end of secondary schooling that has little value in the new field (for example, in the Faculty of Education in which this study was conducted) which values the ability to construct voice and stance through textual organisation, appraisal, and a technical register appropriate to audience.

Also as mentioned in Act Three Scene One, the curriculum stipulates that the length for extended writing should range from 150 to 300 words for additional language speakers and be approximately 500 words for home language speakers. This means that grade 12 learners are socialized into writing dispositions and practices that value technical literacy associated with very limited word count rather than meaning-making in extended writing. As a result,

the text length in classrooms will reflect the required word count and learners' embodied cultural capital will not include the ability to construct extended arguments or to critique and produce a wide range of texts. This is especially deleterious for second language writers.

Moreover, as shown, pedagogy and assessment in the FET Phase did not foreground the relationship between the social purpose of genres and the linguistic and structural choices.. Learners were not inducted into authentic textual practices; recognizing and producing genres for different social purposes was thus challenging, because they lacked the tools for effective and coherent writing. Ignoring the relationship between social context, purpose and linguistic choices meant that learners were not inducted into the functional aspect of language in texts and into the ways in which the writer's linguistic choices reveal values and ideologies associated with identity, power and audience. As a result, learners at schools were not inducted into dispositions that include identifying heteroglossia or writer stance in texts; and thus many first year students enter universities with a writer mould that sees textual meaning as fixed, does not recognize author subjectivity, and lacks critical engagement with different layers of meaning based on audience history, culture and identity.

5.2   SCENE TWO: Field and construction of first year students' writer habitus

Text-based approaches drawing on SFL have largely focused on learners learning to write in English and proponents argue that it is particularly useful for learners writing in English as a second language (Kerfoot & Simon-Vandenbergen, 2015; White et al, 2015). As this approach advocates explicit teaching through a curriculum cycle that "models and makes explicit the dominant forms of writing valued in schools" and beyond (Gibbons, 2002, p. 52), it is appropriate in the South African contexts, given that most learners are learning through the medium of English, a language which they do not speak at home. Therefore a text-based approach as encapsulated in the NCS (2003) and CAPS (2011) is commendable because it has the potential to develop enabling writer identities in the FET Phase, allowing for smoother transition and ease at universities during the first year of studies. However, the mismatches between the approach and the way it is represented in the South African language curriculum confuse the purpose of this approach, a confusion which is reflected in the findings as to first year students' ability to construct appropriate texts.

Texts chosen for analysis were of both EAL and HL students coming from the two schools in my study and who registered for an Academic Literacy Module in the Faculty of Education (see detailed discussion in Act Four Scene Four). Interestingly, structural shortcomings were visible in all student texts, from both schools. In the case of this assignment, learners had to argue for a position on an issue (see Act Four, Scene Four) and they were expected to provide a thesis statement that needed to be supported by (and elaborated in) a series of points culminating in thesis reinforcement. However, half of the learners found it challenging to provide an explicit thesis statement (three at school A and two from school B). In relation to social purpose, three students opted to discuss, three attempted to argue, two gave information and two gave recounts of personal experiences with regard to writing at university. Therefore, the stages in all texts were haphazard, even though all students included relevant content. For instance, students managed to contextualize the issue and provide relevant sub-points, but structure was divergent: four texts concluded with advice, four reiterated main points made and two concluded with new points.

My study has highlighted how teachers' pedagogical strategies were closely aligned to the national exit examination at the end of grade 12 and that these students were therefore not inducted into social purposes for writing in authentic contexts or schematic structures of text types, nor were they taught the different genres or exposed to good models of written texts. As such, texts from both schools displayed varied schematic structure associated with discussion, information and recounts. Despite this similarity at both schools, student texts from school A situated their points more clearly; three texts used formal register and one shifted between formal and conversational, whereas only two from school B managed the formal register. More significantly, clarity of author's voice was more effectively realized in four student texts from school A versus only two from school B due to grammatical, punctuation and spelling inconsistencies. I now highlight the strengths and weaknesses of these student texts in terms of their realization of the three *metafunctions*. Then I shed light on the additional challenges facing English Additional Language learners from school B; and finally, I highlight the common academic writing issues to consider for first year writing.

First, with regard to the experiential metafunction, student writers from both school A and school B managed to construct the field adequately. Given that this was a fairly simple task with little field-specific terminology, this was to be expected. However, at least four school A students were relatively strong in their control of technical and abstract language while only

two school B students showed appropriate control of abstract nominal groups as representation of a rational and logical argument. More importantly, semantic density, register, stance, and logical development were largely a problem for students from school B. So, even though all students were able to exploit the basic experiential content it was their construction of field through logical argument that was not entirely achieved.

Second, analysis of the interpersonal meaning revealed that the absence of explicit teaching of this metafunction had three main effects: an unevenness in control of consistent authorial voice (half of the students in each school), even though three students from school A and one from school B managed to use modality to create stance - for example, minimizing audience contestation when points and recommendations are given and opening up audience engagement when generalizations are made about student feelings or university practices. Despite this, there remained a lack of coherent attention to modality at both schools which in turn affected writers' ability to construct a stance towards the information they were presenting, and even though attitude was negotiated at both schools, the students from school A used graduation more effectively. These linguistic resources were evident in their use of intensification and quantification, which four learners at school B were unable to exploit adequately. Also, even though student texts reveal traces of concession, in both cases students in general struggled to project an authoritative stance on the information presented.

Third, the textual metafunction demonstrated that students from both schools overall showed some awareness of structure, macro-theme development and included some logical connectors to develop their stance. The strengths of these texts are: they mostly displayed evidence of understanding macro-theme development due to linking hyper-themes that created coherence; all ten texts included logical markers of cause, elaboration and concession contributing towards argument coherence; and they all managed to include topical and textual themes. Despite these strengths there was limited use of interpersonal themes to situate stance (two texts at school A and one at school B included this, although minimally) or of packaging information as dense abstractions through nominalizations. Theme/rheme development was not employed strategically as moves to develop thesis and overall position. Finally, even though cohesion and thematic organization was generally achieved, the use of academic sources at both schools mostly interfered with cohesion because only two students from these schools attempted to signal the linkage between citations and their positioning.

Analysing the interpersonal, experiential and textual metafunction has allowed me to identify a set of academic challenges visible in first year student texts from two diverse school contexts. Thus far my study has highlighted that students from both schools lacked crucial meaning-making resources with regard to interpersonal and textual meaning, but that students from school B faced a more marked insufficiency of linguistic resources in that the realization of all metafunctions was marred in three of five texts from school B by problems with grammar and graphic features: for example, limitations in subject-verb agreement, word order and in some cases spelling. Even though all the metafunctions were also not entirely realized at school A, four of these students had appropriate control of grammar and linguistic choices and even the recount text displayed better lexicon than three of the weaker student texts from school B. It could be argued that this weakness stems from insufficient exposure to either everyday or academic registers in English as all students are second language speakers of English: three student texts from school B demonstrated low levels of academic language compared to the four student texts from school A that demonstrated they were exposed to a far greater degree to the spoken and written discourses of English through the forms of objectified and institutional cultural capital available to them.

Overall, it can be concluded that due to particular writing histories created by an entanglement of factors such as policy, decontextualised language discourses, and pedagogical and assessment practices, most learners in both schools were socialized into a particular frame of narrative writing where the basic experiential metafunctions were mastered but interpersonal and textual metafunctions were underdeveloped to varying degrees. Thus the ability to make transitions into academic discourse communities was challenging, and additional language learners of English were particularly at risk.

Although, Act 4 Scene 4 revealed that students possess broadly similar writing moulds, it also illuminated the varying degrees of linguistic resources, register and grammar control at both schools. Most students from school B showed an insecure repertoire of grammar and limited language control, which impacted on their ability to negotiate stance and even though learners from school A demonstrated less linguistic and grammar-related deficiencies, these learners faced similar challenges. Therefore, school A's insistence that they are an 'English-only' school could impact on the grammatical ability of the Subset Two group (considered weaker by teachers), especially given that grammar is not being taught from grade 10 on to English Home Language learners. Nonetheless, the relationship between the cultural, social

and economic capital available at school A has positive effects on student writing: firstly, access to economic capital afforded them with low teacher-learner ratios that provided symbolic resources such as smaller classes and thus better opportunities to implement teacher feedback on writing; secondly, it bought them access to resources such as a well-stocked library; and thirdly, these learners were exposed to societies and clubs where standard English for spoken and written communication was a norm. In relation to social capital, these learners were exposed to international exchange programmes and theatre festivals and as such gained symbolic capital through interacting in English-only contexts; and finally, these various forms of capital provided learners from school A with embodied cultural capital. On the other hand, social background and school experiences resulted in the unavailability of these capitals to learners from school B and thus constrained their English language development; larger classes and lack of resources further affected their ability to use appropriate linguistic resources when constructing arguments, evidenced in the more pronounced gaps in school B texts. Consequently, first year students should be inducted into an intensive writing course that draws on language as social construct and on genre as staged and goal-oriented in achieving social purposes. In this way, students can be successfully exposed to the new field and its associated discourses of writing that links with textual organization, hedging, technical abstract language and audience.
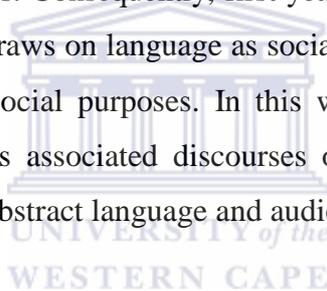
Thus it is important in the face of deficit narratives framing first year academic writing as problematic, that lecturers and academic literacy practitioners develop an understanding of the school-based writing discourses and habitus that students bring with them. In the absence of this understanding, skills-based academic literacy modules often seem to be the most attractive and cost-effective options. What is needed are frames that deal with literacy as social practice but that also include a principled, linguistically oriented approach to genre as texts in disciplinary contexts, in order to compensate for (among other things) the neglected metafunctions of textual and interpersonal meaning. This focus seems to offer a sound basis for addressing the symbolic violence perpetrated against learners in the FET phase because of the policy and curriculum-based failure to develop enabling writer identities and a form of cultural capital that would hold value in the tertiary education field.

The next section sets out recommendations as to what is necessary to transform both the development of the writer habitus at FET level and the approaches taken by universities to assist struggling student writers.

5.3 SCENE THREE: The future - Recommendations

The insufficient depth of theoretical understanding of genre-based approaches represented in all the curriculum documents created since democracy (Kerfoot, Desai & Probyn, 2009; Kerfoot & van Heerden, 2015; Van Heerden, 2008) is disturbing. This lack of depth, at least in the NCS, is partially the result of political processes of compromise and negotiation over appropriate theories to be included. Such theoretical underspecification will inevitably impact on educator training programmes, textbook writers' implementation of new literacy and language learning approaches and teachers' pedagogical practices. In this study, it seems that these gaps and insufficiencies directly contributed towards the current challenges with regard to literacy teaching and learning in the two very different schools investigated. It can therefore be assumed that the impact is much wider. The lack of adequate theoretically principled literacy support in the curriculum documents combined with insufficient knowledge in the literacy leadership provided by provincial and district-level curriculum advisors can therefore be seen to impede the development of enabling writer identities in the FET Phase.

With regard to the teaching of academic literacies in first year university study, it has been shown that new-comers into the field do not have a clear understanding of the three metafunctions; thus social purpose, audience, appropriate use of modality, and theme/rheme organization of content to create cohesion and logical flow were lacking in student texts. Thus more ethnographic studies of first year writing are necessary. These studies should focus on the effects of the theoretical underpinnings of academic literacy modules, and associated assessment practices in higher education so that lecturers who provide academic support in disciplinary discourses can make connections between school-based writing and academic discourses in the interest of students, in order to address the taken-for-granted assumptions that students should understand and know how to write. Such studies might shed light on institutional ideologies and allow for a reorientation towards academic norms and expectations that are sensitive to identities of first year students when they encounter new disciplinary epistemologies.

To sum up, then, future investigations into the construction of enabling writer habitus in South African contexts should include:

- Rigorous in-service training for SFL genre-based approaches with ongoing mentoring for support in adapting teacher habitus.

- A study of district officials' knowledge of SFL genre-based approaches, in order to ensure well-grounded support and guidance in relation to classroom pedagogy and assessment of writing in the FET Phase.

- An evaluation of textbook developers' understanding of SFL text-based theory: that is, their ability to develop textbooks based on scaffolded curriculum cycles (Gibbons, 2002), thus offering additional pedagogical support and promote the explicit teaching of SFL text-based theory.

- More ethnographic studies of student texts drawing on SFL-based genre theory are needed in secondary school and higher education contexts but even more in the new genres which are emerging as a result of new technologies.

- SFL-based studies that investigate the assessment tasks drawing on the new CAPS-aligned curriculum.

- Studies on approaches to teaching higher education genres that combine purpose, audience, and social context with more textually oriented approaches.

- Studies that explore the extent to which combining academic literacies and Systemic Functional Linguistics text-based approaches can inform academic literacy programmes to scaffold first year students' writer habitus in transition.
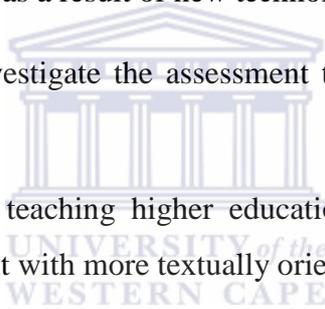
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