ADOLESCENTS' HOME LITERACY PRACTICES ACROSS SOCIAL CLASSES IN SÃO PAULO, BRAZIL AND THEIR TEACHERS' CONCEPTUALIZATIONS OF THESE PRACTICES.

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ABSTRACT

This is a study of discourses and practices of literacies in education in Brazil. More specifically, it investigates the home literacy practices of twelve adolescents from lower and upper-social classes in three different schools in São Paulo, Brazil. The study aims to address the general question of how these adolescents engage in literacy practices in the new digital era. Developing this question the study addresses questions of how teachers conceptualise these adolescents' outside school literacy practices and whether these inform classroom work. The study draws on a sociocultural approach to literacy as social practice, which has informed research in literacy studies in the last decades. In addition, because literacy practices are directly linked with the teaching of standard Portuguese as a first language in Brazil, sociolinguistic approaches and theories are also drawn upon. Data analysis of the discourses of language and literacy in Brazil suggests a context of education which hinders more than promotes lower-social class adolescents' acquisition of the dominant literacies valued in the school and the work domains. By engaging in a discussion of these adolescents' home literacy practices, languages and home backgrounds this study hopes to dispute and counterbalance the discourse of discrimination and deficit which is still a reality in Brazil.

In the memory of my father Wilson

To my mother Neusa

To my daughter Victoria

To the participants of this study

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

LIST OF DEFINITIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ENEM refers to National Exam for Secondary School

Ensino Fundamental refers to eight years of primary education[1]

Ensino Médio refers to the last three years of secondary education

FUVEST refers to Fundação Universitária para o Vestibular (University Foundation for Vestibular)

LDB refers to Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação Nacional (the laws which regulate education in Brazil)

PCNs refers to Parâmetros Curriculares Nacionais (the Parameters for the National Curriculum)

SARESP refers to Sistema de Avaliação do Rendimento Escolar do Estado de São Paulo (Evaluation System of educational achievement of São Paulo)

T1 refers to teacher 1 from public school 1

T2 refers to teacher 2 from private school

T3 refers to teacher 3 from public school 2

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[1] This refers to the organization of the system of education at the time of this study in the capital of Sao Paulo. From 2006, those enrolling in the Ensino Fundamental from age six passed to have nine years of primary education. This did not affect the participants in this study who were already at the end of their primary school years.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. The study hypothesis

The increasing use of digital texts in postmodern societies has raised at least two main debates on the educational and literacy front, first that of the inequality of access to the new technologies, and secondly, an alleged resistance by educators to incorporate youths' new literacy practices into the school curriculum and their classes.

While the debate on the *digital divide* has mostly been punctuated by the views that upper and middle class children have full access to the new technological devices at home and are also being trained at school to compete in the new technologically-driven corporate labour market (Servon and Pinket, 2004; and Flecha, 1999), a number of theorists have argued that the transformations in youth culture and the new language and literacy variants that have been brought about by technological media have instead been met with resistance by educators, who do little to incorporate their pupils' outside school literacy practices into their classes (see for instance Sorensen, 2005; Oldham, 2005; Alverman, 2004; Kress, 2003; Lankshear and Knobel, 2003; Hull and Schultz, 2002; and Williams, 2001). From this perspective, this study's hypothesis is that the mismatch between what goes into the school's curriculum and adolescents' outside school literacy practices (or vernacular literacies) is not only a reality for lower-social class and minority students, as a number of theorists have suggested in the past (see for instance Heath, 1983; Gee, 1996; Bourdieu, 1991; Giroux, 1999), but an aspect which is also now present in the school life of those socio-economically privileged individuals whose cultural identities

and languages are in continuous transformation due to their being engulfed in the new media dynamics.

1.2. Research questions

With a view to putting these assumptions to test in the context of education in Sao Paulo, Brazil and in order to bring adolescents' voices to this debate, I have set out to answer the following questions:

1. What are the outside school literacy practices of adolescents across social classes?

2. How do teachers conceptualise their pupils' outside school literacy practices?

3. What informs classroom practices?

1.3 Postmodernity, a change in epistemologies and the argument of this study

This is a study of discourse and practices from socio-cultural and theoretical perspectives to literacy and language. Relationships of time and space are central to the contextualisation of these discourses and practices here, and they are referred to in this study through the theoretical notions of Michael Bakhtin and Pierre Bourdieu.

The time of the study

The study is set in the first decade of the 2000s, but it looks into discourses of language and literacy that have been initiated and matured from the 1980s. From a local perspective, the process of the democratization of schools which, in Brazil was initiated with the end of dictatorship in the 1970s had motivated a debate in the area of education which attempted to address the question of how public schools could better cater for the

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new masses of lower-social class students now occupying their benches (Moratti, 2010). These local motifs were also intensified by the changes in the discourses of literacy and language brought about by the changes of epistemological perspectives in the postmodern world.

Postmodernism is approached here with a view to situating the changes of discourse on language and literacy within a historical background which has been punctuated by changes in political, social, economic, and technological domains that are hard to ignore (Rampton, 2006; Giroux, 1999). In this way, the perspective that postmodernism is focused upon in this study is, on the one hand, as an intellectual inquiry (discourse) that contests the established order of modernity in the areas of education and literacy studies, and on the other, it is approached as a corpus of social changes which likewise set the grounds for such inquiry and which are, in turn, the result of it.

1.3.1. Post-modernism and intellectual thinking: a focus on practice

Amongst a number of notions, Zygmunt Bauman (1992) defines post-modernity as first and foremost *a state of mind*, and he explains:

> A state of those minds who have the habit (or is it a compulsion?) to reflect upon themselves, to search their own contents and report what they found: the state of mind of philosophers, social thinkers, artists – all those people on whom we rely when we are in a pensive mood or just pause for a moment to find out whence we are moving or being moved. (Bauman, 1992 p. vii)

Bauman (1992) announces this state of mind as a stark critique and deconstruction of the modernism ideals of society. He posits that rather than replacing ideals and standards, the postmodern thought 'braces itself for life without truths, standards and ideals' (Bauman,

1992, p. ix) and suggests that the most conspicuous features of the *postmodern condition* are 'institutionalized pluralism, variety, contingency, and ambivalence' (Bauman, 1992 p.187), while, he ponders, 'the institutions of modernity, faithfully replicated by the modern mentality, struggled for *universality, homogeneity, monotony and clarity* [sic]' (Bauman, 1992 p.188).

Comparative analysis of how the discourses of education, language and literacy have been featured over the last decades has been explored by different theorists. In the introduction to his book 'Language in Late Modernity', Rampton (2006, p.12) refers to the shifts in 'philosophical assumptions guiding academic enquiry in the humanities and social sciences' that are associated with late modernity. Drawing on Zygmunt Bauman's analysis of the main differences in thought and approach in sociology between modernity and postmodernity, Rampton (2006) suggests that the shifts observed in sociological thought – mainly the notions that go from a totalitarian view of society in modernity to the understanding of its heterogeneity and under-patterned nature in postmodernity – find parallels in 'recent work on language and society' (Rampton, 2006 p. 14). From a sociolinguistics perspective, the focus shifts from the study of language as a fixed system of signs, where the focus of analysis lies on its semantics, grammatical and phonological systems, and which Rampton (2006 p. 16) points out 'are themselves regarded either as mental structures or as sets of social conventions', to a view of language that takes into consideration the socio-cultural issues that shape language use. In this sense, Rampton (2006) points out that in a more recent view of language and community, the conventions and structures focused upon by traditional linguistics:

are reduced to being just one among a number of semiotic resources available to participants in the process of local speech production and interpretation, and instead of the linguistic systems being viewed as the main carriers of meaning, meaning is analysed as an active process of here-and-now inference raging across all kinds of percept, sign and knowledge. (Rampton, 2006 pp.16/17)

This view of language, dubbed the 'practice perspective', has time and space and the fluidity inherent to them as its central elements. Attention to practice (on how we do things) has also gained focus in literacy and discourse studies. Theorists are interested in individuals' practices of everyday life at specific times in history and particular spaces in opposition to the modernist imperative of analysis that took the centre as the norm and the views of space as fixed and stable. Pennycook (2010) explains that:

To think in terms of practices is to make social activity central, to ask how it is we do things as we do, how activities are established, regulated and changed. Practices are not just things we do, but rather bundles of activities that are the central organizations of social life. (Pennycook, 2010 p.2)

These views of practice are on a par with Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social practice (1977 and 1990), whereby practices are deeply shaped by temporality:

[practice] is constructed in time, […] time gives it its form, as the order of a succession, and therefore its direction and meaning. (Bourdieu, 1990 p. 98)

From Bourdieu's perspective, practice is a result of individuals' dispositions in the face of different situations, and these dispositions (*habitus*) are in turn constructed by the past experiences individuals live within their own social context (*field*). Bourdieu places great emphasis on the role of one's history in the formation of the habitus, which he astutely

explains as 'history turned into nature' (1977 p. 78). He posits, however, that the process of the formation of the habitus is unconscious to us and mostly compared to present actions that have not yet settled into our consciousness.

Also in literacy studies, where the focus of this study lies, the attention previously given to literacy as a neutral skill (Street, 1984) has been urged to be replaced by a focus on the social and historical contexts and the political circumstances whereby literacy comes to be. This has been reflected in the work of the proponents of the New Literacy Studies (Street, 1984; Gee, 1996; Barton and Hamilton, 1998). The argument that I infer from this debate is that as literacy is a result of social practices, individuals are bound to engage in different literacy practices across society. This is addressed and investigated in this study with the research question "What are the outside school literacy practices of adolescents across social classes?"

Working at the intersection of literacy studies from the New Literacy Studies perspective and Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice and social symbolic domination, Heller (2008) suggests the notion of literacy education as a discursive space, and explains that:

> [to] understand literacy education as such a discursive space, […], is to understand it as a space where symbolic and material resources are constituted as valued resources whose regulation serves as a site of the production and reproduction of relations of power which, while they might well involve acts of coercion, are more likely to take the form of practices of symbolic domination (that is, of consensus through misrecognition, or the convincing of all participants in a discursive space that current arrangements of power are legitimate; (Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). (Heller, 2008 pp. 50/51)

It is in the makings of the discursive spaces of literacy education in Brazil that the focus of the study herein lies. This thesis is designed from a practice perspective in order to investigate and address the questions of how the participants of this historically situated discursive space construct, reproduce, and act upon notions of literacy.

1.3.2. Schools and post-modernity

Aronowitz and Giroux (1991, p. 63) contend, however, that 'modernism is far from dead'. They argue that:

> its central categories are simply being written within a plurality of narratives that are attempting to address the new set of social, political, technical, and scientific configurations that constitute the current age. (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1991 p. 63)

This view is on a par with Bakhtin's (1986) notions of dialogism which inform discourse analysis in this study. From a Bakhtinian perspective, past discourses do not simply give way to new ones, they actually sub-exist with new voices and discourses in dialogical, intertextual relationships. These notions give rise to the question of whether, and how, old and new discourses of education coexist in practice within the schools featured in the study herein.

1.4. Personal reasons

Some years ago, when I was already attending my doctoral studies on an occasional visit to Brazil, I listened to a teacher friend's concerns towards how the students in the prestigious middle-class school he worked in lacked attention to the classes and interest in school literacies. This was something that my friend resentfully put down to his students being increasingly engulfed in the use of the new technologies. It made me start

wondering how prestigious private schools were approaching their students' newly found cultural artefacts, which judging from my friend's account was not very enthusiastically. At the same time, I wanted to know whether less privileged adolescents were also engulfed in these new technologies. Since graduating from school in the late 1980s I had vowed not to professionally enter the Brazilian public educational context again given its complexity and stark flaws. I had now gone full circle and was looking forward to going back to where I started my own academic life.

It is needless to say that I started this project with a clear ideological standing in relation to my subject matter. However, from the first days of my visits to both public schools in the study it became clear to me that it was not my old school or my old days as a public school student that I was revisiting. In spite of similarities such as neglect towards their facilities and premises, the political and economic contexts of the 2000s differed in many aspects from those in the 1970s.

The process of the democratization of schooling which started in the 1970s was intensified by a number of policies in the late 1990s and beginning of the 2000s, including the national programme 'Bolsa Escola', which was designed to give impoverished families the means to send their children to school rather than to work (see Rojo, 2009). In the 1970s the influx of lower-social class children into public schools encouraged middle class families to move their children to the private sector, encouraging, in turn, a rapid growth of the private education sector in the city of Sao Paulo.

In the 2000s, the already nearly all lower-social class populated state schools saw another influx of children from yet more impoverished layers of the social strata. In addition, new local legislation for public schools such as full-time education in the Estate of Sao Paulo, the demands upon teachers such as the newly introduced local and national exams and curriculum and local incentives for teachers to work towards higher qualifications, and the cultural artefacts (new technologies) that these children are now exposed to make for a new and different context from the one I grew up in. It was this new context I entered into now, coming from a reality in sociocultural terms which is perceived as strikingly far from that of my public school participants and now arguably closer to the realities of their private school counterparts. I discuss in Chapter Four the issues of reflexivity that these factors may have raised in this study.

1.5 The spaces and participants of this study

For this study I have chosen to work with groups from different social classes in an attempt to investigate the differences and similarities of how these groups engage in literacy (Heath, 1983) in the specific context of this study. In addition, I have chosen to refer to socioeconomic factors, and therefore to social class, given the role these factors play in determining issues of access to education and educational artefacts which help to construct individuals' cultural and linguistic dispositions (Bourdieu, 1991). In the Brazilian society, and specifically in the highly economically and culturally stratified city of Sao Paulo, socioeconomic factors determine where you live, the quality of the school you attend, the language variant you speak, and how you and these aspects are perceived in society. Nonetheless, social class is not taken in this study as a reductionist

determinant. In other words, it is not assumed or expected that participants from a given school or type of school will be part of a homogeneous group.

This study takes place in two public schools and one private school in the city of Sao Paulo. For confidentiality issues, I refer to these schools in this study as public school 1, public school 2 and the private school. Participants of this study were twelve adolescents between the ages of fourteen to sixteen who dedicated their time keeping a literacy diary, talking to me in face-to-face interviews and online, and who were open and mostly keen to share their stories with me. There were also three of their teachers who shared their concerns, frustrations and hopes towards the education of these adolescents with me. Participants will be discussed further in Chapter Four.

1.6 Overview of the thesis

Chapter One presents the argument, hypothesis and research questions of this study. It also provides a brief discussion of the historical time and spaces of this study. I discuss the epistemological and ontological transformations in the research approach to language and literacy studies that took place in the last three decades in Brazil and in a wider global perspective. The literature review **Chapters Two** and **Three** provide a discussion of the local and international academic debate of descriptions and conceptualizations of literacy that has been reflected upon educational policies and practices of literacy and language teaching in Brazil. In **Chapter Four**, the notions of postmodernism discussed in Chapter One are extended to a discussion of views towards issues of reflexivity that arose from this study. This also presents a discussion of the data collection and data analysis methods and stages used in this study. It concludes with a discussion of a framework for

discourse and intertextual analysis which was adopted to analyse teachers' interviews. **Chapter Five** addresses research question 1: "What are adolescents' outside school literacy practices across social classes?" It presents and discusses data collected through adolescents' literacy diaries and diary-focused interviews. **Chapter Six** presents and discusses discourse analysis of teachers' views for their classroom practices and their conceptualizations of students' outside school literacy practices. This chapter addresses research question 2: "How do teachers conceptualise their pupils' outside school literacy practices?" and research question 3: "What informs classroom practices?" In **Chapter Seven**, I present and discuss data collected through classroom observations. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the links between teachers' discourse analysis discussed in Chapter Six, classroom practices and the national curriculum guidelines for the teaching of Portuguese. This discussion refers to research question 3 "What informs classroom practices?" **Chapter Eight** provides a discussion of the aspects mostly in need of intervention within schools in order to promote the transformation of discriminatory discourses of non-mainstream groups' language and literacies. It also includes a recommendation for further studies. Finally, in **Chapter Nine**, I conclude the thesis by briefly presenting the findings of this study.

CHAPTER TWO: THE POLITICS OF LITERACY AND LANGUAGE EDUCATION IN BRAZIL

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I am particularly interested in tracing how literacy has come to be conceptualised in the last decades in the Brazilian society and how these conceptualizations are reflected in social relations of power struggle in Brazil. This chapter provides a historical theoretical background of language and literacy education in Brazil with a view to addressing the research questions: a) "How do teachers conceptualise their pupils' outside school literacy practices?" and b) "What informs classroom practices?"

2.2. *Alfabetização* and *letramento*: a Brazilian take on literacy

Until the 1980s, the act of being able to read and write to the specifications of what was taught and assessed in Brazilian schools was given the name *alfabetização*. Rego (2006) comments that for many decades the teaching of reading and writing at school in Brazil was focused exclusively on the phonic identification of isolated words.

In the 1980s, the academic debate concerning literacy in Brazil was significantly influenced by Ferreiro and Teberosky's (1986) work on constructivism and on the notions of the study of language as a 'whole language,' which had been initiated in the U.S. in the late 1960s (Goodmann, 1967 in Rego, 2006.)

In the same decade, the term *letramento* is used for the first time in Brazil, possibly in the work of Mary Kato (1986) (Soares, 2003). It is later used in the work of Leda Verdiani Tfouni (1988) about adult education and is then followed by a series of other publications

which discuss its definition in relation to *alfabetização* (Soares, 2003). Soares (2003) comments that the appearance of the term *letramento* in Brazil coincided with the appearance of the terms *illettrisme* in France and *literacia in* Portugal, which are used to describe different phenomena from those described by *alphabétisation and alfabetização* respectively. It is also in this decade that the discussion of what conceptualises literacy seems to gain a greater focus in other parts of the world. Soares (2003, p.6) posits that it was at this point that 'the new field of literacy studies [came] into existence (Barton, 1994 p. 6)'.

The political historical moment the country was going through was especially favourable for a re-evaluation of its educational system and the epistemological frameworks that informed it. Until the first half of the XX century, public schooling in Brazil was mostly reserved for the children of the elite. In the 1970s, the end of dictatorship motivated the struggle for the democratization of schooling in the country. Moratti (2010, p.331) explains that 'especially in the beginning of the 1980s, the teaching of reading and writing in early years education started to be systematically and officially scrutinized' (Moratti, 2010 p.331, *my own translation*). Moratti (2010) posits that this was the case because most of public schools' lower social class children were still centred at this initial stage of education[2].

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[2] Educational policies in Brazil have ensured that students who do not achieve the minimum grade in their exams do not progress to the next school year. This has meant that many individuals are repeatedly held in the same school year regardless of their age.

The use of the term *letramento* in Brazil can be seen as a response to the change in the nature of the academic debate on literacy in other parts of the world and the historical political moment the country was going through. In addition to being a closer translation to the English word 'literacy', the term *letramento* also suggests a distancing from the practice of teaching reading and writing based on the traditional study of phonics, which was associated with the term *alfabetizacao* that had been highly criticised in Ferreiro and Teberosky's (1986) work.

The adoption of this term by academics and policymakers has, however, been the subject of debate amongst some theorists who argue for the need of a clear distinction between concepts of *alfabetizacao* and those of *letramento*. Soares (2003) argues that the concepts of *alfabetizacao* and *letramento* are prone to be mistakenly blended and overlapped. She argues that the term *alfabetizacao* relates to the teaching of the codification of words through a sound-spelling relation while *letramento* refers to

> children's immersion in the written culture, their participation in different reading activities and the awareness of and interaction with different types and genres of written materials. (Soares, 2003 p. 14, *my own translation*)

Departing from the argument that the influences of the principles of constructivism in education in Brazil brought about a claim for the distancing from the teaching of phonics

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An overt consequence of these policies has been the systematic drop-off of impoverished children.

of isolated words and placed the focus, instead, on a holistic approach to the teaching of reading and writing with basis on the principle that 'learning to read and write is learning to construct meaning for and through written texts, using previous experiences and knowledge' (Soares, 2003 p. 11), Soares posits that the term *alfabetizacao* not only lost its specificity when used alternately with *letramento*, but also that the teaching of phonics subsequently lost its place in education. This argument has brought Soares to urge for a refocusing on the teaching of phonics which she argues should be developed within the premises of the principles of *letramento*.

Other authors have commented that the debate of reading and writing acquisition from a constructivist and socio-cultural perspective informed the Parameters for the National Curriculum (PCNs) for Portuguese language for *Ensino Fundamental* (The Bruxels Group cited in Belintane, 2006 and Rego, 2006). Policy makers' focus on *letramento* along with Brazilian students' low performance in national and international exams have motivated an outcry for the reinstitution of traditional approaches of *alfabetizacao* (Rego, 2006). Nevertheless, two recent empirical studies on classroom practices in Brazil (Colello, 2007; Moraes and Pinto, 2006) have reported that teachers' classroom approaches towards literacy show little alignment with the principles that have shaped the debate of literacy in Brazil after the 1980s, despite the fact that participants' discourses suggest they acknowledge the theoretical lines that influenced the PCNs.

In her study in two public and two private schools in Sao Paulo, Colello (2007) reports that although the teachers in her study were not oblivious to the new theoretical debate on literacy and language in Brazil, many of the classroom activities she observed were still heavily based on traditional approaches that favoured activities which focused on the

identification of decontextualized syllables and words. Also Moraes and Pinto (2006, p. 265) find that the public school teachers in their study also favoured activities based on the teaching of grammatical functions in a 'traditional, mechanical and repetitive manner,' which they argue went against a more liberating approach to literacy teaching than was prescribed in the PCNs.

2.3 The study of Portuguese in the last years of Ensino Fundamental

I have attempted above to provide an overview of the current debates that underline the issue of literacy as related to schooling in Brazil. In this section, the discussion is brought more closely to the specification of what constitutes the teaching of literacy in the school years of the public school participants in this study, that is, year 8 of *Ensino Fundamental* (the last year of primary school at the time of this study). In these school years, the discussion of the differences in concept between *alfabetizacao* and *letramento* seems to lose its strength both in the academic debate as in the PCNs that provide the guidelines for the teaching of the Portuguese language in public schools. This is the case because there is an expectation that students are now already able to decode the language system and are immersed in activities that aim to develop their awareness of the relations of appropriateness between text genres and their pragmatic, semantic and grammatical dimensions, as is suggested in the PCNs for the third and fourth levels of *Ensino Fundamental*. In this way, in academia, and reproduced in the PCNs, at the centre of the literacy debate is no longer the decontextualised teaching of phonics but the not less criticised decontextualised and mechanised teaching of grammatical functions.

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Increasing attention has also been given to ideological considerations on the appropriateness of the status and place ascribed to the teaching of *Português culto* (the dominant variant) in contraposition to different language variants in the school curriculum, as is discussed below.

The study of grammar

The formal (syntagmatic) study of grammar is commonplace across the educational system in Brazil (through all of the school years of *Ensino Fundamental*, *Ensino Medio* and extends, in many cases, to the first year of Higher Education). It is essentially prescriptive, following the rules and norms dictated by the many grammar books and dictionaries published in the country which come to inform coursebooks and university entrance tests.

Antunes (2004) posits that the approach to the study of language in Brazil places its focus on the study of loose decontextualised words or phrases with an emphasis on the distinction between 'this' and 'that' grammatical item rather than on the contextualized study of language as text. With these considerations, Antunes (2004) refers here to two opposing approaches to the study of language; the latter sees language as a system of signs, presupposing that meaning making derives from relations between participants and the socio-cultural contexts in which texts are produced. Conversely, the former sees language as a system of forms. While the study of language as form has informed the orientation of the study of grammar in the 'history of western linguistics, since its beginning in ancient Greece' (Halliday, 1985 xiv), the notions of language as text – with their roots in principles of sociolinguistics (see Hymes's (1964) ethnography of

communication; Labov's (1966 and 1972) notions of interactional sociolinguistics; and Halliday's (1974) systemic linguistics) - have informed socio-cultural theorists' and linguists' orientation of work in language and literacy in the last decades. Halliday (1985) explains that formal grammars

tend to emphasize universal features of language, to take grammar (which they call "syntax") as the foundation of language (hence the grammar is arbitrary), and so to be organized around the sentence. (Halliday, 1985 p. xxviii).

Whereas

[grammars] with a pragmatic orientation interpret language as a network of relations, with structures coming in as the realizations of these relationships; they tend to emphasize variables among different languages, to take semantics as the foundation (hence the grammar is natural), and so to be organized around the text, or discourse. (Halliday, 1985 p. xxviii).

In this way, the problematic implication of the study of language based on formal grammars at school lies not only on the fact that the study of language is done in a rather regulatory prescriptive manner, but also that it is done without regards to socio-cultural aspects of human relations, such as context and participants' relations, which are reflected in the production of texts. Antunes (2004) questions why the study of lexis - or the relations between syntax and semantics in the construction of relevant coherent utterances - does not receive the same attention or emphasis as the study of grammatical items and their nomenclature does in the school curriculum; or yet why there is not in the school a greater concern with the study of the process of construction and comprehension of texts and, more specifically, of text genres. As such, Antunes (2004) questions the persistence in placing the focus of the study of language on the distinction between 'this'

or 'that' specific grammar item, and moreover asks who really stands to benefit the most from lessons based on this approach.

Antunes (2004) suggests that the answers to these questions lie in how language has been conceptualised in Brazil and on the ethos of the study of Portuguese as a standard language and the status ascribed to different variants of the language in society, as will be discussed below.

2.3.1 *Português culto* and the politics of language standardization in Brazil

The terms *Português culto* or *norma culta* are alternately used in academia, educational policies and in the media to refer to the language variant to be aspired to, or the norm of language to be complied with mostly in its written form. The use of the word *culto* to qualify the language variant aimed at school is itself the basis of primary criticism by language theorists in the discussion of language and literacy teaching in Brazil. As the term *culto* is directly related to 'culture', and used to qualify those who have access to culture and knowledge, it instantly presupposes that speakers of other variants are deprived of culture and knowledge (Bagno, 2003). The term *norma* has also in Portuguese two different connotations: one which is synonymous with 'normal' or 'common' and in this way, what is observed and described, and another which refers to 'norm', 'normative', a rule to be followed, which is the connotation that most closely illustrates the prescriptive attitude towards language witnessed inside and outside schools in Brazil. Bagno (2003, p. 54) comments that the term *norma culta* has been registered by theorists as being used to refer to both standard Portuguese, the 'language prescribed in the normative grammar books and inspired by "classic" literature of the XIX century or

as a technical term used by researchers to refer to a language variant spoken by a specific group of society – those who hold a Higher Education degree and dwell in urban centres.

Bagno (2003) posits that the use of the term *norma culta* is so complex in Brazil that it is not unusual to observe in linguists' discourses the overlapping of both concepts:

> [they] go, without realising, from one set of ideas to the other, from the normal to the normative and the other way round, leaving the reader in doubt about which, in fact, is the concept they are referring to (Bagno, 2003 p.55).

Faraco (2004), on the other hand, distinguishes between the use of *norma culta (or Português culto)* and *norma padrao*, where the former is used to refer to the spoken and written language of a certain group of society – mostly those individuals who, according to the author, are more prone to engage in written activities – and the latter refers to standard Portuguese, to what is explained above as the language prescribed in the grammar books and inspired by the classic literature. Faraco (2004) also problematizes the use of *culta* as in opposition to *inculta* (the absence of knowledge and culture) to designate the language of this group of society. However, by relating this group to the use of the written language, even that in its formal expression, the author slips into yet another problematic issue: the assumption that other groups of society do not engage in reading and writing activities. A more appropriate definition for *norma culta* would perhaps be the one the author suggests later on in his discussion, as the language variant spoken and written by the dominant classes, by those who self-proclaim their variant as *culta*.

There is nothing new about the agenda of the elite and policymakers alike to impose a certain variant, much to the models of the variant spoken by the dominant class, as the one to be aimed for at school (Bourdieu, 1991). Yet, the issue of standardization in Brazil comprises a number of aspects that make for its peculiarity. The understanding of these aspects is crucial to the understanding of the process of socio-cultural inequality reflected upon and achieved through language discrimination. In a micro dimension, it also helps to shed light on the factors that lead to teachers' conceptualizations of literacy and their focus on the reproduction of the standard variant (Rocha-Schmid, 2014). In the study herein teachers refer mostly to the acquisition of *Português culto*, albeit their focus on the teaching of grammatical functions. For the purpose of this study, the factors that make for its peculiarity will be summarized in, first, the origin of '*norma culta*' and, second, how it has historically and ideologically been kept alive.

Luchesi (2004) traces back to colonial times the struggle of a small elite to keep alive the language of the Portuguese colonizer despite the changes it had undergone given its contact with the native languages of Brazilian Indians and African slaves. Efforts to ignore these changes and keep them as reclusive as possible to the lower classes of society and to areas remote from the aristocracy proceeded after the Independence was proclaimed in 1822 when, albeit talks of the existence of a Brazilian Portuguese had started to emerge within the elites, that was always with a view to keeping the colonizer's language as intact as possible. Bagno (2003) posits that in contrast to what was observed in many countries such as the United States, France and Portugal itself where the political events (the process of independence and of revolution) brought about by other sectors of society against the regime in power also brought changes in language; in Brazil socio-

political changes never came from downwards, but always from upwards which has meant that the rules, including those concerning language, have always been imposed by the elites.

On a par with the Eurocentric agenda of the Brazilian elites towards culture and language, the set of linguistic features that came to be seen as the norm to be reproduced and which still adorn the pages of the many normative grammar books available in the country were not originally based on the language used by the Brazilian elites themselves but on a European Portuguese variant registered in literary classics of the XIX century. The artificial nature of this standard variant and linguistic gap – in syntactic, semantic and phonological terms – between this and other variants spoken in Brazil, including the *norma culta*, have been argued as some of the factors contributing to the intensive prescriptive approach to language in Brazilian schools (Bagno, 2004 cited in Rocha-Schmid, 2014). Faraco (2004, p. 43) explains that:

> As the distance between norma culta and the artificially forged standard variant [*norma padrao*] was very big from the start, it was rooted in our culture a purist and normative attitude that finds mistakes/errors everywhere and which condemns every use – even those widely spread in the norma culta and in the texts of our most important authors – of any phenomenon that differs from those prescribed in the most conservative grammar books. This situation has caused a number of problems, either in relation to the teaching or the use of a desirable standard. This, which should be, a positive sociocultural element, has, in the case of Brazil, turned into a heavy factor of sociocultural discrimination and exclusion (Faraco, 2004 p. 43, my own translation).

Bagno (2003) posits that despite the efforts made by schools and other institutions to keep this artificially forged variant alive, the gap between the standard language and the

language used in contemporary literature and in the media has been intensified by the social and cultural aspects that in turn left the latter more exposed to the influences of the spoken variant of other social classes and regional areas in the country. Some of these factors can be traced back to the dislocation in masses of rural populations to urban areas, the great influence of the television as a means of cultural transmission, the use of the Internet as a means of communication which is increasingly making it difficult to delimitate orality and written language, and the very tendency of the written media to assimilate these changes – much in contradiction to their conservative linguistic agenda.

Yet, the purist and normative attitude towards language that Faraco (2004) refers to has more recently gained stronger contours both in the media and education sectors and has been accompanied by some practical actions to eradicate its transformation. In the media, this has been evinced in the shape of a number of television and radio programmes, newspaper and magazine columns, softwares, CD-roms, books, fascicles, Internet sites, courses, and writing manuals edited and followed by the major publishing media (Bagno, 2003) which have the aim to teach native speakers of Brazilian Portuguese to speak their own language 'correctly'. These more often than not point out perceived 'errors' which constitute the marks of speech of a great part of the population. In politics, this has been translated into a series of attempts to keep the standard language as pure as possible by the attempt to enact laws with an aim to keeping new international terms, mostly brought about with the new technologies at bay. Finally, in education, these efforts can be arguably evinced in the enactment of a national curriculum and national exams. At a micro level, it has been reflected in teachers' prescriptive approach to the teaching of

language and in conservative discourses about language and literacy, which are discussed in Chapter Six in this thesis.

In the next section, I turn my attention to the discussion of the implications of the national policies to classroom practices.

2.3.2 Curriculum reform

In the late nineties, the former Brazilian Federal government embarked on a series of reforms meant to affect every level of the educational system. Heavily grounded in neoliberal principles of governance for the public sector, which had been observed in other parts of the world (Giroux, 2008), these reforms aimed at the decentralization of the educational sector whilst at the same time creating tight mechanisms of accountability, and which secured the State a greater level of control over the sector.

In this way, the promise of a school with progressed levels of pedagogic, administrative and financial autonomy was contradictorily followed by the enactment of the Parameters for the National Curriculum (PCNs) for *Ensino Fundamental* and *Ensino Medio* for all the subjects in the curriculum, a ten-year plan for the national education and a national system of evaluation.

While the transference of control of schools' governing bodies to local governments has been argued as a positive aspect of the reform, there has been concern expressed over the fact that the decision making of pedagogical matters have been kept under the close control of the Federal government.

Embedded in a discourse of academic and scientific tones, the PCNs for the Portuguese subject for the *Ensino Fundamental* discuss and underline the principles that should now inform the approach to the study of Portuguese in Brazilian public schools. Under the headings of Practices of listening to oral texts and reading of written texts; Practices of oral and written text production and Practices of linguistic analysis, the document suggests a change of approach to the teaching of the standard language which should now acknowledge the differences between the standard language and social dialects and the validity of the latter. This can be argued as an attempt to distance the teaching of Portuguese from the discriminatory approach towards other variants of the language that was at the core of language teaching in Brazil in last centuries. This is on a par with what Fairclough (1992) identifies as one of the aspects which have been part of the discourse of democratization in educational policies around the world in the last decades.

The bill claims to be heavily informed by academic research in the areas of linguistics and psycholinguistics, mostly by those concepts that came to light in the 70s and 80s and which are identified in the bill as research produced by a school of linguistics which is not associated with the normative tradition. The theories claimed in the bill to inform its guidelines are American constructivism (see Ferreiro and Palacio, 1987); Bakhtin's (1990 and 1992) work with genre; and Halliday and Hasan's (1985) notions of systemic linguistics. In the attempt to introduce less prescriptive and discriminatory notions of language to the study of Portuguese, new specifications are drawn and old concepts that had allegedly been favoured by schools are strongly criticized and refuted. I briefly address below the changes recommended in the PCNs for the issues which have been at the centre of the discussion of language studies in Brazil.

From prescription to description

In an attempt to dislocate the study of language from a focus on language as form to the study of language as sign, the PCNs recommend that the study of text formation and its constitutive elements of genre and register should be placed at the core of the specifications. Within these perspectives, there is no place for the teaching of language as 'a pedagogical practice that goes from the metalanguage to the language through exemplification, exercises of production, and memorisation of terminology' (PCNs, 1998 p. 28).

Otherwise put, the study of grammatical functions is inserted under the specifications for 'Practices of linguistic analysis' and follows an approach which focuses on the description of different occurrences of grammatical elements within different contexts which resembles the study of language with a focus on corpora (PCNs, 1998 p.79).

Standard language and other language variants

The document acknowledges the presence of different language variants in Brazil and explains that:

> The use of one or another expression depends, mostly, on geographical and socio-economic factors as well as age, gender, the relationships between the participants and the context of the interaction (PCNs, 1998 p. 29, *my own translation*).

It also contends that:

> The image of a language closest to the written mode, subjacent to the normative prescriptions of the school grammar, of the manuals and the programmes about how the language should be

spoken or written is not based on empirical analysis of language uses. (PCNs, 1998 p. 29, *my own translation*)

In its urgency to re-draw the concepts that should now underline the place of marginalized language variants in the study of language in public schools, the bill points out that some myths should be overcome should the school be up to fulfilling its role to teach the written and standard language. Some of the myths refuted in the bill are that:

a) There is one correct way of speaking

b) The spoken variant of one region of the country is better than the variant of other regions

c) The right spoken variant is the one which corresponds more closely to the written variant

d) It is necessary to 'fix' students' spoken language in order to avoid that they make errors when writing

Drawing on notions from the study of language as text and genre-based pedagogy (see Halliday, 1978; Kress, 2003), the bill recommends that teachers adopt a teaching approach that focuses on notions of appropriateness of use of language in opposition to a focus on correction of students' spoken variants. It recommends that teachers teach their students how to adjust their language variant and style to a number of different written and spoken contexts. It also explains that the study of different variants should take into consideration instances of popular expression and differences of language variants informed by social classes, age and historical time.

The bill has received positive comments from linguists who believe it holds a much needed and longed for debate of the issues of language discrimination and the teaching of language based on traditional normative grammar books, an aspect seen as a step towards the recontextualisation of language studies in Brazil (see Bagno, 2003; Bagno 2004; Luchesi, 2004).

Nonetheless, some questions arise in relation to the bill's clarity in tackling language and literacy aspects. Marinho (2003) argues that the PCNs are not entirely aligned with the theories they claim to borrow their notions from. Mostly relevant to the study herein, this can be evinced on the contradicting stance the bill takes towards aspects of language reproduction and genre knowledge.

I itemise and briefly discuss below the issues that I identify as potentially problematic for educators' understanding of these guidelines.

Teaching the standard

In spite of acknowledging the presence of other language variants in society and the need to oppose the discrimination that is associated with them, the bill firmly recommends the teaching of a standard language. This standard is, however, left unspecified. There is in the bill repetitive reference to the term standards of written and spoken language. The use of the term standard in its plural form aims to reinforce the argument that there are different standards or indeed different variants or models of language. It also reinforces the notion the PCNs aim to conceive that there is not only one valid variant of written or spoken language, but also rather a set of models of use which are appropriate for different contexts of interaction. This agenda is underlined in different sections of the bill that

argue against the discriminatory approach to language that favours the study of one single variant, dismissing others as marginal.

However, this view seems to clash with other sections of the bill which recommend the study of *lingua padrao*, where standard language is here used in its singular form inferring the existence of one single standard model of language. There is no clear indication of what is meant by *lingua padrao*, that is, whose models or variants of language it is or should be reflected upon. At first, it is suggested that the *lingua padrao* to be studied at school should not correspond to the variant emulated on traditional grammars. However, the association of *lingua padrao* with the norms of traditional grammar in a different section of the bill only serves to add more confusion to the matter.

> It is important that students, on learning new linguistic forms, especially the more formal standard written and oral variants based on traditional grammars, understand that all linguistic variants are legitimate and inherent to the human history and culture. (PCNs, 1998 p.82, *my own translation*)

There are also references to the study of *lingua padrao, norma padrao* and *norma culta*. The term chosen to refer to the language variant to be acquired at school is the '*lingua padrao*' (standard language). There is, however, no clear attempt to explain the use of the latter in opposition to that of *norma culta* for instance, which could be argued as necessary given the confusion that surrounds the uses of these terms in Brazil, as discussed earlier in this chapter.

Written and spoken modes

On addressing these issues, the PCNs stumble on yet another problematic issue: the notion of language described as a rigid dichotomy of writing and speech – which the bill suggests should follow different standards which are not related to one another.

The pursuit of a rigid distinction between written and spoken language and the ethos of promoting students' access to the prestigious spoken and written variants resulted in the recommendation for the separate study of oral texts and the study of written texts as sub-categories of the Portuguese subject. Although desirable as it may be that students have access to the prestigious variant, schools and teachers not in tune with the discourses that challenge language discrimination and not carefully trained on how to work with language as a form of meaning making which should also take into consideration issues of multimodality (Kress, 2003) – which, in turn, challenge fixed distinctions of written and spoken variants – may result in classroom practices being centred on the dominant language as a model of spoken and written production with the consequence of the persistent marginalisation of students' own variants.

Furthermore, there is evidence in the study herein that suggests that the focus on a fixed distinction between spoken and written modes has resulted in a hysteria that sees students' writing as ill-informed by their speech which is seen as flawed in itself. The consequences of it has been that teachers engage in a strenuous effort, both for them and for their students, to keep all marks of lower-social class students' spoken variant – including those seen by these teachers to have been reinforced by the digital technologies – at a distance from their academic production.

The recommendation, in the PCNs, for written and spoken modes to be studied separately is supported by unclear assertions, which the bill's authors did not ascribe to any one specific theory of language through referencing.

In addition, the simplistic manner whereby the issue of reproduction of the dominant language is approached in the schools of this study has also consequences to how acquisition of school literacies (based on the prestigious variant) is dealt with. This will be further discussed in Chapter Six.

The discourse of policies and the issue of dissemination

One issue directly associated with the discussion of clarity of the PCNs and its effectiveness as an instrument of dissemination of new pedagogies has been that of the types of discourse it adopts. Marinho (2003) argues that by using resources such as footnotes (footnotes are regularly found in Brazilian academic texts, but not in policies) and bibliographic references (albeit scarce), policymakers attempt to approximate the document to the academic and scientific discourses rather than the discourses normally encountered in official educational policies in Brazil. The use of features of academic discourse can be argued as an attempt to promote the bill's reliability. However, it has raised the question of who its target readers are: educators or academics? (Marinho 2003).

Contradictorily, bibliographic references and citations are not consistently used across the bill.

Marinho (2003) explains that the use of footnotes in the PCNs in addition to accomplishing the aim of providing additional information about the topics discussed in

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the body of the bill is also used to introduce new concepts for the study of language. These are contraposed with old concepts criticized in the main text of the bill. In a similar fashion, the use of inverted commas to also emphasise and contrapose terms and phrases which are located either within new or old discourses of language teaching in Brazilian schools, and along with the use of references and citations suggest the presence of multiple voices (Bakhtin, 1986) in the texts of the PCNs. Some of these voices can be identified as the voices of the policymakers who in the footnotes assume a different tone from that of the main text of the bill, which highlights new concepts and principles and introduces the new metalanguage associated with them. Secondly, there is the presence of the voices of other authors, which are referenced in the bill's bibliography. These are, however, only scarcely adequately cited across the bill. In this way, theoretical notions attributed to their authors are encountered across the bill, but without specific references to the work where those notions appeared. It is also possible to find citations without the indication of date or the pages from where they were extracted (Marinho, 2003). Marinho (2003, p. 13) points out that 'out of the 80 titles present in the PCNs1 and PCNs2 only seven are referenced, yet incompletely, in footnotes (see PCNs1, p. 22 and 23)'.

Finally, there are the voices of those agents who arguably prescribe and ascribe to the old concepts of language and literacy in schools and societies (schools, teachers, the media, grammarians and policymakers themselves). Albeit strongly present, these voices are not often clearly attributed in the bill (Fairclough, 2003).

It can be suggested that the inconsistencies observed in the uses of features of the academic discourse and those of texts of scientific dissemination identified in the texts of the PCNs are intentional and two-fold (Marinho, 2003). On the one hand, by

approximating its discourse to the academic discourse in content or style (according to policymakers' own convenience), there is an attempt to add reliability to the bill and to its commitment to acknowledge and respond to the new trends in the areas the bill seeks solace from (Marinho, 2003). On the other hand, the absence of textual features (common to the academic discourse) hinders the reader's ability to compare and critique theories. Further still, to dispute the bill's reliance on the very theories they claim to be informed by. In this way, the notions reproduced in the PCNs are dealt with as universal and incontestable truth, even as a necessity (Marinho, 2003; see also Fairclough, 2003).

Marinho (2003) poses the question of why there has not been made a greater effort to make the bill closer to the pedagogical discourse and more accessible to educators in a way to promote its use towards more concrete classroom practices.

2.4 Systemic linguistics and the 'why' of a theory of genre-based pedagogy

In this section, the theory of systemic linguistics and notions of genre-based pedagogy are addressed due to their influence in the policy context of this research as discussed above.

Halliday's (1978) theory of systemic linguistics and functional grammar were at the centre of the genre-based pedagogy movement that took off in Australia in the 1980s. Halliday (1978) posed and set out to answer questions about the 'whys' and 'hows' of patterns of communication within mostly, but not restrictively, English-speaking societies. Halliday and Hasan (1985) suggest an approach to the study of language that departs from Halliday's (1978) views of social-semiotics as the study of systems of meaning, or 'the study of **meaning** [sic.] in its most general sense' (Halliday and Hasan, 1985 p. 4). These views refute the study of signs as individual, isolated entities that

characterises the semiotic study based on Saussure's work. Within a social-semiotic perspective, language is but just one mode of meaning present in any culture. Others would be art forms and modes of cultural behaviours: 'such as modes of exchange, modes of dress, structures of the family, and so forth' (Halliday and Hasan, 1985 p. 4). In this sense, a culture is explained, in turn, as 'a set of semiotic systems, a set of systems of meaning, all of which interrelate' (Halliday and Hasan, 1985 p.4). Halliday and Hasan (1985, p.4) explain that the term 'social' in social-semiotic is used, firstly, to refer to social structure as synonymous to culture, and secondly, to the 'relationships between language and social structure'. Placing his analysis of language within relations of social structure and text, Halliday developed a framework for the study of language which aimed to address his own questions of a) 'how can we characterize a text in its relation to its context of situation?' and b) 'how do we get from the situation (context) to the text?' (Halliday, in Halliday and Hasan, 1985 p. 12). In other words, Halliday was interested in developing a framework that would illustrate how individuals make predictions about the meanings that are being exchanged, predictions which will incur the understanding of the message (as listeners) and in the choices of linguistic features to be used in a specific context (as speakers/responders).

In more technical terms, Halliday's social semiotic theory of language suggests that the relations between the features of the environment (or situational elements) and the components of the semantic system (*ideational*, *interpersonal* and *textual*) play a crucial role in the formation of meaning potential and the subsequent structure of the text. Text, he defines as 'whatever is said or written in an operational context' (Halliday, 1994 p.24). In Halliday's (2002) term, situational elements are formed out of the social action in

which the text is embedded (field); the status and set of role relations among the relevant participants (tenor); and the rhetorical channel or wavelength selected (mode). Halliday (2002, p 55) explains that '[e]ach of the components of the situation tends to determine the selection of options in a corresponding component of the semantics'. In other words, components of the semantic system are activated by situational elements and that comes to determine the text meaning potential (or its register) and aspects of the linguistic system such as lexicogrammatology and phonology.

These tenets lend support to the view that language and literacy variants are the product of social practices (Gee, 1996 and 2004) and are relevant to justify the challenge against a prescriptive model of language based on a single dominant variety and the marginalization of other varieties, which has been at the centre of language policies and conceptualizations in Brazil. Nevertheless, an approach to the study of language in schools informed by this theory would be faced with two main issues: that of the alleged focus on mode (Street, 1995) and the issue of acquisition of new registers which are alien to students' own social contexts.

On mode

Halliday's (1978) suggested relations between mode and textual components, that is, the choice of textual components of the semantic system as a consequence of a choice of medium (spoken or written) and the consequent differences between speech and written language that these notions may incur, may be seen as problematic with regards to the study of electronic texts. The attempt to categorize uses of language in the electronic media according to sets of characteristics most commonly applied to distinguish between

spoken and written texts have led theorists to describe digital texts through a continuum of written and oral features (see Redd and Massey, 1997; Tannen, 1982; Street, 1995). Referring to Tannen's (1982) notions of an oral-written continuum, Street (1995) argues that:

> If there are universal differences in channel, despite the growing evidence, it will be difficult to identify if we already presume such difference in the model of language we use in the first place: i.e., if we assume features of 'writing' and then, when we find these features in speech, call them 'writing-like', then the argument is circular and cannot be tested. Tannen's continued discovery of 'oral-like' features in writing and 'written-like' features in speech make one wonder why these features of communicative practice had to be labeled by channel in the first place. (Street, 1995 p. 5)

From a theoretical perspective that sees language as social practice and, consequently, text as a product of the environment and the social relations it incurs from, to focus on a fixed description of what constitute written or spoken language seems to be mistake. Halliday and Hasan (1985, p. 92) concede that speech and writing 'are both **language**; and **language is more important than either** (sic.)' and that '[i]t is a mistake to become too much obsessed with the medium.' (Halliday and Hasan, 1985 p.92).

The reproduction of new registers

Yet, in order to understand the production of text variants from the perspective of social class and the challenge faced by lower-social class children when confronted with the task of replicating the dominant language variant, we have to go one dimension beyond that of the formation of registers and acknowledge the differences in individuals' orientations to meaning. From the perspective of Bernstein's code theory (Bernstein,

1971 and 1996), these orientations are represented by codes which are informed by an individual's interactions in a stratified social system and their relations of group solidarity within their closest social environment. Halliday (1978) explains that in Bernstein's term

[codes] are not varieties of language, as dialects and registers are. The codes are, so to speak, 'above' the linguistic system; they are types of social semiotic, or symbolic orders of meaning generated by the social system (cf. Hasan, 1973). (Halliday, 1978 p.26)

Halliday (1978, p. 26) goes on to add that the 'code is actualized in language through the register, since it determines the semantic orientation of speakers in particular social contexts', and that

[w]hen the semantic systems of the language are activated by the situational determinants of text – the field, tenor and mode – this process is regulated by the codes. (Halliday, 1978 p. 26)

Bernstein's (1996) work bears grounds with Bourdieu's (1977) notions of *habitus* inasmuch as both theorists place social practices as central to individuals' dispositions towards language and content and theorize on their implications to individual's imposed reproduction of the dominant standard language at schools.

The *habitus*, Bourdieu (1977, p. 72 *sic.*) explains refers to 'systems of durable, transposable *dispositions*'. It is produced by 'the structures constitutive of a particular type of environment (e.g. the material conditions of existence characteristic of a class condition)' (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 78). The habitus is in this sense never an individual construct but a community disposition:

Every confrontation between agents in fact brings together, in an interaction defined by the objective structure of the relation between the groups they belong to […], systems of

dispositions (carried by "natural persons") such as a linguistic competence and a cultural competence and, through these habitus, all the objective structures of which they are the product, structures which are active only when embodied in a competence acquired in the course of a particular history […] (Bourdieu, 1977, p.81).

Bourdieu (1977) posits that the process of formation of the habitus is unconscious to us. More conscious to some individuals seems to be the value that is ascribed to their linguistic habitus within certain public markets such as that of schools and the working place. Bourdieu (1977, p. 63) gives the example of the petit bourgeoisie's insecurity-driven 'hyper-correction' of their own language which displays their '*sense of one's own social worth*'. Drawing on data analysis of her empirical study with adult learners in Brazil, Bartlett (2007) describes her lower-social class adult participants' conceptualizations of their literacy skills and language variants as a sense of 'shaming'. This Bourdieu (1991) argues is the case because the schemes of production are divorced from the schemes of evaluation. Inculcation of the official language's worth is suggested to take place through a 'system of successive reinforcement [of the dominant habitus] or the refutation [of the dominated habitus]' a process which the educational system takes as its role (Bourdieu, 1991 p. 49).

Both Bernstein (1996) and Bourdieu (1977) contend, however, that awareness of the symbolic value which is ascribed to the official language in certain markets and the willingness to reproduce it, do not necessarily translate into the ability to do so. Bernstein (1996) points out that:

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It is still necessary to know how to construct the specific text or practice. For example, one may be able to recognize that one is in a sociology class but not be able to produce the texts and context-specific practices. (Bernstein, 1996, p.105)

In the face of the differences in meaning making between lower and middle-class children, and the aspects of schooling and socio-economic dynamics in postmodern societies discussed so far in this thesis, a pertinent question that should be addressed here is that of how lower-social class pupils can acquire the skills to choose the semantic resources in order to reproduce the "appropriate" register and genre valued in the new social context within the constraining environment of schools? I will re-address this issue from different pedagogical perspectives later in this chapter. But, first I return below to the genre-based pedagogy the policies discussed above attempt to draw upon.

On acquisition

An aspect that gains central attention in the debate of genre theory is its application to the educational context. Proponents of a genre-based pedagogy share the views that genre convention is a relevant condition for 'full participation in social life' (Kress, 2003 p.85). Kress (2003) elaborates that:

To be aware of the genres, their constitutive principles, their valuations in hierarchies of power, and above all to be able to produce them, in variations which are fully adequate to the writer's interests at the moment of writing, becomes both the sine qua non of fully literate practice and the condition for full participation in social life. It is then inescapable that genre-knowledge – among others, of course – needs to form part of the curriculum of literate practice. (Kress, 2003 p 85).

In keeping with the tradition of deeming the school as a site for social action which holds the responsibility to promote equity within society (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985), genre-based pedagogy is argued as a means for schools to meet its 'unique social mission to provide historically marginalised groups equitable access to as broad a range of social options as possible' (Kalantzis and Cope, 2012 p. 131). Kalantzis and Cope (2012, p. 131) concede that for marginalized groups the acquisition of the genre conventions which lie within 'the discourses and cultures of certain realms of power and access' will occur less naturally than for those who 'have been brought up within those discourses.' The solution is suggested in the explicit teaching of 'the ways in which the "hows" of text structure produce the "whys" of social effect' (Kalantzis and Cope, 2012, p. 131).

Notions of genre-based pedagogy are alluded to in the PCNs which recommend that teaching practices based on genre knowledge should help towards developing students' awareness of different linguistic variants in society and their acquisition of the standard language. However, the bill fails to draw more specific pedagogical guidelines for teachers on how it should be the case. Students' local vernacular variants are not given an explicit pedagogical role in the discussion of classroom practices as these are only briefly mentioned as part of an approach to linguistic corpora. In addition, it lacks recommendations for teachers on how to approach digital literacies. In fact, the new technologies are mostly left to a discussion on the teaching of IT which is a curriculum subject apart from Portuguese. An approach which means to take genre knowledge or genre-based pedagogy as its framework should address genres from their constitutive social contexts, taking into consideration the political and social aspects which contribute to the marginalisation of some of them (such as the genres of youth culture which now

include genres found in some digital media). There is also the need for a more in-depth discussion of the cultural implications of language reproduction in the light of the social theories discussed above.

2.5 A brief note on national exams and their ethos

The understanding of the ethos and reach of external exams is relevant in this study given that they are measurements of accountability on both public and private schools. In this way, they are likely to play a role in classroom practices. This is investigated in this study under the research question: "What informs classroom practices?"

Unlike university entrance tests that have for a long time dictated the transmission of knowledge in the last three years of secondary schools in Brazil, the concept of national exams are relatively new in the country. Since the introduction of the System of Assessment for Basic Education (SAEB) in the 1980s, national exams have increased in number and are meant to inform subject content in public school classrooms.

In addition to national exams for the *Ensino Fundamental*, state school teachers in Sao Paulo are also in charge of preparing their pupils for the Evaluation System of educational achievement of São Paulo (SARESP) introduced by the local government of the Estate of Sao Paulo in 1996.

For the *Ensino Medio*, the Federal government introduced the National Exam for Secondary School (ENEM) in 1998, which, albeit not compulsory, has been taken by an increasing number of students from both private and public schools that intend to proceed to higher education. That is the case because students' scores in the ENEM can be added to scores of university entrance tests and come to contribute to raising their chances of

securing a place at a university. The allegedly innovative format of the ENEM has also been the subject of great praise by educators.

On their ethos

The guidelines for the ENEM, the SARESB and the FUVEST (University Foundation for Vestibular) equally indicate an explicit focus on the ability of applicants to use standard Portuguese (referred to as *norma-culta* in the ENEM and FUVEST, and *norma-padrao* in the SARESP). In the case of the ENEM, this specification has been argued as especially problematic given its alleged ethos as an innovative exam with the aim to assess applicants' cognitive abilities rather than knowledge focused on specific content.

In terms of language, in theory, the ENEM has the aim to test what students are able to do with their first language in opposition to testing their knowledge of language as form as has been the focus of university entrance tests like the FUVEST. However, it has been argued that it fails to go beyond the assessment of individuals' competence of standard Portuguese, which it does in isolation to its sociolinguistic context (Faraco, 2004). Faraco (2004 p. 57) argues that:

> by placing the acquisition of the standard language as the highest value product of secondary school, it is being assumed (as it is traditionally the case in the education system) that this standard is a common ground upon which questions or controversies do not fall. It is being assumed that this standard is a clear, well defined and sufficiently legitimized reality in social terms (Faraco, 2004 p.57, *my own translation*).

2.6 Summary

In this chapter, I addressed the debate of literacy and language education that has taken place in Brazil since the late 1970s. This aimed to provide a historical background to the factors which are likely to inform classroom syllabi and practices in the schools in this study.

I discussed the politics of language education in Brazilian society and the changes being advocated by Brazilian sociolinguists who have more specifically argued for educators to replace the focus on language as form to the focus on language as sign (Antunes, 2004; Bagno, 2004).

I also analysed and discussed the main guidelines for the national curriculum and their limitations towards transforming the discourses and practices of language teaching in Brazil. Halliday's (1978) notions of systemic linguistics and the aims of genre-based pedagogy (Kress, 2003; Kalantzis and Cope, 2012) were also addressed in this chapter. This was the case due to the role these theoretical notions have played on the Parameters for the National Curriculum.

Finally, the ethos and discourses of the national exams which help to dictate classroom syllabi were also touched upon in this chapter.

These aspects will be referred back on the analysis of teachers' interviews and classroom observation with a view to addressing the research questions of 1) how teachers conceptualise their students' outside school literacy practices; and 2) what informs classroom practices, in Chapters Six and Seven.

CHAPTER THREE: THE DISCOURSES OF LITERACY IN LATE MODERNITY

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the discourses which have punctuated the debate of literacy studies in late modernity and which have been influential to the debate of literacy and language education in the context of the study herein. These are more specifically related to traditional views of the oral and written divide paradigm; the deficit hypothesis; and the more recent debate of literacy as social practice argued by the proponents of the New Literacy Studies. The discussion of the deficit hypothesis and the notions of an oral-written fixed divide is relevant in this study given the attitudes and rationales encountered within schools and their classrooms and refer more specifically to the research questions of 1) how the teachers in this study conceptualise their pupils' outside school literacy practices, and 2) what informs classroom practices.

In addition, the notion that literacies are a result of social practices and are therefore multiple as argued by the proponents of the New Literacy Studies informs the main argument of this study that adolescents' outside school literacy practices are bound to differ according to their family and community contexts. This notion also informs the sociocultural research ethos of this study and the research question "What are the outside school literacy practices of adolescents across social classes?"

3.2 The oral and written divide and the discourse of 'literacy' and 'illiteracy'

In the 60s and 70s, a series of studies were influential in ascribing new effects to literacy and reinforcing those which had in the past century already been part of the campaign for the expansion of literacy and schooling (Graff, 1987). The debate on the effects of literacy in these studies drew strongly on comparisons between literate and oral societies and the alleged differences in cognition that resulted from these different communication modes. Goody and Watt's (1963) influential paper "The Consequences of Literacy" suggests that the transition from oral to literate society results in a series of "cultural innovations" of which the development of logic and abstract thought were part. Gee (1996) suggests that on elaborating on firm distinctions between oral and literate and ascribing to them clearly distinct cognition effects, these studies seem to attempt to find in literacy and its consequences the answer for the question of 'how cultures move from the science of the concrete to the science of the abstract, and through which stages' (Gee, 1996 p: 48/49), an aspect which he argues had been left unanswered in Levi-Strauss's work.

Graff (1987, p. 385) posits that in Goody's (1977) later writings he realized that the "consequences of literacy" he had so firmly drawn upon in the past could not be alone taken as 'causal results of changes in communicative modes and techniques'. Nonetheless, the co-relation between the dualisms of oral and literate they created with those of savage and modern/civilized and concrete and abstract thought became a strong part of the discourse of literacy to the point that the former group became a translation to the latter, as Ruth Finnegan (1973) puts it:

When people wish to make a basic comparison between different societies or historical periods, one of the commonly invoked criteria is literacy. In particular those who wish to avoid the connotations of "primitive", "civilized", "aboriginal" tend to turn to a description in terms of "non-literate" or "preliterate"… One common answer that is often implied is that the presence or absence of literacy is of absolutely crucial significance for the quality of thought in a given culture. (Ruth Finnegan, 1973 cited in Graff 1987, p. 382)

Moreover, Gee (1996) posits that the characteristics found by Ong (1982) in the production of thought and expression in primary oral and literate cultures – being the oral cultures additive rather than subbordinative; aggregative rather than analytic, situational rather than abstract and so on so forth in relation to literate ones (Gee, 1996)– are very similar to the descriptions of language given by linguists, educators and sociolinguists. Gee (1996) explains that

Though Ong restricts these features to primary rather than residually oral cultures, it is striking how similar some of these features are to characterizations linguists have offered of the differences between speech and writing, educators have offered of the differences between "good" and "bad" writers, and sociolinguists have offered of differences between forms of (prosaic versus poetic) storytelling at school and in the society at large (Bauman 1986; Bauman and Sherzer 1974; Michaels 1981). (Gee, 1996 p. 52)

In Brazil, the discourse that emphasises the dichotomy of the savage and civilized was, in colonial times, associated with the acquisition of the colonizer's language. Its association with the dichotomy of literacy and orality has extended the issue to modern times when the so-called 'illiterate' individual is deemed lacking in moral principles and culture (see Kleiman, 1995). As a society with a strong oral tradition and where literacy has not very

long ago been introduced to the masses (Moratti, 2010), these notions have had the implication that the great majority of the population are seen as inadequate and their culture and language has been the subject of marginalization. Literacy as the decoding of written texts (or *alfabetizacao* as discussed above) when it has been acquired by impoverished individuals has not, however, been enough to dissolve the image of lack of morality, civilization and culture associated with these individuals, as that does not necessarily translate into the behaviours and attitudes and the taste for high culture that educators aim to inculcate in these individuals and which are valued in the wider society.

3.3 Perceived factors affecting the acquisition of literacy

In the 1980s, the perceived crisis of literacy in the world motivated a series of reports on the factors responsible for the persistence of illiteracy around the world despite international organisations' campaigns and governments' initiatives towards mass education. This crisis coincided with national educational reforms in many parts of the world and is conversant with a series of programmes which were developed to eradicate illiteracy (see Gee 1996).

In 1990, the Unesco's International Literacy Year, in a report commissioned by the UNESCO, Tedesco reports on the failures of Latin America's educational system:

Illiteracy and lack of – or insufficient – schooling are problems which continue to plague efforts of national education systems in Latin America to provide schooling to the entire population, to improve the quality of education and to instil in everyone a mastery of cultural codes. (Tedesco, 1990 p. 2)

These codes

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Include the skills of reading and writing, elementary arithmetic, and the key values of social order based on the principles of justice and equality. (Tedesco, 1990 p. 2)

In search for the reasons for the problem of illiteracy in Latin America, Tedesco (1990) draws on a list of external and internal factors to schools most likely responsible for Latin American lower- social class children's failure with schooling. These are:

1. External material factors: nutrition, housing, socio-economic condition, family composition, etc.

2. External cultural factors: parental levels of education, attitudes and values with regard to education, linguistic patterns, contact with the mass media, parental participation in school activities, etc.

3. Internal material factors: (…)

   a. Factors of a physical nature: educational resources and assets;

   b. Factors of an organizational nature: staff promotion procedures, provision of pre-school programmes, etc.

4. Internal cultural factors: teachers' attitudes, training and experience, education content, methods, etc.

Tedesco (1990) draws on each of these topics and touches upon the issues which are inherent to schools themselves as sources of obstacles for the education of lower-social class children. Nonetheless, on addressing the cultural factors listed above, the discussion tends toward the ethos advocated by theories of 'disadvantaged deficit' in the U.S.A. (see Edwards, 1979).

Proponents of the 'deficit hypothesis' argued that the socio-cultural differences between lower socioeconomic classes and the middle-social classes accrued in cultural and cognitive deficiencies to the children of the former, which, in turn, resulted in these children's failure to achieve academically. From this perspective, lower-social economic families are seen as a homogeneous group whose homes are depleted of a traditional family organisation: cultural materials like books and newspapers and a positive parental attitude towards children's education (Edwards, 1979).

Moreover, one aspect commonly highlighted by proponents of this view of disadvantage is the nature of parent-child interactions across social classes with impoverished families' interactions being seen to negatively differ both in quality and quantity from their middle-class counterparts, resulting in what theorists referred to as the 'poor language ability of the disadvantaged child' (Edwards, 1979). Tedesco (1990) elaborates that:

> [...] several works seem to indicate that conversation between parents and children in the lower socio economic classes differs, in quantity and quality, from that existing in the middle classes. (Tedesco, 1990 p. 8)

In addition, Tedesco (1990) points out that other studies have showed a correlation between teachers' expectations and students' failure.

> These studies showed that teachers' expectations are linked to the pupils' social background to the extent that failure is "prophesied" and that this expectation determines the failure. (Tedesco, 1990 p. 13)

Views that associate family socio-cultural condition to lack of parental involvement and students' cognitive inability to achieve academically have been disputed in many fronts.

Firstly, writers and theorists who subscribe to these notions seem to rely on a definition of the lower-social class individuals' living conditions, family organisation and culture based on a generalization of them as a homogeneous group. A number of studies have disputed the notions that poor parent-child interactions and parents' lack of interest in their children's education is inherent to lower socioeconomic and other non-mainstream groups. Some examples are Bloom et al. (1967) who reported on the high educational aspirations from black parents for their children. Also, Oliveira and Schwartzman's (2002) study with 1.380 parents across different social classes in Brazil suggests that low-income parents show interest, hope and different levels of participation towards their children's education.

3.4 Relations of school and home literacies from a practice perspective

Heath's (1983) lengthy ethnographic study in three different communities in the Piedmont in California (Trackton, Roadville and the townspeople) discusses parent-child interactions across these different communities and the impact of these interactions on children's academic performance. Although not centred round issues of socio-economic class division, but rather the cultural differences amongst two different communities and the mainstream townfolks, the study puts in check the belief that non-middle-class homes are homogenously stripped of meaningful children-adults interactions and literacies. Heath (1983) finds that similarly to the middle class townfolks investigated in her study, parents in Trackton and Roadville communities are also engaged in the task of getting their children involved in a series of language and literacy activities which will prepare them for their 'community's patterns of oral and written interactions' (Heath, 1983 p. 349). They also share the belief that the school has a role in making a difference to their

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children's lives. Nonetheless, the study provides a powerful insight on the extent to which these pre-school home practices come to define children's academic performances. Heath (1983) reports that middle-class children do indeed fare highly better at school than their counterparts from the Trackton and Roadville communities. This Heath (1983) explains, however, in terms of the practices that are rewarded within schools that tend to reproduce the dominant middle-class home interactions and to be at odds with other cultural models of interaction, rather than as a deficiency of Trackton and Roadville's children resulted from their home environments. More specifically, Heath (1983) explains that through direct adult modelling and interaction, townspeople's children learn that different readings ask for different reactions. The dynamics of talking about writing material, asking questions, emulating and posing comparisons between real and fantasy initiated at home by middle-class mainstream parents are also reproduced and reinforced at Sunday Schools and at voluntary playgroups for preschool children. In this way, by their pre-school years, mainstream children have been immersed in activities and interactions which will render them

  producers and consumers of literacy in a consistent, redundant and repetitive pattern of using oral language, and especially dialogue, as a way of learning both form and about written materials. (Heath, 1983 p. 256)

She goes on to comment that

  [as] the children of the townspeople learn the distinctions between contextualized first-hand experiences and decontextualized representations of experience, they come to act like literates before they read. (Heath, 1983 p. 256)

Heath (1983) posits that Roadville children are also given the opportunity to talk with adults but that is mostly focused on labels and features. In this way, 'extended narratives, imaginative flights of establishing new contexts, or manipulating features of an event or item' (Heath, 1983 p. 352) were not part of their interactions with adults as in the case of the townspeople. She points out, however, that although they prepare children for the initial years of primary school, these knowledge skills were not enough to successfully take them through secondary school where the ability to contextualise texts and experiences is requested and rewarded.

Academic success beyond the basis of readiness depends on becoming a contextualist who can predict and manoeuvre the scenes and situations by understanding the relatedness of parts to the outcome or the identity of the whole. (Heath, 1983 p. 352)

Trackton children, on the other hand, fail to reproduce the decontextualisation skills required from them in primary school but have the skills to thrive in secondary school. Heath (1983, p. 353) posits that they are not, however, encouraged to 'maintain until the upper grades, when they will be needed, their abilities for contextualization' which are suppressed in primary school. Heath (1983 p 354) comments that, as a result, by the upper grades 'the social demands and habits of failing are too strong to allow them to renew for school use the habits they brought to their first-grade classroom.' Heath (1983) goes on to explain that:

Their abilities to contextualize, to remember what may seem to the teacher to be an unrelated event as similar to another, to link seemingly disparate factors in their explanations, and to create highly imaginative stories are suppressed in the classroom. The school's approach to

reading and learning establishes decontextualized skills as foundational in the hierarchy of academic skills (…). (Heath, 1983 p. 353)

In this way, non-mainstream children's performance at school are explained rather by the school's inability to take on board the skills that these children bring from home. In the same way, schools also fail to provide these children with the academic literacy and knowledge rewarded in official domains.

A number of influential literacy studies followed Heath's (1983) study and paved the way for a socio-cultural approach to literacy (Street, 1984; Barton and Hamilton, 1998). Yet, a discussion of the notions of difference and disadvantage as deficit is still relevant today as they still encounter great resonance within education institutions in Brazil.

3.5 The New Literacy Studies and the *ideological* model of literacy

Approaches to literacy studies which reinforce the oral-literate paradigm along with socially decontextualised views of literacy as linked to a series of social and cognitive consequences came to be strongly disputed by a series of studies in the 1980s. In his influential work "Literacy in Theory and Practice", Brian Street (1984) draws a critique of the conceptualizations of literacy which he claims had been at the core of many anthropological studies in the nineteenth century. At the centre of Street's critique are those views of literacy discussed above (Goody and Watts, 1963; Goody, 1977) and their legacy in notions of the 'consequences of literacy' and the paradigms drawn between literacy and orality. As a way to draw a distinction between two different approaches to literacy studies, Street (1984 p.1) suggests the terms *autonomous model* and *ideological model*. He explains that while the former refers to the study of literacy as a 'neutral

technology that can be detached from specific social contexts', authors who subscribe to the latter

concentrate on the specific social practices of reading and writing. They recognise the ideological and therefore culturally embedded nature of such practices. (Street, 1984 p.1)

Street (1984) adds that

The model stresses the significance of the socialisation process in the construction of the meaning of literacy for participants and is therefore concerned with the general social institutions through which this process takes place and not just the explicit "educational" ones. (Street, 1984 p. 2)

In this way, the attention previously given to a description of language within this or that channel is replaced by a focus on the social and historical contexts and the political circumstances whereby literacy comes to be. Introducing the new approach to his work in linguistics, Gee (1996) succinctly summarises the place the social takes in the New Literacy Studies:

While the human eye sees best what is in the center of its field of vision, it had become apparent to me that the clearest way to see the workings of language and literacy was to displace them from the center of attention, moving society, culture, and values to the foreground. Paradoxically, this leads to better and deeper ways of analysing language. (Gee, 1996 p. vii)

This perspective takes that as literacy is imbued in social practices, and as social practices (participants' relations within specific social historical contexts whereby texts are produced) are not fixed, literacy (as text production and meaning making) and its possible

consequences to individuals or societies are thus fluid and non-constant, they are, in fact, multiple (Street, 1984; Gee, 1996).

The multiplicity of literacy, Gee (1996) suggests, is conceived in the change of the singular term literacy to the plural 'literacies', and the production of literacies within social practices is further elaborated in the use of the term 'literacy practices'. The term 'literacy practices' was firstly introduced by Street (1984) 'as a means of focusing upon "the social practices and conceptions of reading and writing"' (Street 1984 cited in Street 2003, p. 78). The notion of literacy as conceived as practice has also been strongly informed by Scribner and Cole's (1981) findings from ethnographic research with the Vai People. Coming from the perspective of psychological studies, the authors set up to investigate literacy as an independent variable with a view to addressing questions about its links to cognitive gains. Scribner and Cole (1981) did not, however, find evidence that linked literacy per se to cognitive gains as had been suggested in past studies (c.f. Luria, 1976). Based on data collected with three groups of participants who had acquired three different scripts in different settings – the Vai script acquired outside school with peers and family; English literacy acquired at school and Arabic literacy acquired more specifically to memorise and recite the Qur'an – the authors suggested that each literacy, or the learning of each script in different settings, was associated with specific skills. Gee (1996, p. 57) explains that

> The research by Scribner and Cole clearly indicates that what matters is not literacy as some decontextualized ability to write or read, but the social practices into which people are apprenticed as part of a social group, whether as students in school, letter writers in the local community, or members of a religious group. (Gee, 1996 p. 57)

In other words, Scribner and Cole's (1981) study anticipates and is on a par with the NLS perspective which shifts the focus of analysis from individuals and possible effects of literacy to place it onto individuals' relations within groups. Barton and Hamilton (2000 p.13) explain that from this perspective, 'literacy becomes a community resource, realised in social relationships rather than a property of individuals'. Yet, Street (1995) posits that literacy as seen from the *ideological model* perspective does not deny the technical skills or the cognitive aspects of literacy, what it rather does is to place them within 'cultural wholes and structures of power', an aspect which was missing from work within the *autonomous model* (Street, 1995 p. 161).

3.6 Literacy events and literacy practices as units of analysis

The concept of literacy practices, along with that of literacy events, has been useful to provide ethnographic researchers with a framework to the study of literacy in a series of different societies and domains. Literacy events, as coined by Heath (1982, p.50), refer to 'any occasion in which a piece of writing is integral to the nature of the participants' interactions and their interpretative processes' (Heath, 1982 p. 50). While attention to events on their own is mostly restricted to those observable activities where writing and reading are involved, attention to literacy practices works as to bring the cultural and ideological aspects that underpin events to the foreground of analysis, as discussed above (Gee, 1996). In this way, from a sociocultural perspective to literacy studies, it does not suffice to identify the activities which participants take place in which involve reading and writing, attention to participants' relations within domains and to the power struggles which permeate these events should also be part of analysis. Otherwise, Street (2000, p. 21) posits that without recognising the social or, or in other words, keeping the practice

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out of analysis, work on literacy 'remains descriptive and – from an anthropological point of view – it does not tell us how the meanings are constructed'.

The notion of the multiplicity of literacy as a result of social practices argued by the proponents of the New Literacy Studies, as discussed above, in contrast to the conceptualization of literacy as solely related to schooling, informs the focus of this study on the investigation of adolescents' literacy practices outside school. In the same way, the following sub-sections on vernacular literacies and digital literacies are also directly related to the research question: "What are the outside school literacy practices of adolescents across social classes?"

3.7 Vernacular literacies and school literacies

From the NLS perspective, literacy loses its sole connection to school (which comes to be defined as school literacies – another unit within the universe of literacies). These uses are found to change regarding different communities, individuals and age groups. Barton and Hamilton (1998) explain that:

> Vernacular literacy practices are essentially ones which are not regulated by the formal rules and procedures of dominant social institutions and which have their origins in everyday life. […] vernacular literacies are in fact hybrid practices which draw on a range of practices from different domains. (Barton and Hamilton, 1998 p. 247)

On discussing her investigation of adolescents' vernacular literacies in a high school in Philadelphia, Camitta (1993, p. 229) describes these vernacular literacies as 'literate behaviour that conformed, not to the norms of educational institutions, but to those of social life and culture.' Barton and Hamilton (1998, p. 253) explain that because these

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practices are relatively free from 'formal institutional control' they tend to be 'voluntary and self-generated'. Furthermore, they can be sources of 'creativity, invention and originality' and give rise to improvised and spontaneous practices 'which embody different sets of values from dominant literacies.' (Barton and Hamilton, 1998 p. 253)

However, Barton and Hamilton (1998 p. 252) contend that because of their roots in unofficial domains, these practices are often 'less valued by society and are not particularly supported, nor regulated, by external social institutions.' In fact, vernacular practices can be originated as a rebellious act against dominant practices or dominant institutions. In the context of the study herein, the use of aerosol (as opposed to graffiti which is considered as art) to write and draw on public building walls as a mark of gang allegiance is one example of writing as a rebellious act. Also, to a certain extent, adolescents' uses of the social network Orkut can be argued as vernacular literacies which subvert the uses of language in other domains. This is also the case because adolescents conceptualise these digital literacies as non-literacy or literacy that hinders the acquisition of school literacies, echoing, in this way, their teachers' views on digital literacies, as it will be discussed in Chapters Five and Six.

Hull and Schultz (2002) posit that there has been a tendency from researchers working from a NLS perspective to overemphasise home-school discontinuities (also see Brandt and Clinton 2002, and Street 2012). As a result, they urge researchers to investigate the flow of literacy practices from the home to the school and school to home domains.

We may fail to see the presence of school-like practice at home (…) or non-school-like activities in the formal classroom. Such contexts are not sealed tight or boarded off; rather, one

should expect to find, and one should look to account for, the movement from one context to the other (Hull and Schultz, 2002 p. 12).

In the study herein, there are examples of how a private school's conceptualizations of literacy and their students' commitment to their academic future affect how these students engage in vernacular literacies at home.

As to the diversity of uses and contexts of vernacular literacies, in their study with a group of adults in Lancaster, Barton and Hamilton (1998) identified six different areas of everyday practices where people engage with literacy: 1. organising life; 2. personal communication; 3. private leisure; 4. documenting life; 5. sense making; and 6. social participation.

In a more recent study investigating children's media-related literacies within different spaces and times in the UK, Marsh (2006) found that her participants and their parents used literacy for: 1. communicative practices for forming social relationships; 2. communicative practices for accessing or displaying information; 3. communicative practices for pleasure and/or self-expression; 4. communicative practices for development of skills, knowledge and understanding in relation to language and literacy; and 5. communicative practices for identity construction and performance of self.

Both Barton and Hamilton (1998) and Marsh's (2006) studies attend to a description of how participants' lifeworlds shape and define their literacy practices within specific historic and contextual time and space without surrendering to a pre-conceived understanding of what individuals may or can do with literacy instead. Following this

perspective on literacy, the study herein, identified yet other categories or areas of use which Brazilian participants are engaged in.

Furthermore, findings in other studies, suggest that digital technologies now play a great role in what people do with literacy. I discuss below some of their affordances and the socioeconomic consequences of a life emerged or not in the world of technologies to adolescents and young people's future.

3.8 Digital Literacies

Meaning-making

Digital environments enable users to draw on a series of representations (visual, auditory and written) with an immediacy (time-space) of communication that have resulted in the production of texts which cross the boundaries (imagined and erected by theorists, grammarians and educators) between the characterizations of written and spoken texts. Kress (2003, p. 5) explains the relations amongst multimodal elements in the new technologies in terms of functions of "interactivity" whereby interactions gain a more interpersonal nature as the user can 'write back to the producer of a text with no difficulty'. Interactivity is also directly referred to the notion of hypertextuality which 'permits users to enter an entirely new relation with all other texts' (Kress, 2003, p.5). The notion of interactivity has been associated with an alleged informality whereby users of virtual communities, chat rooms and e.mails communicate (see Reed and Massey, 2011). I have discussed above that this has motivated the description of language used in these means of communication as speech-like and written-like.

However, if seen from a sociolinguistic perspective (Halliday, 1978), the occurrence of new features of speech and meaning between digital media users can be explained as a natural result of the new social relations and models of interactions that these technological tools enable. As social interactions are set in diverse environments with their different situational components (social action, participants' role relations and rhetorical channels), different text registers are bound to emerge. In other words, as the environment and participants' role relations change so may the meaning potentials and consequently the linguistic features of the text (such as choice of vocabulary and levels of formality).

Yet, while on the one hand, interactions in digital environments can be characterised by a certain level of flexibility towards language, on the other, the advent of the new technologies, socio-political transformations and the consequent changes in the political discourse of the last decades have together placed a new demand on individuals to master the new languages of the workplace. I discuss these issues later in this chapter.

On new and old ways of socialisation

One of the aspects mostly identified by theorists as being affected by the new media is youth's ways of socialization (Ito et al. 2008; Pempek et al. 2009; and Barton 2010).

Theorists have argued that those aspects that are central to adolescents' development, such as identity formation, peer group support and romance, have remained the same in the technological era (Ito et al., 2008; Pempek et al., 2009). These are, however, now shared and reinforced through a platform with different time and space dynamics. In this way, social network sites, like the Orkut, which was much in vogue amongst adolescents

in Brazil at the time of this study, function as an extension of face-to-face socialisation where identities are shared, negotiated and publicised in real time to large groups of people all with the affordances of visual, audio and written resources.

In cultural terms, in spite of being engaged in an online means of global proportions and sharing a common template of communication with adolescents around the globe, there is evidence in this study that the adolescent participants use this means mostly as an extension of communication within their local community. In this way, rather than being used as a means to communicate at a more global scope, as in the case of Flickr discussed in Barton (2010), adolescents in the study herein used the Orkut to keep in touch with friends made off-line, reinforcing, in this way, their local bonds (see also Ito et al., 2008; Pempek et al., 2009) for a discussion of adolescents and young adults' uses of Facebook and Myspace). This dynamic has been referred to as *glocalization* whereby global means of socialisation have come to strengthen local cultures and connections (see Barton, 2010).

Social network sites offer users a number of ways to display their profiles and build their identities in allegiance with multiple groups and communities. Friends are added or excluded, pictures, movies and videos are downloaded and deleted, all to serve the flexible display of enduring or passing allegiances. Yet, in spite of all these multimodal affordances, language has arguably secured its place as central in youths' socialization, as adolescents are enabled to send private messages to each other and to comment on their daily moods and feelings. In addition, photos, movies and films are subtitled and open to the written comments of others. Likewise other means of written socialization, identified by Barton and Hamilton (1998) 'as *personal communication*, such as the notes, cards and

letters people send to friends and relatives' (Barton and Hamilton cited in Barton, 2010 p. 110), the writing that goes on in social network sites is a vernacular practice which also enables users to play with their 'creativity, invention and originality' (Barton, 2010 p. 110), but in different ways offline means ever did.

Furthermore, one aspect of transformation between past and new forms of written socialisation is the reach and longevity of online vernacular practices. While print vernacular texts are seen not to circulate very far and to be 'often treated as ephemera' as Barton and Hamilton (1998) explained, 'they tend not to be kept and are easily disposed of' (Barton and Hamilton, 1998 cited in Barton, 2010 p.110), online texts can be reached by the users' chosen community and be multiplied by its recipients. This, in turn, has an effect on online identity formation or, in other words, on how users choose to portray themselves. Zhao et al. (2008) posit that as online and offline lives are connected, individuals have to be careful about how they construct their identities online:

> […] it is […] incorrect to think that the online world and the offline world are two separate worlds, and whatever people do online "hold little consequence" (Clark, 1998, p.180) for lives offline. In the Internet era, the social world includes both the online and offline environments, and an important skill people need to learn is how to coordinate their behaviours in these two realms. (Zhao et al. 2008 p. 1831)

This aspect, the authors conclude in their study with Facebook users, tend to result in users behaving more in line with normative expectations that are set for them in offline settings than as inhabitants of a 'dreamland for deviant behaviors' the online world has been alleged to be (Zhao et al., 2008). In addition, users are also found to picture themselves in positive lines rather than to find in these "*nonymous*" environments 'the

venue for expressing their "hidden selves" or marginalized or contested identities' (Zhao et al., 2008 p. 1831). The authors ponder, however, that

> […] not all socially unsanctioned identities are hidden. Some are performed openly, for example as acts of resistance. (Zhao et al., 2008 p. 1832)

On the other hand, they also challenge the notion that an attempt to conform to norms or to picture oneself in these lines should be deemed as a construct of a "false self" (Zhao et al., 2008 p. 1832):

> In a nonymous environment, "hoped-for possible selves" are socially desirable selves individuals would like to present to others […] They are "socially desirable" or norm-conforming, but that does not necessarily mean that they are not true selves; even though they are not yet fully actualized offline, they can have a real impact on the individuals. (Zhao et al., 2008, p. 1832)

In this way, the relations that have been constructed between students' offline and online lives in the views of the teachers in the study herein as of their being respectively settings for the construct of "real selves" and "virtual selves" or "true selves" and "false selves" are challenged by Zhao et al.'s (2008) findings.

Returning to the aspect of vernacular writing online, although these practices are more flexible, freer and may, therefore, employ more creativity than the dominant practices students are imposed to in school, they are also associated with youths' offline vernacular practices and therefore to dominant practices. Barton (2010) explains that vernacular and dominant practices overlap and are intertwined as people draw on resources that they have acquired in both domains. Barton (2010) goes on to add that dominant texts, i.e. a

letter from the bank, can be read or dealt with in a vernacular way, in this way, the text is official but the practice is vernacular. He posits that:

> What is interesting here is how people make literacies their own, turning dominant literacies to their own use, by constant incorporation and transformation of dominant practices into vernacular activities. (Barton, 2010, p.111)

In this way, it is expected that adolescents bring to their online pages the language they use offline, these, in turn, will be influenced by the components of the situation including issues of interactivity, multimodality and hypertextuality, as discussed above.

Socialization and learning

Social network sites have been argued as strong environments for peer-based learning where peer collaboration is not as closely monitored as it usually is in schools (Ito et al., 2008). Ito et al. (2008 p. 26) refer to 'messing around' with media as a way of exploring and learning from media:

> […] The tinkering with MySpace profiles and the attention paid to digital photography are all part of the expectation of an audience of friends that makes the effort worthwhile. Youth look to each other's profiles, photos, videos, and online writing for examples to emulate and avoid in a peer-driven learning context that supports everyday media creation. (Ito et al., 2008, p.26)

Ito et al. (2008 p. 26) go on to add that adolescents' engagement with these multimodal resources, as has been observed in the engagement of participants of this study with the Orkut, is a process of creativity and involvement with the new media which can be a first step towards more expert interest-driven media experiments which may also take them beyond 'their local network of technical and media expertise' to more global ones:

[…] In other words, messing around with media is embedded in social contexts where friends and a broader peer group share a media-related interest and social focus. For most youth, they find this context in their local friendship-driven networks, grounded in popular practices such as MySpace profile creation, digital photography, and gaming. When youth transition to more focused interest-driven practices, they will generally reach beyond their local network of technical and media expertise, but the initial activities that characterize messing around are an important starting point for even these youth. (Ito et al., 2008 p. 26)

Also of relevance to this study is the issue that digital media, along with other forms of popular culture such as music, have provided a voice to those whose voices are least heard and valued in the academic and professional domains where dominant practices are the norm. It will be discussed in the study herein how adolescents play around with language variants and actively construct and disclose their senses of agency using language in a creative and sophisticated manner. In this subject, Barton (2010, p. 111) comments that

[...] what is important for "ordinary people" [...] is the ways in which vernacular activities can provide a voice not otherwise available, for instance, to marginalized people. (Barton, 2010, p. 111)

Digital media and their affordances for school literacies

Drawing on schoolteachers' resistance to bring these media into their classrooms, Marsh and Millard (2000) argue that the digital technologies enable a number of affordances for children's learning:

> The electronic media are able to take children into new worlds, create new perspective on their own and other peoples' lives and allow the stories of human experience to be shaped and reshaped into ever changing messages, which are yet able to retain something of the past. (Marsh and Millard, 2000 p. 6)

They go on to add that the new media affordances for learning can also be extended to the access to those aspects of culture valued at schools:

> Consider, for example, the power of the World Wide Web to provide rapid access to a wide range of poetry and literature no longer available in conventional print, alongside biographical and critical materials which help with the study of particular writers. (…) the new media are establishing contemporary forms of "narratives we live by" in the same way that parables, myths, fairy stories, epics and legends have done for previous generations. (Marsh and Millard, 2000 p. 6)

The aspects which contribute to schools' resistance to the new technologies and digital literacies are discussed further in Section 3.4.7.

3.9 Language in the workplace

In an economic dimension, access to the benefits of the postmodern corporate work market has been argued to be directly related to issues of language and cultural differences: not speaking the "right" language (dialect, code or register) or not being able to float between multiple cultures have been argued to be more than ever before a barrier

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to individuals' access to the work market (Giroux, 1999; Flecha, 1999; The New London Group, 1996; and Farrell, 2001). The New London Group (1996) (which I will refer to as NLG) argue that the revolutionary changes in technology along with the changing nature of work relations – from the social working relations observed in the era of mass production to the new "postFordism" (Piore & Sable, 1984) or "fast capitalism" (Gee, 1994, cited in New London Group, 1996 p. 66) – have brought a change in language in the workplace. They explain that while the new technologies brought 'the iconographic text, and screen-based modes of interacting with automated machinery' to the office; the culture of teamwork gave rise to a highly 'informal, oral, and interpersonal discourse', which is reflected into 'hybrid and interpersonally sensitive informal written forms, such as the electronic mail (Sproull & Kiesler, 1991)' (NLG, 1996 p. 66). Also, Farrell (2001, p. 60) suggests that in addition to being required to 'gain information "textuality", from manuals, printouts and the text on computer screens […]', the new language demands on workers can be rather tacit:

> [these language demands] are obscured in mandated work practices that assume a certain kind of worker, a worker who will speak and listen, and read and write in certain ways, animated by certain values that seem, in the common sense world of the global workplace, so obvious as not to require articulation (Farrell, 2000). (Farrell, 2001 p.60)

These views suggest that language and knowledge demands go beyond the acquisition of a set of professional jargons or technical skills, they rather presuppose the ability to function in this new discursive community with native-like competence. And because these language and knowledge values are most likely set and shaped by the language and values of the usual suspects – 'the middle- and upper-income male' (Servon and Pinkett

2004, p. 323) – the challenge for lower class individuals and minorities to replicate alien cultural and language modes if they are to compete for more privileged working conditions, albeit it is not a new one, it is now more complex than ever before (New London Group, 1996; Gee, 2004). The NLG explain that:

> Replication of corporate culture demands assimilation to mainstream norms that only really works if one already speaks the language of the mainstream. If one is not comfortably a part of the culture and discourses of the mainstream, it is even harder to get into networks that operate informally than it was to enter into the old discourses of formality. (The New London Group, 1966 p.66)

As has been the case in periods of societal change, schools are once more deemed responsible for equipping students with the language and cultural skills that will arguably enable them to compete in the new labour market. However, their ability to do so has been put into question.

3.10 Schools, language and postmodernity

As an implication of economic and cultural changes brought about with the dynamics of globalization, schools are now urged to face the challenge of reforming themselves in order to adapt to stratified societies and pupils' hybridized cultures and identities (Giroux, 1999). It can be argued that while in the era of industrialization, the call to prepare students for the work market was translated into policies that aimed mostly at reinforcing middle-class cultural models to middle-class children, while imposing, mostly unsuccessfully, these models to lower-class children, or, vocationally training the latter to labour work (Gee 2004; Giroux, 1999; and Brook and Lawlor, 1985); now schools are

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called upon to transmit a cultural model of which many of their teachers are not a native or, are rather resistant. Giroux (1999, p. 99) argues that the main issue facing the school now is for it as a characteristically modernist institution, 'wedded to the language of order, certainty, and mastery', to cater for youths who are engulfed in the dynamics of a postmodern world. Addressing his critique mostly to the American model of public schools, but which can arguably be seen reflected in the schools of the study herein, Giroux comments that

[…] the modernist nature of public schooling is evident in the refusal of educators to incorporate popular culture into the curriculum or to take account of the new electronically mediated, informational systems in the postmodern age that are generating massively new socializing contexts for contemporary youth. (Giroux, 1999, p. 100)

Moreover, schools' alleged resistance to incorporate popular culture and the new literacy practices that emerge from the interactions in the new societal contexts Giroux refers to, can be strongly argued to be a result of the meanings and roles attributed to literacy in the last two centuries as has been discussed above (Graff, 1994; Gee 1996). Because literacy, in many societies, has been equated with school literacy of which essay-text is a model, and because schools have taken upon themselves the task to regulate issues of culture and language, in a rather prescriptive way, to a dominant standard variety, instances of literacy and language that do not clearly fit the standard mainstream model are commonly dismissed or deemed marginal or inappropriate (Street, 1994).

It should also be relevant to note that while traditional schools' ideological constructs underline the constraints faced by lower-social class children within schools, neo-liberal principles that now punctuate postmodern institutions in many societies and which at the

school level have been translated into rigid accountability mechanisms have also worked towards keeping the old constraints to disadvantaged children in place. Gee (2004, p. 109) points out that this accountability regime has 'committed schools to supplying all children, especially children from lower-social class, with no more (and no less) than "the basics"'.

3.11 Two rationales for change

This has drawn theorists to call upon schools to transform their pedagogies. Departing from a sociocultural perspective to language and literacy, The New London Group (1996) suggests a rationale for language pedagogy that takes into consideration the changes to society occurred in the last decades which have been discussed herein: 'fast capitalism, emerging pluralistic forms of citizenship, and different lifeworlds' (New London Group, 1996 p. 73). They embark on the discussion of a framework for literacy pedagogy that sees pedagogy as design.

Departing from Halliday's (1978) notions of systemic linguistics and genre theory (as discussed above), Fairclough's theory of discourse analysis and Kress's notions of multimodality, they suggest a framework that encompasses the elements of Designs, Designing, and The Redesigned. The authors explain that '[together] these three elements emphasize the fact that meaning making is an active and dynamic process, and not something governed by static rules' (New London Group, 1996 p. 74).

These elements are summarised by the authors as

  Design of meanings:

Available designs: Resources for meaning; Available Designs of meaning

Designing: The work performed on/with Available Designs in the semiotic process

The Redesigned: The resources that are reproduced and transformed through Designing (NLG, 1996 p.77)

In the process of remaking literacy pedagogies and consequently drifting away from old conservative views and descriptions of language, the NLG (1996 p.77) suggest that these new pedagogies should also encompass new ways of describing language: 'an accessible functional grammar; that is, a metalanguage that describes meaning in various realms'. They emphasise that it is crucial that this should be 'flexible and open-ended'. In the study herein I suggest, however, that more important than replacing the pedagogic metalanguage teachers and students have been submersed in by new ones is the need for a change in the discourses of language and literacy at educational and societal levels. In addition, there is a need for educators to adopt curriculum and classroom practices which involve students in practices which recognise and explore their lifeworlds as pedagogical tools for social learning. This I suggest can be achieved by the NLG's rationale on situated practices in combination with Grenfell et al's, 2012 views for an intersection between ethnography, the New Literacy Studies notions of literacy and Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice, as will be discussed later in this chapter.

Issues of acquisition: The 'how' of a pedagogy of multiliteracies

Drawing on Vygotsky's (1962) sociocultural theory of language and knowledge development, and on notions of situated learning (Lave and Wenger, 1991), the NLG (1996) suggest a pedagogical framework for schools and educators to tackle the need for

pupils to acquire multiple knowledges in postmodern societies that finds its elements in situated practice, overt instruction and critical framing. On discussing the acquisition of specific literacy skills within certain communities of practice, Gee (1996, p. 41) suggests that:

> […] proponents of a sociocultural approach to literacy argue that the literature on the acquisition and development of literacy is clear […]: a way of reading a certain type of text is *only* [sic.] acquired in a 'fluent' or 'native-like' way, by one's being embedded (apprenticed) as a member of a social practice wherein people not only read texts of this type in this way, but also talk about such texts in certain ways, hold certain attitudes and values about them, and socially interact over them in certain ways. (Gee, 1996 p. 41)

In addition, the NLG explain that situated practice is

> the part of pedagogy that is constituted by immersion in meaningful practices within a community of learners who are capable of playing multiple and different roles based on their backgrounds and experiences. The community must include experts, people who have mastered certain practices. Minimally, it must include expert novices, people who are experts at learning new domains in some depths. (The New London Group, 1996 p. 85)

While a theory of situated practice seem compatible with the notions of language acquisition being discussed in this study for the emphasis it places on individuals' social interactions as crucial in the process of language and culture reproduction, its application as an approach to address lower-social class individuals and language minority speakers' acquisition of the new workplace language within schools can give rise to a couple of issues.

Firstly, there is the issue that full participation in a community of practice presupposes immersion which may incur cultural and language assimilation and the loss of aspects of individuals' own cultures (see Gee, 2004). Proponents of the situated learning approach argue, however, that along the process of participation in a community of practice, the aim should be for newcomers' knowledge and culture to be overlapped to the core knowledges of that community rather than wiped off by it (see Daniels, 2001). On drawing on Vygotsky's developmental theory applied to language acquisition, Lantolf (2000) also points out that in contexts where interactions take place between a novice and an expert, the novice should not be expected to act as a repeater whose role is that of mimicking the expert's actions and capabilities but as a communicative being who transforms these capabilities as they are appropriated (Rocha-Schmid, 2007).

Secondly, and as a consequence of the discussion above, it can be argued that from these perspectives and taking into consideration Bernstein's (1996) theory of code, it would not be wrong to assume that even if immersed in a community of practice where text variants mostly stem from the middle-class code, as is the case with most media including the Internet, to some extent, (Servon and Pinkett, 2004), lower-social class individuals' reading of these variants and their use of technological tools to produce other contents would be directly informed by their own social and individual identities – of which language and culture are central, as discussed earlier in this thesis. This, in turn, would implicate in the production of text registers which would be bound to differ from those variants originally produced by middle-class children. In this way, educators' work towards promoting lower-social class children's acquisition of new language varieties would still involve tackling issues of language and culture diversities that would be

reflected on children's reconstructions of these languages and on the way they acquire these languages (Rocha-Schmid, 2007).

Taking issues of diversity into consideration, the NLG (1996) suggest that a pedagogical model based on the tenets of situated learning should be combined with a pluralist model of education and society. This the authors claim would not only attend to the new demand on the acquisition of multiple cultural and linguistic skills, but would also approach participants' individual and unique experiences, knowledge and language as valuable classroom resources. For this, the authors suggest a pedagogical framework that should also include Overt Instruction, Critical Framing and Transformed Practice. Kalantzis and Cope (2000, p. 240) posit that while each of these orientations to learning has been the subject of criticism, the NLG's rationale is that 1) the four of them are 'necessary to good teaching' and that 2) together they should be able to be 'enhanced and transformed by the others'. Kalantzis and Cope (2000 p. 240) go on to explain that this framework 'represent[s] epistemological orientations, four ways of knowing, four "takes" on the meaning of meanings that will provide students with multifaceted ways of reading the world.' In this way, the four pedagogical aspects together rather complement each other:

> In the worlds of public life, work and formal learning; knowledge is made through immersion in "hands-on" experience (Situated Practice); coupled with explicit concepts and theories which explain underlying processes (Overt Instruction); through locating knowledge in its relevant context and reflection on its purposes (Critical Framing); and through transferring knowledge gained in one context to another context, which will be inevitably similar and different in certain respects (Transformed Practice). (Kalantzis and Cope, 200 p. 240)

Yet, in the context of education analysed herein and directly related to the research question: "What informs classroom practices?" other issues arise. Firstly, there is the question of whether schools would be able to provide access to those aspects Laven and Wenger (1991, p. 101) see as fundamental for membership in a certain community, such as access to 'a wide range of on-going activity, old-timers, and other members of the community; and to information, resources, and opportunities for participation'. In other words, can schools indeed forge meaningful contexts and social practices that would enable lower-social class children to acquire the new modes of thinking, speaking and doing? Based on the issues of school ideological constructions and the impositions stemmed from policies informed by the neo-liberal political philosophy it would be a very daunting task.

Secondly, it could be argued that a pedagogy that combines the principles of pluralism and the tenets of situated learning is more attainable in those parts of the world where economic inequity does not always translate into physical segregation. In many developing countries, however, lower and middle class children hardly ever share the same public spaces. In big industrial centres, like São Paulo, class division is clearly reflected in the population distribution into different types of schools and neighbourhoods. Social and geographical distributions between the 'haves' and 'have nots' of the technological society (Servon and Pinkett, 2004) make the tenets of cultural and linguistic exchange discussed above less tenable.

And, finally, in this study I suggest that discourses and conceptualizations of the language and culture of lower-social class groups in schools and society at large hinder policymakers' efforts to bring a more pluralist view of literacy and language onto the

curriculum. In this way, this should be addressed in order to pave the way for the pedagogical approaches discussed in this section and in Section 3.3.3 above.

In Chapter Eight I will elaborate further on these issues and suggest possible solutions for the problems encountered in the contexts researched.

Ethnography, the New Literacy Studies and Bourdieu's theory of practice

Grenfell et al. (2012) discuss the notions of classroom ethnography, New Literacy Studies and Bourdieu's theory of practice in an attempt to suggest a pedagogical approach that encompasses the principles of these three fields.

Grenfell (2012) starts by explaining the role ethnography had in Bourdieu's work. Bourdieu's ethnographic researches in the Bearn and in Algeria were the instruments through which Bourdieu collected the information that led to his notions of relations between habitus and field; and agent and structure. Grenfell (2012, p.66) explains that the structure of Bourdieu's work suggests a 'four-stage methodology' for ethnographic research, which

> must look a social space in terms of: first, the fields represented there; second, the structure of the fields themselves; thirdly, the structural relation between fields; and, fourthly, the habitus of the individuals involved in each of them. (Grenfell, 2012 p. 66)

Grenfell (2012, p. 62) ponders that Bourdieu's work did not focus on classroom efficiency, and therefore did not have the intention to provide a framework for classroom practice. It rather focused on 'the whole tenor of educational philosophy and its consequences' (Grenfell, 2012 p. 62). Literacy and education theorists have, however, recently found in his theory of practice, and the ethnographic framework exemplified in

the citation above, basis for work with minority groups and lower-social class individuals (Street, 2012). While Bourdieu's approach to ethnographic research can be seen as a framework for the investigations of learners' local communities, his notions of symbolic capital and teacher-students' interaction dynamics that highlight implications of habitus are strong motifs to inform a pedagogical project of linguistic, social, and political ambitions.

With a view to addressing these issues in the context of adult education in India and Ethiopia, Street (2012) has created the project 'Learning for Empowerment Through Training in Ethnographic-style Research' (LETTER). Following an ethnographic approach to literacy, educators are trained to investigate into their students' local community practices. The findings are discretionally used by these educators in the planning of their curriculum and, consequently, classroom work. In the context of education discussed herein, this approach has the potential to work as an antidote to preconceptions towards lower-social class students' languages, literacies and culture, while at the same time forging a bridge between school and home literacies and giving teachers some sense of autonomy within their own classrooms (Rocha-Schmid, 2014).

3.12 The political and socio-economic side of literacies in New Capitalism

Another aspect of literacy that has been considered by theorists in recent studies is that of how young individuals conceptualise and shape their own literacy practices in order to respond to demands from their socio-economic communities. Studies like those of Brook (2000) and Young et al. (2002) have identified a new generation of youngsters to whom literacy is consciously manipulated as a means to shape-shift portfolios that will secure

them a place in elite universities, in the work market and reinforce them as members of the new elite. Referred to as Millennials, these adolescents have been argued to distinguish from their parents, the Baby Boomers, on their desire for communality and a sense of community standardization and on their ease and acceptance of conventionalism (Gee, 2002). Gee (2002, p.54) explains that Millennials, children born from 1982, firstly identified in the United States, have always 'lived in the New Capitalism amidst the Restoration from the Great Disruption'. As a fact of socio-historic dynamics in capitalist countries, they have been brought up in contexts where neoliberal principles of accountability have shaped the way institutions and societies function. Millennials have been brought up within the structured norms that have already in the past been examined in relation to upper and middle-social class children. Gee (2002) comments that:

Many Millennials see success in school as necessary for the future precisely because they (and their parents) are aware of the role that educational credentials, especially from elite institutions, play in the New Capitalist world. (Gee, 2002 p.61)

Schooling and academic pursuit are, in this way, viewed as a natural tool in their portfolio building and as an investment for the future. This could perhaps explain the growing tendency both in developed and developing countries in the middle-social class parents' pursuit of and competition for elite private education for their children.

School literacies are not, however, seen as the only aspect of these children's portfolios. A number of extracurricular activities and experiences such as travelling, working internships and training are also valued as relevant activities in shape shifting (Gee, 2002). Gee (2002) contends that in the New Capitalist societies what define an individual

as belonging to a certain social class are in fact the experiences and activities they have acquired or are engaged in:

> […] today class is defined not primarily and directly in terms of income or level of education, but rather in terms of one's affiliations with certain sorts of people, objects, technologies, practices, and the status of one's educational credentials and professional achievements (Brook, 2000; Heilbroner, 1994; Rifkin, 2000). (Gee 2002 p. 62)

This discussion is relevant herein given the fact that the socio-historical context of New Capitalism is shaping and reshaping not only what goes, or is expected to go, in the school curriculum but, as findings of the study herein suggest, also youngsters' vernacular literacies and out of school pursuits.

3.13 Summary

In this chapter, I addressed the issues that have arisen from the debate of language and literacy studies from the 1970s to present days which have influenced the way language and literacy are conceptualised in the context of education in Brazil.

The initial aspects addressed in this chapter were:

1. The notions of the oral and written divide and their implications to how literacy has been conceptualised in Western societies from mid XX century.

2. The notions of the deficit hypothesis, which still influence the discourses about lower social class children's education in Brazil.

3. The findings from Heath's (1983) study across three different communities in the U.S.A., with a view to disputing the notions that the causes of lower social class children's low performance at school reside in these children and their background.

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The discussion of Heath's (1983) study also set the tone for the introduction of the notions behind the New Literacy Studies, which have informed the sociocultural ethnographies of literacies in the last decades.

I also discussed the rationale for the approach of literacy as social practice as advocated by the proponents of the New Literacy Studies. This informs the research argument of this thesis and the data collection and analysis methods adopted for this study, as it will be discussed in Chapter Four.

Finally, I engaged in a discussion of how the new digital technologies have changed patterns of communication and of identity construction amongst youths. This was followed by a discussion of the new work demands in terms of language and the pedagogies which have been recommended to address these issues.

The theoretical notions discussed in this chapter inform the discussion of the data analysis and findings in Chapters Five and Six and the final considerations on pedagogical practices discussed in Chapter Eight. Chapter Four below discusses the data methods and analysis used in this study.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the methods and methodologies followed in this study. The chapter starts with a discussion of the characteristics of the schools in the study, and the process through which their teachers and students became part of this study. This is followed by a discussion of the methods used for data collection and the stages followed for data analysis.

This chapter concludes with a discussion of Bakhtin's (1981) notions of dialogism and Fairclough's (1992 and 2003) framework for intertextual analysis. These notions are relevant here as they are used in the analysis and discussion of data collected in interviews with teachers in Chapter Six.

4.2 Data collection

Table 1: Number of participants

Type of schools	Schools as referred in the study	Teachers	Adolescents
State	Public school 1	1	5
State	Public school 2	1	4
Independent	Private school	1	3
Total		3	12

4.2.1 The participants in the study

The schools in the study

Public school 1 is a state-funded school located in the east of Sao Paulo. The school is located close to the second most populated slum[3] in the city of Sao Paulo, and as a consequence it caters for their impoverished children. The school also caters for the children from lower-middle class and professional families who live in its neighbourhood. Public school 1 caters for children across the academic years from senior primary (*Ensino Fundamental: years 5 to 8*) to secondary school (*Ensino Médio: years 1 to 3*).

The school premises are ample, with a very large outdoor area where students spend their break time, a sports court, a canteen, and a library which had just recently been refurbished and replenished with a number of books sent by the Ministry of Education as part of a campaign to stimulate reading habits. However, it was closed to students at the time of the study. The deputy head teacher explained to me that this was the case because students did not know how to use this facility or how to care for its books. The school's IT room was not in use either at the time of the study due to technical problems to many of their computers.

Public school 2 is also a state-funded school located in the east of Sao Paulo. Public school 2 is also located close to a slum, but in a different neighbourhood from public

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[3] Slums (favelas) Favelas have been defined as 'subnormal agglomerates' normally 'settled in areas less appropriate to urbanization' (IBGE, 2010). These, however, differ in their size and housing conditions including the presence or not of sewage, electricity and water.

school 1. Their students are predominantly from lower middle-class families. The school also caters for years 5 to 8 of Ensino Fundamental and years 1 to 3 of Ensino Medio. It is a large school with outdoor and indoor areas for students' recreation, a canteen, a sports court, an IT room, and a library. Like public school 1, their library had also been recently refurbished. It was open for students' loans and support with school literacy during school hours.

The Private school in the study is an independent school located in an upmarket area in the south of Sao Paulo. It caters for all levels of compulsory education. Their student population comprises children from an upper-middle class background. The school is located in a big building with sports courts, libraries, ICT labs, science labs, and an outdoor patio. The school doors are protected by a number of security guards, reflecting the schools intake of wealthy children and the high level of violence in the city of Sao Paulo.

These three schools were suitable for this study given the social status of the children they catered for. As one of the aims of this study is to analyse and compare how adolescents from different socioeconomic classes engage with literacies, it was relevant to have schools which catered for different social groups in different parts of the city.

Getting started

I was put in touch with the two public schools in the study by one of my nieces who, as part of her work with street children in Sao Paulo, regularly liaised with public schools in an attempt to bring these children back into their communities.

In both public schools I was granted full access to the facilities. I was in constant contact with the teaching staff, as I was allowed to use the staff room and share their school meals. As a result, in addition to semi-structured interviews with the participant teachers I also had a number of informal chats with them and their colleagues and witnessed the teachers sharing a number of anecdotes about students' lives and aspects of these schools daily routines. I was also given full access to participant students, and was allowed to interview them during lesson hours and break times.

My initial contact with the private school in the study was over the telephone and via emails. I made a number of telephone calls and wrote several emails introducing my research project to five middle and upper-social class private schools in Sao Paulo. From these contacts, only one school agreed to take part fully in the study, which meant that I would be allowed to observe lessons, interview the Portuguese teacher, and recruit students to be interviewed and to keep literacy diaries. Students would not be interviewed on the school's premises, as there were issues of time allocation, so my contact with students was mostly restricted to after school hours via the Internet and by telephone.

Interactions with students

Public schools

From the outset, it is right to say that for the adolescent participants I was someone who came into the classrooms literally from the staff room, which meant that I was seen as another teacher. In addition, the fact of being introduced as a researcher studying abroad placed me further from their realities. On the other hand, my ethnic similarity to them and my ability to switch to a language variant very close to their own, the consequence of my

own upbringing and the close contact with six adolescents and young adults in my own family, may have brought me closer to these students. Despite the difference in age, I was also able and open to relate to some of their interests in music, magazines (the same magazines I used to read as an adolescent are still around), and knowledge of the areas they lived in. In addition, I was also a member of their social network, Orkut. My contact with many of these students on the Orkut social network progressed until long after I left Brazil for the UK.

Some of these factors may have contributed to the level of ease with which these participants took to the project. Many volunteered to take part in the study, in fact more than I could take, and amongst those who got involved only two students from public school 2 dropped out.

Private school

As in the public schools, I was also able to wander around the school during breaks and could gather information on the school facilities. I also spent time in the staff room amongst other teachers and could pick up some comments and conversations about the school and their students. My face-to-face contact with students in this school was, however, brief. Contact with those who volunteered to take part in the study became more frequent once I left Brazil and started contacting them via email, MSN, or on the Orkut social network.

These participants also saw me as a teacher. They were frequently reminded that I was a guest from the first world by their teacher, and that because of that they should behave accordingly.

4.3 Research epistemologies

In the introduction to this thesis I discussed how postmodern thought has had an effect on scientific epistemology regarding literacy and language studies. Here I briefly revisit the notions of practice perspective as applied to research and knowledge.

Educational research as practice

Working from a practice perspective in research has the result that data collection and analysis should attend to its ethos. Barton and Hamilton (1998) explain that on taking the theoretical perspective of literacy as social practices their research design asked for an 'ecological approach, where literacy is integral to its context' (Barton and Hamilton, 1998 p.4). In this study I attempted to reproduce this ethos, firstly by using data methods (literacy diaries, interviews and observation) which aimed to collect details of participants' practices within a specific time and space, and secondly to investigate participants' local and wider historical contexts. Details of local contexts were gathered through the investigation of participants' narratives about literacy practices, families, communities and schools, and the observation of the school domain. The wider historical context of education in Brazil was investigated through the analysis of the debate of literacy and language in educational policies and in academia in Brazil. This shed light on the historical context of language oppression and discrimination and on the transformations that these discourses have undergone in the last decades.

Literacy and ethnography

There is now a tradition in literacy studies from a New Literacy Study perspective to investigate individuals' literacy practices through an ethnographic approach (Street,

1984; Barton and Hamilton, 1998; Grenfell et al. 2012). Theorists contend that there are differences between applying an ethnographic approach to research and doing anthropological ethnography (Bloome, 2012 and Street, 2012a). Street (2012a, p. 39) explains that a middle term between an ethnographic study conducted by anthropologists and 'the ethnography we all learn as members of society' is:

characterised by disciplined and reflective ethnographic inquiry, in which an ethnographic perspective is systematically applied to specific situations and processes. (Street, 2012a p. 39)

Street (2012a, p. 39) posits that this is the approach followed by anthropologists, educators, practitioners or policy makers in New Literacy Studies projects in order to 'attempt to describe and understand events and the practices of those around them'.

With respect to this study, a more in-depth view of these contexts would ask for a longer time spent within the different social domains that participants inhabit and the observation of literacy in practice (examples of these are Heath, 1983; Street (1984), in Iran; Barton and Hamilton 1998). As things stand, this study follows an ethnographic style but falls short of anthropological-style ethnographies. Without the wider resources of anthropological ethnography research this study is formed by snapshots of participants' realities in literacy, the realities they, to a certain extent, chose to register and report and which passed the researcher's own cultural and theoretical filter at the data analysis stage.

On issues of reflexivity

Usher (1996 p. 25) suggests that to see social and educational research, as social practice is to see it as 'the product of one of many social, historically-located practices', rather

than as a 'technology'. He ponders that 'if we see all research (…) as a social product, this foregrounds the possibility of critiquing the *process* of research.' (Usher, 1996 pp. 25/26, *sic.*). Usher posits that:

> Postmodernism reflects the contemporary decline of absolutes and a questioning of the belief that following the correct method guarantees true results. It is not anti-science, but instead emphasises the need for science to be self-reflexive about its limitations. (Usher, 1996 p. 25)

In this way, several aspects of what are the standards of a positivist/empiricist epistemology tradition are denied in postmodern thought, and some of these are:

> 1. observation is value-neutral and atheoretical;
>
> 2. experience is a "given";
>
> 4. data are independent of their interpretations
>
> (Usher, 1996 p. 26)

In this way, to see research through postmodern lenses is to accept issues of reflexivity in the design and analysis processes. Street (2012a p.40) ponders that:

> [through] reflexivity, we can be aware of the reasons for undertaking the research in the first place, of the experience, beliefs and values which we bring to the task. (Street, 2012a p.40)

Norum (2000 p. 334) posits that drawing on our experiences to make meaning of what we are studying does not necessarily mean that we contaminate our research, but '[rather] it may mean that we bring a new dimension to our research, a level of understanding that may not be there otherwise [...]'(Norum, 2000 p. 334).

From a Bakhtinian perspective to dialogism, a research, like any other text, is a set of discourses, some old, some constructed anew. It is also a way of reading a reality which

is brought about in text through the intertextuality of voices and dialogues between and within the researcher and the researched (Bakhtin, 1981).

Another aspect of a postmodern approach to research is, in fact, the central role of language as a meaning maker. Language, texts and discourses are the producers of knowledge and culture, they 'govern what can be known and what can be communicated' (Usher, 1996 p.27). Usher points out that a consequence of this is that knowledge can only be 'partial and perspectival'.

In addition, the unequal power relations in human interactions which are now widely acknowledged in philosophical studies (c.f. Foucault, 1981; Bourdieu, 1991) are also bound to reinforce issues of reflexivity in research.

In summary, from these perspectives research is seen as the writing of specific practices in a certain moment in time and space, as reported by the researched and analysed by the researcher from a certain theoretical perspective and life experience. Its value is in the record of this reality against the wider and historical contexts and situations surrounding it. Education in Brazil is as complex, paradoxical, and distinct as the country's geographical, historical and societal aspects are (Mortatti, 2010). This study does not claim to account for its entirety, it claims to account for one aspect of its complexity, that of literacy and language and how they are perceived by participants from three different schools in three different areas in Sao Paulo. Nonetheless, to refuse to make a claim about generalization does not, however, overwrite the likelihood that these individuals' experiences with home and school literacies could also be reproduced in different areas and communities of the same city, mostly given the issues of socioeconomic inequality

and language discrimination that make up for the wider context of education in the Brazilian society (see Bagno, 2004).

I discuss the methods and stages of data collection and analysis adopted in this study below. In addition, I attempt to highlight the affordances and limitations of these methods and, when possible, offer suggestions (but not solutions) for issues of reflexivity.

4.4 Methods of data collection

Data collection methods adopted in this study were adolescent participants' literacy diaries, diary-focused interviews, classroom observation, and interviews with teachers. In addition, I also collected samples of texts from adolescents' social network (Orkut) pages.

4.4.1 Investigating adolescents' literacy practices outside school

Table 2: Participants' (fictitious) names, age, gender, schools and data collected

Participant	Age	Sex	Schools	Summary of data
Andrea	15	Girl	Public school 1	Diaries: 10 days Interviews: 2 Contact: face-to-face and on the Orkut social network
Beto	14	Boy	Public school 1	Diaries: none Interviews: 2 Contact: face-to-face and on the Orkut social network
Bruna	16	Girl	Public school 2	Diaries: 10 days Interview: 1 Contact: face-to-face and on the Orkut social

				network
Carla	14	Girl	Public school 2	Diaries: 14 days Interviews: 2 Contact: face-to-face
Kristiano	14	Boy	Public school 1	Diaries: 3 days Interviews: 2 Contact: face-to-face
Fabio	15	Boy	Private school	Diaries: 14 days Interview: 1 Contact: face-to-face, on the Orkut social network, and on the telephone
Felipe	15	Boy	Public school 2	Diaries: 10 days Interview: 1 Contact: face-to-face and on the Orkut social network
Pedro	16	Boy	Private school	Diaries: 14 days Interview: none Contact: access to his blog
Patricia	16	Girl	Private School	Diaries: 14 days Interview: 1 Contact: face-to-face (little), on the Orkut social network, and SMS
Sheila	15	Girl	Public school 1	Diaries: 14 days Interviews: 2 Contact: face-to-face and on the Orkut social network
Talita	15	Girl	Public school 1	Diaries: 10 days Interviews: 2 Contact: face-to-face, online on the Orkut social network and via email, and by post

Vinicius	15	Boy	Public school 2	Diaries: 12 days Interview: 1 Contact: face-to-face and on the Orkut social network

Research Question 1: What are the outside school literacy practices of adolescents across social classes?

Methods of data collection: Literacy diaries, diary-focused interviews and adolescents' social network (Orkut)

Participant literacy diaries were used to collect information on participants' daily literacy practices over an intended period of two weeks. Twelve adolescents kept a literacy diary for an average of ten days, and eleven of them had at least one diary-focused interview each. All participants from public school 1 had two interviews, while participants from public school 2 and the private school had one interview. The difference in the amount of data collected with participants was a reflection of the difference in the access that each school allowed me to have to their students within school hours. The implications of that to the findings of this study will be further discussed in Chapter Nine.

The format of the literacy diary used in this study (see Appendix 1) was adapted from Jones's (in Jones et al., 2000) study with Welsh/English bilinguals in Wales. In the study herein, participants were asked to record their daily reading and writing activities (in the morning, afternoon and evening) as well as the domain (e.g. at home, shopping mall, street, at school, etc.) where these activities took place and the media used (Internet, computer, newspaper etc.).

Affordances of literacy diaries combined with diary-focused interviews

Jones (in Jones et al., 2000 p. 331) reports that this mixed-approach was valuable in producing 'more collaboratively generated data' and in making the relationship between researched and researcher less hierarchical given the fact that the agenda for the interviews was set by participants' diary entries rather than by the researchers' stimulus questions. In my study, participants led the interview by reading their diaries to me, adding details about each entry. These details were about their views and feelings about a certain literacy event, and why, where, and with whom they engaged in this event. This also led to information on several aspects such as their reading preferences, frequency of activities, patterns of access to resources, their family structure, parental involvement with out and in school literacies, and other cultural aspects which make events into practices (Street, 1984; Barton and Hamilton, 1998)

Reflexivity

Although a combination of participant literacy diary and diary-focused interview can result in a lower level of intervention from the researcher than can be normally expected with the use of structured and semi-structured interviews alone, the elicited participant literacy diary is still an obtrusive form of data collection, and as such it can interfere with participants' usual activities (Breakwell, 2006). In the words of one of the participants of my study:

> [Keeping a literacy diary] was good because by doing it I at least wrote a bit everyday. It's a way of encouraging people to read, because they might think they have to do it and they don't want to have a blank page […]. (Sheila, my own translation).

In addition, it can lead participants to adapt their entries to what they believe the researcher wants to hear. In the context of my study, anticipation of being judged by the researcher and by their teachers may have resulted in participants' omission of some practices and the addition of others. As my study was conducted within schools and I was seen as a teacher, participants might have felt compelled to omit those activities that are normally frowned upon at schools and only refer to, or even exaggerate, those that are better accepted. On the other hand, it is also possible that adolescents may find a means through which to display their discontent with school norms in their literacy diaries and therefore choose to mention only those activities that they find more rebellious or edgy. This can be argued here about those participants who volunteered for the study but who did not keep a diary and dropped off the research project. Refusal to record their literacy practices could be seen as a rebellious act against literacy practices, which are mostly associated with school literacies (Street, 1984). For one participant, Beto, not keeping a literacy diary but still having interviews and keeping in touch with me online was a direct result of his conceptualization of literacy being solely school literacy. Beto explained he could not keep a literacy diary as he did not engage in any literacy practices outside school, only to talk later in his interview about his reading of comics, magazines, newspapers and his use of a social network. Diary-focused interviews are useful to help the researcher to detect such attitudes.

In her study, Jones (in Jones et al., 2000) closely followed participants in their day-to-day routines. She found that it was useful to help her to document the details and dynamics of their activities more precisely. Another useful alternative, but perhaps more easily attainable, is for the researcher to collect samples of participants' vernacular writing and

to discuss these samples with them (see Camitta, 1993). In the study herein, some of the participants offered samples of their printed vernacular writing, while most of them gave me access to their social network where we kept in touch, and I collected data on their communication with other members with their consent (Appendix 2).

Online data: MSN and the social network Orkut

Information about adolescents' literacy practices was also collected from their Orkut webpages where their communication with other members was analysed and discussed in relation to issues of language use and identity formation, in Chapter Five. The MSN was solely used as a means for my communication with one of the participants who was not available for a face-to-face interview at the time of my visit to her school (Appendix 3).

The advantage of using online media for data collection is that adolescents are in their own element, and in this way issues of reflexivity caused by unequal power relations between the researched and the researcher may be minimized or even reversed.

One issue which may arise from the collection of data on a social network site is the lack of linearity in the amount of data collected amongst participants. This is the case because participants differ in their use of these sites.

4.4.2 Investigating teachers' discursive construction of their students' outside school literacy practices and classroom practices

Research Question 2: How do teachers conceptualise their pupils' outside school literacy practices? And, Research Question 3: What informs classroom practices?

Methods of data collection: Semi-structured interviews with teachers and classroom observation

Table 3 Data in numbers: Teacher interviews and classroom observation

Schools	Teachers	Interviews (in hours)	Classroom observation (in sessions)
Public school 1	Teacher 1 (T1)	3 hours	8 lessons of 50 minutes each
Private school	Teacher 2 (T2)	2 hours	6 lessons of 50 minutes each
Public school 2	Teacher 3 (T3)	2 hours	5 lessons of 50 minutes each
Total	3 teachers	7 hours	19 lessons of 50 minutes each

Table 4: Data in numbers: Teacher interviews and classroom observation

Schools	Other members of staff
Private school	1 librarian
Public school 1	1 deputy head teacher 1 support teacher 1 ICT teacher
Public school 2	1 head teacher 1 ICT teacher 1 support teacher
Total	7

I conducted seven hours of semi-structured interviews with teachers using a small digital recorder. Teachers were asked questions about: 1) their views and notions of their students' literacy practices outside school; 2) individual participant students' profile and

academic performance; 3) and teachers' conceptualizations of literacy and the teaching of Portuguese. During interviews, issues related to course aims, curriculum and syllabus, classroom practices, and the reasons for the choices made towards these aspects were all addressed. In addition, teachers' perceptions towards issues of family involvement and students' commitment to academic work and expectation for their future also came up as a result of these interviews.

Interviews with teachers were also conducted as a follow-up to the classes observed. At this stage teachers were asked to comment on the activities carried out in class and on participants' performances and texts produced. Samples of some students' classroom work and assessments were also provided, and these were mostly used as background information for the discussion of adolescents' school literacies and are not exhaustively analysed or discussed in this thesis.

Furthermore, valuable information on teachers' conceptualizations of students' performance in the classroom and their literacy practices outside school were also gathered in more informal settings such as over lunch breaks in the staff room.

I was given consent from the participants to keep my digital recorder switched on at all times during my visits to the three schools. Data collected through interviews conducted with headteachers, adjunct teachers, and the private school's librarian were used as additional background information on issues such as schools' facilities and budget.

Affordances of semi-structured interviews

This data collection tool was particularly successful in the study herein given its cultural context. Brazil has a strong culture of orality that comes across in mundane interactions

as people go about their life chores. Telling stories is part of our history and seemed natural to the participants of this study. As students, teachers, and headteachers came in and out of classrooms, the staff room, and the canteen they usually had a story to tell or were willing to listen to one. Interviews gave participants an opportunity to tell aspects of their stories. Interviews with the teaching staff were fluid and generated a great amount of data.

Limitations of semi-structured interviews

One issue that may have been a result of reflexivity perceived in this study related to teacher 1's account of what goes on in the school curriculum, as her discourse on practices and theory was conflicting at times. It could have been possible that she was concerned with exposing her views to the researcher within the school domain. This instance is analysed with a framework for discourse analysis and intertextuality, and other reasons and possibilities for this being the case are elaborated on in Chapter Six. Another issue that may have implicated participants' responses in this study was the researcher asking teachers direct questions about digital literacies and language, as shown in Chapter Six. By asking these questions, the researcher may have implied that there is indeed an issue to be considered in relation to those aspects. A better alternative would have been to ask more general and wider questions towards literacy and language.

Classroom observation

Following a model of classroom data collection and teachers' conceptualization of students' literacy practices presented by Oldham (2005), classroom investigation involved the recording of teaching practices, which included attention to planning (with a

focus on the curriculum), teaching: the '*what*' (subject content)' is being taught and '*how*' (methods) it is being taught, 'responses' (students' interactions with the teacher or amongst themselves in the classroom), and assessment (Appendix 4). In order to analyse what is being assessed, participants' texts and their teachers' comments and marking were documented. The latter were used as background information to this study.

Limitations of classroom observation

In this study, at least one aspect of reflexivity can be observed from classroom observation as all of the three teachers who participated in the study dealt with issues related to essay writing in the classes observed. The teachers in this study were aware that this was a study into students' literacy practices outside school and literacy teaching in schools. Public school teacher 1 conceded that she deliberately approached this topic, as she believed that it was the nature of my study and what I was interested in seeing in practice. Collection and analysis of the samples of participants' academic texts produced prior to my observation and interviews with teachers and students were helpful in counterbalancing the effect that my presence may have had on classroom activities.

4.5 Data analysis

4.5.1 Analysis of diaries and diary-focused interviews

Owing to the number of interviews conducted, data analysis was very laborious and involved many stages.

Firstly, I listened to all of the interviews as soon as they were conducted and summarised them (Appendix 5). This was useful as it helped me to organise and understand what

themes had come up from the adolescents' diary-focused interviews as these followed the interviewees' description of literacy events as they appeared on their diaries rather than a set of questions imposed by the interviewer. Exceptions to these were questions that referred to information on the participants' parents' schooling and the level of parental support at home when this was not brought up by students themselves. My rationale for these questions was to enquire about as many issues as possible in relation to these participants' literacy practices at home.

Case studies were chosen on the basis of issues and patterns that stood out from participants' diaries and interviews. This was, for instance, the case with Kristiano who, in addition to providing some very interesting details about his literacy practices in only three days of diaries and during two long interviews, also represented an aspect of vulnerability and home and school neglect which is arguably experienced by other lower income individuals in Sao Paulo.

The following stage of data analysis was to transcribe participants' interviews and to colour code them by themes (e.g. family support) and types of literacy practices (e.g. school related; religious; and computing) (Appendix 6). Interviews were initially transcribed in their original language (Portuguese) given my greater familiarity with the language than to the target language of the thesis, an aspect which was helpful during data analysis. The following stage was to create a chart of adolescents' literacy practices and other themes discussed in their interviews that were useful as organisational means for the sections of 1) uses of literacy, and 2) a comparative discussion of literacy practices across social classes (Appendix 7). The first section on uses of literacy was informed by Barton and Hamilton's (1998) patterning for their study with adults and by

Marsh's (2006) study with young children. The aspects (home-school links, books, and digital literacies) addressed in the section of comparative discussion across social classes were informed by data. In the literature of literacy studies, these aspects also transpire to be of great concerns regarding the education of lower socioeconomic class children (Heath, 1983; Kleiman, 1995; Oliveira and Schwartzman, 2002; The New London Group, 1996).

Data collected in participants' social network pages were analysed and discussed, and these included samples of texts, photographs and videos. Data analysis of the social network Orkut comprised the analysis of content and language variant used in each field (e.g. profile, scraps, testimonials, photograph and video subtitles) discussed in Chapter Five.

4.5.2 Analysis of teachers' semi-structured interviews

Interviews with teachers followed a similar initial data analysis method to the interviews with adolescents. Interviews were summarised mostly as an organisational first step (Appendix 8). Although I had followed an outline for semi-structured interviews, a number of other themes and issues embedded in my original topics came up from these lengthy interviews. Interviews were initially transcribed in NVivo. From these files, themes were generated (e.g. aims for the school curriculum and classroom work, bridging the gap between home and school literacies and assessment). Files of each theme were then colour coded by different issues (e.g. strategies, grammar, *Portugues culto*, etc.) (Appendix 9).

The final stage in the analysis of teachers' interviews was to colour code the transcripts and generate a chart to be used as a tool for discourse analysis (see Appendix 10 for a sample of the chart). My rationale was to discuss the themes and issues that were mostly recurrent in the three teachers' interviews. Teachers' views towards these themes (e.g. parental involvement, the study of grammar, the use of computers at home, etc.) were analysed using Bakhtin's (1981) notions of dialogism and Fairclough's (1992 and 2003) framework for intertextuality and discussed in relation to the research questions: "How do teachers conceptualise their pupils' outside school literacy practices?" and "What informs classroom practices?" in Chapter Six.

4.5.3 Analysis of classroom observation

The initial data analysis of classroom observation was done through the reading and categorisation of fieldnotes (Appendix 4). Aspects of data analysed were content (what), pedagogical practices (how), and students' responses to these contents and practices (behaviour) (Oldham, 2005).

Classroom observation fieldnotes were then summarised in a chart in order to find the patterns of each teacher's lessons. Lesson audios were listened to several times, summarised (Appendix 11) and analysed against fieldnotes. A passage of each teacher's lesson was chosen to be transcribed, analysed and discussed in this thesis. I selected a passage from each of the teacher's lessons which I felt best represented the patterns of lesson content, teacher approach, and teacher-students interactions of all the lessons observed.

In summary, a crucial aspect of data analysis was to visit and revisit data everything throughout the data collection process and the writing up of the thesis, as Street (2012a) advises:

> The researcher must go back and forth – enter the situation and then retreat to consider before re-entering again. Ethnography should be considered as cyclical, with forward and backward movement. (Street, 2012a p.40)

4.6 Intertextual Analysis: A Bakhtinian framework for discourse analysis

Bakhtin's theory of dialogism is relevant to this study as a theoretical background to the analysis and discussion of teachers' discourse and their views about their pupils' outside school literacy practices and the aspects which inform their classroom practices. Bakhtin's (1981) views on the construction of individuals' consciousness and on the transformation of consciousness into language (word, utterance, text) help to shed light onto the issue of how these agents' discourses come to be.

I discuss below aspects of this theory, mostly Bakhtin's notions of multiple voices and the role of time and space (context) in the formation and transformation of language. This has, however, no ambition to be an exhaustive discussion of Bakhtin's theory of metalanguage (Holquist, 1981). This discussion is then followed by a presentation of Fairclough's (1992 and 2003) framework for the analysis of 'multiple voices' in text, presented under the term of *intertextuality* (Kristeva, 1986) which is heavily informed by a Bakhtinian perspective to the study of language. This theoretical framework will be used in the analysis and discussion of teachers' interviews in Chapter Six.

Space, time and simultaneity in dialogue

From a Bakhtinian perspective, the self can no longer be seen as the representation of a unified individual consciousness (when seen in opposition to Descartes' views) in the same sense as the utterance or text cannot be seen as the representation of a single voice. Holquist explains that for Bakhtin "self" is dialogic, a *relation'* [sic] (1990 p. 19). It is the relation between self and the other within the intrinsic aspects of time and space that constitutes the core of Bakhtin's notions of dialogism.

With dialogue taking a central role in these relations, space and time are used to theorize on: 1. How the place from where I stand informs my conceptualizations of the other, 2. How issues of otherness and outsidedness help me to create who I am – my own self through relations of contrasts and similarities.

The relevance Bakhtin places on the elements of time/space in dialogical relations between self and other is paralleled to the relevance these elements have to Einstein's theory of relativity in the sense that in both theories an event – *motion*, in the case of relativity, and the *act of being*, the construction of self and otherness, for Bakhtin – can only take place through the relation of two bodies with each other in specific time and space (Holquist, 1990):

> Dialogism argues that all meaning is relative in the sense that it comes about only as a result of the relation between two bodies occupying simultaneous but different space […]. (Holquist, 1990 p. 20)

Holquist (1990 p. 20) explains, however, that bodies can 'be thought of as ranging from the immediacy of our physical bodies, to political bodies and to bodies of ideas in general (ideologies).'

In Bakhtin's (1986) conceptualizations of language, relations of space and time as represented within the realms of social worlds and historicity come to play a role in changes in language, which Bakhtin explains through his notions of the formation and transformation in speech genres and his theory of answerability where the utterance is seen as a response to individuals' positioning in the world.

Bakhtin (1986 p. 60) explains the utterance as constitutive by thematic content, style and compositional structure. These aspects of the utterance are each and equally determined by the specific contexts of communication, or a 'particular sphere of communication':

> Each separate utterance is individual, […], but each sphere in which language is used develops its own *relatively stable types* of these utterances. (Bakhtin, 1986 p. 60 *sic.*).

It is to these 'relatively stable types of utterances' that Bakhtin refers as speech genres. Speech genres are, in this way, emphasised by Bakhtin as determined by different human activities and the effect these activities have on the different elements of the utterance. Bakhtin posits yet that the inexhaustibly innumerous possibilities for human activities are reflected in the great heterogeneity of speech genres.

Holquist (1990 p. 70) also posits that given its collective nature, as opposed to styles which can be of an individual nature, the rise or fall of a specific genre is a reflection of 'social and historical forces at work over long spans of time'.

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The role of space and time, and their dialogical relations with the self, in language is further, and perhaps more emphatically, theorised by Bakhtin in his notions of answerability. Answerability refers to a view of the utterance as an answer to aspects of its environment as represented in the system of its language, the place from where one stands (contextual factors and individuals' own communicational needs) and previous utterances. On the latter, Holquist (1990) comments that:

[an utterance] is always an answer to another utterance that precedes it, and is therefore always conditioned by, and in turn qualifies, the prior utterance to a greater or lesser degree. (Holquist, 1990 p. 60)

He goes on to add that:

Before it means any specific thing, an utterance expresses the general condition of each speaker's addressivity, the situation of not only being preceded by a language system that is "always already there," but preceded as well by all of existence, making it necessary for me to answer for the particular place I occupy. (Holquist, 1990 p. 60)

In this way, from a Bakhtinian perspective, an utterance is never originary in itself as it is always preceded by other utterances it comes to respond to. In dialogue, a speaker also addresses to the values that are subsumed in their relations with the listener and the cultural and social spaces from where he/she speaks. To the relations of speakers and listeners in dialogue and their response to the context (social contexts, ideologies) these interactions are embedded in, Bakhtin (1986) respectively refers to as addressee and superaddressee as discussed below.

Dialogue as a triad

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From a Bakhtinian perspective, the development of the text and its understanding cannot be reduced to the simplistic binary of author/reader, speaker/listener as the very consciousness of each subject is itself the product of other dialogical relations, the playing field of a number of other *voices*. Bakhtin (1986) ponders:

> The word (or in general any sign) is interindividual. Everything that is said, expressed, is located outside the "soul" of the speaker and does not belong only to him. The word cannot be assigned to a single speaker. The author (speaker) has his own inalienable right to the word, but the listener also has his rights, and those whose voices are heard in the word before the author comes upon it also have their rights (after all, there are no words that belong to no one). The word is a drama in which three characters participate (it is not a duet but a trio). It is performed outside the author, and it cannot be introjected into the author. (Bakhtin, 1986 pp.121/122)

Here, on posing a 'new statement on the problem of authorship (the creating individual)' an argument against the author's voice as a unity, Bakhtin (1986) *introduces* his notion of dialogue as a triad rather than a duo. This third party is explained here in terms of others' voices or past spoken words which enter the author's text. As Morris (1994 p. 4) explains it is relevant to stress that word is not in Bakhtin's notions dealt with in isolation, 'as words in the dictionary which have only meaning potential but as the actualized meaning of those words used in a specific utterance' (Morris, 1994 p.4). For Bakhtin the word can only have their meaning realised and understood within its historical contexts (the time and space from where it is uttered).

Elaborating on the notion of answerability and on dialogue as triad, Bakhtin introduces his notion of superaddressee as the third party in any dialogue. He explains that for any

dialogue there is an addressee to whom the utterance is intended, but there is also a third party:

> […] in addition to this addressee (the second party), the author of the utterance, with a greater or lesser awareness, presupposes a higher superaddressee (third), whose absolutely just responsive understanding is presumed, either in some metaphysical distance or in distant historical time (the loophole addressee). (Bakhtin, 1986 p.126)

On the nature of this third party, he posits:

> In various ages and with various understandings of the world, this superaddressee and his ideally true responsive understanding assumes various ideological expressions (God, absolute truth, the court of dispassionate human conscience, the people, the court of history, science, and so forth). (Bakhtin, 1986 p.126)

These relations of answerability reinforce the notion that Bakhtin strove for in most of his work, the argument that the self (the author or the speaker) is not a unified consciousness in the struggle for meaning, as Holquist (1981) explains:

> A dialogic world is one in which I can never have my own way completely, and therefore I find myself plunged into constant interaction with others – and with myself. In sum, dialogism is based on the primacy of the social, and the assumption that all meaning is achieved by struggle. (Holquist, 1990 p. 39)

In the notion (or metaphor) of the superaddressee, this struggle is extended beyond the author and his/her listener/reader to these agents' responses to the ideologies and beliefs that are present in our social worlds in specific time and space.

In the study herein, these views set the grounds for an analysis of the voices that constitute teachers' discourses (the words uttered by others' past and present voices). In this way, it is presupposed that their views towards curriculum and classroom practices are not only an outcome and representation of their own individual will but rather of a whole set of values, ideologies and givens that have been present in their social historical contexts.

I discuss below how from a Bakhtinian perspective these voices are assimilated.

4.6.1 On transmission and appropriation: authoritative discourse and internally persuasive voice

Note: all the citations in this section have been taken from Bakhtin's (1981) 'The Dialogic Imagination'.

On discussing the issue of everyday speech, Bakhtin posits that on average at least half of what a person living in society utters are someone else's words. This issue, Bakhtin argues in two stances, firstly, he posits that the words of others encountered for instance via the person we are talking to, in books, newspapers, documents, official decrees and which are also found in our own previous speeches are consciously 'not communicated in direct form as our own, but with reference to some indefinite and general source: "I heard", "It's generally held that…" […] and so forth' (Bakhtin, 1981 p. 338). Secondly, Bakhtin argues that a more significant aspect in this discussion is, however, the assimilation process of another's voice into one's ideological consciousness:

The tendency to assimilate others' discourse takes on an even deeper and more basic significance in an individual's ideological becoming, in the most fundamental sense. Another's

discourse performs here no longer as information, directions, rules, models and so forth – but strives rather to determine the very bases of our ideological interrelations with the world, the very basis of our behaviour […] (Bakhtin, 1981 p. 342)

Here, Bakhtin indicates his pursuit for a theory of language development, of cultural and ideological appropriation through language. Drawing on a discussion of his notions of authoritative discourse and internally persuasive discourse, Bakhtin underlines the principles of transmission of others' voices and notions of ideological assimilation.

In Bakhtin's (1981 p. 342) terms, authoritative discourse is discourse whose authority has already been *acknowledged* [sic.] in the past. 'It is *prior* discourse'. It is 'located in a distanced zone, organically connected with a past that is felt to be hierarchically higher.' Bakhtin (1981 p. 342)

As the ideological givens present in our social worlds, the authoritative word can be of a religious, political and moral nature, it can still be 'of acknowledged scientific truth or of a currently fashionable book' (Bakhtin, 1981 p. 343). It may also

embody various contents: authority as such, or the authoritativeness of tradition, of generally acknowledged truths, of the official line and other similar authorities. Bakhtin (1981 p.344)

Authoritative discourse does not merge with the other masses of discourses which surround it. It requests to be clearly and specifically demarcated (by quotation marks or even a different script). Bakhtin (1981, p. 343) explains that 'its semantic structure is static and dead, for it is fully complete' making it more difficult the incorporation of semantic changes into it.

On the level of assimilation, given its nature as an ideological unity, it demands to be either accepted or rejected by us in its entirety, that is, there are no parts of its discourse that can be appropriated while others are rejected. Bakhtin's explains that:

> […] it demands our unconditional allegiance […] It enters our verbal consciousness as a compact and indivisible mass; one must either totally affirm it, or totally reject it. It is indissolubly fused with its authority – with political power, an institution, a person – and it stands and falls together with that authority. One cannot divide it up – agree with one part, accept but not completely another part, reject utterly a third part. (Bakhtin, 1981 p.343)

In other words, authoritative voice is transmitted in its whole as an incontestable truth – which aims at becoming ideological belief that demands to be appropriated in its entirety.

In contrast, internally persuasive discourse bears the dialogical characteristics discussed earlier in this chapter in the sense that it presupposes discourse that merges with other discourses (ours and those of others') , reaccentuating some of its parts, rejecting others and giving rise to yet new utterances or new discourses. It does so in an open response to its context and its listeners.

> Internally persuasive discourse – as opposed to one that is externally authoritative – is, as it is affirmed through assimilation, tightly interwoven with "one's own word". In the everyday rounds of our consciousness, the internally persuasive word is half-ours and half-someone else's. (Bakhtin, 1981 p. 345)

The dialogical nature of internally persuasive discourse is reflected into the ways of its transmission and 'the methods for framing it in contexts', which provides for maximum

of interaction between one's words and the words of others and freedom of creativity over the latter.

On assimilation, Bakhtin posits that

> […] it enters into interanimating relationships with new contexts. More than that, it enters into an intense interaction, a struggle with other internally persuasive discourses. Our ideological development is just such an intense struggle within us for hegemony among various available verbal and ideological points of view, approaches, directions and values. (Bakhtin, 1981 p.346)

In his discussion of transmission and assimilation of authoritative and internally persuasive discourse, Bakhtin alludes to issues of power relations that may shape ways of transmission as well as play a crucial role in the assimilation of different voices:

> [Internally] persuasive word that is denied all privilege, backed up by no authority at all, and is frequently not even acknowledged in society (not by public opinion, nor by scholarly norms, nor by criticism), not even in the legal code. The struggle and dialogic interrelationship of these categories of ideological discourse are what usually determine the history of an individual ideological consciousness. (Bakhtin, 1981 p. 342)

How certain discourses come to be assimilated as authoritative voices is re-visited below on the light of Gramsci's (1991) theory of hegemony.

4.6.2 Voices in intertextual analysis

Bakhtin's work has in the last decades influenced the work of a number of theorists in different areas of scholarship (see Maybin 2000; Blackledge and Creese, 2010). His notions of multiple voicedness have specially informed a number of recent studies in language studies and discourse analysis (see for instance the work of Pietikainen &

Dufva, 2006). Nonetheless, theorists looking into drawing on Bakhtin's notions of dialogism in the study of discourse practices are confronted with the complexity and fragmentation of his work and the absence of a practical framework. As a result, discourse analysis in this thesis draws on Bakhtin's notions of dialogism in combination with Fairclough's (1992 and 2003) framework for intertextuality analysis, which takes into consideration the central elements in Bakhtin's notions of multi voicedness as discussed above.

Text and units of discourse analysis

Fairclough's (1992, 1995 and 2003) framework for discourse analysis incorporates the complementary analysis of linguistic analysis, intertextual and interdiscursive analysis.

His notions of discourse analysis have been heavily informed by Halliday's (1978) work with systemic linguistics. Starting from this perspective, Fairclough (1995 p.6) suggests an approach to the analysis of text that attends to the multifunctionality of language in text, in which texts are analysed in relation to participants' 'representation of experience and the world' (ideational); their role relationships in discourse (interpersonal); and the textual features of the text – its 'form, structure and organization' (Fairclough, 1995 p. 6).

At the level of intertextual analysis, Fairclough draws upon concepts of intertextuality which stems from work of the Bakhtin's circle (Volosinov, 1973) and on his notions of interdiscursivity and orders of discourse to explain issues of text production, distribution and consumption against aspects of historicity and social changes. Departing from the distinction of manifest and constitutive intertextuality suggested by French discourse analysts, Fairclough (1992 pp. 103/104) uses the term intertextuality (instead of manifest

intertextuality) to refer to the analysis of 'intertextual relations of texts to specific other texts' and interdiscursivity (instead of constitutive intertextuality) to refer to the analysis of 'intertextual relations of texts to conventions' (Fairclough, 1992 pp. 103/104). For the purpose of discourse analysis in Chapter Six, I focus more closely on those elements of analysis related to intertextuality and also refer to a distinction between the latter and assumptions.

Intertextual analysis

Intertextuality, as coined by Kristeva in her studies of Bakhtin's scholarship, refers to the presence of others' texts in one's discursive practices. Bakhtin's notions of social change as a determinant of changes in language are strongly reproduced in Kristeva's (1986) notions of intertextuality and, in turn, in Fairclough's framework for intertextual analysis. Kristeva posits that intertextuality implies '[1] the insertion of history (society) into a text and [2] of this text into history' (Kristeva, 1986 p. 39 cited in Fairclough, 1992 p. 102). Fairclough (1992 p. 102) explains that while in the first instance 'the text absorbs and is built out of texts from the past […]', in the second, 'the text responds to, reaccentuates, and reworks past texts, and in so doing helps to make history and contributes to shape subsequent texts'.

As anticipated by Bakhtin (1986) in his notions of answerability and the distinctions between authoritative and internally persuasive voices, the extent to which others' voices and other genres will be reproduced, reaccentuated, negated/rejected or appropriated in one's discourse has its basis in issues of power and ideological relations in past and present times in society (that is, our responses to Bakhtin's superaddressee). Fairclough

(1992) adds to these notions by suggesting an approach for discourse analysis that takes into consideration attempts of hegemonic ambitions in contemporary societies. He argues that Gramsci's notions of hegemony combined with intertextual analyses can 'chart the possibilities and limitations for intertextual processes within particular hegemonies and states of hegemonic struggle' (Fairclough, 1992 p. 103). He goes on to note that hegemonic struggle is not only crucial in contributing to explain why certain types of texts are reproduced in discourse, but also why others are absent. How others' voices are represented and contextualized in one's discourse will be reflected in and, in turn, reflect these struggles. I discuss below forms of representation and contextualization with a focus on their relations with issues of power struggle. These notions are relevant herein for the understanding of whether and how the new discourses of pluralism enter teachers' discourses in the conceptualization of literacy and the making of classroom practices.

Representation

The voices of others can be represented in one's discourse in an array of different forms of reporting. Others' voices may be manifestly attributed, vaguely attributed (not attributed to a particular individual) or not attributed at all.

Choices in reporting may indicate the extent to which one is seeking to reproduce others' voices in their integrity or whether the reproduced text is a vague re-wording of the original. In this way, while discourse reported as direct speech is '*purportedly* the actual words used' (Fairclough, 2003 p. 49 – my emphasis), discourse reported as indirect speech is more likely to be a rewording of the original, raising ambivalence towards what may indeed have been said. Leech and Short (1981) suggest that an intermediate between

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direct and indirect speech would be free indirect speech. In free indirect speech the reporting clause is omitted, but the tense and pronoun selection are those associated with indirect speech. They explain that free indirect speech is [a] free form "purporting" to be IS.' […] FIS has a rather odd status in terms of truth claims and faithfulness. It is in a sort of hallway house position, not claiming to be a reproduction of the original speech, but at the same time being more than a mere indirect rendering of that original. (Leech and Short, 1983 p. 325)

Reporting forms and the demarcation of boundaries

Representation of one's voice can also indicate the demarcation of boundaries between one's voices and the voices of others' leaving issues of power struggle overt. While direct discourse may leave the boundaries of voices overt, these boundaries are less demarcated in indirect discourse – where the voice of the reported text may be more closely aligned with the voice of the reporter (Blackledge, 2005) – and may be suggested to fade away in unattributed or vaguely attributed discourse. These levels of attribution in reporting can be argued to indicate the extent to which a discourse has been assimilated or is being refuted or rejected by the reporter. Yet, issues of reproduction of one's voice are less clear-cut than these definitions for reporting forms may presuppose (see Fairclough, 2003; Blackledge, 2005). In this way, agents' choice to manifestly attribute the voices of others' through direct or indirect discourse may also imply they are seeking to distance themselves from what has been said - or yet to support and validate their words by bringing to the arena the voice of others. Mixed-voicedness, the blending of one's voice into one's own discourse through unmarked attribution, may imply these voices have been assimilated to a higher level.

Recontextualization

How an agent responds to the voices being represented in his/her discourse is bound to be reflected in his/her contextualization of these voices. Fairclough (2003 p. 51) posits that 'intertextuality is a matter of recontextualization'. It is

> a movement from one context to another, entailing particular transformations consequent upon how the material that is moved, reconceptualised, figures within that new context. (Fairclough, 2003 p. 51)

He goes on to suggest that there are two interconnected issues to be addressed in the case of reported speech, writing or thought, these are:

a. the relationship between the report and the original (the event that is reported)

b. the relationship between the report and the rest of the text in which it occurs – how the report figures in the text, what work the reporting does in the text. (Fairclough, 2003 p. 51)

In the study herein, discourse analysis is useful in the investigation of how teachers frame or contextualize the voices of those they represent. It will be suggested that the extent to which teachers assimilate, refute or reject these voices is indicative of how these voices are manifestly marked in their discourses and how they are argued against or approved of by teachers' own voices through framing. I argue this is relevant for an understanding of the roles participants (teachers, schools, students and parents) and policies have, or are ascribed to have, in informing curriculum content and classroom work.

Intertextuality and assumptions

Another element in Fairclough's framework of relevance to the analysis of data in this study is that of assumptions, or presuppositions, as it has been defined in pragmatics. Fairclough (2003 p. 40) explains that

> Texts inevitably make assumptions. What is "said" in a text is "said" against a background of what is "unsaid", but taken as given […]. The difference between assumptions and intertextuality is that the former are not generally attributed or attributable to specific texts. It is a matter rather of a relation between this text and what has been said or written or thought elsewhere, with the "elsewhere" left vague […]. (Fairclough, 2003 p. 40)

Fairclough (2003 p. 40) goes on to posit that by 'text' he is not, however, 'alluding to any specific text or set of texts, but [...] to the world of texts.' While intertextuality is defined as to increase dialogicality by bringing other voices into discourse, assumptions are seen to reduce dialogicality as it sets common grounds. In a continuum of dialogicality of a text, attributed intertextuality and assumption are placed at each end. In between, stand modalised assertions (which opens up possibilities through the use of a modal) and categorical (non-modalised) assertions (Fairclough, 2003 p. 43). Fairclough (2003) identifies the following types of assumptions:

a. Existential assumptions: 'assumptions about what exists' (Fairclough, 2003 p. 55) ('triggered by markers of definite reference such as definite articles and demonstratives (the, this, that, these, those))' (Fairclough, 2003 p. 56).

b. Factual assumptions: triggered by "factive verbs" (realise, forget, remember) (Fairclough, 2003 p. 56)

c. Propositional assumptions: 'assumptions about what is or can or will be the case' (Fairclough, 2003 p.56).

d. Value assumptions: assumptions about 'what is good or desirable' (Fairclough 2003, 56).

Differences between intertextuality and assumptions in their relations with issues of power struggle are discussed below.

Power Struggle

Notions of power struggle in discourse and of hegemonic struggle have been discussed by Fairclough (2003) in relation to three contemporary themes in social research: 1. Difference; 2. Particulars as represented or taken as universals (hegemony), and 3. Ideology. The central aspect of this discussion is that of how these are represented and constructed in social discourse. For this purpose, Fairclough (2003) analyses how 1. others' voices are manifestly attributed or are absent in discourse in a way that differences are either left overt or are suppressed and 2. how particulars are ascribed the status of incontestable truths to the point that they become ideological belief. Analysis of discourse is placed within a continuum of levels of dialogization as represented in discourse through intertextuality (attributed voices) and assumptions (the absence of attributable voices), as discussed below.

Orientation to difference in discourse

Fairclough (2003 p. 41) explains that 'social events and interactions vary in the nature of their orientation to difference, as do texts as elements of social events.' He suggests five

different scenarios in which orientations to difference in discourse can be schematically differentiated at a very general level:

a. an openness to, acceptance of, recognition of difference; an exploration of difference, as in "dialogue" in the richest sense of the term;

b. an accentuation of difference, conflict, polemic, a struggle over meaning, norms, power;

c. an attempt to resolve or overcome differences;

d. a bracketing of difference, a focus on commonality, solidarity;

e. consensus, a normalization and acceptance of difference of power which brackets or suppresses differences of meaning and norms (Fairclough, 2003 pp. 41/42).

Orientations to difference may not be consistent across a text. In this way, a single text may combine several of the scenarios above. From a Bakhtinian perspective, the level to which difference is represented in discourse relates to its level of dialogization. Holquist (1981) explains that

> a word, discourse, language or culture undergoes "dialogization" when it becomes relativised, de-privileged, aware of competing definitions for the same things. (Holquist, 1981 p. 427)

In other words, a dialogical text is one in which differences are expressed through the presence of different voices, mostly of those voices which are attributed or which could be located in other texts even when not explicitly marked. At the other end of the continuum, Holquist (1981 p. 427) argues that '[u]ndialogized language is authoritative or absolute' (Holquist, 1981 p. 427 cited in Fairclough, 2003 p. 42), which would correspond to scenario (e) in Fairclough's framework where difference is excluded. Discourse which is authoritative is transmitted as a given through the making of assertions and assumptions.

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Universals and particulars in the making of ideologies

The theme of universals and particulars, or the mechanism of representing particular ideas and beliefs as universal truth is directly related to notions of hegemonic struggle. Manifestations of hegemonic aspirations in discourse are found to seek to ascribe universal status to particular beliefs or ideas in a way that these ideas are accepted as incontestable truth. Of relevance to the study herein, instances of social phenomena which have been at the centre of hegemonic struggle are conceptualizations of literacy and language (language standardization and as social capital). Primary conceptualizations become ideological belief through their dissemination, mostly via political and media discourse, as assumptions and assertions which search to set common grounds. To that, Fairclough (2003 p. 58) posits that

> Assumed meanings are of particular ideological significance - one can argue that relations of power are best served by meanings which are widely taken as given. [...] Seeking hegemony is a matter of seeking to universalize particular meanings in the service of achieving and maintaining dominance, and this is ideological work. (Fairclough, 2003 p. 58)

4.6.3 Carnival

Another relevant aspect of Bakhtin's work to this study is his discussion of carnival (folk humour/laughter) in Rabelais's work. If seen from his dialogical perspective of language in carnival, individuals create a new speech genre which mocks the established social order/norm. Bakhtin (1994) posits that his views do not only relate to the world of literature. In his analysis of folk language in Rabelais, Bakhtin's notions of ambivalence,

multi voicedness, power struggle through language and notions of speech genre formation are recurrent aspects.

Bakhtin (1994) explains that as carnival sets a new environment during which the official society's norms and orders are temporarily suspended to give way to new forms of relations amongst people, a new speech genre is naturally assumed. The speech genre of carnival is one of play and abuse which mocks, satirises and criticises the official society and its hierarchies and rituals. Although temporary, this speech genre allowed folk to challenge and degrade the Medieval established order of feudalism and religious rituals through the use of parody and grotesque realism (Blackledge and Creese, 2010). Blackledge and Creese (2010, p. 215) explain that

Parody is far from meaningless (…). In standing on their heads the usual relations of power in society the people claimed their freedom, however ephemeral, and in that moment challenged the established order. (Blackledge and Creese, 2010, p. 215)

Bakhtin (1994) emphasises, however, that the language of carnival is ambivalent whereby while it criticises and mocks the established order it is also a way of renewal and revival. In this sense, there is not only negation but also a positive pole of play and inclusion.

Folk humour denies, but it revives and renews at the same time. Bare negation is completely alien to folk culture (...). All the symbols of carnival are filled with the pathos of change and renewal. (Bakhtin, 1994 p. 200)

Bakhtin (1994) explains that laughter and play are also inclusive aspects: 'the ambivalent laughter of the people, [...] includes the mocker in the mocking', as 'he who is laughing

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also belongs to it' (Bakhtin 1994 p. 201). Laughter is all-inclusive, and is the language of 'the people's unofficial truth' (Blackledge and Creese, 2010 p. 215).

Closely grounded in his perspective of voicedness and intertextuality is the speech genre of the marketplace:

> The familiar language of the marketplace became a reservoir in which various speech patterns excluded from official intercourse could freely accumulate. (Bakhtin, 1994 p. 204)

When these voices encounter each other and try to subpose one another in order to be heard, they are referred to by Bakhtin (1994 p. 219) as 'the cries of the marketplace':

> the city rang with these many voices... its own words and melody and its special intonations, its distinct verbal and musical imagery. (Bakhtin, 1994 p. 219)

Bakhtin (1994 p. 219) goes on to explain that 'the cries were not isolated from current events, from history [...].'

In this study, notions of speech genre formation and playful and challenging patterns of folk laughter are drawn on in the discussion of adolescents' interactions and meaning making within the classrooms as lessons take place. Data analysis suggests that as teacher-students and students-students forged interactions, these gave rise to different patterns of communication and consequently new classroom genres. Data analysis in this study suggests that depending on their agendas students alternated their voices to either fit in with the official classroom discourses (herein, of interactions which bore a resemblance with the Introduction Response Feedback (IRF) approach) or to create their own carnivalesque parallel worlds in order to compete with the voices of the official classroom world. This will be discussed in Chapter Seven.

4.7 Summary

In this chapter, I discussed the data collection methods adopted and the analysis stages followed in this study. I also attempted a discussion of the epistemological views surrounding educational research from a postmodern perspective. This chapter concluded with a discussion of Bakhtin's (1981) notions of dialogism and Fairclough's (1992 and 2003) framework for intertextual analysis which are used as a framework for discourse analysis of teachers' interviews in Chapter Six.

CHAPTER FIVE: ADOLESCENTS' OUTSIDE SCHOOL LITERACY PRACTICES

5.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to address the research question "What are the outside school literacy practices of adolescents across social classes?" With this in mind, I present and discuss the data collected through participants' literacy diaries, diary-focused interviews, and on the Orkut social network. The protagonists of this chapter are the adolescents who dedicated their time to this study by keeping a literacy diary and talking to me face-to-face, online, or over the telephone. Here I attempt to depict the patterns of literacy events that they engage in while taking into consideration underlying aspects of their lifeworlds that make events into practices (Street, 1984; Barton and Hamilton, 1998).

Section 5.2 refers to data presentation of case studies entitled *Literacy stories*. Section 5.3 draws on a discussion of the general patterns encountered in the data analysis of literacy diaries and diary-focused interviews. Section 5.4 provides a comparative discussion of adolescents' literacy practices across social classes.

5.2 Data presentation: Literacy stories

In this first section, five participants' literacy stories are highlighted as the focus of the section. These participants were chosen for being those with whom I had a more prolonged contact or because their literacy diaries and/or diary-focused interviews provided a more detailed insight into their lives. Information about the other seven participants' lives and literacy practices are also referred to and discussed in this section. A summary of all participants' literacy stories is presented in Appendix 12. Each story

discussed in this section concludes with a discussion of the aspects that emerged from the data analysis and which formed the basis for the grouping of participants.

Because these participants are unique individuals whose lives in literacy are shaped by a plethora of different aspects resulting from a diversity of events and practices, it is easy to feel that their grouping is crude and to some extent inadequate. This grouping is not rigorous however, and there is no intention to depict participants' experiences in a monolithic manner. In this way, all participants' experiences with literacy inform and are referred to in this discussion.

In addition, given the fact that these stories are shaped by data, they do not follow a fixed framework and therefore differ in the length and depth of detail on participants' lives and literacies. This means that the number of literacy diaries kept by each participant and the amount of information each participant shared with the researcher during interviews reflected the extent of the details discussed about each of them.

Note on transcription: Square brackets are used to add the researcher's explanations about what was going on at the moment of the interview or to complete the speakers' sentences when necessary in order to conceive meaning in English. All the transcriptions in this chapter were translated from Portuguese to English by the researcher.

5.2.1 Literacy story 1: Strong family ties and lack of resources

Carla was a cheerful and talkative 14 year-old girl at the time of the study. She was a volunteer from public school 2.

She lived with her mother, father, younger sister, and an older cousin. Her parents migrated from the North of the country and they seemed to live a very simple life in a big slum complex near the school. Her mother worked every other day as a cleaner, and it was not clear what her father did as a job. They lived in a small house, and she explained that she spent a lot of her time in her mother's bedroom as she did not have a bedroom of her own. The theme of a lack of resources punctuated much of her interview, and this transpired to have an effect on her reading and writing activities.

She kept literacy diaries for fourteen days and was very detailed in her account of her activities, an aspect which was also present in her interviews. She was positive about keeping the diaries, and explained that they came in useful as a way to fill up some of her free time.

Lack of resources and literacy that comes along her way

One of the aspects that stood out from Carla's lengthy interview was a great sense of idleness, of not having anything to do, which she accounted for as the reason for much of her literacy activities. In spite of spending nine hours a day at school, she emphasised that other than going to school she had very little to do, and she expressed discontent at this situation. In her free time she slept, watched TV, and engaged in a series of writing and reading activities**.** She said she did not enjoy writing much. However, many of the writing activities cited in her literacy diaries and during our interviews involved copying what she read. She copied jokes from joke books, phrases from T-shirts, phrases found in calendars, words from a grammar book, and words printed on shoeboxes onto her notebook.

C. (Carla): [comments on an entry of her diary during her interview] I didn't read anything. I wrote many different things which I don't quite remember right now. I looked at something and started copying it. I usually look at the notebooks I have at home, at the shoeboxes...

Here, Carla's views of what conceptualises writing seems to be very connected to the mechanics and dullness of a traditional teaching method whereby copying from the blackboard fills up most of students' time in the two public schools observed. For Carla, copying texts was a way of spending time, and which she believed would also help her to improve her handwriting and spelling.

C.: My sister has some jokes, a book of jokes, you know? I was reading it and then I started copying it, when I don't have anything else to do I always start copying anything I see. There was this time, not these days here [referring to the days she kept a literacy diary], another day, I got a little fairy tale book and I said to myself: 'there's nothing for me to do, I'll copy this book', but it's only because there's nothing else for me to do and because I like writing ... But I like writing when I'm in a good mood, and then I do it, but when I'm feeling even better I even tell the teacher: 'Teacher, write down more, write down more [on the board for students to copy]'.

There are also examples of writing in her diaries as ways of communicating and socialising. She wrote a letter to her mother for 'Mother's Day'. She also used to write letters to her aunt, who lives in the North of the country, and explained that it was also a way for her to practise her handwriting.

In her study with adolescents in the U.S.A., Camitta (1993) found that they engaged in writing activities also as a way to fill up their time. Camitta (1993 p. 240) ponders that '[this] use of writing transforms experience from empty to full, from isolated to peopled, from inactive to active.'

Books

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In her house there were a few school coursebooks and a collection of fairy tale books her father had been given to and which he kept on top of his wardrobe. He gave her one of these books and she had been reading some of the stories during the second week of keeping a literacy diary. These fairy tale books, old notebooks, and schoolbooks all provided her with the texts she used to read and copy from. She explained that she was not very fond of reading but enjoyed writing.

ICT and digital literacies

Carla used an old computer she had at home to type in her schoolwork so that she could check for spelling mistakes and copy the text back to her notebook as she did not have a printer. She used Notepad for that and did not mention being familiar with any other application or other functions. By the second week of the study her computer had broken down, and her access to computers became limited to the school during ICT lessons and family members' homes.

Carla also occasionally used the Internet in an Internet café in order to access her page on the social network site, Orkut. Her Orkut page had been created by a friend of hers. She explained that she had not taken the initiative to create a profile page herself, as she knew she would not be able to access it regularly. She expressed frustration for not being able to use the Internet more often.

Literacy domains

All the literacy events registered in her diary entries took place either at school or at home. It is suggested in some passages in her interview that not being allowed to go out

and engage in leisure activities also drew her towards engaging in reading and writing at home.

C.: So, I did, er, everything at home, because I only spend time at home, Saturday and Sunday, on no school days. [reading from her diary] This I did in the evening, it was the science lesson that I read, it was given by a different science teacher [a cover teacher] about the atoms and that the atoms [unclear]. I was revising it because she said it'd be in the exam. Then, I wrote a text about vegetation [...]. It's like when I don't have anything else to do, I spend most of my time revising from my notebook, reading, revising the lessons. So I got my notebook, I always get my notebook to read. So I read from my notebook and from my computer. Because I have a computer, but there's no Internet at home, [I did it] all at home.

C.: I wrote a summary. Then, I read a book and wrote to my cousin [who lives with them but is in the North of the country visiting her parents]. And I did all at home, always at home, I always do everything at home, because I don't have anywhere to go. When my Mum allows me to go out, then I go out, but she hardly ever does.

In spite of most of her literacy events taking place at home and at school, not having access to the Internet at home also meant that her limited access to digital texts took place at friends and family members' homes.

Home-school links

Carla also attributed her focus on academic literacies at home to the absence of resources such as books and a working computer. She commented that in the absence of an interesting programme on television, a book to read, or anything else to do, she went to her mother's bedroom and wrote and read there. In different passages of her interview there is the suggestion that although not exclusively, the lack of resources drew her towards engaging in school-related literacies:

C.: (Carla): [reading from her literacy diary] OK, on Saturday I read a poem, you know, then I wrote it here [on her diary], because on Saturday morning I help my mum to clean the house, I read the notes the reading teacher wrote to us [on the blackboard for them to copy] on my notebook and I didn't write anything. In the afternoon, I read a

book, a history book, talking about the human body speed, history, er, science book. I read a letter, what? [reading from her diary] I wrote a letter to a person I love.

I.: (interviewer): I see so let's start again. This poem, do you remember what it was?

C.: Uh, it's in my notebook.

I.: I see, you wrote it in your notebook?

C.: The teacher wrote it [on the board], the reading teacher.

I.: So, you were doing your homework on Saturday?

C.: No, I just took it to read, because sometimes when there's no story book for me to read I go through my notebook to revise the lessons. So, I got my notebook and I read it, this one [showing me her notebook].

Carla felt strongly about her schoolwork and the need for her to learn and improve. This can be observed in her references to writing as a way to improve her handwriting, in the use of a computer to correct spelling mistakes, and the view that as she had to spend time at school anyway she should do her tasks well in order to learn something.

Carla was a very focused student and, according to her teacher, one of the strongest in her class. Her focus on academic work became evident in the lessons I observed and the literacy practices she engaged in at home.

Her awareness of the discourses that schooling offers a passport to better communication skills and to intelligence (Graff, 1987) is illustrated in the extract below, in which she suggests that against all the odds her father gained these skills despite his little experience with schooling:

I.: [...] And, does your mother help you with your homework?

C.: Yes, she does when she knows it … she and my father, my father only completed the primary school, but if you meet him, er, when he talks, he doesn't talk like someone who's done only primary school because he's clever, he knows [stuff]. My Mum studied until year 5.

Her interest in doing well at school and the presence of a strong family network in her life meant that other members of her extended family were also involved in her literacy practices:

> C.: She [my mother] helps me. My cousin and my aunty also do. When my Mum is busy I ask my cousin for help, the one who's travelling now, they all help me. I go around asking, everybody at home helps me, me and my sister.

She also played the role of a supporter by helping her cousin and sister with their schoolwork when asked.

Discussion

Carla, Felipe and Andrea (see Appendix 12 for information on Felipe and Andrea) are linked in this section by the mutual aspects of lack of resources and the presence of a strong family network which shape their literacy practices. The lack of resources, which is identified here in their scarce access to books and other forms of print, Carla's and Andrea's lack of access to digital literacies at home, and their little access to leisure activities, was overcome or managed by each of them in different ways.

In the absence of a computer with access to the Internet at home, Andrea and Carla used the Internet in an Internet café and at family and friends' homes. By doing so, their contact with digital texts was transferred from the home to the public or family domains, where they were surrounded by and had input from others. Carla mentioned how a friend and cousin had helped here to build her Orkut page and teach her how to use it. However, she referred to her lack of access to the Internet and to a more resourceful computer with dismay as she had little money to pay for the Internet café charges and therefore did not make the use of these media as often she wished for. Andrea, on the other hand, seemed

to enjoy going to Internet café with her twin sister and friends, and she was an assiduous user of the Orkut social network.

While access to computers and to online texts was not an issue for Felipe, who accessed the Orkut social network on a daily basis at home, it was the lack of availability of print at home which prompted him to search for books, comics and magazines in other domains such as his local and school libraries. He was also reading a book he had been given to by a previous teacher. Carla and Andrea did not share Felipe's enthusiasm for books and comics and his willingness to visit his local library, and they mostly made do with the other artefacts they had available at home and their community. Andrea was a keen reader of teenage magazines, and Carla showed great curiosity in reading a number of random scripts from words on a T-shirt to graffiti on the walls of her community.

Family Support and Modelling

It has been suggested above that Carla's strong family network had her surrounded by people with whom she shared her school doubts and knowledge and online communication. In Felipe's case, family network and family circumstances (a working mother and two younger siblings) placed him in the position of a carer who helped with the shopping list, assisted his siblings with their schoolwork, and read them stories. Being a carer also meant that he spent his out-of-school hours at home exposed to the home resources available to him. Caring for family through literacy was also reflected in letters written to members of their family who lived far away or cards and notes written on special occasions such as birthdays and 'Mother's Day'.

Data from these participants' interviews suggest that in their homes the aspects of poverty, parents' low level of schooling, and a broken family (as in Andrea's parents' case) did not translate into a lack of parental interest and support with school-related work and other literacies, as has been suggested in the past by studies on the deficit and disadvantage hypothesis (Edwards, 1979, see also Tedesco, 1990). In fact, these participants also displayed a strong commitment to school, which was also voiced by their teachers. Likewise, these participants also showed awareness of the value which society applies to schooling. Felipe and Carla also voiced their expectations that what they were learning at school would be useful to their adult lives.

Nevertheless, on a societal spectrum, in spite of the parents' and children's efforts, these participants' academic and professional achievements are also being shaped by their social and linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991) which influences the resources and opportunities available to them in society. Although they are considered as good and willing students by their teachers, these factors and their schools' failure to provide them with a more challenging curriculum which would give them access to the knowledge of digital technologies and practices, as recommended by the New London Group (1996), are likely to contribute towards securing their place in the lower strata of society. The relationship between participants' success with school literacies, parental support and access to resources will be further discussed later in this chapter.

5.2.2 Literacy story 2: A picture of an urban reality

Kristiano was 14 years old at the time of the study and a student at public school 1. He volunteered to take part in the research but only handed in diaries for three days of the

first week of my contact with him. He explained that the diaries for the following week had been mistakenly thrown away by his grandmother, with whom he lived. As a consequence, data about his literacy practices outside school used in this section were mostly collected in two long interviews I held with him in two different days in consecutive weeks. Kristiano and I also had several casual chats in the school corridors before and after his classes and in the school patio at lunch break, when he was always friendly and keen to talk. These talks were mostly about what he had been doing at that moment, about his interest in cars, and about our next interview. He seemed very keen to have these interviews, which also gave him a chance to escape lessons or to escape the buzz of the lunch break in the school canteen and patio. During interviews we talked about football, girls, his religion, his family, and his feelings regarding the new school, the teachers and other students.

His literacy diaries were meticulously written and contained some detailed information about reading and writing activities as well as about a piece of news he had watched on TV. These few entries led to a lively conversation about his literacy practices and other aspects of his life. Some of the activities mentioned in his diaries were also revisited in his second interview.

Religion as a driving force for literacy practices

Kristiano was a regular attendee of Buddhist ceremonies and a youth group in his local temple. He attended the Buddhist ceremonies and praying groups in the company of his grandmother. He explained that these involved the reading of religious books and magazines as well as praying. In his youths' group he also played musical instruments.

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The reading of religious books and magazines was extended from the temple to the home domain, where he also kept a religious diary:

I.: I see, so you keep a diary?

K.: Yes.

I.: And what kind of things do you write on it?

K.: I write, er, I'm a Buddhist and I write the things that I read and write, er, interesting things I read in the [Buddhism] magazine and all of that.

I.: I see, so you're a Buddhist and you write [interruption]

K.: about the magazines talking about human beings, people.

I.: That's interesting and is your diary used only for that?

K.: No, er, yeah, I read and write the things I've found interesting, I write down the date. I read the Buddhism magazine and write it in there.

I.: Have you been a Buddhist for a long time?

K.: Yes. Teacher [Teacher 1's name] is also a Buddhist.

I.: Is she?

K.: Yes, and I've got the magazine upstairs [in the classroom].

He later showed me the magazine he mentioned. It was directed to youngsters and mostly tackled issues of behaviour, character formation and moral values. Kristiano had underlined a series of passages in the magazine and told me that he usually summarised similar texts on his diary.

ICT and digital literacies: Meeting girls

Meeting girls was clearly a concern for Kristiano, and a topic that regularly came up in his interviews. It was also addressed in one of his essays for school. In order to meet and maintain contact with girls, he engaged in a series of literacy events which involved digital media:

I.: So, you've told me you have access to the Internet at home. Do you also use your computer to do things other than to access the Internet?

K.: Yes, I use it to meet people, girls.

Giggles

I.: How do you use it to meet girls?

K.: You know, it's this thing they show on TV, then you call [the phone number] and there's also a website, it's 'Fala Mania'. So, everyday I access it and see the girls, yeah, I access the Internet everyday.

He also used his computer to access the Orkut social network, the MSN, and to play games.

I.: And do you use other programmes, such as Word and Excel?

K.: I only play games. Games, Orkut and the Internet, only.

I.: And, do you read the news in the Internet?

K.: No, only messages [on Orkut]

I.: And do you read and write e-mails?

K.: No. I've got an e-mail address, but I don't have time to read my messages.

I.: I see, and why have you got it then?

K.: I have to have it to access my MSN.

I.: And do you ever write to your Mum, as you don't live together?

K.: I do, but she doesn't really read it, she hasn't got a computer.

I.: And, where do you write to her?

K.: On the Orkut.

I.: I see, so she's got an Orkut account?

K.: (giggles)

Books, comics, newspapers and magazines

Kristiano had a large collection of books at home, books that his mother – a bookseller, gave to him as gifts. He mentioned one of Brazil's most renowned children's authors as part of his collection. He explained without much excitement, however, that as his mother brought these books for him he sometimes read them when he found time to.

Kristiano showed an interest in keeping up to date with the news, with what was going on in the country, and with issues related to people's behaviours. The latter was achieved through the reading of a daily newspaper and weekly magazines which his grandmother bought for them and by watching television. In his diaries he provided a summary of two pieces of news he had read in the newspaper and one he had watched on TV. He also gave me a briefing of them. One of these was about hunger in the North of the country, another was about a bridge that had collapsed and put a boy's life at risk, and a third one was about two separate multiple murders that took place almost simultaneously on the coast of São Paulo. He seemed equally impressed by the three of them.

He also enjoyed reading comics and visited his local library regularly to borrow them.

Home-school links

There was a clash between how Kristiano conceptualised his performance and behaviour at school and his teacher's conceptualizations of these aspects. Kristiano described himself as someone who made an effort towards schoolwork. This effort was demanded at home by his grandmother, who also provided him with the resources she believed he needed to thrive at school such as a computer, books, newspapers and magazines. She also checked his notebook regularly. Kristiano did not mention any other type of family

involvement with literacies at home, either currently or when he was a child. In fact, he was very wary to talk about his childhood. This was probably the case because Kristiano had been severely physically abused by his drug addict father, and was living in hidden accommodation with his grandmother. For this reason, he had also been transferred from one school to another.

Teacher 1 commented that Kristiano's behaviour at school and his attitude towards school literacies were erratic and confusing:

> T 1 (teacher 1): (…) He has an unusual behaviour; he behaves in different ways on the school corridors and in the classroom. He only does his assignments when he wants to. He spends most of his time either out of the room or teasing students in the classroom. He likes to tease other students about their mothers. He's the one who starts others off. You don't see what he does [in terms of academic work] as he talks a lot about doing things. Once he asked to take the coursebook home [students are normally not allowed to take their coursebooks home] so that he could organise and update his notebook. He later on gave me back the coursebook, but never showed me his [updated] notebook.

T1 showed me his latest test, which included questions on History, Sciences, English, Spanish, Mathematics and Portuguese. Kristiano got only three questions right – Portuguese, History and Sciences. His essay for Portuguese, which followed the theme proposed but was incomplete, was not graded as he did not include a draft, a demand made by teacher 1 following external exam guidelines.

Nonetheless, in Teacher 1's views, Kristiano's problems were not related to school literacy skills but to behaviour and attitude towards schooling.

A sample of Kristiano's essay provided by teacher 1 illustrates conflicts of views and conceptualizations of what constitutes a valid attempt towards school literacies. It is also a clear portrayal of the issue of rejection that seemed to be so present in Kristiano's life

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and of his interest in girls. In an interesting take on the theme proposed by the teacher, a trip with friends where something goes wrong, Kristiano talks about the mental and emotional 'trip' that a song may enable during which your feelings for someone you like are exalted. He proceeds to talk about his affection for a girl at school, how he displayed his affection in a letter to her, and how the girl rejects him by tearing his letter apart. He draws a cohesive line of thought and is successful in portraying his feelings of frustration and rejection. He arguably made an attempt to address the elements proposed by his teacher, but in the way that he understands and experiences these elements. His essay was, however, dismissed as inadequate by his teacher on the grounds that, firstly, it did not address the theme proposed and, secondly, that 'his text was too close to orality' (Teacher 1).

Paulo Freire's (1970) work with adult peasants and his attempt to address their lifeworlds in pedagogic dialogue has, along with constructivists' views on 'whole education' (Ferreiro and Teberosky's, 1986), inspired literacy theorists in Brazil to urge for the need for schools and teachers to account for individuals' lifeworlds in the curriculum and classroom practices. Yet in the instance above there is a conflict between adolescents' reality and the world the school sees them as being inserted within. It is very likely that Kristiano has never travelled, and the only trip he is indeed familiar with is the one he described in his essay. This is not, however, acceptable in his teacher's literary construct of adolescents' worlds in the context of that assignment. In addition, Kristiano's vernacular language is also dismissed as inadequate for essay writing. This is on a par with a strict divide between spoken and written language and the marginalization of non-dominant variants which have been strongly disputed by Brazilian theorists and linguists

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in recent decades (see Kleiman, 1995; Bagno, 2004). Also, other studies have suggested schools' failures to work with non-mainstream students' own cultural and linguistic assets (Heath, 1983; Marsh and Millard, 2000; also see Gonzales et al., 2005).

Issues of behaviour and expectation at school

Kristiano's participation in my study was received with surprise by most of his teachers, who seemed rather sceptical that he would be willing to keep a literacy diary or behave well during the interviews. His erratic behaviour during lessons had gained him the antipathy of many of his teachers. He was mostly described as a difficult student who was not willing to do much during lessons other than cause havoc in the company of other students or wander up and down the school corridors. At the time of data collection, he had been studying in public school 1 for about three months and seemed to have also gained the antipathy of some other students. Both his Portuguese teacher (teacher 1) and the deputy headteacher commented that Kristiano displayed behavioural problems at school, which they believed resulted from his traumatising family experience.

During our interviews, Kristiano complained of being victimised and neglected by teachers who he felt could be nicer and show more interest in their students' welfare. His feelings of neglect were also extended to the school buildings: issues of odour and the little attention given to maintaining the facilities were reasons of concern. He seemed mostly upset with the fact that the computers had been broken for months.

Discussion

Disaffection at home and at school

Kristiano's and Beto's (see Appendix 12 for Beto's information) family stories resemble the domestic realities of neglect, disaffection, and violence faced by many other adolescents in São Paulo. This was a recurring topic in the conversations and meetings I witnessed in the staff room of the public schools in this study. In these schools, these urban stories and the constant clash between parents and the school staff have become embedded in the school routine. When referring to these issues and events, teachers and the headteacher normally associate students' erratic behaviour at school with disaffection at home, as illustrated in the extract below:

> Teacher: And also, regarding learning, the disadvantaged [children], the ones who live far from the great urban centres, go to school mostly to eat, because they do not have anything to eat at home, or they witnessed their father get drunk and beat their mother. I think family social issues influence their learning a lot, their emotional balance. It's hard to believe that these children facing all of these problems will be inclined to learn anything. They reproduce at school what they see at home, the violence, the aggression, there's no way out [for them]. (A teacher drawing on her experiences in the public sector).

There was no evidence in data collected in the two public schools in the study that there were measures in place that aimed at counterbalancing these issues and building a more stable environment for these adolescents at school. There was rather strong evidence that suggests that students' family problems were used to justify teachers' low expectations of these students:

> T1: Kristiano follows the same religion as I do, when I saw him with the [Buddhism] magazine I asked him what he was doing with it. He said he was a Buddhist, and I said, 'No you can't be'. I mean, he can, but I told him: 'We learn one thing and you do everything that goes against it', and he said, 'No, teacher, I am', but he must be new to

the religion and we can't expect much from him. I was surprised. He joined us this year, let me see [checking her attendance register], yes he started on March 7th. As I've told you before about his life story, I was surprised, because you'd never imagine that students with behavioural problems would have a reading habit. And also, because in the classroom he doesn't usually submit his assignments, he mostly kills time, so it's hard to paint a profile for him, as I said I was surprised to catch him reading.

The assumption that these students are neither able nor willing to do much in terms of literacy inside or outside school seem to be the catalyst for a sense of impotence and fatalism from teachers and head teachers, who also expressed their confusion concerning their role in the education of these children.

Home literacies against the odds

Both Kristiano and Beto found ways of expressing themselves through literacy despite their home constraints and teachers' low expectations. In Kristiano's case, these literacy practices were strongly related to religion and his willingness to socialise with girls. For Beto, literacy practices were mostly present in his ample use of the online community Orkut. In his communication with his girlfriend, Beto used a number of visuals. Colourful photographs, graphics and pictures accompanied by texts written in different colours and fonts were regularly exchanged between the two of them. Text messages, videos, and subtitled photographs were also used to depict aspects of his life and suggested he was part of a large network of friends, had allegiances with a boys' group, had a taste for rap, samba, and romantic music, and used to go to the cinema, shopping malls and amusement parks in the company of friends and family members.

Like Kristiano and many of their classmates, at school Beto was rather alienated from the lessons. He was, however, taking part in a play organised by the Reading teacher, and he told me he was willing to write and memorise his lines. He also read the newspapers and

seemed mesmerised and taken aback by the realities of a violent city, a reality which was not far from his own lifeworlds.

Kristiano and Beto's literacy stories suggest that there is more to the literacy practices of 'adolescents with behavioural problems' (as they are frequently referred to by their teachers) than their failures and frustrations with school literacies. For these adolescents, outside school literacies run parallel to the constraints in their lives. In this way, Kristiano and Beto's literacy practices seem more intense and somehow fluid than is generally expected by the teachers in this study and in the literature of education in Brazil from vulnerable children of their socioeconomic background.

5.2.3 Literacy story 3: At the other end of town

Fabio was a student in the prestigious private school. He was 15 at the time of the study. He lived with his mother and two older sisters, who also attended the same school as him and had progressed to do bachelor degrees in Law and Medicine. His mother was a business administrator, also with a university degree.

Fabio volunteered to take part in the study and suggested that we communicate in English in our interview, which would take place over the telephone. It took a few months and some reminding from me for him to send me his literacy diaries for two non-consecutive weeks. His interview was conducted over the telephone one year after our initial contact at his school and some subsequent interaction on the Orkut social network. At the time of the interview, he was attending year 2 of *Ensino Medio* [secondary school] and was now very focused on getting prepared for the university entrance test, a fact which accounted

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for the change on his attitude towards schoolwork and on how much time he had available to engage in other literacy practices.

The university entrance test as a driving force

In our interview, Fabio was emphatic about the changes in his literacy practices due to his then recently gained awareness that without very hard work he would not be able to succeed in the university entrance test and enter the university of his choice. He explained that while in the past he did his school assignments mostly half-heartedly, now he was very focused and aimed at their full completion. As part of this new attitude towards schoolwork he now read two books a month, one prescribed by the school following the FUVEST book list and another one of his own choice. During his interview he drew a clear distinction between the type of books he read for school and those that he read for leisure. Books read for school, or those he described as the 'university entrance test books', were usually Brazilian and Portuguese literary classics and contemporary literature from Portuguese speaking nations around the world. On the other hand, his favoured books were the Harry Potter, Sherlock Holmes, and Lord of the Rings collections. In his literacy diary entries there was a reference to 'Murder on the Orient Express', and a year later at the time of our interview, he was interested in reading other books by J.R.R. Tolkien. The former was read in English, which is on a par with his aims to better his English skills gained in lessons in his school, in a three-year private course, and a then recent trip to New York. Fabio stressed that he liked to read a lot, but he believed he did not represent the average adolescent of his age in this respect who he believed would rather spend their time online.

Another new insertion to his literacy practices had been to read the newspapers on a daily basis rather than only at the weekends as he used to do. Although it was not voiced by him, it is likely that his gained interest in reading the newspapers was also a response to the FUVEST focus on assessing contestants' awareness of political current issues and their ability to write about these issues coherently.

Literacy practices for leisure

Fabio's focus on the university entrance test was also seemingly reflected in his leisure practices. Activities such as keeping a journal and interacting with friends in the Orkut and MSN networks were no longer done on a daily basis. In his interview he was apologetic about using these online environments and said that he favoured the use of the telephone to contact his friends.

Other activities like playing computer games and watching soap operas had then either been restricted to the school holidays or cut off altogether, yet he still watched American films and sitcoms with his sisters as part of his family routine.

ICT and digital literacies

Fabio made ample use of his computer and the Internet by using the Word, Power Point, and Excel programs, making videos and storing photos and music. The Internet was also used to conduct research for topics related to school assignments and to access material some teachers made available on the school website.

He said he had become proficient in the use of these programmes mostly by watching others use a computer at home and through the lessons he had at school up to the age of

11. He also joined an out-of-school ICT course, but he decided to drop out as he found the skills taught were too basic for him.

Home-school links

In spite of mostly engaging with literacy on his own in his bedroom where he had access to a computer, a TV set, and his favourite books, he also spent time watching American sitcoms with his sisters, and occasionally films with the whole family. They also watched the news together, and Sunday afternoons were spent watching a popular Brazilian programme which he said he disliked but had to watch as part of his family's Sunday ritual.

His mother used to help him with his schoolwork when he was younger, but since starting working full-time years earlier she was not involved with it very much any longer. When needed, he looked for support with his older sisters.

As has been discussed above, one of the aspects that stood out from Fabio's diaries and interviews was how the school and the impending university entrance test affected not only those literacy practices directly related to school but also the amount of time in which he engaged in vernacular literacy practices, including literacy practices for socialisation and leisure. An interesting feature of his interviews, and a possible cause for his focus on school literacies at home, was also his full awareness of the role his highly prestigious school played in his future professional life and his already privileged prospects in the work market:

> F.: (Fabio): I believe you can't succeed [in the work market] without having done well at school, at a good school [...] it's important for your CV. Public education is terrible [...] a good private school makes a huge difference [he cites some elite schools] they are

as relevant as a university degree in your CV […] A student who goes to [his school] has a great advantage in his CV that will help him to get a job […]. There's no way out, the school helps you in every possible way, it's an important factor in your life, there's no way out.

Here Fabio also expressed his awareness of the socio-economic disadvantage of his counterparts from public schools. Gee (2002) argues that Millennials are aware of and accept social inequalities as a natural aspect of capitalist societies.

For Fabio, more than simply being the place that was going to shape his future, his school life was also a natural and positive extension of his home life:

> F.: I love [my school] ... I spend so much of my time there that it ends up being like home. So it's where I meet my friends, even if it's only for that, to socialise. When you spend a lot of your time at school you have to make the most of it […]. Everybody I know says they miss their school days.

There seemed to be no ruptures or conflicts between Fabio's home and school literacies. In spite of believing some classes could be more dynamic in order to appeal to adolescents, he still saw a lot of sense and value in his school life. He also understood his elite school's expectations towards academic work and discipline well and was willing to put the activities he engaged in for pleasure aside in order to comply with his school's high demands.

Fabio's home literacies did not fit neatly into grassroots' and teachers' imaginary, meaning the image of a middle-class home where the mother is present at home and gets involved with her children's literacy development. According to this portrayal of middle-class homes (described and longed for by the public teachers in this study), family members engage in the reading and discussion of literary classics, newspapers, and cultural magazines. In Fabio's home, his mother worked full-time to make up for the

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absence of a partner who a year earlier had been killed in a robbery. She was therefore no longer very involved in his school life. Sharing time in the family was mostly spent around the television watching the news, films, American sitcoms, Brazilian soap operas and Sunday afternoon family programmes. In fact, the latter two are strong elements of Brazilian popular culture which are frequently associated with the homes of lower middle class families (Bagno, 2003).

However, school and home languages, cultural links and expectations may indeed have been one of the factors that made Fabio's experience of schooling an extension of the home. In other words, this was not directly evidenced in Fabio's family's engagement with literacies but was apparent in their experience with schooling, with the academic values and demands it presupposes, and with the possibilities it allows for. In data from his and his Portuguese teacher's interviews it transpired that Fabio spoke the language of the school with full awareness and proficiency, an aspect which accounted for a great deal of his sense of school-home extension and, consequently, for his academic success.

Discussion

Fabio, Patricia and Pedro (see appendix 12 for information on Patricia and Pedro) engaged in different literacy events that were shaped by their various interests. Some of these events were also shaped by a privileged socio-economic background that was shared by all of them. The patterning of these events is discussed below.

ICT access and knowledge

In data collected with these participants, there are references to their daily access to computers and to digital literacies. They used the Internet and other applications, such as

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MS Office and Photoshop for schoolwork, leisure, and to access different types of digital texts ranging from the Orkut and the MSN networks to news, recipes, blogs and fan fiction sites.

In their interviews, access to computers and their acquisition of ICT skills were treated as a matter of fact by Patricia and Fabio. The question of whether they used the computer for more than what was mentioned in their literacy diaries or initially discussed in their interviews (mostly to access the Orkut and the MSN networks) was met with amusement. The question of how they acquired the skills to operate the applications and perform the tasks they said to be good at was also met with a similar reaction, which I argue suggests that both access to computers and online texts and the acquisition of skills of the most common applications to more sophisticated ones were seen as natural aspects in their lives, as suggested Patricia's interview, conducted on MSN:

I.: Do you also use the computer for other things: schoolwork, games?

P.: (Patricia): Aham! I always use it to do research for school or organise my assignments, and sometimes very rarely to play the Sims.

I.: What applications do you use?

P.: For school: Microsoft Word, Power Point, Paint …

I.: How did you learn to use these applications?

P.: We had ICT classes at school for some time, but I really learned it by myself

On talking about their use of the Orkut social network, Patricia and Fabio emulated their teacher's (teacher 2) worries and contempt towards the language used by adolescent members of this site.

I.: Going back to the Orkut social network, how would you describe the language used?

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P.: I think it's practical as you don't have to worry about typing everything correctly, but it really affects formal writing.

I.: Does it? How?

P.: Most adolescents get so used to writing incorrectly and with no rules that when answering a question in the school exam, without meaning to, they end up using these slangs.

I.: What type of slangs?

P.: Voce becomes "vc", precisar: "pscisah", estar: "tah", falar: "flar".

On books

Availability of resources was also extended to books, which Patricia and Fabio said they had in great numbers at home. These participants were also very clear in terms of what they conceptualised as books they read for school and those that they read for their own pleasure. Patricia and Fabio were mostly pragmatic about the reading of literary classics, or as Fabio puts it 'university entrance test books'. These were a component of academic work, and their reading was a necessary step for them to succeed in the school and in the university entrance test. Patricia and Fabio favoured Brazilian and foreign adolescent literature.

These participants also had access to extra-curricular school activities such as drama, language courses and sports. They also engaged in other activities such as travelling and socialising with their friends and families, as was also illustrated by several photos of trips abroad, to other towns in Brazil and to shopping malls posted on Fabio and Patricia's Orkut webpages.

School literacies

Fabio, Pedro and Patricia's literacy diary entries were also punctuated by a daily amount of school related literacy events. The fact that these three participants attended the same school is an obvious indication of the reason why they all showed a similar frequency in which they engaged with school literacies at home. However, as should be expected they differed in relation to their personal dispositions towards these tasks. In this way, while Patricia showed a great deal of commitment and sense of duty towards not only school literacies but also towards her extra-curricular English course and even the filling of her literacy diaries for this study, Fabio seemed more specifically focused on the university entrance test, and consequently on his future academic life. Pedro was very focused on working on his blog, although school literacies were also a daily part of his home literacy diaries.

Beyond access: social capital and perspective

These adolescents shared the prospect of full citizenship and professional success that their social and cultural capital is likely to provide (Bourdieu, 1991).

In her study in the Piedmont in California, Heath (1983) suggests that school literacies are in fact an extension of the activities which are reinforced at home from an early age:

Both children and adults are producers and consumers of literacy in a consistent, highly redundant, and repetitive pattern of using oral language, and specifically dialogue, as a way of learning both from and about written materials. [...] As the children of the townspeople learn the distinctions between contextualised first-hand experiences and decontextualized representations of experiences, they come to act like literates before they can read. They acquire

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the habits of talk associated with written materials, and they use appropriate behaviours for either cooperative negotiation of meaning in book-reading episodes or story-creation before they are themselves readers. (Heath, 1983 p. 256).

In the study herein, there is not enough evidence of upper-social class parent-child interactions from an early age that would emulate Heath's (1983) findings. What there is in this sense are only students' accounts of their parents as active readers and their homes as being rich in literacy resources such as books, magazines, newspapers and computers. This information reinforces these middle and upper-social class parents as literacy role-models, but it falls short of popular belief, teachers' wishes, and romanticised accounts of present (in the view of public school teachers 1 and 2) and past (in the views of private school teacher 1) households as places where parents and children are/were actively engaged in sharing and discussing high culture. Fabio, Pedro and Patricia's accounts of their interactions with literacies are similar to those of lower- social class individuals, in which the activities mostly take place when they are on their own and with their own choice of available resources. In fact, Fabio's accounts of family gatherings centred mostly around popular programmes on the television, as it seems to be the case in many family households around the country (Almeida, 2014).

5.2.4 Literacy story 4: Somewhere in between

Talita was 15 at the time of data collection. She was an only child and lived with her parents. Her mother has a degree in Portuguese Language, Brazilian Literature and Applied Linguistics and used to work as a teacher. Her father worked in a nightclub. She did not initially volunteer to take part in the research, but she was approached by me after her teacher insisted she and some of her close friends should be the ones to take part in

the study rather than those that had volunteered or had already been approached. It later transpired during classroom observation that Talita and those recommended by teacher 1, a group of about four girls and one boy, were the students mostly in tune with teacher 1's lessons and those to whom her lessons seemed to be planned for. This was illustrated by teacher 1's directly addressing these students during the lessons by asking them questions and by standing by one corner of the room where this group of students gathered.

Talita kept literacy diaries for ten days. We had two face-to-face interviews and kept in touch through the Orkut social network, where we chatted on several occasions.

ICT and digital literacies

Most of Talita's diary entries were about reading and writing activities she conducted on the Orkut and MSN networks, followed by the writing of poetry and the religious literacy practices she engaged in at her church.

> I.: […] You've written a poem. I saw in your diary that you often write poems, don't you? Tell me more about the things you do when you're not at school.
>
> T. (Talita): I get home, then I switch the computer on, I have something to eat, have a shower and then I stay online the rest of the time. When we have exams or homework, I do it and then go back to the computer.

In addition to chatting with her school peers and boyfriend on the Orkut and MSN network on a daily basis, she also used the Internet to access encyclopaedias and to search for information related to her school assignments. She had replaced the library and newspapers by the Internet, believing that online she could more easily access information from school-related topics to cinema synopsis and show times. She also used

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her home computer to practice all of the applications she had been learning in a three-year private ICT course.

Religious literacy

Like other students in this study, Talita was also a regular churchgoer. She volunteered as one of the priest's assistants for the Sunday service, and was also taking preparatory classes for the Catholic Confirmation on Saturdays. She explained that the decision to dedicate part of her weekend to the church came from her without any influence from her parents, who are not as religious as she is. Her religious literacy was restricted to the church service and to the youth group sessions she regularly attended at weekends. She told me she was not very keen on reading the Bible or other religious books at home.

> T.: I read them, when I'm asked to, but I don't read it out of my own will, because I don't feel very inclined to. The Bible is too big and has very small letters.

Books

Talita also explained that she did not have much time to read books as she spent most of her time online when she was not at school. Her lack of time to pursue other literacy practices was also put down to the long hours she spent in a full-time school.

Home-school links

She used to read books more often when she was younger and her mother used to read with her. Her mother used to encourage Talita to read books by setting reading races between the two of them. Talita explained that her mother had always helped her with her homework, and she carried on doing so when she had difficulties:

I.: So, you've told me your mother helps you with your schoolwork?

T.: Yes, when I have difficulties with my homework.

I.: Do you remember whether your Mum used to help you when you were in primary school?

T.: Yes, she's always helped me with my schoolwork.

I.: How?

T.: What do you mean?

I.: Did she sit next to you and [interruption]?

T.: Yes, she did and she explained to me how to do things, like the drawings.

I.: Have you ever had difficulties at school?

T.: No, I think perhaps now more than ever, because it's changing, it's getting harder. Also, because we spend 9 hours at school and it's very tiring.

Creativity in and outside school

Talita's interactions with her school peers also took place in the form of notes and letters that they sometimes wrote in pairs and in groups and exchanged with each other. At the time of data collection, she was taking part in the production of a play for the Reading teacher. The Reading teacher had given the two year 8 classes a theme and expected them to write the script and rehearse the play during her lessons. The play was going to be filmed by an external TV crew, which added up to students' excitement.

I.: And do you write together?

T.: Yes, always, I write mostly with Rogerio, with Linda and Ana, these things, you know? Even more now that we have to write the play, so we sit together and do it.

I.: Is it for school? Is there a group [doing it]?

T.: Yes, it's for school, for the Reading teacher. It's about drugs, prostitution and violence. We have to address the lifestyle of some teenagers, it's like *City of God* [the film].

[…]

I.: And, is everyone taking part?
T.: No, only those who want to, half of the class or even less.

Some of her spare time at home was dedicated to writing her scenes for the school play.

Another important aspect of Talita's literacy practices was her poetry writing and reading. During our conversations she showed that she knew many Brazilian poets. She also used poetry to express either her sadness on specific occasions or romantic feelings when she was in love. As she was in love at the time of the study, she was having a particularly productive poetry phase.

Other literacy practices

Talita frequently went to the cinema with her friends or had them over to watch subtitled American DVDs. She also read comics and magazines dedicated to teenage girls.

Discussion

Diversity

Talita's literacy life was rich in diversity. Even though she spent a great amount of time at school, she still engaged in a series of literacy practices for religious, socialization, leisure, technological skills development, and academic purposes. These activities took place in a variety of domains. Home, school, church and ICT classes were scenarios for a number of activities that interrelated with each other. Some of the literacy events Talita mentioned in her literacy diaries and interviews were also carried out in collaboration with others, an aspect which reflected her popularity amongst students and teachers and which so often put her at the centre of some of these events.

Home and school links

For Talita there seemed to be no great ruptures between the home and school domains, both in terms of literacies and the attention she received from those who surrounded her. She enjoyed being in the school and said she identified with the lessons and their themes.

There is evidence in data from classroom observations and interviews with her teachers that suggests that the lessons were planned with a model of a student like Talita in mind. This is suggested by the choice of texts, which are still aimed at mainstream students from traditionally structured families who enjoy holidays on the beach, for instance, and as suggested above by teacher 1's interactions with Talita and her classmates. Talita represented the students teachers expect to find in their classes, a student from a stable family home with a parent who not only cares for her academic achievement but who also sets a good role model for it. Talita's mother is not a dropout of the school system like many of Talita's peers' parents, and school literacies and language are not alien to either mother or daughter. Teachers in the public schools in the study were nostalgic about the shortage of students like Talita, who have been deserting public schools' benches in favour for the benches of local private schools in the last decades (Marcondes, 1999). Marcondes (1999) points out that Brazilian teachers are still being trained to teach mainstream students like Talita, and they find themselves at loss when confronted by children whose parents have little or no experience of schooling or those in vulnerable social and domestic situations.

5.2.5 Literacy story 5: Religion and love

Bruna was one of the students from public school 2 who volunteered to take part in the study during teacher 3's class.

She was 16 years old at the time of the study. She lived with her mother, brother, and twin sister. It transpired through the interview that her parents had been separated for about two years. Her father had since been institutionalised for alcoholism. She explained that her parents' relationship had always been very turbulent and that her father spent many years of his life coming in and out of clinics because of his alcohol dependency. Bruna's relationship with her father and his alcohol dependency turned out to be strongly related to her religious literacy practices, as discussed below.

The reading and writing events reported by Bruna in both her literacy diaries and her interview were mostly centred on the regular reading of the Bible, the reading of a monthly magazine that focuses on horoscopes and love letters, the production of a 'love diary', and the use of the Orkut social network.

Religion, family and literacy

Her dedication to reading the Bible was founded on a combination of her families' past and present events. Her introduction to the teaching of the 'things of God', as she put it, was done in a family environment punctuated by turbulence – her parents' regular fights and her father being institutionalised for alcohol dependency – but also by union, and by the presence of a very religious extended family.

> B. (Bruna): I was little, and when my father and my mother had fights, my father used to teach us a lot of things about God, he and his family, my auntie and all of them. I had

a Bible and it was when he was sent to rehab, I started to sleep with that Bible, wake up with that Bible. I'd fall asleep reading that Bible and then wake up again reading it. For everything I did, I'd read that Bible. I always had that Bible on me. Then, I grew up and started turning into a teenager, rebellious, then, you know, you start putting it aside, then I stopped reading the Bible so much, but I still read it.

At the time of the study, religious readings and teaching did not seem to be part of her family life any more. She explained that in spite of ordering that a Bible was always in display in every room of the house, her mother was never seen reading it but could instead be found cleaning the house or sitting 'in front of the TV'. Her relationship with her father deteriorated after his separation from her mother three years earlier. He chose to be continually institutionalised and did not leave the clinic to visit either her or her sister, a fact which she resented. Yet she connected her reading of the Bible to her father and his alcohol dependency:

B.: And at night I read the Bible in bed [...]
I.: Whose Bible is it?
B.: My father's, it's like, every Bible I've ever had was my father's or my grandma's, because my father used to drink a lot, and every time he would be sent to a clinic, you know, there were these things about Jesus and God. So every time he got Bibles from grandma he would give them to me, he didn't read them. This day [referring to a diary entry], I read this Bible and the little Bible with the new testament that my brother brought when he went to visit him, because you know, he's in a clinic again. My brother brought many little Bibles, all the Bibles that the church gives to him.

She also occasionally read the Bible for her boyfriend and tested his understanding of the passages they read:

B.: I read the Bible at home. I read it with my boyfriend.
I.: With your boyfriend? What does he think of it?
B.: I ask him: 'Do you get that [passage]?' and he says: 'I don't know, I can't explain it.' And, it drives me crazy that he says he can't explain it.
[...]
I.: Does he like that you read the Bible for him?
B.: I don't know, he says that he doesn't know whether he believes in it or not, er, in religion, he's like, er, he doesn't know much about it, do you understand?
I.: Yes, and what about you?

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B.: I believe in God.

Love and Romance

Another aspect strongly present in Bruna's life and affecting her literacy choices was her romantic life. She described herself as a romantic and told me that she read love letters published in magazines, and she regularly read the love section in schoolbooks. By this, Bruna meant the literature section of Portuguese coursebooks, which usually have poems for the study of literature. She also regularly read the love and relationship sections in horoscope magazines. The theme of love and romance also extended to her writing practices, as illustrated in a love journal she kept of her relationship. She had kept love journals for every boyfriend she had had in the past, and she had been given a blank notebook by her current boyfriend so that she also wrote a journal about their relationship. In this journal she wrote letters, lyrics and poems. It was not shared with her boyfriend and was kept for when they eventually broke up, when she would then hand it back to him.

ICT and digital literacies

Bruna did not have a computer at home, yet at the time of the interview she had been accessing the Orkut social network nearly every day. She said she was not able to use the Internet well, but she could use the Microsoft Office applications learned in an ICT course that she took along with her sister. She used these applications either in an Internet café or at school. She explained that those students who could already type or use the Microsoft Word were allowed to access the Orkut social network while the ICT teacher helped others with basic skills.

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Home and school links

Bruna's father gained a central role in her home-school literacy links. She had clear memories of him demanding their schoolwork be done in what she describes as a rather turbulent and aggressive manner:

> B.: when we were small, he used to fight with us for us to do our homework. My father used to hit us a lot. He'd hit us even to make us do our homework.

Despite not engaging in reading or writing activities with the children, her mother's role was described more as one of nagging the children into doing their homework and demanding good marks. While that was faced with resistance by her siblings, Bruna explained that her mother trusted her to do well at school, an aspect Bruna seemed very proud of.

On books

Books did not take a central role in her life. At home she read school coursebooks, and she once started reading a novel which she gave up halfway. She explained that she did not have the habit of reading books as she got impatient and usually skipped to the final chapters to find out the end of the story. She used her old school coursebooks as a source for the love letters and poems she occasionally turned to.

The Bible was the book that was most present in her life.

Discussion

On religious literacy

Religious literacy practices were present in the life of seven of the twelve participants of the study. The levels of involvement of these participants with religious literacy practices varied, as did their motivations.

These participants engaged with religious literacy practices in the domains of the church, or the temple as in Kristiano's case, and at home. The extent to which they engaged in these practices in the home domain differed amongst participants. While religious literacy practices were strongly present in the home lives of Kristiano, Bruna and Sheila, other participants said they dedicated less time to these literacies at home.

Many of these participants were also strongly involved in religious youth groups or preparatory courses such as the Catholic Confirmation (in Fabio and Talita's cases). For these participants, being a member of a youth group meant not only getting involved in discussions directly related to religious teaching, but also getting involved in projects to better the church's facilities (Felipe and Vinicius), to learn and practice a sport (Felipe) or a musical instrument (Kristiano), and to have an active role in the religious community such as playing in the ceremonies (Vinicius) or volunteering as the priest's assistant (Talita). Participants showed a sense of pride and achievement when reporting their roles in their religious communities. (See Appendix 12 for information on Sheila and Vinicius.)

In two instances, religious literacy practices also extended to the school domain or influenced academic motivations. For Fabio, the school was the place he chose to pursue

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his religious course, and there was no reference to the church as a physical space in either his diary entries or interview. He was doing his course outside school hours within the school premises, and he did the work related to it at home. For Sheila, church and school connected in a different way. While religious literacy events took place mostly at home and in the church, her church community and youth group were said to influence and encourage her good performance at school. She believed that in addition to the overt encouragement the church gave her by rewarding their young members for their good grades at school through a scheme of points and scoring, the amount of reading she did for the church was also a practice that was positively reflected in her academic reading skills. In addition, the sermons in her evangelical church motivated Sheila to pursue a critical stance towards her church leaders' words. She said she read books in search of facts that backed up or disputed their views. For her, religious literacies also extended to the home domain, as her family joined together for the reading and discussion of religious scriptures every Friday evening.

In this way, Sheila's and Fabio's engagement in religious literacy practices blurred the boundaries between domains (Hull and Schultz, 2002).

Furthermore, for the participants in this study, being involved in a youth group in their churches or temple meant that they took part in a number of practices that involved the reading of scriptures, doing follow-up tasks at home and taking comprehension tests in their churches and temples. These literacy practices resembled school practices in their structure and formality. On the other hand, participants' involvement in discussion groups, the church youths' band and sports suggests that religious literacy practices were also approached as vernacular practices (see Barton, 2010).

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Adolescents in the study talked about their participation in religious youth groups with excitement. Being in these groups was a way of meeting friends, developing new skills, and exercising group membership. Vinicius voiced his excitement for singing and dancing in a group led by his priest, whilst Kristiano seemed to find reassurance in being given a role in his Buddhist group. Felipe was glad to be able to conciliate his love for football with his role in the discussions of a project to build a football pitch in the church's premises.

5.3 Patterning

In this section, I present data according to patterns found in participants' literacy practices. The section is divided into sub-sections of literacy practices and their purposes. Some of the sub- titles used here were borrowed from Marsh (2006), and others were inspired by Barton and Hamilton (1998).

5.3.1 Literacy practices for forming social relationships

Digital literacies were favoured by participants as a means to communicate with friends and family other than face-to-face. All of the adolescents in the study mentioned the social network site the Orkut and the MSN as a means of socialising online. Most of the participants who had access to the Internet at home accessed the Orkut social network on a daily basis. Exceptions to that were Fabio, who as discussed earlier in this chapter was determined to dedicate more time to his studies, and Vinicius, whose home computer was mostly used by his then unemployed uncle. Those who did not have access to the Internet

at home accessed the Orkut social network from family and friends' homes or Internet cafés less frequently.

Public school 2's students also accessed the Internet and the Orkut social network during their ICT classes in the school. Students from public school 1 used to do so before the ICT room went in disuse.

For public school 2's students, accessing the Orkut social network was an intersection between home and school (Hull and Schultz, 2002), in the sense that a vernacular practice took place in the school domain, in this case overtly rather than surreptitiously, as may be the case of other vernacular practices such as notes and texting which may be carried out into the school premises (Camitta, 1993; Shuman, 1993). These adolescents used their webpages in the Orkut social network creatively, in many cases displaying some levels of technological sophistication to communicate a range of information about themselves and their worlds. Their use of the Orkut social network is discussed in more details below.

Other types of literacy used by participants to engage in social relationships, albeit in a less regular basis than the digital technologies, were writing notes, letters, and cards to family and friends. Notes were written to let parents know of their whereabouts, or in Talita's case written in collaboration with friends at school. Letters were mentioned by five students as a way of either contacting family members who lived distantly, or on special occasions such as birthdays and Mother's Day in place of cards.

In addition, other ways of establishing social relationships through literacy were by contacting friends through SMS messages, mentioned only by Felipe and Vinicius, and keeping a blog, mentioned by Pedro. For many of the participants, being an active

member of a religious community also meant engaging in a series of literacy practices that involved networking and socializing.

Romantic Love

Romantic notes and letters (print or digital) were often written by Sheila, Bruna, Talita and Beto. Being in love encouraged Bruna to read and copy poems and love letters and to keep a love journal. It also inspired Talita to write poems. The digital technologies also had a very central role in participants' display of affection and search for love. Kristiano used this means to access matchmaking sites in search of romance. In addition, affection for boyfriends, girlfriends, friends and family members was overtly displayed on these adolescents' Orkut pages.

Barton and Hamilton (1998 p.248) report in their study that people engage in 'many sorts of personal communication', such as letters to family members, letters to 'start or end relationships', and cards and notes for a number of purposes. In this study, although not being obsolete in the life of adolescents and still serving the purposes of mostly communicating with family members; the functions of notes, cards and letters have also been replaced by online communication. As will be discussed later in this chapter, at the time of the study the Orkut social network had enabled adolescents to perform many of the communication functions established in the past through print. This has also been reported by other studies which investigate adolescents' interactions on Myspace and Facebook (Ito et al. 2008; Pembek et al. 2009).

5.3.2 Supporting, sharing and caring

Participants reported to engage in a series of literacy events on their own for the most part, yet there were some instances of events in their diaries and interviews which were carried out with members of their families, either as a way of supporting and caring for a younger sibling or other family members or as a way of spending family time together. Barton and Hamilton (1998 p. 254) refer to these as 'reciprocal networks of exchange'.

Felipe and Sheila had the habit of reading bedtime stories for their siblings. Felipe also helped his brothers with their homework. Carla occasionally helped her sister with her homework, and said she got help with hers from every available member of her family. Fabio watched subtitled American sitcoms as a family sharing time. Beto had been learning how to use Microsoft Word by watching a cousin.

Some of the participants also reported getting support with their schoolwork from parents and carers. The frequency with which participants sought support from family members was said to have reduced as they grew older and started relying exclusively on themselves for the completion of academic assignments.

On the issue of helping others with literacy, Barton and Hamilton (1998) point out that these aspects of vernacular literacies cannot be neatly defined as either self-generated or as imposed:

> Helping other people, for example, a common form of literacy practice, involves reciprocity and obligations which are not imposed. Doing things for other people or on behalf of others is a way of being collaborative that is often closely tied into people's sense of identity and self-worth among family, friends and neighbours (…). (Barton and Hamilton, 1998 p. 254)

Nonetheless, they point out the complexities inherent in reciprocal networks. In the study herein, these are perhaps mostly a reality in relation to the negotiation of notions of commitment within families, as in Felipe's and Sheila's cases where taking care of siblings in the absence of parents may have 'elements of imposition and compulsion' (Barton and Hamilton, 1998 p. 254), and in this way it might not be as positive as it may be pictured.

5.3.3 Literacy practices for pleasure and/or self-expression

Magazines and comics

Most of the participants liked to read magazines in their spare time. Magazines ranged from 'Veja', a Brazilian equivalent to Time magazine, mentioned by Kristiano and Pedro, to gossip, fashion and teen magazines mentioned by all the female participants, except for Carla. Comics were also amongst adolescents' literacy interests. A comic usually favoured by the participants was the Brazilian 'Turma da Monica', and some of the boys also said to enjoy reading super-hero comics such as Spiderman and Batman.

Gender issues

Magazines were a source of information on adolescence-related issues, horoscopes and love for some of the female participants. Although this was not systematically investigated in this study, it can be suggested that there were some differences in the literacy resources boys and girls engaged with. While boys reported enjoying superhero comics and reading newspapers and news magazines, girls turned to magazines for horoscopes, love, fashion and gossip. Mitchell and Reid-Walsh (2008) posit that this is a result of the constructions of female gender in society.

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Books

Books were mentioned by eight of the participants in both their diaries and interviews. Adolescents mentioned reading books ranging from children's fairy tales and short stories to foreign language literary classics. Patricia and Fabio expressed their preference for youths' literature such as Harry Potter, Lord of the Rings and the Brazilian Pedro Banderas' collections. Felipe and Andrea had been involved in the reading of literary books that they had been given as presents by a previous teacher and by their school respectively. Carla engaged in the reading of the one collection of fairy tales she had at home. Both Vinicius and Talita had recently been engaged in the reading of books that they had borrowed from the school library. Talita's school library had been closed down, however, and she was unable to re-borrow and finish her book. Books were not, however, discursively constructed as participants' favoured literacy artefacts. Adolescents mostly turned to magazines, comics and the digital technologies for leisure.

Digital literacies

Despite not being as popular as the Orkut and MSN networks amongst these adolescents, the Internet was also used to access stories, psychological tests (girls) and to play games.

Patricia and Sheila liked reading stories on the Internet. While Sheila said she would do so only when she had nothing else to do and was not communicating with her friends on the Orkut social network, Patricia was an assiduous reader and writer of fan fiction and accessed related sites on a nearly daily basis. Talita liked searching for psychological tests directed at girls, and Kristiano played computer games, as did Patricia and Fabio although only occasionally. Participants from private schools also reported that they liked

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to search for questions about their academic doubts on the Internet, a literacy event which was only reported by Talita amongst the participants of public schools.

The television

Television is a great part of Brazilian culture (Bagno, 2003). Watching soap operas, series, films, and the news are the main pastime amongst all ages in the country (Almeida, 2014). Amongst the adolescents involved in the study, television was only cited by Carla, Fabio, Felipe and Kristiano. This might have been the case because participants were asked to record their literacies practices rather than other 'communicative practices' (Street, 1997 cited in Marsh, 2006). In Marsh's (2006 pp. 23/24) study with young children in the UK, watching television is analysed as a 'communicative practice for forming relationships', and this is the case because, as Marsh (2006) explains, 'daily acts of communal viewing are not simply routines' (Marsh, 2006 p.25), but are ritualised family acts which 'symbolically integrate each member into the family as a social institution […]' (Steeg Larsen & Tufte, 2003 p. 103 cited in Marsh, 2006 p. 25). This was the case for Fabio who shared family time watching American sitcoms and the Sunday programme. For Kristiano, watching the news on TV turned into a literacy practice as he summarised it into his literacy diary for this study. TV content also became part of their multimodal use on the Orkut social network as adolescents uploaded music, videos and photos followed by captions of their favourite TV programmes.

5.3.4 Literacy practices for accessing or displaying information

The Internet, newspapers and magazines were mentioned as sources of information by some of the participants. Talita, Patricia and Fabio used the Internet as a way to access information related to schoolwork. It was also used by some of them to access the latest news, show times, and books and film synopsis.

5.4 Comparative analysis across social classes

5.4.1 Home-school links

Data from participants' diaries and interviews suggest that part of the participants' home literacy events were related to school literacies in either direct or indirect ways. They engaged with school literacies at home by doing their homework, researching school topics on the Internet, using online encyclopaedias, and reading assigned books by their school. A more indirect way adolescents engaged with school literacies at home was by getting involved with those forms of literacy, mostly print, which are valued at school such as reading the newspapers and news magazines, reading books, and writing stories and poems in their free time without being directly requested to do so by their teachers, but being still directly influenced by school literacies. The presence of these dominant literacies in the home domain reinforces Hull and Schultz' (2002) claim for researchers' to look out for the presence of intersections between home and school literacies rather than placing the focus of research on the disconnections between these two domains.

The account of the frequency in which adolescents reported in their literacy diaries to engage with schoolwork such as doing their homework or carrying out other school projects at home differed between the two social groups. While upper-social class

participants were clear and pragmatic about the extent to which schoolwork was present in their home domain through the reading of assigned books, preparation of seminars and online research, public school participants made little direct reference to schoolwork being pursued in the home. Exceptions were Talita's account of doing her homework and researching online encyclopaedias to complete school assignments, and Carla's revision of school coursebooks and the attention she paid to engaging in events which she believed would also have a positive implication on her academic skills.

In the context of this study, some likely reasons for this being the case can be suggested in the difference of students' school year and in the different ethos of the two types of schools, public and private. While public schools' participants were in their last year of primary school, participants of private schools were attending the first of the three final years of secondary school (one year ahead of their public school counterparts), which places a great focus on preparing students for the university entrance test. As it will later be discussed in this study, the private school was particularly focused on preparing students for the university entrance test and the ENEM, an aspect which is emphasised by private school teacher 2 as a high priority for upper-social class parents. This focus can be directly related to a greater workload demand on students, as emphasised by Fabio in his interviews. In spite of their aim to also prepare students for the national and local government exams, the two public schools in the study were full-time schools, and therefore most of the exam-related work was intended to be pursued within school hours.

Education theorists in Brazil have also suggested that differences in teachers' expectations of their students' skills, teachers' own qualifications, and even their wages can come to influence the way public schools differ from private schools regarding the

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academic skills expected from their students and, as a consequence, the amount of work requested from these students (c.f.: Oliveira and Schwartzman, 2002). In the study herein, while public school teachers' qualifications were high and their wages were not necessarily placed by them as their main source of concern or frustration, teachers' expectations can in fact be suggested as having played a role in what was asked from their students. In the two public schools, teachers believed their students had no interest in engaging in literacy practices outside school and were not able to take good care of their school resources. This resulted in public school 1 not allowing their students to take their school coursebooks home or to access the school library for fear that students would damage these books. These two factors alone are likely to have played a role on the amount of school literacies that their students engaged with at home.

From a different perspective, adolescents' out-of-school practices were also present in the school domains, which can be mostly observed here in the public schools of the study. Talita used to exchange notes with her friends during lessons and write them in collaboration during lesson breaks. They were also collaborating on the writing of a school play script, the production of which took place back and forth from the school to the home domains. These collaborations involved both written and verbal interactions, thus also challenging the strict definitions of both modes by proponents of the oral-written paradigm. Heath (1983); Camitta (1993); and Shuman (1993) also reported how written texts were communicated and dealt with through orality in their studies.

Other examples of out-of-school literacies present in the school domain were aspects of adolescents' youth culture such as rap and the aerosol scripts which adorned public schools' walls, blackboards and desks. During my visits to these schools, the latter went

unclaimed for by students and were mostly ignored by the teaching staff, and seemed to have become a permanent aspect of these schools' buildings.

On books

Participants' approaches to books are discussed here for the central role reading books is given in school literacies and in grassroots' imaginaries as a measuring for culture in society at large (Marsh and Millard, 2000). In Brazilian society, it is discussed as a factor used to differentiate 'letrados' (literate individuals) and 'non-letrados' (illiterate ones), not specifically in the sense of those who can write and read, but those who supposedly engage in high culture as opposed to those who do not. There is in the media, including the international media, a great focus on the quantity of books and the frequency with which the Brazilian population reads books whereby it is most frequently concluded that we are a population of 'non-letrados' (c.f. Almeida, 2014; 'Folha de São Paulo', 2006). Teachers in the study herein referred to books mostly as the only reading artefact valued at school. Likewise, Marsh and Millard (2000) also comment on the importance placed on literary books as a form of high culture in contraposition to popular culture by the teachers in their study.

Data analysis suggests that participants differed in the way they approached and conceptualised their reading of books. Participants from the private school were very similar in terms of access and characterisation of their reading practices. Fabio and Patricia had access to a greater diversity of books. They were also very clear in relation to the genre they liked, and they mentioned authors and collections that they had recently read or were currently reading. For these participants books fell into two categories:

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literary classics, referred to as school books and read as school assignments or as practice for the university entrance test, and youth literature, which they chose themselves and read for pleasure.

Public school participants' access and approach to books was more varied. Within this group, Sheila, Talita, Felipe and Vinicius named genres they liked or disliked. Kristiano and Felipe mentioned names of book writers. Andrea, Carla and Bruna showed initial confusion when asked whether they had books at home or read books, and answered by referring to old school coursebooks owned by themselves or their siblings which they had at home. Access to books and school demand were two of the most overt factors that differed between the two socioeconomic groups.

While the private school's students were regularly assigned books to read at home, it was not the case in the two public schools in the study. This may have been the case because in Brazilian schools, literature studies start from year one of *Ensino Medio*, the academic year students from the private school were attending. On the issue of access to books, while the private school provided students with a large collection of books in their library and public school 2 had recently opened their library for students' loans, which encouraged Vinicius and Felipe to borrow books, public school 1 kept their library doors closed to students.

Literacy role models

The issue of parents as role models for home and school literacies has been broadly discussed in the literature of literacy studies, as suggested in Chapter Three. In the study herein, Fabio and Patricia commented that their parents had a great number of books at

home. Talita, from public school 1, and Fabio used to have the help of their mothers with their schoolwork when they were younger. While this ceased to occur in their households as they grew up, it was still a reality in Carla's home. Family sharing of reading amongst other public schools' students involved mostly the reading of religious books. Parents and carers' support with these participants' school literacies also came in the shape of stating the importance that they had in their lives and in some cases by purchasing the artefacts they believed would help their children's learning. Carla's father kept a set of storybooks at home in a place of pride, and Kristiano reported that his grandmother subscribed to a magazine and a newspaper as she believed these would help him to perform better at school, also his mother gave him many books as presents.

The implications of parental involvement

Data analysis suggests that while Fabio's and Patricia's highly successful academic home models reinforce their positive expectations towards schooling and that their wide access to a number of resources increases their social opportunities, there is not sufficient evidence in this study that suggests that these adolescents' domestic lives allowed for the structure and discipline for them to pursue their academic development in contrast with the domestic lives of their public school counterparts, as has been suggested in studies that attend to a *deficit* ethos (see Edwards, 1970; and Tedesco, 1990).

There was also no evidence in this study that upper-social class parents differed from their lower-social class counterparts in direct support and involvement with school literacies at the time of the study. Differences found in this study amongst adolescents from different social classes were mostly in terms of access to cultural artefacts which are

valued at school and their drive towards building an academic portfolio which will secure them a position in the work market.

In the same way, the presence or lack of support and resources in participants' lives did not result in homogenous implications to adolescents' school literacies. Bruna, Carla, Vinicius and Felipe did not have a typical middle-class family home either in terms of structure or access to resources or yet mainstream support with school literacies at home, as was reported by Heath (1983) about the mainstream families and their literacy practices in her study. However, they were all deemed very focused on and successful with school literacies by their teacher (teacher 3). This was also the case of Sheila from public school 1, who came from an impoverished and broken home and had very good results across the curriculum. While Andrea was very focused and willing and did well in mathematics, she was struggling with the Portuguese subject. Also, Kristiano and Beto's experiences with school literacies were more on a par with the alienation suffered by lower-social economic children in urban schools (Heath, 1983). With regards to the focus of this study, their alienation and confrontation towards school literacies can be argued as a result of their school's failure to cater for individuals from vulnerable backgrounds and the consequent low expectation and neglect that underline these students' school experiences (Heath, 1983; Gee, 1996).

5.4.2 On digital literacies

The use of the new technologies was present in the life of all of the participants in the study, although in different ways and levels of access. While upper-social class participants' patterns of use of the new technologies was mostly similar in terms of the

frequency, learning, and diversity of the applications used, lower-social class participants' access, learning, and use were more diverse amongst this group. In this way, while some participants from public schools had access to computers and the Internet at home, others had more restricted access limited to Internet cafes, family and friends' homes, and at school (in the case of public school 2 only). Although access helped to inform the frequency of these participants' use of the new technologies, it cannot alone explain the use they made of it. Other issues to be considered from data analysis in this study are the formal and informal instruction inside and outside school, peer modelling, and the need for students to use these technologies for schoolwork. Amongst the six participants from public schools with access to computers and Internet at home, Talita was the only one to use her computer regularly for means other than socialization. Some of these participants were unclear about what was meant when they were asked whether they used their computers for tasks other than to access the Orkut and MSN networks.

For upper-social class participants, computers were used for a diversity of goals. Computers and the Internet were used as research tools for academic and personal purposes, a way of keeping up with the news and of getting involved in fan fiction stories, and were also regularly used as a tool for the preparation of academic work such as presentations in PowerPoint, film editing, etc.

Another aspect that differed between private and public schools' participants was the acquisition of computer and Internet skills. Lower-social class participants either did not have any knowledge of how to use the Internet as a research tool or other applications, or they had been attending an extracurricular ICT course. Five participants had attended or were at the time of the study attending a private ICT course. For some of them, however,

this did not translate into the use of other applications. Andrea argued that despite attending an ICT course for two consecutive years, she was no longer able to use the skills she gained due to her school's failure to either teach about these skills or encourage students to use them at home for the completion of schoolwork. For Andrea, Felipe and Kristiano, the knowledge gained in these courses did not have any application in their daily life in or outside their schools. Bruna, on the other hand, despite not having access to a computer at home, practiced what she was learning in an ICT course in Internet cafes, but she regretted not having the skills to use the Internet for other purposes, such as online researching, than to access the Orkut social network. Beto reported having been looking for instruction with the Microsoft Word from his cousin.

Upper-social class participants put their skills with computers down to early age contact with computers, to formal instruction received at school until the age of 11, and to informal instruction received from family members. Their school also expected them to be able to use their home computers for the completion of a number of academic assignments.

Data on participants' use of computers raise issues of the acquisition of skills and equality of opportunity for adolescents to practice and master these skills for future opportunities in the work market (Farrel, 2001; The New London Group, 1996). While middle and upper-social class participants are exposed to these new technologies from an early age and are expected to be able to interact with them with enough expertise to complete a number of tasks in a rather natural manner, their lower-social class counterparts' acquisition of these skills is rather patchy. Studies on individuals' use of digital literacies have suggested that along with having access to computers, individuals

are now required to be able to manipulate the cultures and languages that have been brought about with the new technologies (see The New London Group, 1996; Farrell, 2001 and Servon and Pinkett, 2004). Proficiency of these skills is claimed to go beyond being able to use an application, but to be able to change and adjust knowledge and skills to the demands of fast changing work communication dynamics. These are unlikely to be attained in ICT courses alone, since these courses more often than not have a compensatory ethos and tend to focus on technical skills only. As Krasvny (2005 p. 21) suggests in her study with adult African American attendees of an ICT training course in an impoverished area in Pennsylvania, ICT courses which do not fully equip participants with the knowledge to use these tools 'for consumption opportunities, civic engagement, communication, and other social practices that may help to improve their quality of life' might as well leave social inequalities more overt and unchanged (Kvasny 2005, p. 21). Kvasny (2005) posits that:

> On the one hand, there are highly privileged users who exploit the configurability of IT. These users find numerous technology-based applications for supporting consumption, learning, communicating, working, and coordinating schedules. On the other hand, there are marginal users who use IT narrowly and in ways that are prescribed for them. These uses are generally production-oriented and instrumental. (Kvasny, 2005 p.23)

Issues of equality of acquisition and use are relevant towards a discussion of the role schools and teachers' conceptualizations and availability of these knowledges play in helping or hindering participants' future prospects.

Digital technologies and popular culture

Lack of skills or confidence in using ICT applications or online research resources was not reflected in lower-social class participants' uses of the Orkut social network. The social network site was used by all participants in the study as a means to socialise and to show their allegiances to different groups and causes. Many of the public schools' participants made full and sophisticated use of these tools, as it has been discussed about Beto above. These participants used their pages on the Orkut social network as open canvases, where they shared and publicised their identities as rappers, comic readers, football worshippers, members of churches or brotherhoods, and the intensity of their affections for family and friends.

The information discussed in the next section is based on the analysis of participants' use of the Orkut social network at the time of data collection.

A look at the Orkut social network

1. Audio and visual artefacts

The adolescents in this study used pictures, videos, music and written language to demarcate and reinforce the aspects of their identities that they wished to portray (Zhao et al. 2008) and the changes they were going through in their lives.

In the interface allocated for pictures, picture albums were usually divided into themes. Pictures were captioned and followed by descriptions. Picture albums were also used by some of the participants to add posters which showed their religious allegiances, taste in

popular culture, and their intense communication in the MSN network, as described in the examples below.

A picture of Jesus Christ in Beto's picture album alluded to his religious beliefs. While the original caption read 'If you think your life is difficult, ask him whether it was easy to die for you'. Beto's added text read: 'He's the only one who dies for us…'

Sheila and other participants commonly displayed pictures of their written interactions with friends on the MSN network.

Felipe's picture album, entitled 'Amor Inconfundivel' ('Unmistakable love'), containing pictures of CD albums by 'The Beatles', 'The Cure', 'The Doors' and the Brazilian band 'Legiao Urbana' displayed his eclectic taste in music.

Vinicius's picture album, entitled *'+ fotos de Naruto uahuahu'* ('+Naruto's photos uahuahu'), contained 41 pictures of the characters of the Japanese manga comic series 'Naruto', suggesting Vinicius' reading taste.

Other picture themes encountered in participants' Orkut pages were loved ones, new births in the family, a new boy/girlfriend, a new hairstyle, and a newly acquired tattoo or piercing, etc. Some of the participants made sophisticated use of Photoshop to edit their pictures.

The use of pictures followed a fluid dynamic in the sense that as allegiances were broken or a new relevant event took place, old pictures were replaced by new ones and were followed by updated captions and comments. This was also the case in relation to videos, music and participants' profile greetings and status.

The Orkut members are also enabled an interface to upload videos to their pages. Videos displayed in participants' pages were related to their music, cinema, and TV preferences. These were eclectic in general, displaying a mixture of Brazilian and international youth popular culture – Brazilian popular TV programmes, American sitcoms, American films, and video clips of Brazilian and international artists. It is interesting to observe that while the private school participants displayed a preference for international culture, mostly American, in music and films, public schools' participants' video selections were highly eclectic and displayed a great number of videos of Brazilian popular music and TV programmes. Four of the participants also included their own homemade videos which were tagged to YouTube. These were Fabio, who displayed a couple of videos he had produced himself as part of a school assignment, along with one of a school play and another of a perfume advertisement performed by two of his school peers, and Patricia, Sheila and Beto, who uploaded short videos of their school peers engaged in different activities.

In this way, in addition to using the Orkut social network as a space to 'hang out' with their friends, adolescents were also found to tinker and mess around with the Orkut social network affordances (Ito et al., 2008). Also in their study with American youths and their use of social network sites, Ito et al. (2008 p. 22) suggest that youths' efforts with photo editing, video production and the very set up of their profile pages 'can lead to more sophisticated and engaged forms of media production'. They explain that:

Many young people described how they first got started messing around with digital media by capturing, modifying, and sharing personal photos and videos. (…) These photos and videos, taken with friends and shared on sites such as PhotoBucket and MySpace, become an initial

entry into digital media production. Similarly, the friendship-driven practices of setting up a MySpace profile provide an initial introduction to web page construction. Sociable hanging out while gaming is also a pathway into messing around with technology, as youths become more invested in learning the inner workings and rules underlying a particular game. (Ito et al., 2008 p 22)

However, Ito et al. (2008) point out that an adult lack of appreciation for youth participation in popular culture, which can be reflected in adults' blocking adolescents' use of social network sites at school or other public domains, such as libraries, along with lack of access at home can render youths as 'doubly handicapped in their efforts to participate in common culture and sociability.' (Ito et al., 2008 p. 36). In the study herein this was the case of Carla, who had limited access to digital literacies and did not display the same frequency and pattern of online socialization as her peers did.

2. Written Language

Unlike sites such as Flickr, where pictures take the central place and written language surrounds it (see Barton, 2010), on the Orkut social network users' photos function as an additional resource to the users' written texts.

Written texts on the Orkut social network took the shape of 'scraps' in users' 'scrapbooks', 'testimonials' which members could configure for public or private viewing, 'greetings' and 'About me' messages, photos and video captions, and comments. These texts attended to different purposes.

While testimonials were special or celebratory texts, often in the shape of poetry, lyrics and longer messages left on other users' pages, scraps were usually short messages that

addressed daily issues and which were often exchanged in real time as a dialogue between two or more users. Also, the language variant used in these spaces varied. On writing their scraps participants used their creativity to construct meaning. Language uses which are normally considered as grammatical errors in standard written Portuguese but which are common in spoken Portuguese (Bagno, 2003; Bortoni, 1995), were present in some of the participants' texts. Some examples of these are the dropping of infinitive verbs final 'r', e.g. 'fica' instead of 'ficar' (to be; to stay), and the use of the present simple 'fica' instead of the subjunctive 'fique', as illustrated in Beto's scrap below, and other language uses which are stigmatised as being common of lower-social class individuals' speech (Bagno, 2003), such as the use of 'mim' (me) instead of 'eu' (I) as a subjective pronoun in sentences anticipated by the preposition 'para' (to) and the use of 'nois' instead of nós (we).

Participants' texts also showed changes in spelling, such as the change of 'não' (no) to 'naum' or the addition of letters to allude to phonological resources such as syllable stress, e.g. 'idioota' instead of 'idiota' (idiot), as shown in Talita's scrap below. Abbreviation of words was also very common, such as vc instead of você (you). Except for the use of abbreviations, other language features mentioned above were not, however, reproduced by the two upper-social class adolescents, Patricia and Fabio, who made their Orkut pages available to me. They were instead rather loyal and careful to the reproduction of standard Portuguese.

The text below is a scrap that Beto wrote in his girlfriend's page. Here a number of abbreviations, spelling change, and grammatical uses which are common in spoken Portuguese are noticed. Words in brackets correspond to standard Portuguese and were

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added by the researcher with the aim to show changes from this to vernacular use or to other creative uses made by adolescents, such as bj0o0o0o instead of beijo (kiss) in Beto's scrap below, in order to add stress and emotion.

Text 1

oi amo (amor) td (tudo) bem??

naum (não) deu pra mim (eu) i (ir) na sua casa...

pq (porque) eu tinha q (que) sai (sair) com a minha mãe tbm (ta bom)??

naum (não) fica (fique) com raiva tbm (ta bom)...

domingo eu vo (vou) da (está bom)??

te amo....

bj0o0o0o (beijos)

Translation Text 1

Hi my love are you OK?

I couldn't come over to your place

Because I had to go out with my mother, is that alright?

Don't be angry with me, OK?

On Sunday I'll come over, OK?

I love you

Kisses

[my own translation]

In Talita's scrap (text 2 below) written to a classmate, Talita adds an 'o' to 'idiota' (idiot) in order to place emphasis on the syllable 'o'. She also creates a new phonemic version for 'oi' (hello). She abbreviates the word 'agora' (now) and uses 'vo' instead of 'vou'

(go), a common use in spoken Portuguese. The same is applied to 'tiver' instead of 'estiver' (subjunctive of verb to be), although this time the beginning of the verb is omitted instead of the end.

Text 2

ooo (oi) idioota (idiota)...
eu vo (vou) pra academia agr (agora)..
se eu não tiver as 8 no msn, me espera que eu entro ta (está bem)?

Translation of text 2

Hey you idiot...
I'm going to the gym now..
If I'm not on msn at 8, wait for me and I'll be there, OK?

Interestingly, testimonials left in participants' pages by their friends were more often written in standard Portuguese.

On profile pages, participants were also given writing space for greetings and for an 'About me' message. While greetings were usually short messages, 'About me' spaces were often used to write lengthier messages that addressed issues that the adolescents identified with. Some of the participants chose to write a few lines on personal matters, while others used the space to copy lyrics and/or write poems. With few exceptions of abbreviations and the use of resources such as the addition of letters to presuppose syllable or word stress, these were mostly written in standard Portuguese.

Beto's 'About me' message (text 3) below seems to be a hymn of his brotherhood 'O Bonde'. References to 'O Bonde' were frequently present on his Orkut page in the shape of pictures or messages. In Beto's text, standard and vernacular writing are playfully

overlapped. Here nouns are playfully contraposed with each other in a game of conceptual meaning. His use of the plural article followed by a singular noun and singular verb, which is a linguistic feature considered as belonging to lower-social classes mostly in São Paulo, can be argued as a mark of his loyalty to the speaking variant associated with his social group as well as a conscious affront to the norm. Given issues of authorship (Bakhtin, 1986), it should also be considered here that Beto might not be the author of the message but may have just reproduced it. This does not, however, invalidate the use of this message as part of his identity construct and allegiance through language, as this is the message he chose to display on his profile page.

Text 3 (abridged)

Os Mulek Piranha não beija ~> ensina

Os Mulek Piranha não entra ~> invade

Os Mulek Piranha não entra em fila ~> eh Vip

Os Mulek Piranha não chama ~> convoca

Os Mulek Piranha não dança ~> humilha

Translation of text 3

The Piranha boys don't kiss – teach

The Piranha boys don't come in – invade

The Piranha boys don't queue – is VIP

The Piranha boys don't call – call upon

The Piranha boys don't dance – humiliate

[my own translation]

On language use and perceptions

Some participants felt compelled to justify their use of the Orkut and the MSN networks as a way to keep in touch with their friends, but one which they believed was a time waster, as described by Beto, Fabio and Patricia, a view which resonates with teachers' conceptualizations of online resources as will be discussed in Chapter Six. Likewise, other participants from public schools (Talita, Sheila, Beto and Kristiano) referred to their uses of social network Orkut and to the Internet negatively as a vice. Beto compared it to spending time playing or messing around on the streets and as something you do when you have nothing else to fill up your time.

The language features favoured by members of the Orkut were also seen by some of the participants – both from private and public schools – as being disconnected from the standard language. Patricia and Sheila commented that by becoming too used to interacting on the Orkut social network adolescents reproduced the grammar 'errors' found on its pages onto their essays. On the other hand, Kristiano seemed rather excited about the fact that there was a code of communication amongst adolescents in both online and offline interactions that were not understood by adults or other outsiders. Talita believed she did not replicate the 'Orkut language' in her academic work. Fabio and Patricia avoided this by sticking with the standard language in their online interactions with others.

Adolescents in other studies have also shared their concern with becoming obsessed with social network sites, and they were also strongly concerned with the influence this type of communication may have on their academic work (Pempek et al., 2009). In the study herein, in spite of their concerns, participants seemed to be able to shift between vernacular and dominant variants and to make sophisticated and creative use of texts for

different purposes. In this sense, vernacular and dominant practices overlapped in different writing spaces of the same media (Barton, 2010).

Earlier in this study I discussed how definitions and categorisations of vernacular and dominant language variants in Brazil are complex and have led to discrimination and stigmatization as a consequence of unequal power relations and up-to-down language policies (Luchesi, 2004).

The traditional definitions of writing and speech as neatly divided into the former as being 'used to create authoritative distance' and, being, therefore formal, and the latter as a 'face-to-face or proximity resource' (Shuman, 1993 p. 247), which is mostly informal, have been contested by studies such as those of Shuman (1993) and Camitta (1993) about collaborative writing amongst adolescents in the U.S.A. The writing and speech dichotomy becomes even more disputable when applied to digital literacies, where aspects of multimodality, hypertext and interactivity (Kress, 2003) influence meaning making and therefore text construction.

On the Orkut social network, users are able to communicate in real time through scraps or they can take their time to elaborate on testimonials which are written for their friends as tokens of affection. There are no official rules or norms for the use of language on the Orkut social network, however participants have created patterns of use of these affordances whereby vernacular and dominant variants were used side by side. From the perspective of Halliday's notions of systemic linguistics, it can be argued that the Orkut social network afforded its users an environment for the production of a new register. Given that social components of interactions on the Orkut are not the same as those of

either face-to-face spoken interactions or official written genres new language features, which respond to the elements of field, tenor and mode (Halliday, 2002), emerged. Furthermore, participants' interactions with others were fluid and ample, which suggests that they were able to make predictions about the meanings that were being exchanged and make the appropriate choice of linguistic features for these interactions. The study of language from the perspective of Halliday's notions of systemic linguistics and genre theory should result in pedagogies that investigate and describe language uses in different texts, including digital ones, rather than prescribe and invalidate them as is currently the case in the context of education in this study, as it will be discussed in Chapter Six.

Issues of identity

Participants' online profiles illustrate their identity features, which also came across in their interviews and during classroom observation. Some examples are texts 4, 5 and 6 below. In text 4, Patricia alludes to her interest in communicating and expressing her views in English and her taste for American popular culture. Bruna's message (text 5) refers to life's ups and downs and the need for starting over, a constant concern in relation to her family situation, and Fabio's 'About me' message (text 6) is on a par with his discipline and determination to achieve academically and professionally. Also, as seen above, Beto's 'About me' message reinforces and reinstates the toughness that is attributed to him by his school peers and his allegiance to a brotherhood. This is, however, in stark contradiction with the tenderness of the messages sent by him to his girlfriend and female peers, thus displaying different aspects of his identities (Zhao et al. 2008).

Text 4. Patricia's 'About me' message:

'May the best of your todays be the worst of your tomorrows, but we ain't even thinking that far, you know ?? Forever young is in your mind.'
Young forever, Jay-Z

Text 5. Bruna's abridged 'About me' message:

(...)

Recomeçar é dar uma nova chance a si mesmo...
é renovar as esperanças na vida e o mais importante...
acreditar em você de novo...
Sofreu muito nesse período? Foi aprendizado.
Chorou muito? Foi limpeza da alma.
Ficou com raiva das pessoas? Foi para perdoá-las um dia.
Tem tanta gente esperando apenas um sorriso seu para "chegar" perto de vc.
Recomeçar...
(...)

Translation of text 5

Starting all over again is to give yourself another chance...

is to renew your hopes in life and most importantly...

to believe in yourself again...

Did you suffer a lot during this period of time? You learned.

Did you cry a lot? You washed your soul.

Did you get upset with others? It was so that you can forgive them one day.

There are so many people awaiting for a smile just so that they can "get" closer to you.

Starting all over again...

(...)

Text 6. Fabio's 'About me' message:

'Sonhar é fazer planos. Viver é ter coragem de realizá-los.'

Translation of text 6:

'Dreaming is to make plans. Living is to be brave enough to make them come true.'

Drawing on studies of young adults' identity formation and development, Pempek et al. (2009) concede that the use of social network sites may bring benefits to adolescents' identity formation and self-esteem. This, the authors explain, may be achieved through their sharing of preferences in music and video and religious beliefs, etc., and to the peer feedback which goes on in social network sites like the Orkut and Facebook:

> [...] the communication that occurs on Facebook may help young adults resolve key developmental issues that may be present during emerging adulthood, including both identity and intimacy development. To the extent that this is true, Facebook use may have a positive effect on development. This premise is supported by recent findings that college students with a less clearly defined self-concept were more likely to use the Internet, suggesting that young adults may turn to the Internet as a tool for identity development (Matsuba, 2006). (Pempek et al., 2009 p. 236)

Whilst Ito et al. (2008 p.14) agree on the strong role that these online environments play on identity formation and sharing, they also point out the hurdles of public exposure:

> Through participation in social network sites such as MySpace, Facebook, and Bebo (among others) as well as instant and text messaging, young people are constructing new social norms and forms of media literacy in a networked public culture that reflects the enhanced role of media in their lives. The networked and public nature of these practices makes the "lessons" about social life (both the failures and successes) more consequential and persistent.

This reinforces views that adolescents need to be aware of the conundrums associated with digital media. In the study herein, it is suggested that this should also include awareness of language and communication (The New London Group, 1996) and of how

issues of identity constructed online are bound to affect and bring consequences to these individuals' offline lifeworlds (Zhao et al., 2010).

5.4.3 Literacy for professional success: on Millennials and their Portfolios

Data analysis suggests that Fabio and Patricia make literacy choices that are informed by values and beliefs passed on to them by their parents and schools which have a great focus on economic and professional success. The belief that they are being prepared to occupy a stable and privileged place in society makes school literacies relevant and the pressures of exams more tolerable to them.

On their role as professionally successful individuals and the providers of resources, middle and upper social class parents and their elite schools highlight the message that schooling and dominant literacies are crucial in the construct of one's professional portfolio. These are also emphasised by Brazilian society's disparities between poor and rich and society's stigmatization of public schools, their teachers, and the individuals they form, as is often illustrated in the media and the literature of education in Brazil (c.f. Oliveira and Schwartzman, 2002).

Fabio and Patricia fit well into the notion of Millennials (Brooks, 2000; Gee, 2004) in their search for collecting skills – through a good academic record, travelling abroad, learning a second language and taking to sports – which enrich their present and will place them in a good position to compete in the work market with other members of the same elite. They also see sense in the academic tasks assigned to them, and they try to meet their parents' and school's high expectations by resigning themselves to the fact that engaging in their schools' academic work is a necessary step towards building a

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successful academic portfolio. The focus to construct themselves as accomplished students and promising professionals is not, however, the only aspect of their identity construct. They also engage in literacy and social practices that confirm them as members of a more global adolescent tribe which is also in search for fun, entertainment, socialization, and romantic love (Ito et al., 2008; Pempek et al. 2009)

At the other end of the city, participants' portfolio building is less overt and less pragmatic and ambitious than that of their middle and upper-social class counterparts. Gee (2002 p. 63) posits that:

> One's Portfolio surely correlates with one's parents' income (though by no means perfectly), but what matters is the Portfolio and the way in which it is viewed and managed. If you have no Portfolio or don't view yourself in Portfolio terms, then you are surely in the "lower class". (Gee, 2002 p.63)

However, it can be argued that it does not necessarily mean that lower-social class children do not have academic and professional aspirations or are not keen to collect skills that will help them do better academically and professionally than their parents did. Data analysis suggests that lower-social class parents and carers' attention to academic work and to giving their children a better opportunity in life was reflected in their purchase of a computer and in enrolling their children on private ICT courses. Some of the adolescent participants also shared the belief that schooling played a relevant role in their future. On the other hand, some also showed awareness of the neglect they faced in their own school, and they stated that it still had a long way to go in terms of providing them with a suitable education. Andrea and Sheila's desire to receive private education

can be evidence of their awareness of what they might be missing out in terms of education in relation to their middle-class counterparts.

On the other hand, for some of these participants their surroundings and contexts were reflected in their humble aspirations and expectations for the future. Kristiano confided his desire for following in the footsteps of his uncle, who went to business school. He believed that this would give him the necessary expertise to become a handyman like his uncle, who is probably unemployed and pursuing odd jobs to make ends meet. Also, Andrea shared her doubts in relation to which course to pursue in order to become a nanny. Talita was the participant from public schools who mostly and more pragmatically pursued an academic and professional portfolio. This was later suggested in her achievements as representing her school and later on the Estate of São Paulo in a literary project, on moving to a vocational college in order to study to become a nutritionist, and on pursuing a series of other courses such as English and ICT. Talita's home environment and upbringing were, however, close to what has been described as typical from middle-class homes (Heath, 1983).

Nonetheless, lower-social class participants were also engaged in those activities and literacies which rendered them with the identities of their global and local tribes. In a global spectrum, they were engaged with and used the resources of the new technologies to network and build and publicise their community and individual identities. More locally, they were assiduous members of religious youth groups and of brotherhoods (in Beto's case), and they pursued and built portfolios in sports (Felipe) and music (Kristiano and Vinicius). In this way, portfolios were built in relation to different interests and

through different motivations for each of these individuals, rather than being done only and specifically for academic and professional purposes (Young et al, 2002).

5.5 Summary and final considerations

In this chapter I presented and discussed data collected with adolescents about their home literacy practices. The findings discussed herein suggest that all of the adolescents in the study were engaged in literacy practices that were shaped by their social contexts and personal interests and concerns.

Adolescents were found to engage in literacy practices for socialization with family and friends, support with school literacies, agency sharing, entertainment, and access to information. Digital literacies transpired to be a great part of these practices. As a whole, adolescents were found to engage in literacies with the same or similar purposes that have been found to occupy the daily lives of adults, as reported in Barton and Hamilton's (1998) study. However, many of these practices are now carried out in online environments. Digital literacies were also found to provide adolescents with a number of multimodal affordances (Kress, 2003; Pahl and Rowsell, 2006), and in this way writing was also found to be present in connection to video and audio resources.

While social media clearly changed these adolescents' forms of communication, online they were found to emulate the same features of using popular culture in the construct and display of their identities as previous generations did (Pempek et al., 2009). It can be suggested that adolescents have found an environment in social network sites where sharing, meeting and 'hanging out' with friends (Ito et al., 2008) can take place without the constant monitoring of teachers and parents. In spite of adults' alleged concern that

these online environments are changing the way adolescents construct and relate to culture and language, social network sites offer cosmopolitan adolescents the means to keep in touch with a great number of people without being completely exposed to the dangers that allegedly blight big cities like São Paulo. Participants from lower socioeconomic backgrounds reported that they spent most of their free time at home as their parents and carers closely controlled and banned their exposure to public spaces other than their school and religious domains and shopping malls (which are usually highly secured). In this way, parents' fears and consequent restrictions may be suggested to have had an influence on the success of the Orkut social network amongst adolescents in São Paulo. This transference of domains from the physical to online spaces has also been reported about American adolescents by Ito et al. (2008) who point out that social network sites occupy now the place of 'the school, mall, home, or street' as dominant spaces for youth socialization.

Language use and awareness

On the Orkut, adolescents were found to adjust their language to the different fields afforded for different purposes of communication: interactive conversation (scraps), the sharing of personal information (About me messages), and displaying their affections (testimonials). Features of standard Portuguese were used along with vernacular language. These were also adapted in order to emulate aspects of phonology and stress (e.g. by doubling letters and abbreviating words) in order to attend to issues of interactivity and simultaneity. I argued that these dynamics were on a par with the notions of systemic linguistics, whereby field, channel and individuals' personal relationships shape lexographonological aspects (Halliday, 1978). In this way,

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adolescents have created a register which subverts the inflexibility and prescription attributed to standard Portuguese in Brazilian society as discussed in Chapter Two (Faraco, 2004).

Data analysis suggests that participants were aware of the perceptions and values attached to these language uses and the pressure to obey the norm, which is inherent to language in Brazilian society (Bagno, 2003; Faraco, 2004). Yet, while language perceptions of digital literacies affected Patricia and Fabio's language use on the Orkut, emulating their teacher's concerns towards and rejection of features of digital texts, data analysis suggests that lower-social class participants were prone to use their creativity by resorting to both their vernacular language variant and their Internet register. The subversion of the norm amongst the latter in opposition to the loyalty to it displayed by their upper-social class counterparts can also be suggested show the latter's disposition to obey social demands (Gee 2002).

Differences between and amongst social classes

Analysis of data suggests differences in the way adolescents approached the reading of books, the use they made of ICT and their construct of their engagement with school literacies. These differences reinforce the aspect of literacy practices as social practices and, therefore, as a reflection of their home and community practices, availability of resources, their schools' ethos, their teachers' expectations, and these adolescents' interests and motivations.

In this study, social class division is mostly informed by the factors of the geographical area these adolescents lived, the type of school they attended, and the resources they had

available to them. The information the schools in the study provided about socioeconomic aspects in relation to their school population was also useful as background knowledge about socioeconomic aspects. Yet, the issue of social class division is not clear-cut. This is evinced in the fact that individuals from the same school did not necessarily approach their literacy events in the same way. Also, access to commodity varied amongst lower-social class individuals, an aspect which is bound to affect access to cultural artefacts, such as computers, books and extracurricular activities and, in turn, inform the practices they engage in. (Also see Friedman, 1990 cited in Marsh, 2006 for a discussion of consumption in the construction of identity and its influences to literacy practices.)

On home support

For most of the participants in the study from public schools, home support with school literacies came in the shape of reading and discussing religious books, help with their homework, and moral support aimed to alert children to the value of schooling and their artefacts for their future lives. Parents and carers displayed awareness of the discourses of the latter by providing their children with access to commodities meant to support children's acquisition of school literacies as discussed earlier in this chapter. Nonetheless, the presence or lack of support and resources in participants' lives did not result in homogenous implications for adolescents' school literacies, as discussed in Section 4.4.1 above.

These findings dispute the literature that has in the past constructed lower-social class individuals as a homogenous group which lacks in family support, literacy practices, and

interest towards their education (examples mentioned in this study are the deficit hypothesis theory discussed in Edwards, 1979; and international agencies conceptualizations of Latin American impoverished children's home environment and needs, in Tedesco, 1990). Likewise, they also refute the conceptualizations that teachers in the study herein hold of these adolescents' home literacies as being flawed or even non-existent, as will be discussed in Chapter Six. These aspects suggest that there is a need for schools and society at large to gain awareness of the nuances and hybridity of these individuals' cultures and literacy practices with a view to the transformation of discourses of generalisation that work towards the stigmatization of a whole part of society, as has been advocated in the work of researchers following a New Literacy Studies perspective (see Hull and Schultz, 2002).

Also in this respect, findings discussed in this chapter suggest that the homes of the middle and upper-social class participants of this study were indeed rich in literacy artefacts (Heath, 1983). They were also rich in role models who were successful both academically and professionally. I suggested that all of the above shaped and reinforced adolescents as motivated portfolio builders who were able to navigate well in their pressurized academic worlds and see the meaning in school literacies. On the other hand, these adolescents' new ways of socialization, the influence of television in extending language and culture beyond social classes (Bagno, 2003), along with lower-social class adolescents' suggested awareness of vernacular and standard Portuguese in the Internet can tentatively be suggested to show more similarities than differences between language and culture towards the factors investigated herein, in these two otherwise (geographically and economically) segregated worlds than is normally purported in the

Brazilian media (Bagno, 2003). Bagno (2003) posits that it is, however, the few differences in language across social classes which are focused upon and are used as objects of stigmatization and discrimination of the lower-social classes, reinforcing the implications of linguistic capital as effective in delimitating social mobility (Bourdieu, 1991).

The following chapter aims to analyse and discuss data collected within schools on how adolescents' literacy practices are conceptualised and the role they play in informing (or not informing) the classroom curriculum and practices.

CHAPTER SIX: TEACHERS' DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF CLASSROOM PRACTICES AND ADOLESCENTS' OUTSIDE SCHOOL LITERACY PRACTICES

6.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to address the research questions:

> 2. How do teachers conceptualise adolescents' outside school literacy practices?
> 3. What informs classroom practices?

In this chapter, I present, analyse and discuss data collected in interviews with teachers. Analysis is informed by Bakhtin's (1981) notions of dialogism and Fairclough's (1992 and 2003) framework for intertextuality. The chapter concludes with a summary and final considerations section.

6.2 Intertextual analysis of teachers' discourses

Discourse analysis from a Bakhtinian perspective of dialogism sets the grounds for a discussion of issues of power struggle within schools, where teachers' discourses can shed light on 1) how government policies and school ethos are appropriated or resisted; 2) how students' home literacies are conceptualised; and 3) what comes to inform classroom work.

A note on data presentation of discourse analysis

Interview passages are displayed in extracts from interviews with the three teachers in the study. Underline and italics are used to mark the information in extracts referred to in the discussion. All the extracts discussed in this chapter are also in Appendix 13.

6.2.1 Teachers' discursive construction of the Portuguese curriculum and their classroom practices

Power struggle in contextualization: representing the voices of policies

The three teachers in this study made reference to the influence of external policies to their classroom work by explicitly attributing elements of the school curriculum and classroom practices to these voices during their interviews. Nonetheless, notions and principles for the teaching of Portuguese – which can be located in, at times contradictorily, 1) the traditional conceptualizations of the teaching of language as form, and 2) the new guidelines for the PCNs – are at times reproduced in teachers' discourse without a clear attribution to the voices (Bakhtin, 1981) they represent. In some passages, these voices are blended into the teachers' own voices, giving rise to issues of ambivalence of source and teachers' appropriation of these voices and the discourses they represent (Fairclough, 2003). This is relevant here towards a discussion of what informs classroom practices.

Ways of representation:

Indirect discourse and free indirect discourse

Indirect speech and free indirect discourse are used by the teachers in this study to mark some of the voices behind the aims of their courses. The difference between indirect discourse and free indirect discourse is that the latter does not carry the marks of reporting, such as a reporting clause and changes in tenses and diectics, as the former does (Fairclough, 1992). The relevance of a discussion of these forms of representation in this section lies in the fact that by using these forms of representation teachers explicitly

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attribute to others the decisions for their course aims. This is not to say, however, that others' voices are reproduced in their entirety or even faithfully, as one issue that arises from the use of indirect and free indirect speech is that these forms of representation are prone to raise ambivalence as the words of the original text are either faded away or blended into the voice of the reproducer (Fairclough, 1992). Discourse represented as such is arguably the interpretation of the reproducer of the reproduced text, and in Bakhtin's (1981) terms text which is made anew in the reproducers' voices.

Nonetheless, by manifestly attributing the specifications for the aims of the teaching of Portuguese to policies, teachers in the study make a clear allusion to the process of accountability imposed to them through the national curriculum, national exams, and university entrance tests (the latter only refers to private school teacher 2), and to their consequent lack of autonomy concerning curricular decisions. In other words, by attributing the voices they represent, teachers clearly demarcate the intervention of policies in the school curriculum and set the boundaries between what is prescribed to them and what is decided by them. These boundaries are further reinforced in teachers' contextualization of these voices, which highlights where they stand in relation to these policies, as discussed later in this section (Fairclough, 2003).

In extract 1 below, private school teacher 2 (referred to here as T2) represents parents' voices in free indirect discourse (underlined) to refer to what they expect for their children: to succeed in the university entrance test of one of the major universities in the country. The consequences of parents' expectations are then directly linked to teachers' planning in the choice of books students *have to* read at school.

Extract 1

Teacher 2 (T2): Yes, exactly. <u>A parent who spends R$ 13.000 a year on their child's education expects that they are at least offered a place in a public university or in a similar one</u>: GV, Mackenzie, PUC. […]. In this way you have to organise your curriculum according to this [university entrance test] system, which is not the fairest one. It's much more interesting to let the student read whatever he wants, as long as he's reading something, but no, they *have to* read Gil Vicente because their knowledge of Gil Vicente's work is assessed in the university entrance test.

[…]

In extract 2, T2 attributes to the school the choice for the format of the tests prepared by the teachers, represented in indirect discourse [underlined]. In extract 3, teacher 2 uses free indirect discourse [underlined] to purport what the ENEM (also represented as *they*) wants and hence what the school test format should entail.

Extract 2

T2: The school has requested that tests should be done following the ENEM framework.

Extract 3

T2: […] And what I mean about the ENEM is that <u>*they* want a student who reads the world. *They* don't want a student who only reads data, you know, how many inhabitants. *They* want to know what São Paulo is like, what life in São Paulo is like. *They* want a more participating student, and not a student who only memorises formulas and data and who can code these data, as we know there is the computer for this if we want it.</u>

Public school 2's teacher 3 (referred to here as T3) explicitly attributes to the SARESP the skills that are expected from her students. In extract 4, T3 uses free direct discourse [underlined] and the pronoun *they* to mark the voice of others (they[1] refers to students and they[2] refers to the SARESP's). These voices are, however, contrasted with the voice of the teachers in the school (represented as *we*) who teach spelling despite the SARESP's lack of focus on it.

Extract 4

> **Interviewer (I.)**: What's expected from their writing skills?
> **Teacher 3 (T3):** That *they*[1] can write at least coherently, in line with the *SARESP*, which is the biggest exam now in place. […] *They*[2] *[SARESP]* expect the student to write coherently, *they* don't focus on spelling so much because *they*[2] think that if the student can communicate through writing it's good enough. It's obvious that *we* work on spelling as well. And also within the structure of text: narrative or dissertative. If it's Ensino Medio, it's dissertative. It's narrative in Ensino Fundamental.

Subject pronouns

Teachers' stance regarding curriculum issues are also represented in discourse through their choice of different subject pronouns to demarcate the boundaries between what constitutes their views and beliefs in opposition to those of policymakers. In this way, while teachers' description of classroom practices and teachers' views regarding the teaching of Portuguese are initiated by the pronoun *I,* curriculum specifications are attributed to a third person (either singular *it* or plural *they*) in order to refer to university entrance tests, national policies and local government exams.

In extract 5, T3 uses the pronoun *I* to discuss work that goes into her classes. This work is contrasted with what is allegedly required from teachers (referred to as *we*[1]) by policymakers who are manifestly represented in teacher 3's discourse as the LDB. Students' alleged lack of knowledge of grammar is framed so that to support her views for the need of classroom work that focus on grammatical functions and their nomenclatures. T3 also uses the pronoun *we* to refer to her and her students. In this stance *we*[2] is framed in a way that it purports allegiance between teacher 3 and her students and substantiates her choices of classroom work.

Extract 5

T3: [...] So *I* give them a reading (aloud) test, a grammar test. According to the LDB and other policies *we¹* have to work with grammar in a different way, but students don't even know what grammar is, that's why *I* divide my classes. *I* do give them a grammar test apart from the other tests, because *they* have to know what *they*'re learning: this is grammar. Students from year 6 were given a mini grammar book, and the other day, it was so nice, *we²* were working on nouns and a student checked it in his book and said yes, what you're giving is grammar, it's here in my book. Because, you see, *they* don't have a clue, teachers don't tell them noun and predicate are grammar, and students have to be aware of what *they*'re learning, for instance syntax analysis, morphological analysis. And *I* explain it all to them, for instance in year 8 *I* say to them you're now learning compound sentences.

In public school 1' teacher 1's interviews, boundaries between voices are not so regularly and overtly represented as in T2's and T3's discourse. The voices behind the curriculum guidelines are not always manifestly attributed, and on some occasions these voices are merged into teacher 1's own voice. In different passages of her interviews, T1 (referred to here as T1) makes use of the pronoun *we* to refer to aims and specifications for the curriculum. In some passages it is not clear whom exactly *we* refers to: a group of teachers in that school, the whole teaching staff, or teachers and schools in partnership with policymakers.

Extract 6

T1: [...] *they* [students] don't see that the language on the Internet, the language used with technology in general, is one, and it's very similar to orality because *you* have to be quick, so *you* write in a way that it doesn't matter as long as the person understands there isn't only one way of writing, but academic writing is different, *we¹* demand the lingua culta, so what *we²* notice in the essays is that *they* get the orality and written language mixed up. [T1 gives examples of errors made by students]. *They* also add words: 'nos' [we] becomes 'nois', another one. Well, what *we²* notice in the tests is that *they* still write in the same way as *they* speak. [...]

In extract 6, while *we²* is more likely to refer to the teaching staff who are the ones mostly in contact with students and the ones who mark their tests, *we¹* refers to those who make the rule that *lingua culta* is a demand to academic writing. While these individuals are not directly attributed in this instance of teacher 1's discourse, by using the pronoun *we* teacher 1 aligns herself with them against the use of marks of digital technology in students' (represented as *they*) writing.

In other passages of teacher 1's interviews, the aims for the teaching of Portuguese are contextualised in a way that the pronoun *we* explicitly refers to her school, to the school as an institution and to the State of São Paulo (in extracts 7 and 8).

Extract 7

I.: So, would you say that the focus is more on making them understand the differences in text, genre?
T1: Yes, mostly here in our school, actually not only in our school, in the State of São Paulo, *we*'re struggling to make them understand that there's not only narrative and description, and *we* work on a variety of different texts, on a variety! *We* work with what comes along, many, many texts.

Extract 8

T1: *We* aim to ensure that they adjust to the context. The school today doesn't work with right or wrong, it works with what is appropriate.
I: What do you mean when you say 'the school'?
T1: The school, really.
I.: The school as an institution?
T1: The school as an institution. In the case of swearing words, for instance, if it's within a context it's acceptable, but it can't be vulgarized. The student is not supposed to swear all the time in the classroom as if it's OK. […] So, *we* work with appropriateness, *we* try to value it, *we* tell them that we speak as we do, but in other parts of Brazil they speak in a different way.

By using the pronoun *we* (as illustrated in extracts 7 and 8) T1 includes herself in these groups and institutions, an aspect which may suggest assimilation of the voices she

represents, or an attempt to substantiate her own voice (see Fairclough, 2003 and Blackledge, 2005 for issues of boundary demarcation in discourse representation).

Alternately, however, T1 uses the subject pronoun *I* in the discussion of the study of Portuguese when she more specifically describes classroom work, or talks about her role in the education of her students as in extracts 9 and 10.

Extract 9

T1: I have to resume work on two things with them. Although grammar in a way relates to writing, tomorrow *I*'ll mark this exercise with predicate nominative and predicate verbal, then *I*'ll tell them when we work with predicate nominative when I work with description and the sentences are indeed nominative. […] I remember when *I* worked with it about 2 years ago, *I* worked like this: *I* picked two paintings and asked them to describe them, one was dead nature, and then they of course only used predicate nominative, the other was a 'the man threw his son (…)' and they realised in the end that in one text they only used predicate nominative and in the other only verbal predicate. When *you* use the text it makes it easier for them.

Extract 10

T1: Yes, Beto has a literacy problem, as he's the type of student who's been pushed through the academic years, so, er, his essay was submitted blank. *I*'m not teaching these students to write, *I*'m guiding them, so if he doesn't create anything it gets hard for me to guide him.

Analysis of T1's interviews suggests that when alternating the use of the pronouns *we* and *I*, T1 seems at times to draw a line between the newly introduced theories and policies for the teaching of Portuguese (e.g. work on genre knowledge; focusing on basic skills of reading and writing – introduced by the pronoun *we* – and actual classroom work or her views for it, which are mostly related to the traditional teaching of grammatical functions and their nomenclatures – introduced by the pronoun *I*), in extract 11.

Extract 11

T1: Yes, and at the same time *I*'ll work on grammar, because *I*'m working with them on description, this one is more descriptive and *I* [general] will use more nominal phrases. And this one talks about the parents' behaviour, and *we* [general] will use predicative verbal. So, *we* try to work in a contextualised way, and this was the reason why *I* changed books, *I* used one book and changed it to another one, because then the student [I interrupt her]

I.: Because the book you used?

T.: It was this 'Artemanhas da Linguagem'. In this book, the students found the exercises too hard, and also because it doesn't work with grammatical nomenclature, but only with the use [of grammatical functions]. This works with grammatical nomenclature and the use [of grammatical functions].

In addition, in extract 11, T1's focus on classroom practice aimed at the teaching of grammatical functions and nomenclatures illustrated in her explanation for changing the coursebook given the absence of grammatical nomenclatures conflicts with her school's (represented as in we/our) aims for classroom work to focus on the *basic* functions of reading and writing given students' alleged difficulties with school literacies (in extract 12). In contrast with the use of *we* as to refer to her school's decisions, T1 uses the pronouns *I* and the general pronoun *you* to refer more specifically to her intentions for classroom work.

Extract 12

T1: *I* try to work on things as the need arises, so in year 7 last year, *I* started with punctuation, this year 7 we did it differently, they researched it and presented it to the class, also because *I* can't give the same class every year. It depends on the situation, if *I* see they didn't get it yet, then *I* recap it. It's as I've told you before, *you* have your planning, *you* think you'll do this and that in a certain order, but sometimes *you* see *you* have to change it. So, the planning is not a straight jacket, it's very flexible, and what *we*'ve been told to do here at the school is for *us* to work on students' difficulties. So, if *you* planned to give speech figures and *you* couldn't, but he [the student] can comprehend a text it's great, because *our* aim is not for the student to have a lot of content, to have a full notebook, but for him to be able to read and write, and if he achieves this *we*'ll have accomplished *our* aim.

Likewise, T1's description of her role in the education of her pupils ('*I*'m not teaching these students to write, *I*'m guiding them', in extract 10) also suggests a conflict with

what she describes as her school's expectations for teachers to work with students'
difficulties with school literacies or to focus on basic reading and writing skills.

In this way, data analysis suggests that ruptures emerge through a conflict between the
underlying nature of the theories policymakers allude to and what seems in fact to have
gone into T1's classroom practices. It suggests a great level of dialogization (Holquist,
1990), whereby T1's discourse is punctuated by different and conflicting voices about
aspects of curriculum and classroom practices. In terms of the issue of orientation to
difference that Fairclough (2003 p.41) elaborates on, these voices suggest 'a struggle over
meaning, norms, [and] power' while acknowledging difference.

In addition, from a Bakhtinian perspective to ideological assimilation, these ruptures can
be argued to signal T1's internal struggle between assimilating and negating aspects of
the new discourses of education in Brazil.

This discourse feature is also present in passages of T2's and T3's interviews above. As
discussed above, in extract 4 and 5, T3 leaves overt the rupture between what
policymakers prescribe for the teaching of Portuguese and what she actually does in her
classroom by contraposing the pronouns *I* and *they (SARESP and LDB)*. In extract 13, T2
uses the pronoun *we* to refer to what is done by the teachers in her school. This is,
however, framed in a way that shows that teachers have a format of tests to follow which
is prescribed by the school which in extracts 2 and 3 transpires to be the ENEM format.

Extract 13

  T2: Each department prepares its test. The school determines when they'll be done […]
  We, the teachers, prepare these tests as well, within all these perspectives we work on,

er, I can ask a grammatical question, give an article from a newspaper for reading comprehension. […]

However, in T2's discourse, her discontent (with the university entrance test) and allegiances (with the ENEM) are mostly illustrated with other resources for framing. This will be further discussed below.

Following from the discussion above and departing from Fairclough's (2003) notions of contextualisation, analysis of teachers' discourse suggests that a number of discursive features are used to allude to the power struggle between what teachers believe and want and what is prescribed for them by schools, parents and policymakers. These are also represented through the use of 1) the passive voice, 2) teachers' choices of vocabulary, and 3) their framing of the discussion of policies (Fairclough, 2003).

Passive voices

The use of the 'passive voice' in some passages of teachers' discourse also alludes to the prescriptive nature of policies. In extract 14 below, T3 explains that teachers have a passive stance when it comes to the choice of their coursebooks ('the books are sent to us') as these are pre-selected by the Ministry of Education and sent to teachers to choose one from a list. As an ACT (temporary) teacher, T3 has yet less decision power over the choice of books as when she takes over a class, the books will have already been chosen by the permanent teacher in the beginning of the academic year. In extract 12, T1 also uses the passive voice ('what we have been told to do in this school') to describe the work that has been requested from teachers in her school.

Extract 14

T3: […] So every other year the books are sent to us, and now I can't even change them. It's a bit complicated for the ACT teacher (temporary teacher). I don't have much option, and as I'm an ACT teacher there's the book and I have to adopt it. Yes, but I'm not following it itsy bitsy because there are things I find weak for them, so I use other materials, it's one of the materials. The new books are already arriving for next year; we'll have to choose them. But you see, there's a text like this, but you see how many questions they have to answer, 5 here and 9 here, and I find it too complicated. It's a simple book, but [incomprehensible]. I've taught them compound sentences, because I divide my classes into grammar and writing, so it's more like a recap for them. You see it's all recapping.

The choice of words framing the discussion of classroom work

T2's use of the terms 'linked' and 'stuck' in extracts 15 and 16, respectively, alludes to the influence of guidelines for university entrance tests in secondary schools in Brazil and, therefore, to her own teaching practice.

Extract 15

T2: […] The biggest problem [in education] in Brazil is the university entrance test. The secondary school (Ensino Medio) is *linked* to the university entrance test. Schoolwork is directed to the university entrance test. So the whole curriculum of schoolwork is focused on it.

Extract 16

T2: […] but unfortunately we get *stuck* in this system, which makes you, for example, recap themes, and how can we tackle some topics which have already been studied by them? That is what sometimes makes it uninteresting.

T2's views about the university entrance test and its contents and formats which dictate what goes into her classroom is expressed in her claim that 'the biggest problem [in education] in Brazil is the university entrance test.' This is further reinforced with the rhetorical question 'isn't it absurd?' in extract 17.

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Extract 17

> **T2**: Yes, there's planning, a program which is done, but the books, for instance, are based on the list of books requested by the big university entrance tests, *isn't it absurd*? The FUVEST [university entrance test] requests a list of nine books, nine compulsory books.

Likewise, T1's choice of the verb 'push' to refer to how her student Beto has been moved up to the next academic year (in '[…] he's the type of student who's been *pushed* through the academic years', extract 10) and the statement 'you're mostly *forced* to move students to the next [academic] year […]', in extract 18, whereby *you* refers to teachers express her disapproval of changes in school policies that see that students progress to the next academic year regardless their performance. This replaces the old practice of retaining 'failing' students in the same academic year. This new policy (*progressao continuada - continued progression*) has found much opposition amongst teachers in São Paulo who claim that they have lost authority (exercised through failing or pass grades) over their students and that students have lost the motivation to study (Viegas and Souza, 2006). These views are also shared by T3 who believes her students have lost their interest in classroom work because of *continued progression* along with social issues and parental involvement which are discussed later in this chapter.

Extract 18

> **T1**: In years 5, 6, and 7 you're mostly *forced* to approve students to the following year, then in year 8 *you* have to try to do recovery work so that they overcome the problems that amounted over these 3 years. […]

Extract 19

> **I.**: Why do you think it's now the case?
> **T3**: Because they're not interested.
> **I.**: Why aren't they interested?

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T3: It's maybe because of the *progressao continuada*.

In extract 20, T3 also expresses teachers' passive role regarding curriculum choices by using the modal *have to* to refer to the curriculum guidelines (PCNs) and coursebooks.

Extract 20

T3: They [the PCNs] *have to* be followed and there are also the coursebooks, and you have to follow them. […]

However, in other passages of her interview T3 comments that although she cannot change the book she is currently using, she does not use it fully, contesting the rules and allowing herself certain autonomy to plan for her own syllabus (extract 14). Also in extract 5, T3 clearly objects to the government guidelines for the teaching of Portuguese (LDB). There is the assumption here that the LDB and other policies do not recommend the traditional teaching of grammatical functions and their nomenclatures, an aspect which clashes with T3's own views for the teaching of Portuguese. Her description of classroom work and assessment strongly suggests that these guidelines are not followed in her classes. With the sentence 'but students don't even know what grammar is, that's why *I* divide my classes […]' following the first sentence about the LDB T3 presents her reasons for challenging these policies. In addition, she draws on the voices of students and of other teachers to support her views against these policies.

As suggested above, these features of discourse can be argued to reinforce the power struggle that there is between teachers, schools, policies, and parents regarding what should go in classroom practices. Issues of power struggle are not stable in terms of who gets to make the final decisions. While analysis of teachers' discourse suggests the strong

intervention of policies, it also shows evidence that teachers do not necessarily restrain their practices to these interventions.

6.2.2 Assumptions about adolescents' home literacies and their implications for achievement of school literacies

Assumptions or presuppositions have been discussed as being directly linked with agents' capacity to set common grounds about social practices. These are prone to reflect and be reflected upon social relations of power. Fairclough (2003, p. 55) explains that:

> (…) the capacity to exercise social power, domination and hegemony includes the capacity to shape to some significant degree the nature and content of this "common ground", which makes implicitness and assumptions an important issue with respect to ideology. (Fairclough, 2003 p. 55)

This is the case because assumptions do not usually leave room for contextualization, discourse reproduced as such is, therefore, authoritative and undialogical (Holquist, 1981 cited in Fairclough, 2003).

The teachers in this study make a number of assumptions concerning students' home literacy practices, parents' involvement, and language study and acquisition. In many passages of teachers' interviews, students' and their parents' voices are also drawn upon to substantiate teachers' assumptions and assertions about these agents, as will be discussed below.

The three teachers in the study cited access to the Internet, mostly the access to the social network Orkut and to the MSN, as students' main contact with reading and writing outside school. T2 also mentioned her students' access to celebrity magazines and to

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national and international contemporary books. These practices were mostly discussed under a negative guise and were assumed to hinder students' acquisition of school literacies, which in T2's views refers to the reading of classical literature [underlined], in extract 22.

Extract 21

    T2: What I see them read are these futile magazines, there's now this magazine "Capricho".

Extract 22

    T2: […] so I see the girls read this. What they're reading is this [*Capricho* magazine] and gossip magazines. These things they like reading. Ask them about any good-looking soap opera actor, and this they know about. There was a fever of "Harry Potter", "Lord of the Rings", but it's chilled out. Ask students whether they read anything on holiday, of the universe of about 100 and 120 students I've got I probably wouldn't count 10 who have read a book for pleasure. A couple of them have read "The Da Vinci Code", this type of things, but reading a classical book? I don't really agree that even if it's for them to read Paulo Coelho, er, at least they're reading something. I don't know, maybe after they've got the habit and can discern what's really literature.

The validity of digital literacies

The three teachers in the study did not construct their students' use of the new technologies as valid forms of reading and writing practices or as access to information. In extract 23 below, although consenting that students seem to be more engaged in writing than they used to, T1 makes a number of assumptions concerning reading and writing on the Internet. She shows concern over the way students write on the Internet and over how much information they can actually absorb from the type of reading available for them on the Internet, which she describes as *instant reading*.

Extract 23

T1: So, there are two things: reading and writing. As to writing, they're writing much more, without worrying with spelling, they write, God knows how, but they do. As for reading, I can't really say whether they read more, because it's a different type of reading. It's quick reading, it's as if you had a globe and span it around and that's it, it's an instant reading, but I don't know how much content they learn. We notice that when they're reading a simple text, many of them have difficulties understanding it, and sometimes it's nothing very complicated, it's something simple, sometimes it's even the obvious and I think that's down to lack of reading [practices at home].

Here T1 also relates the reading practices available on the Internet to students' skills of reading comprehension in the school. Based on assumptions concerning the type of writing and reading students engage with online, T1 suggests that there has been no transferability of skills from digital to school literacies.

In extract 24, T2 asserts that the Internet has 'distanced students from reading', whereas reading here refers to reading a book which, in extract 22, is conceptualised as the reading of literary classics (high culture) which is highly valued at schools (Marsh and Millard, 2000).

Extract 24

T2: I believe that it's distanced students from reading, from the book, from getting a book to read as they spend hours and hours [online]. We can't say they waste hours, some are indeed wasted hours [though].

In turn, students' alleged lack of reading habit is associated with lack of content in their essays, in extract 25 [underlined]:

Extract 25

T2: There are parents who say, ah, but he writes, he writes and he doesn't make so many mistakes, but he only gets a grade 5. And, I say, yes, but there's no substance, it's an empty pastry, I don't want an empty pastry. <u>But they need knowledge, and this knowledge they acquire only by reading.</u> […]

In extract 26, T3 concedes, however, that online texts are more appealing to students owing to their visuals and added that school teachers have been called upon by policymakers to work with visuals in the introduction of reading material.

Extract 26

I.: And what about reading?
T3: As well, because it's easier, there are more pictures (images) in the Internet, and a book, like Carlos D. de Andrade is different, there won't be any pictures. So much so that in the curriculum guidelines they ask us to work with texts with illustrations to influence the student, to work on pre-reading.
I.: And what do you think of that?
T3: It's interesting, because it seems they focus better. If we say, look, what's this wolf in this text, then they fantasise more. And then, there's the reading and the post-reading, which is when the teacher explains the text and makes comments on themes etc.

The three teachers in the study expressed the view that their students' use of the new technologies had a negative effect on their academic literacies. Some of the issues teachers related to the use of digital technologies were 1) students' failure to distinguish between orality and written and to reproduce *Português culto*; 2) plagiarism; 3) lack of critical judgement; and 4) false identity construction.

1. On the distinction of orality and writing and the reproduction of Português culto

In extracts 27 and 28, T1 explains that her students reproduce common features of some variants of spoken Portuguese (such as the drop of the final 'r' in infinitive verbs; the

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drop of the final 'u' in the past of the third person singular); and the use of other spelling

variations in their academic work. T1 assumes this is the case because her students do not

make a distinction between the use of language online and academic language, in extract

27.

Extract 27

T1: (…) because in the computer you don't have to worry about punctuation, accents, about spelling, so what matters is to communicate, regardless of how. I wouldn't say that it's a lack of care, but because of the speed (…). I've heard it from the students themselves when I say: 'We've revised the accents, and where are they, there are no accents here, and they say: 'Oh, teacher, come on what do we need accents for, it's a waste of time.'

Extract 28

T1: […] So, there are many texts, from years 5 to 8, where they eat up the ending of words 'falo' for 'falou' [speak], the dipthong: so 'minha mae mando [instead of 'mandou'] eu fala [instead of falar] com voce' [*my mother told me to talk to you*]. They also add words: 'nos' [we] becomes 'nois', another one, er, well, what we notice in the tests is that they still write in the same way as they speak. [...]

Likewise, T3 expresses her views that her students' use of online texts also influences

their academic writing in a negative way (extracts 29 and 30). This is exemplified in

students' abbreviation of words in their essays.

Extract 29

I.: Do you think the use of technology has influenced their reading and writing in any way?
T3: Yes, why do you think they like to abbreviate words, it's because of the Internet.
I.: Do they do that in their essays?
T3: Yes, they write *vc* instead of *voce*, p/ instead of *para* and we can't accept this type of thing.

Extract 30

T3: Well, if I have an essay like this I'll tell them I don't want abbreviations, but it's like I've told you, students are too stubborn, and sometimes they do things and you tell them and they carry on doing the same. And the technology is influencing them in a negative way, in relation to *Portuguese* as well, they have a different language [online].

T2 believed, however, that her upper-social class students were aware of these differences and did not reproduce the language used on the Internet in their academic texts. She explained this was further secured by discounts on their grades (in extract 31).

Extract 31

> **I.**: So, you said that the way they write on the Internet they don't reproduce at school.
> **T3:** No, no, for God's sake! But also, they're threatened: 'If you make this type of error I'll take that many points from your grade'.

The three teachers in the study also expressed their belief that the digital technologies generated confusion in relation to language appropriateness amongst students. The assertion that orality and written language are different and should therefore be distinguished by students is a common feature in the three teachers' discourses. In extract 32, T1 asserts that the use of the Internet has increased the need for clearer distinctions to be made between spoken and written modes. She ponders that this has been one of the focuses of work in her school (as represented by the pronoun *we*). T1 does not, however, elaborates on how this work has been carried out.

Extract 32

> **T1**: […] So one thing *we*'ve been working on is the stages of research, and the other is the issue of orality. There are students who are aware of these differences: I'm on the internet, I use this language, I'm in the school, I use another, but there are students who think it's all the same, that the most important thing is to communicate, no matter how, but it's not. So *we* have to make it clear that it's quite not like that, when you are on the Internet, it's one context, when you're at school, it's another. So, the issue of context is very important for them to be able to communicate. It's the same as if you came to classroom and only talked to them in English, you wouldn't get anything from them because very few of them know any English, for the ones who can understand, OK, but for the others…

The three terms: *Português culto, lingua culta* and *academic language* are used by T1 and T2 alternately to refer to the language variant favoured at school. These are constructed as written variants which are seen in opposition to a spoken variant which is not accepted at school.

In extract 33, T2 elaborates on the need for this distinction to be made by students, but concedes that her students are aware of it.

Extract 33

> **T2**: What I tell them is that what should be very clear for them is the difference between written and spoken language, and it is.
> **I.**: And, is it?
> **T2**: It is, although sometimes they still reproduce on the written text the marks of orality of when they talk to adults. It still happens mostly in the first years [of Ensino Medio], it has to be made very clear to them, mostly in these initial years. I always tell them: 'when you're writing an essay, forget that you have to speak'. Because, the written text has to have a characteristic to it that when you read it you think 'how beautiful, but I don't speak like that'. And, we really don't, we write like that. So, I try in many ways to pass that on to them.
> **I.**: And, they are aware of these differences?
> **T2**: They are, they are.

In the passages analysed, spoken language is generalized as a defective variant which should be kept at a distance from the more prestigious written variant (or *Português culto*). This generalization is emphasised in T3's propositional assumption that no one speaks Portuguese correctly (in extract 34). The latter refers to a view which is strongly shared by traditionalists in applied linguistics and is widely purported in the Brazilian media as it was discussed in Chapter Two. It reinforces the prescriptive approach to language in Brazilian society (Faraco, 2004; Antunes, 2004).

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Extract 34

> **T3**: Yes, there's not shadow of a doubt, when they write, they write with marks of orality. There's no doubt of that, but they have to distinguish between the spoken and written language. We speak Portuguese wrong ourselves, everybody speaks Portuguese wrong. The Portuguese language is the most difficult language in the world. So, they *can't* let orality influence the text, they *have to* differentiate it.

Furthermore, in extract 28, T1 uses instances of her students' language to illustrate her view that students fail to distinguish between academic language and spoken language and concludes that they, therefore, reproduce their spoken vernacular in their academic work. There are in these instances the propositional assumption that school achievement is related to students' ability to switch between their spoken variant and the written one.

However, while the teachers in the study infer that the variant a person speaks relates to his/her levels of schooling (T2), to different geographical regions (T1 and T2) and to different socio-cultural backgrounds (T1 and T3), these issues are ignored in the discussion for the need of students to reproduce *Português culto* or *academic language* (or to switch between this or that variant). In extract 27, T1's representation of students' voice suggests that students resist to reproducing elements of academic writing (e.g. to use accents). In extract 35, T1 asserts that although possibly aware of issues of language appropriateness, the issue of the matter is that her students do not 'give it any importance'.

Extract 35

> **I.**: So, you think they don't know what's appropriate?
> **T1**: […]: They might, but they don't use it. They don't give it any importance.

The use of *Português culto* is in this way assumed as being dependent on students' willingness to use this variant in place of their own vernacular variants rather than on

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socio-cultural issues that help to shape and determine the language students speak and reproduce (Bourdieu, 1977; Bernstein, 1996); or, yet, on the pedagogical approaches or cultural artefacts used in school to promote lower-social class students' acquisition of the official writing genre.

Likewise, in T3's remark that 'they *can't* let orality influence the text, they *have to* differentiate it', the use of the modals *can* and *have* serve the purpose of *need*, while the negation *can't* also implies *possibility* (Fairclough, 2003), that is, that students can distinguish between these variants if they wish to (extract 34).

It can be argued that by approaching the issue of the use of *Português culto* from a simplistic stance which does not take into consideration issues of culture and social classes which have been associated with language and literacy use and acquisition (Bourdieu, 1977; Bernstein, 1996; and Street, 1984), T1 and T3 strongly suggest that students are responsible for their failure in not reproducing *Português culto* in their academic work. If academic achievement is dependent on the acquisition and use of *Português culto*, it is in turn assumed that students' academic achievement is dependent on their own individual predisposition.

T1's concern with students' acquisition of 'genre-knowledge' (Kress, 2003) and the consequent use of language as a matter of its appropriateness to a context is on a par with the PCNs' guidelines. Nonetheless, the restricted use of students' vernaculars in her classroom syllabus and her views of the reasons for students' failure to reproduce *Português culto* denote little understanding of the sociocultural perspective to language that a theory of genre-based pedagogy derives from (Halliday's, 1978). In this way,

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students' vernaculars are given little or no place in the curriculum, which could otherwise be approached through 1) the linguistic analysis of these vernaculars as found in students' own oral and written texts; 2) the study of other reproductions of popular variants encountered in the written media and the arts (films, theatre, soap operas, literature, etc.), as recommended in the PCNs (2000 p. 82); and 3) through the debate of the political and social issues that render more capital value to one variant in relation to others (Bourdieu, 1991). The use of corpora (Cook, 2003) as recommended in the PCNs' guidelines could also be relevant towards the analysis of language, but only if language is interpreted in its sociocultural contexts.

2. Plagiarism

Teachers were concerned that the use of the Internet for the research of academic work - replacing visits to the library - had created a tendency amongst students of 'googling' themes on the Internet, then copying, pasting, and submitting it as academic work, a practice which teachers believed resulted in very little or no acquisition of knowledge. The three teachers argued that by handwriting their assignments, even though students were still copying content from books, they used to learn more than they do now in the technology era with the use of computers and the Internet (in extracts 36, 37 and 38).

Extract 36

> **T1: […]** in the past when you asked students to research a certain topic, they would check it in different sources, they'd at least go to the library and search it in a book, at least they'd read [about it]. Nowadays, they access Google or any other website and print it out, and bring it to you. They don't read it, and when you ask them about it they don't know anything about content because they think researching is simply entering a topic [on the Google search engine], printing and submitting it.

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In extracts 37 and 38, T2 and T3, respectively, explain that students' alleged practice of 'copying and pasting' from online texts combined with their belief that students would gain more knowledge by handwriting their academic work resulted in a ban on the use of computers for the completion of academic work. In extract 37, T2's representation of her voice and the voice of her students in direct discourse leaves overt the conflict that her rule for the use of computers causes between teacher and students [underlined].

Extract 37

T2: (…) when you ask them to research a certain topic, I usually ask them to do it by hand, otherwise they'll simply copy and paste and won't read it. I've asked them to do research on speech periods. They've done this in the past, and they'll need it because it's the basis for them to start reading poetry, antithesis, paradox, I'd like them to do it, I won't do it, but I asked for it to be done by hand, and they said: <u>'Why by hand, aren't you from the computer age?'</u> I said: <u>'No, I'm from the age of mechanical pencil, the pencil'</u>. Why? Because they copy and paste, but as they had to handwrite it at some point they had to pay attention. Some have done it already, I've checked notebook by notebook, I've also asked for examples. The greatest aim is to make them at least read, understand what they read, and to write clearly.

Extract 38

T3: So if I ask them to write an assignment on abortion, the first thing they'll ask me is if it can be typed and I'll say no. Why? Because it's not as if they'll read, interpret, and think about it. No, they'll search it on the Internet, will delete the [webpage] address and will submit it to the teacher, and this is not research, it's copying. They like copying, in every other sense. So, you can't embrace the Internet and technology. So, I have to ask them to handwrite their work, because if they at least copy it from somewhere they'll be reading and understanding some of it. I think that in this way they can write a conclusion at the end of the task to show they've learned something.

3. Lack of critical judgment

T2 and T3 asserted that their students could not differ between right or wrong amongst the great amount of information available to them on the Internet (extract 39 and extract 40 respectively). T2's framing of her discussion about the use of the Internet with the generalization 'we all know that', and T3's use of 'you know that' addressed to the

researcher were intended to validate and reinforce their views as uncontestable truth (Fairclough, 2003). In this way, there was no room left for a discussion of the potential textual affordances for learning provided online, as suggested in Marsh and Millard (2000).

Extract 39

> **T2**: (…) We all know that not everything on the Internet can be trusted and what scares me is that they [students] don't have discernment to know what's indeed good, trustworthy, [she gives examples of online texts wrongly ascribed to literary authors]. Linspector writing poetry, which she never did, Drummond writing self-help books… You have to know [her work] to know she never wrote poetry. A student once brought a poem by her!

Extract 40

> **T3**: (…) I don't even use the Orkut, I don't know, don't want to know, because I think it influences students negatively. There are so many things, sometimes the students from the other school say they'll take my picture and put it on the Orkut social network, and I say yes, because I don't even check it. Why do they say it? Because there are a lot of wrong things they do, you know that. [Her examples are that students cut the face of one person and put it in the body of someone else]: [They] take the body of one person and face of the other, you know that.

4) On online identity construct

In the same way, T2 and T3 assumed that their students used the digital technologies to tamper with other people's pictures (extract 40), tell lies, to pretend to be who they were not, and to waste their time (extract 41).

Extract 41

> **T2**: They want to be in front the computer, talking, interacting, talking really with their friends, saying silly things, lies, so much is said, and if you don't know the other speaker, you can give false age and job, there's all this fantasy […].

In this study, there is no evidence of that being the case amongst adolescent participants. In fact, adolescents were found to draw on a number of cultural artefacts to construct and portray their identities online mostly in a positive way (also see Zhao et al, 2010).

Representing students' voices

On discussing their conceptualizations of their students' vernacular and school literacies and the issues that arose from them – such as language variants, students' popular youth culture, issues of behaviour at school, and parents' involvement – the teachers in this study regularly drew on students' and parents' voices. These voices were often drawn to the discussion to support teachers' conceptualizations of these agents, as a way to 'substantiate authorial claim' (Fairclough 2003, p. 51) rather than as an attempt to faithfully report what a specific student or parent has individually said. In spite of making use of reported sentences that follow the structure of direct speech (that is 'claims to reproduce the actual words used'), and in some cases indirect speech (whereby 'a summary may reword what was actually said or written') (Fairclough, 2003 p. 40), with a few exceptions, these unattributed voices constitute a generalization of what these students typically say (or are purported to typically say (Fairclough, 2003)). In some passages, the voices of students are contextualized so as to represent the voices of every student or every adolescent in current times. In others, they are narrowed down through contextualization as the voices of certain groups of students, that is:

- students in a certain class (e.g. T1, extract 47; T2, extract 49)

- students with family problems (e.g. T1, extract 58; T3, extract 53)

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- students who use digital technologies (T1, extract 27; T2, extract 37; T3, extract 38)

- students who study in public schools (e.g. T1, extract 45)

- students whose parents have very little schooling (e.g. T1, extract 51)

In some passages, these voices are also dealt with hypothetically – 'what they might have said rather than what they said' (Fairclough, 2003 p. 43), which reinforces the idea of generalization and the issue of ambivalence of these representations.

In the excerpts discussed below, teachers' representation and contextualization of students' voices help to construct teachers' conceptualizations of their students' home culture and language and their attitudes towards schooling. These conceptualizations may in turn suggest the role these agents' voices are ascribed to in teachers' choices of classroom practices.

Struggle through representation

Teachers' representations of students' voices suggest that there is a conflict between what the former conceptualise as appropriate forms of literacy and language use and how the latter are purported to conceptualise these issues.

Students' voices are contextualised by the teachers in a way that 1) illustrates the conflicts between teachers and students' views; 2) reinforces teachers' views and assumptions about their students' literacy practices and attitudes towards schooling, life and culture; and 3) substantiates the teachers' conceptualizations of the teaching of literacy (Fairclough, 2003). Examples are provided in the discussion below.

Conflicting voices over language and technologies

In the excerpts discussed below, teachers' contextualization of students' voices conveys these agents' confrontation over technology and language use. In some passages of the three teachers' interviews the voices of students are preceded and followed by teachers' objectification of students' voices, leaving these tensions overt.

In extract 37, the encounter of T2's voices and the voices of her students, both represented in direct speech, illustrates the tension between T2 and her students over the use of computers for the completion of school assignments. Students' voices are depicted to challenge T2 on the issue of the use of technologies and its relationship with contemporaneity. T2's response (in the representation of her own voice) is to refute their challenge, admitting to her old-fashionedness and closing the matter by imposing a ban on the use of computers for the completion of school assignments for the Portuguese subject. In extract 38, T3 reports a similar dynamic of teacher-student opposing voices. As in T2's instance above, T3 also bans the use of computers for the completion of school assignments.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, T1's voices are refuted by students on the issue of the use of accents in written Portuguese (extract 27). T1 associates it with students' use of digital technologies and with students' lack of concern towards issues of language appropriateness (extract 35).

Reinforcing teachers' views of students' attitudes towards schooling

In their interviews, teachers drew on students' voices when discussing these students' attitudes towards schooling. Teachers' conceptualizations of this issue are also discussed later in this chapter in relation to teachers' representation of parents' voices.

In extract 42, T1 extends the discussion of Beto's attitudes towards schooling to a generalization of what students in that school expect for their future [underlined]. She asserts that they would rather be criminals than teachers. This assertion is on a par with T1's assertions that, first, students 'couldn't care less' about academic work (extract 43, underlined), and that, second, they 'don't value knowledge' (extract 44). Although not immediately preceding or following each other as framing, these assertions work in conjunction in the construction of T1's conceptualizations of her students' working ambitions and the value they ascribe to school knowledge.

Extract 42

> **T1**: He [Beto] has behavioural problems, and it comes from the fact that he has problems at home [*she tells me about his home problems*]. This doesn't justify it, but it explains a lot, because I might say my father is in prison, but I can choose to do things better, but we've noticed that our students have their moral values mixed up. For them the worst thing would be for them to become a teacher, what is cool is to be a criminal or a criminal's girlfriend, it's a matter of status. […]

Extract 43

> **T1**: The evening students have more problems to write than the day ones. Year 2 [*Ensino Medio*] students write as students in year 5 [*Ensino Fundamental* – Primary School]. […] My curiosity is the following: I work in state schools as a moral principle, on my prom day from university I made the decision to work in a public school. But lately, I've felt that no matter what you do, how much effort you put into it, they don't care, students couldn't care less. I get to the classroom and they ask me if it won't be a class following [a course] book. It's very easy to follow the [course] book. I don't have to do much, and the lesson is done.

Extract 44

> **T1**: It's weird, because you realise they don't value knowledge, they value things. So, for instance, if you ask them to buy a book or for some money for photocopying, they don't have the money, but on the other hand, they've got nice mobile phones and clothes that I can't afford myself. It's not a matter of social class, but of what they value. You can see that the girls wear nice clothes.

In T1's statement 'I used to say to students of *Ensino Medio* that it wasn't because they were in a state school that they wouldn't want to [have a career]', in extract 45, there is a negation which implies that elsewhere there is the propositional assumption (Fairclough, 2003) that being in a state school is a dead end which curbs students' ambitions or dreams to pursue a career or a Higher Education degree. In spite of being framed by T1's indirect reporting of her voice and the direct reporting of students' voices – where the former objectifies the latter – as it is common in relation to assumptions, there is no attribution of voice to it. It is not clear whether these are the views of students, teachers, or perhaps a common knowledge which is shared in society (Fairclough, 2003).

Extract 45

> **T1:** […] I think most of them will wash cars, or be porters. They don't have a dream of having a profession, studying, getting a degree. I used to say to students of *Ensino Medio* that it wasn't because they were in a state school that they wouldn't want to [have a career]. For many [of them] finishing the secondary school is enough. They don't have perspectives for the future. They think 'I'll finish the secondary school because I have to'.

T3 also associates the importance students place on schooling with their attitude towards it and their ambitions for the future. T3 draws on students', parents', and other teachers' voices to frame the propositional assumption that students do not prioritise schoolwork any longer because they believe they can succeed as footballers or celebrities instead (extract 46).

Extract 46

> **T3**: […] they're not interested any longer, there's also technology, the television, in the words of another teacher, they see, for instance, a footballer doing well and they say: why should I study, I can become a footballer and make millions playing. But, it's actually not quite like that, not everybody can be a footballer. **[…]** And the parents also think like that, I know because I have cases like that in my own family. [T4's colleague: another argument that I hear very often is if our president didn't study, why should I?']. Yes, these are things they see on TV, and all of these influence them.

T1 and T3 also share the view that students in their schools are prone to see schoolwork as a matter of copying content from the board (extract 47 and 48). T1 also asserts that for her students a lesson is a matter of faithfully following a coursebook. The use of the blackboard and coursebooks as resources solely used to prompt students' reading and copying activities are referred and opposed to in the literature of education and in the new guidelines for the national curriculum as elements of a traditional teaching approach which are still present in Brazilian schools (PCNs, 2000; Colello, 2007). Interestingly, T1 and T3 ascribe to their students the preference for these practices, an argument which is used by them to justify the lack of more innovative classroom practices and resources.

Extract 47

> **Teacher M** [T1's colleague]: it's also for thinking that only coming to school and copying would be enough, as if they could learn by osmosis, by only copying. **T1**: Yes. One comment made by one of our temporary teachers, she went to cover for the History teacher, and she gave them an activity that would make them think, and what did they say to her?: Teacher, write it on the board, and we will copy it', so they think that a lesson is
> **391**: M: that old traditional scheme…
> **392**: T1: Yes, of you writing on the board and them copying it.

Extract 48

> **T3**: This coursebook is a bit too childish. Look at how many questions for one text, 22? Don't you think the student won't get tired? They don't do it, you waste 2 classes for them to read the text and write. I grade them on reading as well. They just hang out and

wait for you to write the answers on the board. It's way gone the time when you asked students to do something and they actually did it.

In extract 49, T2's representation of her students' voices as 'I don't understand what you want' is immediately contextualised by her views that the students in the lesson previously observed by me did not want to have the trouble of thinking and would rather ask her questions. In other passages of T2's interviews, students are portrayed to have little inclination for studying (mostly conceptualised by T2 as reading literary classics). T2 asserts that her students only start studying when they are pressurised by their parents to pass the university entrance test, as it will be discussed later in this chapter.

Extract 49

T2: Mine, the school's [aim], is to focus on essay writing. I don't know if you realised today [in class] the difficulty they have in keeping quiet to read: 'I don't understand what you want'. They don't want to think, they want me to explain it to them, so I read [it to them].

Parental involvement and parents' background affecting students' acquisition of school literacies

Teachers' representation of parents' voices and the assumptions made about them also help to construct teachers' conceptualizations of 1) students' literacy practices inside and outside school, 2) issues of language, and 3) students' behaviour at school.

In extract 50 and 51, T1 asserts that students do not have a reading or writing habit.

Extract 50

T1: But you see they don't have the habit of writing, they write here at school because they are made to. They see writing as an obligation, as something tedious. They don't have the habit of writing.

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In extract 51 below, T1 relates this to two factors. Firstly, there is the assumption that students are not encouraged from an early age, and, secondly, that parents have a very low level of schooling.

Extract 51

I.: I see, but you said they don't have a reading habit, you also said that some like reading and writing but that the majority don't, what are the reasons for that?
T1: Lack of habit, and lack of encouragement at home. There are two things: they're not encouraged to read from an early age, there's also the issue of their parents' schooling, not all of them can read, not every parent can check their notebook and follow up their lessons. I'd say that the great majority can't.
I.: Here, in this school?
T1: In this school, what we see judging by the involvement of the parents is that many of them did not conclude year 4 (primary school), there are parents who are lawyers, etc. but there's a majority who didn't finish year 4, so you call them here and they can hardly write their own names
I.: I see.
T1: So, you can't expect much from the student because he's not encouraged at home. […]

The existential assumption that these are the factors related to students' lack of reading and writing habit closes the possibilities for other factors that may contribute to their alleged lack of reading print and restricts it to their parents' failure to support their children with literacy practices. The fatalist cycle of parents-students' failure with literacy is reinforced by T1's assertion that 'you can't expect much from these students'. T1's views of parental involvement in her school are also discussed in extract 52. Here, parents are assumed to be underestimating their roles as parents and to be relying solely on teachers for the education of their children.

Extract 52

T1: Despite it all, I'm not a pessimist. I still think there's some sort of positive future, but the parents have to be present in the school, not to demand from the teacher, but to work with us, because I think it's very hard to educate a child in this way. It's easy to

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put them in a full-time school and expect the teachers to do it all, and when they get home you just feed them, bathe them and put them to sleep. What's their role as parents? Educating does not take place at school. It should take place much more at home than at the school, and I think parents put their children in a full-time school to get rid of the problem.

In extract 53, T3 also shares the view that students' difficulties with school literacies are related to factors external to school life, such as their social and family lives.

Extract 53

I.: What's the source of these [literacy] difficulties?
T3: There are many reasons, the social, you see that these students have a difficult life, there's also their family situation. There are a number of factors involved.

At the other end of the socio-economic continuum, T2 also makes the assumption that students' lack of reading habit is their parents' responsibility (in extract 54). She asserts that it is a myth that the upper-social classes store or read books at home and laments the fact that her students are not given books as presents any longer (in extract 55).

Extract 54

T2: It's lack of habit, there's no habit any longer. It's rare for a student to get a book as a present.

Extract 55

T2: It's really a myth. Yesterday, for example, an old colleague, a History teacher called me and asked whether I didn't have 'Sargento de Milicias', he doesn't have it. This is a classic. It was asked at school. Everybody should have this book, so it's really a myth.

In contrast, parents are also reported to contribute towards keeping students focused on school literacies. In extract 56, T2 observes that parents' pressure results in students getting focused on studying for the university entrance test.

Extract 56

T2: When they approach year 3, in year 1 they play and in year 2 they don't put much effort on it [studying], but when they get to year 3 their parents start to push them, because sometimes they're pushed by their parents because of the university entrance test. Then, they realise that they'll be asked for results and they start worrying about the writing element of it [the university entrance test].

In the same way, T1 associates the success of two of her mainstream students (Talita and one of her peers) at school with their parents' involvement (extract 57).

Extract 57

T1: He's got some difficulties, but asks questions, also to T. His father is very strict and present, he even takes him to school. He stands out from the others in his class, because the others don't do much and he does. I think it's because of his father's involvement, he comes to school and asks questions. It's the same with Talita, her mother's very strict and present. T.'s a perfectionist, her things are all nice (well done)

Expectations and behaviour

T1 associates family problems with behavioural problems at school. Behavioural problems are in turn linked with students' performance at school and with students' supposedly lack of engagement with literacy practices outside school.

In extract 58, T1 makes the presupposition that students who come from a problematic family in addition to being prone to having a challenging behaviour at school are also not expected to engage in reading practices inside or outside school. T1's expectations in relation to Kristiano are illustrated in her choices of modal verbs to refer to 1) who he is likely or unlikely to be ('he can't be [a Buddhist]'), 2) the inference that he must be new to the religion, and 3) that teachers cannot expect much from students with behavioural problems like him. The latter also carries an existential assumption (Fairclough, 2003)

that there is a type of student whose domestic and behavioural problems exclude them from the group of students who are expected to be able to achieve academically. The verb 'catch' in the sentence 'I was surprised to catch him reading' also reinforces in framing T1's expectations towards Kristiano, or students like him. There is the surprise that Kristiano was doing something which is presumably expected or reserved for those who do not have problems at home, behavioural problems, and who are, presumably, at ease with school literacies.

Extract 58

> **T1**: […] Kristiano follows the same religion as I do, when I saw him with the [Buddhism] magazine, I asked him what he was doing with it, he said he was [a Buddhist], and I said, 'no, you can't be!' I mean, he can, but I told him, 'we learn one thing and you do everything that goes against it', and he said, 'no teacher, I am', but he must be new to the religion and we can't expect much from him. I was surprised. […] As I told you about his life, I was surprised, because you'd never image that students with behavioural problems would have a reading habit. And also, because in the classroom he doesn't usually submit his work, he kills time mostly, so it's hard to see him through. I said I was surprised to catch him reading.

Private school teacher 2 also associates home environments with inappropriate or undesirable student behaviour at school. In extract 59 below, T2's representation of parents' voices reinforces her belief that students' abundance of technological resources at home and parents' alleged lenience in relation to their use are responsible for students' lack of concentration at school. These are in turn used to back up T2's views that students should not be taken to the ICT room during school hours.

Extract 59

> **T2**: I've had mothers who came and asked me 'Teacher, does D. fall asleep in your class?' And I feel like asking: 'How do you know?' But I wouldn't say that and she says: 'It's my fault because he spends long hours in front of the computer and I go to sleep and he stays up in front of the computer in his bedroom', because they've got

everything in their rooms. And do I need to take this individual to use the computer? Do I need to take them to have fun with the machine? No, he's here to learn. And another student was sitting, er, and I said please sit properly. And he said it's uncomfortable, and I said yes, it's meant to be uncomfortable for you to pay attention to what I'm saying, you should be comfortable when you travel, when you're sleeping at home, not here. Have you ever achieved anything you did by having fun? […] and now should I take you to the front of the computer to have fun? No, and then they [parents] want the boy to be approved in the FUVEST? A colleague of mine went to give a private class in a Japanese family home, in a huge flat, it was absolute silence in the flat, at a certain moment the mother walked into the room to leave some drinks and he hardly noticed her. It's the discipline of the Japanese, it's been proven that the Japanese are not the most intelligent but the best disciplined.

A note on teachers' views of parental involvement

Data analysis of adolescents' literacy practices at home discussed in Chapter Five suggests that parents got involved with their children's education in a number of different ways. It is not clear in the data collected with teachers what they conceptualise as parental involvement. Carvalho (2004) posits that schoolteachers' expectations of parental involvement in Brazil are mostly based on middle-class cultural models of children-parent interactions and school involvement. When related to the education of lower-social class children, these home-school relations take the ethos of imposition of middle-class models of literacy and culture onto these children's families. These dynamics generate a mismatch between what lower-social class parents do and can do to support their children and what schools expect them to do. In turn, they result in the negative conceptualizations teachers hold of these parents and in the low expectations they have towards lower-social class children.

The voices of yesteryear's students

In some passages of their interviews, the three teachers in the study used time markers such as 'lately', 'any more', 'no longer' and 'nowadays' to draw a comparison between

their students' literacy practices or attitudes towards schooling and the practices of those students who have supposedly occupied school benches in the past. This is the case in extract 43, where T1 comments that *lately* students 'couldn't care less [about schooling]'. In this negation lies also the assumption that in the past students used to be interested in school literacies (Fairclough, 2003). In T3's opinion (extract 60), students' presupposed past interest in schoolwork or their prioritization of schoolwork ceased to be with the introduction of the legislation of 'continued progression', as students now know they will not be kept in the same academic year regardless of their performance. T3 believes students no longer care for schoolwork. Also presupposed is T2's students' old interest in reading books which has been replaced by an interest in digital technologies and the cult of celebrities. In extract 55, there is also the negation that her students are no longer given books as presents which implies the propositional assumption that it used to be a common practice in the past. Likewise, as it has been discussed above, T1 believes that the use of the digital technologies for the completion of schoolwork has resulted in students no longer visiting a library to search for information to carry out their school assignments. This in turn has the consequence that they copy and paste information from websites and do not learn anything, whereas in the past they would 'at least handwrite it and learn something […]' (extract 36).

Extract 60

> **T3**: You see, studying is not their priority anymore, and it doesn't only happen in the Portuguese classes but in all of them. The student isn't interested any longer. He knows he'll come to school and will pass at the end of the year. In year 8, we tell them, we say they can be held back in year 8, but they're so used to not being held that they don't care. Also, they know more about the policies than us. The policies are all in their heads. They know, for example, that it's not possible to retain a whole class, you can retain only a few [students at once].

Marsh and Millard (2000) posit that

It has ever been the case that each older generation feels the culture of younger people to be less demanding in content and to mark a diminution of expertise, or complexity in presentation (Marsh and Millard, 2000 p. 3).

Drawing on a number of examples of popular culture over the decades, Marsh and Millard (2000 p. 3) conclude that '[these] prejudices are often unfounded'. Data analysis in the study herein also suggests that there are more affordances to adolescents' popular culture than their teachers suggest. In Chapter Eight, I suggest how these literacies and cultures can be brought into the school curriculum.

6.3 Summary and final considerations

In this chapter, I analysed teachers' discourses using Bakhtin's (1986) notions of dialogism and Fairclough's (2003) framework for intertextuality as a framework.

In the first instance, analysis of teachers' discourse indicated that a number of issues inform teachers' discursive construction of the curriculum. Policymakers' guidelines for the national curriculum, schools' ethos, and parents' expectations were either directly reported by teachers or inferred in their discourse as playing a decisive role in the school curriculum. In the light of analysis of the features of discourse representation and contextualisation (Fairclough, 2003), it transpired that there were ruptures between these agents' views and impositions and what teachers believed as being relevant for their students' educational development. The analysis indicated that teachers used different personal pronouns to refer to what had been imposed on them and what constituted their

own beliefs for the teaching of Portuguese and actual classroom work. Analysis and discussion of these features indicated that while the voices of policies were mostly overtly negated by teachers, the issue of appropriation of one's voices was a complex one, as aspects of the new policies for the teaching of language were at times purported in teachers' discourses as being assimilated and at other times they were purported as being negated (Bakhtin, 1986; Fairclough, 2003). These aspects related mostly to policymakers' recommendations for the school curriculum and classroom practices to be informed by genre knowledge theory and the consequent distancing from the traditional teaching of language and its focus on syntax analysis (Halliday, 1978; PCNs, 2000; Kress, 2003; and Antunes, 2004).

In the same way, discourse analysis also indicated that teachers made a number of presuppositions about issues of acquisition of academic Portuguese (which they also referred to as *Português culto*). These presuppositions suggested that teachers adhered to the traditional views towards the teaching and acquisition of literacy and language from the perspectives of a fixed dichotomy between writing and speech (Street, 1984; Kleiman, 1995) and the study of language from the perspective of language as form (Halliday, 1978; Antunes, 2004). Presuppositions and assumptions leave very little room for contextualisation, as they are seen to be the absolute truth (Fairclough, 2003). As a result, teachers' discourses on these matters reflected a power struggle between the policies and teachers' own beliefs and a clash of contradictory views between new and past beliefs for the teaching of language in Brazil. From a Bakhtinian perspective on issues of discourse assimilation, it can be argued that the latter constituted teachers' authoritative discourses (their ideologies of how to teach the standard language), while

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the new discourses of literacy and language were the persuasive voices which were acknowledged in teachers' discourses, but resisted and, therefore, not entirely assimilated (Bakhtin, 1981 and 1986).

Furthermore, discourse analysis also indicated that teachers represented students' voices in a way that left overt the conflicts perceived by teachers to exist between them and their pupils concerning the issues of the use of the digital technologies, the reproduction of *Português culto* and of school literacies. Students' voices were mostly represented as generalisations (Fairclough, 2003) and helped teachers to substantiate their own views of the negative aspects of the digital technologies, students' lack of interest in reproducing *Português culto* or attending to academic work. Data analysis indicated that students' use of *Português culto* was simplified as a matter of these students' own preference or inclination to use this variant for academic work instead of their spoken vernacular. In this way, I have argued that teachers and policymakers approach the discussion of dominant language variant reproduction in a simplistic matter which does not address socio-cultural implications, as discussed in Bourdieu (1977) and Bernstein (1996) in relation to individuals' dispositions towards the reproduction of social codes. In turn, the prescriptive teaching of language as function is emphasised as a necessary practice, as substantiated in teachers' discourse through the use of students' voices.

Likewise, it has been discussed how teachers' representation of parents' voices and the assumptions drawn about them help to construct teachers' conceptualizations of 1) students' literacy practices inside and outside school, 2) issues of language, 3) students' behaviour at school, and 4) their perspective for the future. These presuppositions and generalisations substantiate teachers' views that students' family environment, lack of

encouragement and reading habits at home, and little faith in education for social mobility set the grounds for their students' lack of interest in academic work, thereby hindering their academic achievement. I also argued that these generalisations are on a par with views of non-mainstream groups' homes and home interactions as *deficit* (Edwards, 1979; Tedesco, 1990). In addition, they result in teachers' fatalist views that there is not much schools can do for these students. In contrast, some mainstream parents were also seen to make a positive difference in encouraging students to take academic work more seriously.

Teachers' discourse of existential assumptions and presuppositions about parental involvement and children's own interests and motivations towards literacy along with teachers' views of how language and literacy are conceptualised and acquired left no room for the discussion of other factors that should be addressed concerning students' attitudes towards literacy and performances at school (Fairclough, 2003). At a micro level, these refer to factors which are internal to the school and close to teachers' own pedagogical practices, and their failure to accept the real students that they have in their classes, in opposition to an idealised view of middle-social class students (Marcondes, 1999) and constructively work upon their linguistic and cultural assets (Heath, 1983; Marsh and Millard, 2000) which in this study can be suggested as students' vernacular languages and literacies and their newly found interest in digital literacies. At a macro level, there is the need for policymakers, schools, and teachers to acknowledge the political and sociocultural factors that contribute to students' and their families' culture and language variant to be marginalised by the wider society and to turn the current debate into praxis (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1993; Giroux, 1999).

Without these, the discourses of literacy and language in Brazil will carry on being grounded on the authoritative voices of old discourses which have been founded on fixed notions of a dichotomy between orality and written; misconceptualizations of lower-social class individuals' culture and literacy practices, and misconceptualizations or lack of knowledge of the new youth cultures affordances.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CLASSROOM OBSERVATION

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I present and discuss data from classroom observation fieldnotes and recordings. The aim of data analysis and discussion here is to address the research question of what informs classroom practices. I am also interested in investigating how students respond to these classroom practices.

The data discussed in this chapter were chosen for being the reflection of the patterns most regularly observed in each teacher's classes during this study. This chapter concludes with a discussion of the connections observed between classroom practices, teachers' discursive construction of adolescents' outside school literacy practices and the national curriculum guidelines for the teaching of Portuguese.

Notes on lesson transcription: T1, T2 and T3 refer to teacher 1, teacher 2 and teacher 3 respectively. Students are referred to as S followed by a number related to the chronological order of their input in the lesson. SS refers to students as a whole class. Square brackets [ ] refer to the researcher's comments, originated from field notes, about the data transcribed.

7.2 Public school 1, teacher 1

Table 5: Public school 1 classroom observation

School	Teacher	Students	Number of classes observed
Public school 1	Teacher 1 (T1)	Kristiano, Beto, Andrea, Talita and Sheila	8 classes of 50 minutes each

I observed eight classes taught by Teacher 1 to two different groups of the same academic year of *Ensino Fundamental*. These sessions took place over two weeks. The academic syllabus and teaching approach observed in both groups were very similar. The data analysis discussed below refers to the content and pedagogical approaches observed with these two groups. The lesson transcription below refers to a passage of a single lesson.

What

The lessons observed were focused on the elements that compose a narrative. This was an ongoing theme which was introduced with the guidelines for the school's essay correction. These guidelines were based on the SARESP guidelines for assessment. It also transpired in later interviews with teacher 1 that although these themes were indeed part of her syllabus for that school year, she intentionally focused on the work with essay writing on the days of my visit to the school as she understood my research was about reading and writing.

The resources used were chalk, a blackboard, and on an occasion students' coursebooks.

The lesson transcribed below focuses on a reading activity from the students' coursebook, which students had been assigned to carry out in class and which covered the theme of 'conflict' in a narrative.

Lesson transcription 1:

[T1 writes on the board. She tells students off for making too much noise and tells them they have 10 minutes to copy passages of a text and the questions related to them]

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T1: Your five minutes have expired. Start copying now!

[Students only start copying when T1 starts her explanations.]

S1: Teacher, I've finished the exercises and corrected them, all done!

[T1 turns away from the blackboard where she's been writing the text down]

T1: So, people, the correction ...

[different groups of students talk simultaneously about different things]

[a student whistles]

[T1 goes on in a very loud voice]:

T1: If the bedroom is empty it means that the children... [giving students the turn to complete her sentence]

S1: Their time goes by faster than the grown-ups

T1: No, no, it means that the children are out. Do they get worried about their children being out?

S2: [they worry] about the [late] hours

S3: About their arrival

T1: [they worry about] what time they'll return home. So we can start with the text, er, you can start copying from here [reads the text on the board]

[SS talk at the same type, some shout]

T1: You two there

S1: You two there? [he was one of the two]

T1: You'd better stop with this chalk war. [turning to the others] So, [copy] up to: 'As a birthday party would be...'

S4: [to another student]: I want trainers like yours, how much [were they]?

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T1: So, we can use reticences to show that a text proceeds, we don't need to copy it all.

S5: [shouts]: Hey bro!

T1: Girls from the back, please! So, the clock is a foreign body, the question is whether you agree with it. Who agrees with it?

S1: No

S2: I do

T1: Has anyone answered no?

S1: I did.

T1: You have to chose 'yes' or 'no'. Adolescents have [their own] biological clock, they're tired in the morning but can spend the whole night out without getting tired

[SS talk all at the same time]

S1: It's true teacher (turns from talking to his peer)

T1: [gets very loud to be heard amongst students' increasing noise] Oh, again, in your opinion, should parents give their children the home keys, yes or no?

S2. Yes

S3. No

S6: Teacher, she did it differently.

T1: Wait, calm down, who said yes? The majority [said] no? This exercise was for you to find an argument either in favour or against. What's the argument in favour? Three, three [talks to a few students who pay attention]. Ah OK then. [It is not possible to hear her due to the noise students are making].

S4. In favour, parents wouldn't have to get up during the night.

[T1 writes it on the board]

How

T1's presentation of themes and setting up of tasks were mostly teacher-fronted, and on some occasions followed an IRF (initiative, response, feedback) approach (see Rampton, 2006). On these occasions, as observed in the session transcribed, T1 directed her attention to a group of a few students who she felt were more likely to be following the lesson. There was no evidence of students' pairing up or group work in the classes observed.

In the session transcribed, T1 attempts to get the exercises corrected by asking for students' feedback. As she proceeds, she raises her voice in a struggle to get heard amongst the mayhem caused by most of the students. She addresses a few students sitting at the left corner of the ample classroom, mostly ignoring the voices of those who do not offer the expected answer. This is illustrated by the interaction between S1 and the teacher, whereby S1's answer, which most likely refers to the question of adolescents' biological clocks as being different from that of adults, is quickly dismissed by T1. In this way, the lesson goes on as a rushed business of teachers' questions and students' answers, with no feedback or attention offered to those who venture the 'wrong' answer.

T1's attention to the small group of students who are providing her with the expected answers is only diverted at times when the disruption caused by the rest of the class is too intense, rendering her efforts to be heard by some and to carry on with her planned lesson daunting.

On students' behaviour during the lesson

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A striking element of T1's classes was the mayhem and noise caused by a number of students, who either refused to take part in the lesson or were refused participation as in the case of S1. This is illustrated in the fieldnotes of classroom observation below:

Fieldnote 1: T1 writes some questions on the board in order to carry on with the discussion about the text from their coursebook, which they had read in the previous lesson. She allows students time to answer the questions. A few do their work, while most of the others chat in small groups. Students around me chat, and one borrows my audio recorder to record a rap he composed.

Fieldnote 2: Half of the class chats, a quarter pays attention to the lesson, and the other quarter is alienated (prostrated on their desks). Students next to me (at the front of the room) talk non-stop, as if oblivious of the teacher's presence.

Fieldnote 3: Only a corner (half or less) of the class seems to be following the lesson, the other half chats. The T. stands in front of these students in one corner and ignores the others.

Fieldnote 4: Some students talk, others stare into space, and others copy the lesson from the board

Fieldnote 5: A student is badly bullied by 3 students (punched by one who asks for his money back). He ends up crying prostrated on his desk. T1 carries on writing on the board with her back to them.

Fieldnote 6: A student reads the Bible during T1's explanations.

As it transpires in the transcription and fieldnotes above, in T1's class there are different small groups of students, each of them going about different business. Firstly, there is a small group who is engaged with T1's IRF approach, listening to the teacher and offering her their responses. These students are engaged with the official world of the classroom, distributed in two or three small groups who at that particular moment share the same aim. Nonetheless, they struggle to follow the lesson and make out what T1 says amongst the noise produced by their peers, which makes T1 raise her voice so as to be heard. Secondly, there are those who engage in parallel conversations which bear no apparent connection to the official discourse of the classroom (Blackledge and Creese, 2010). They chat excitedly with each other, as if oblivious of their teacher's presence. These students make it clear that they are fully engaged in their own forged worlds populated by adolescents' interests (trainers, in this instance) as opposed to the academic world forged by the teacher. They are determined to remain in it, and in this way they undermine the teacher's authority and the value of the academic discourses and practices that go on around them at that moment. They are neither encouraged by the teacher to change their behaviour and join in the lesson. Their resistance to join in with the official classroom interactions is shared by those who listen to their MP3s or simply lie prostrated on their desks for the entire course of the lesson. The latter join in with quiet resistance, armed only with their body language to show their apathy.

Resistance to join in with the official classroom interactions is also overtly displayed by those who initiate a chalk war at the centre of the classroom. While undermining their teachers' authority they mock the whole business of the classroom etiquette and make an effort to disrupt any attempt from the teacher and their few peers to maintain it (Bakhtin,

1994). They make no effort to control their physical impetus, they throw chalk at each other, stand up and wander about the classroom, at times opening the door and leaving to the corridors.

Some students are not, however, consistent with their behaviour throughout the lesson. There are those who fluctuate between engaging in the official world of the classroom and going about with their own parallel businesses. This is observed in the case of S1 in the transcript above. After having his attempt to take part in the lesson negated by T1, S1 is then caught in between T1's voices and the voices of his peers (Bakhtin, 1986) and is divided between chatting to his peers about trainers, engaging in chalk wars, but at the same time he is still tuned in to T1's voice. His answers after his first seemingly authentic attempt to get involved in the lesson change to mockery (Bakhtin, 1994; Blackledge and Creese, 2010). If he cannot be included in the official world and discourse of the lesson for perhaps not responding to it as exactly as it is expected from him, he will therefore disrupt it. It is hard to make out whether S1's responses to the teacher other than the first one, which seems a genuine attempt of participation, are all mockery or are intended to draw her attention to his intention of being a participant of the official classroom interactions. His repetition of T1's question as in 'you two there?' indicates his resentment for being included in the disruptive group of the classroom. It is a parody of T1's voice that seems to indicate his frustration (Bakhtin, 1994). S1's voice is double voiced: as the voice which attempts to participate and the voice which subverts the official world of the lesson (Blackledge and Creese, 2010).

There are also some displays of the students bringing their youth popular culture to the classroom, here represented in the rap that a student 'sings' and in the voice that shouts 'hey bro'.

In this way, T1's classroom is the stage to many voices that with different intentions superimpose on one another, as in Bakhtin's references to the market place (Bakhtin, 1994). Together, seen from a whole-class perspective, they represent a very particular dynamic with very little resemblance to the traditional teacher-student interactions depicted in other studies (Rampton, 2006). T1's attempt towards some form of IRF approach is weakened by her failure to offer her students more attentive feedback or evaluation of their answers. She rushes through the questions as if in an attempt to get it over with as soon as she possibly can. Students with little grasp of traditional teacher-student interactions are left drifting away from the 'official' classroom world and are tempted to join in the unofficial one.

Teacher 1 and her students' voices instead resemble the cries of the marketplace in Bakhtin's (1994) analysis of Rabelais's work, in the sense that they are participants of the chaotic world of the classroom. In this way, T1's attempt at a traditional teacher-centred approach and teacher-student interactions, as in the case of the IRF approach, are subverted by the cries of those who strongly resist these dynamics (Bakhtin, 1994; Rampton, 2006). In doing so, while going about their own businesses and creating their own carnival they create a world which rather than running in parallel to the official world of the classroom subverts it to the point of turning it into a mockery of itself. The speech genre of T1's classes becomes one of chaos and exaggerated struggle: first, the struggle to be heard, second, the struggle to fit in either the official or unofficial

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classroom worlds, and third, the struggle to subvert official teacher-student interactions. Bakhtin (1994) suggests that folk humour denies, while at the same time it revives and renews. T1's classes use folk humour through mockery and parody to represent power struggle, while at the same time it introduces a new and different dynamic that is peculiar to that one classroom. These views are on a par with Bakhtinian and Hallidayan linguistic perspectives on genre, which suggest that genres change with the changes in the environment and participants' interactions and relationships of power. From these perspectives, it is perhaps not wrong to say that these participants' relationships create anew the speech genre that is a reflection of their own way of sub-existing in the same classroom.

7.3 Private school, teacher 2

Table 6: Private school classroom observation

School	Teacher	Students	Number of classes observed
Private school	Teacher 2 (T2)	Fabio, Patricia and Pedro	6 lessons of 50 minutes

I observed six lessons taught by T2. These lessons were spread in three different groups of academic year 1 (*Ensino Medio*) and took place over two different days.

What

The academic syllabus and teaching approach were very similar throughout these lessons and groups. The themes covered in T2's observed lessons were 1) literary genres:

romance, novel, chronicle and soap operas, and 2) figures of speech. The resources used were chalk, the whiteboard and students' coursebooks.

Lesson transcription 2

[beginning of the lesson. SS talk all at the same time]

[silence]

T2: I'm giving you the benefit of the doubt [addressing a student who has chosen to sit by the door, isolated from the rest of the class]. You have to show me you can sit there. So far, no one is showing me any evidence they can do anything. You're a bunch of 30 undisciplined students. I've been treating you with love and tolerance. I'm used to all of that, but the other teacher [referring to me, researcher] isn't. She comes from the First World!

S1: [laughs and holds it]

T2: I'm not saying this because I think it's funny. The first one who opens his month will be sent out. Why was he sent out? Because he opened his mouth to breath. I have nothing to prove to anyone.

[silence]

T2: When it was February, I told you, Ok [it's] March then, zero tolerance. March's gone, April's gone. I'm resembling a crook's wife. Do you know the crook's wife? She threatens: 'I'll leave the shack, if you come home drunk again, man. I'll leave you.' Yes, that's me, a crook's wife.

[silence]

T2: Don't burst into laughter!

T2: Ok people, I've told you that initially the epic, the lyric and the dramatic [genres] were separated. I've told you that the epic took a connotation of exaltation, of something done with a lot of adornment, with colours meant to exalt. Suddenly, in the era we live in this doesn't make any sense any longer. So, we have the narrative genre [...] I've told you that literature walks side by side with history. [...] When I talk about the dramatic genre, I'm referring to the theatre. Please, Laura go to Greece

SS: [laughter]

T2: Let's all go to Greece, and when I say Greece, I mean classic antiquity, before Christ. Can you picture it?

S1: Uh, no!

T2: People, the rest of the world was climbing trees while the Greeks were already doing theatre.

S1: Encouraging the circus.

SS: [laughter]

T2: Do you understand?

T2: It's a very unfortunate remark. I have the impression that the circus was the decline of the theatre. People, it's like painting a picture.

[...]

T2: What's a tragedy?

S1: There's death.

T2: Bruna, what's a tragedy?

T2: Marina, what's a tragedy?

T2: Caio, what's a tragedy?

S1: [are you] asking all of those who are asleep?

T: No, no. I could have asked Bruna, Flavinho, Daniela, Pedro, but I won't.

S1: Why not?

T2: Because I don't like you [jokingly].

S1: [timid laughter]

S2: Can you ask me again?

T2: Of course. You don't need to read it from the book though.

S2: These are conditions of people who've fallen in disgrace?

T2: Yes, but I think you would have been able to answer it by yourselves, wouldn't you? Something tragic has taken place. When do we use this expression? Tell me.

S3: When something bad happens, death, disease.

T2: Even in this case, I mean something collective, when there's a flooding or a Tsunami. People, it's a tragedy when it involves something big which destroys our objectives, dreams, which makes us start all over again.

S1: Zero

T2: What's a comedy?

T2: I've told you already. We've been reading Gil Vicente, [writes in Latin and in Portuguese on the whiteboard: 'Rindo-se castiga-se os costumes'. ('By laughing one punishes the habits')]

[Silence]

[...]

T2: Have you realised, that for our own misfortune, our national congresso is a big comedy.

SS: [contained laughter]

S1: It really is.

T: Isn't it? [carries on talking about a political anecdote]

Teacher-fronted presentation of work took most of T2's lesson time. There was very little opportunity for students to work in pairs or groups and the lessons were mostly split into the teacher's expository presentation and students' individual work. This was the case except for one occasion, when groups of students gave seminars on the theme of literary genres. Students-led seminars reproduced the teacher-fronted approach observed in T2's classes.

Fieldnote 7:

A group of students give a seminar on literary genres. They read their lines. Other students listen to them. T2 interrupts them to tell other students off when they are not quiet or not sitting straight on their chairs.

Overall, a striking feature of T2's classes was the authority she inflicted over her students. Throughout her lessons, she requested a great deal of deference from her students. They were expected to listen attentively to her explanations and join in with comments when elicited. In this way, her approach and expectation towards her students were very close to what Rampton (2006, p. 83) identified as an 'orderly talk = deference to teachers = respect for knowledge and learning' formula observed in educational ethnographers' report of classroom interactions in the 1970s and 1980s in Britain.

In the lesson transcribed above, T2 starts by setting clear lines of who is in control of the class. She undermines any power struggle that may arise between her and her students by stating that she does not have anything to prove to anyone, a theme that comes up in our interview in reference to teachers' usual challenges of teaching in private schools, where students and parents are known to push the boundaries of control. Through the use of negation, her comment has the intention to challenge this power struggle as, at the same time, it alludes to it (Fairclough, 2003). As she sets these boundaries, T2 introduces a tone to her preaching at the students that is more sarcastic than stern. Her pending to sarcasm and nearly comedy (perhaps keeping up with the theme of the lesson) is clear in her analogy of her situation to that of a *'mulher de malandro',* a crook's wife. The stereotype of the female slum dweller is a familiar one in Brazil and has been found in a number of attempts to reproduce these individuals' alleged cultures in soap operas, theatre plays and music. Her voluntary sarcasm is clear when she warns students they are not supposed to burst into laughter. Once order and boundaries are set, she swiftly moves from her own carnival to the theme of the lesson (Bakhtin, 1994). Her control of the lesson is only briefly disturbed by S1's comments, which in turn are quickly dismissed by T2 who quickly regains control of the 'stage'.

In this way, students' participation in T2's lesson is highly controlled by the teacher. Only a few students offer comments and answers. S2 and S3 make timid attempts to contribute to the lesson after being requested by T2, and S1 makes a few attempts to gain the stage. His comments however seem to be attempts to show T2 that he is tuned in with her voice rather than to disrupt the lesson. Data analysis suggests that sarcasm and satire were used by T2 to maintain control of the class (Blackledge and Creese, 2010), leaving

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it clear that she was the only one allowed to make use of these resources. Some students looked bored, others tired, but they mostly kept themselves to themselves in a quiet acceptance of their roles as listeners.

7.4 Public school 2: teacher 3

Table 7: Public school 2 classroom observation

School	Teacher	Students	Number of classes observed
Public school 2	Teacher 3 (T3)	Bruna, Vinicius, Carla and Felipe	5 lessons of 50 minutes each

I observed five sessions taught by teacher 3 (T3) to the same group.

What

In the lessons observed, T3 covered the themes of essay writing, text order, genres (narrative, dissertation and narrative), and direct and indirect speech. In two of the lessons observed students rehearsed a song for the celebrations of 'Mother's Day'.

In the lessons observed, the resources used were chalk and the whiteboard, worksheets, and a CD player for the song rehearsal.

Lesson transcription 3

T3: This term I want us to study narrative and description and then dissertation in the next two terms. When you move up to *Ensino Medio* let's hope you'll already be able to put your ideas onto the paper.

T3: What's a narrative?

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SS: All talk at the same time

S2: It's when we tell

T3: [complements S2's sentence]: A little story, isn't it? It's when we tell something. Is it easy for us to narrate something?

S3: Yes.

S4: No.

T3: We've just had a long holiday and spent three days at home. When we were back to school on Wednesday, you had a thousand things to tell each other, didn't you?

SS: [aloud] No!

S2: I just stayed at home.

T3: So, you tell each other what happens to you. You like telling stories that's why it's easy.

SS: [talk all at the same time]

T3: We've been talking about the narrative. Now, shall we talk about description?

SS: [all talk at the same time [indistinguishable]].

T3: You've already learned about description. What does it mean to describe?

SS: [many offer answers]

S1: It's an act of... [indistinguishable]

T3: Exactly. If you were to describe me, what would you say?

T3: Fat, green eyes [writes it on the board]

SS: Blonde

T3: What about in terms of character?

S5: You're annoying.

T3: [writes it on the board] What else?

S5: Who said you're annoying?

T3: You did.

S5: No, not me.

T3: Well, what else could we describe?

SS: [all talk at the same time]

T3: What else? The classroom? Covered in *aerosol*, look at the windows, [they're] dirty, broken, etc. Is describing something more difficult to us?

SS: Yes [a lot of indistinguishable noise]

T3: People, can we please be silent?

T3: How would you describe an egg?

S1: Round

S6: No, it's oval

T3: Yeah, it's much harder than telling a story!

SS: [carry on talking all at the same time]

T3: What's a dissertation? It's for us to give an opinion about a certain subject...

T3: [carries on to ask more questions without allowing students any time to answer them, and they all end up talking at the same time].

T3: Very well, do you understand it?

SS: Yes.

T3: Let's start working with the narrative now. You have some elements that are part of a narrative, which are they?

SS: [talk all the same time]

[T3 [carries on talking about the role of characters of a story]

T3: Look, you either put this away or I'll take it from you.

S5: Yes, put it away!

S6: Teacher, let me ask you a question?

T3: This is no time to play with an mp3!

S6: Teacher, what's a narrative?

T3: It's when you're telling a story.

S7: And a description?

T3: I've written about description on the board already. It's when you're describing a

place, a landscape. It's when you give your opinion about something.

T3: What do we need in order to tell a story?

SS: Words

T3: Of course! Otherwise, it'd be impossible to do it! Don't we need a place?

SS: Yes

SS: No

T3: No? Isn't it important to mention a place?

SS: Yes

T3: [writes 'place' on the board]

SS: Yeah [in a chorus]

T3: Is it important [to mention] when the story took place?

SS: Yes

T3: It may have happened a long time ago.

S2: It may have happened today.

S7: And, what about the time [repeats aloud a couple of times]

SS: [Talk all at the same time. Some offering answers to the teacher]

T3: Exactly, if the weather is sunny, or raining. All of these are important. All that we've mentioned is used to enrich a narrative. Ok?

S7: Yes! [aloud]

T3: Well, and about the plot? Isn't it important in a narrative? What's a plot?

S2: It's what's happened.

T3: Exactly.

S8: [screams]

T3: So, all of these are called the elements of a narrative [pointing to her notes on the blackboard]

How

Teacher 3 also made an attempt to follow an IRF approach by introducing content, eliciting students' participation and giving them feedback on their responses. This was not the case throughout T3's lessons as at times she ignored students' answers or asked them rhetorical questions.

In the lessons observed, students were assigned the tasks of listening to the teacher, copying her explanations from the blackboard onto their notebooks, writing an essay, unscrambling a text, and singing a song. Some students were quick to respond to T3's elicitation and to ask questions and make comments, whereas others were quiet throughout the lesson and listened and copied T3's notes from the blackboard.

In the session transcribed above, T3 elicits students' questions to her explanations of the text genres of dissertation, description and narrative. At times, T3's questions seem to be

rhetorical, as she does not take students' answers into consideration or does not allow them enough time to answer her questions. This is the case when these answers do not necessarily meet T3's expectations and threaten to divert the flow of the lesson, or when T3 seems to be running out of time to cover her planning for the lesson. However, T3 and her students seem to be mostly engaged throughout the lesson.

T3 does not allow the students' carnivals to break the flow of her lesson (Bakhtin, 1994). Satire is not acknowledged as in the case of a student calling her 'annoying', which T3 chooses to take up for its grammatical value (as an adjective used for description) rather than its offensive or playful intention. Control over the lesson is also exercised through the use of satire and mockery (Bakhtin, 1994): throughout her explanations she puts on a voice or uses words mostly used to address small children [e.g. *estorinha* − a little story]; or offence, as in the fieldnote below:

Fieldnote 1: Setting the unscrambling and gluing task. T3: 'Glue is to be used on the paper, [just in case] it may occur to you to eat it'.

Students' behaviour

The majority of T3's students seemed to engage in the tasks assigned to them. They engaged with the lessons by offering answers to the teacher's questions, making comments that alluded to language and themes they had previously studied. During T3's lessons, many students seemed pleased with being active participants of the lesson, as the fieldnotes below illustrate.

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Fieldnote 8: All of them try to do the task [of unscrambling a text and gluing it together] without much havoc, only some talking and occasional yelling and swearing.

Fieldnote 9: T3 makes a spelling mistake on the board and students notice it and tell her she should write the correct word twenty times on her notebook [here students make an allusion to what T3 asks them to do when they make a spelling mistake].

Fieldnote 10: Students make deliberate comments on the use of language:

S1: [a student shouts to another] Vou "senta" a mão na tua cara. [I'll "land" my hand on your face]

S2: Oh lá professora, tá errado! [Listen to that teacher. It's wrong!]

S3: É linguagem figurative, não é não professora? [It's a figurative speech, isn't it teacher?]

Tasks were, however, done by students in between intervals of talking to one another, shouting, wandering around the room and throwing things at each other. Students switched between being more or less engaged with the official world of the classroom throughout the lesson. On some occasions an unofficial world was introduced to the lesson, as in the case of chairs being thrown at each other. On other occasions, the official and unofficial classroom discourses and interactions sub-existed. This was the case in the lesson transcribed above about S5's use of satire and offence to contribute to the lesson. Her remark is linguistically pertinent to the theme of the lesson, but it is offensive and challenges the teacher's authority. Students' floating in and out of the official world of the lesson is also illustrated by S6's questions around the theme discussed. Although genuine and well-intentioned, her questions may suggest that she had been absentminded when these answers had been addressed by T3.

Students' parallel worlds never ceased to be (Bakhtin, 1994). School literacies and their social worlds (represented here in the use of slangs and satire and the attempt to use an MP3) all came along together in a dance that was at times more chaotic than harmonious, but which did not completely subvert T3's intended planning for her lessons. Students came in and out of these two worlds, but they seemed to choose to back up T3's discourses, by reproducing them. At most times they seemed to enjoy being part of the teacher-students' interactions observed.

7.5 Classroom observation discussion and links to teachers' discourse analysis and the national curriculum guidelines

7.5.1 Classroom observation discussion

Data analysis of classroom observation suggests that the format of the lessons, their content and resources followed a traditional teacher-centred, chalk and whiteboard teaching approach. There was no use of the new technologies or the mention of them in any of the lessons observed. There was neither any reference made to youths' cultural artefacts or the literacy practices discussed in Chapter Five.

Issues that set the classes apart from each other were students' responses to teacher-student interactions and to the general content of the lessons. T1's classes were mostly impregnated by mayhem, whereby a teacher-centred authoritative approach was met by students with apathy on the one hand and chaos on the other. T1 made little effort to engage her students with the lessons and struggled to deliver her planned lectures to half a dozen attentive students. She ignored the mayhem and carried on with her agenda.

In the private school, T2's classes were filled with a sense of discipline and authoritative organisation. In this way, every move from students that slightly threatened to disrupt the order established by the teacher was met with a reprimand. Frequent reminders of who they were (elite students and future leaders of the country) and where they were (not in the outskirts, but in an elite school) were T2's favoured disciplining tools. Some students seemed bored and tired, but in general they did what they were asked to do, that was, to listen to the teacher, answer her questions and do their follow-up tasks.

In public school 2, the mayhem of students' shouting, swearing and throwing things at one another was intercalated with attention to the lesson and to the tasks that were asked of them. Despite T3 usually being very loud and sneering at students at times, there was mostly a sense of camaraderie between teacher and students, and students responded well to her elicitation and seemed in tune with what was going on in her lessons. This may have been the case because these students were allowed to come in and out of the official world of the lessons, rather than being ignored. In this way, their voices were still heard and acknowledged by their teacher. It also seemed to be the case that the content of T3's lesson was made more meaningful by her practical examples.

Finally, my selection of data analysis indicated that classroom practices in the three schools in this study reflected teachers' discourses in relation to their dismissal of youths' cultural artefacts by not drawing on them in the lessons. Along the way, in T1 and T2's classes students were denied meaningful participation in what should have been the construct of their own knowledges (see Marsh and Millard, 2000).

7.5.2 Links between teachers' conceptualizations of students' literacy practices, classroom work and the national curriculum guidelines

The teachers in this study drew on a number of concerns towards their students' literacy practices outside school, suggesting a negative view of these practices. From the New Literacy Studies perspective which sees literacy as multiple (e.g. official and vernacular literacies) (Barton and Hamilton, 1998) data analysis of teachers' interviews suggests that the starting point for teachers' conceptualizations of their students' home literacy practices was school literacies, that is, the skill to write essays in *Português culto* and read literary classics. In this way, outside school literacy practices which did not fall under these school practices were dismissed as irrelevant or considered as a hindrance to students' reproduction of school literacies. In this study, these have more specifically included the use of digital technologies (mentioned by the three teachers), and the reading of teenage magazines and books which may distract students from reading literary classics and prevent their realisation of what indeed constitutes a good book, in private school teacher 2's views. Teachers' assumptions about these issues were reflected in how they discursively constructed classroom work and how students' home literacy practices were absent from classroom practices.

The national curriculum guidelines in teachers' discourses and practices

Data analysis indicated that teachers' voices were punctuated by elements of the new discourse of language and literacy that sees both as a social practice and which has been tentatively reproduced in the Parameters of the National Curriculum (PCNs). In the PCNs, and reflectively in teachers' discourses, this has assumed an allusion to the focus

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on language as form and genre-based pedagogy. I say allusion, because in both the national curriculum guidelines (PCNs) and in teachers' discourses these notions of language lose their focus on social practices and run the risk to be turned into another taxonomy for the pragmatic teaching of functions, if not grammatical, now textual ones. This happens because the discussion of language variants in Brazil suggested in the PCNs lacks in depth. A more in depth discussion of the relations between language and social class would invariably bring up issues of social inequality, discrimination, and injustice that would hold policymakers accountable. This is also a sensitive subject for public school teachers, who are frequently accused by the media and theorists of not being able to reproduce the normative grammatical features of the language they are employed to teach due to their being a product of the same lower-social class as their students (see Bagno, 2003; Bortoni, 1995).

Without a practical engagement with lower-social class individuals' culture and language, genre-based pedagogy is stripped of its theoretical rationale – individuals' sociocultural relationships within different contexts (fields) (see Hyland, 2002) – and serves as lip service to an approach which claims to acknowledge issues of linguistic differences but which only validates official domains as fields for language reproduction (envinced in teachers 1 and 2's discourses). The same dynamics are observed regarding themes which are claimed to relate to individuals' cultures and lifeworlds, but which may in fact have very little resemblance to their lives and practices and thus relevance for these adolescents (Freire, 1970; Heath, 1983; and Marsh and Millard, 2000). In this study, the mismatch between students' lifeworlds and classroom themes is illustrated in public school teacher 1's topic of travelling, Kristiano's interpretation of it and teacher

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1's marking of his essay, which dismissed Kristiano's interpretation of the theme proposed as invalid. It was also illustrated in public school teacher 3's dismissal of her students' responses about issues related to their lives outside school during classroom observation. This factor is, however, most tellingly in these three teachers' failure to address these adolescents' cultures and literacy practices in their classroom syllabi.

Given its top-down nature, the PCNs' discourses on literacy and language reach teachers in many different ways, such as through exam guidelines, prescribed coursebooks, and the mechanism of accountability in the shape of meetings and training imposed by schools. However, the bill's lack of clarity, its questionable allegiances to the theories it tries to reproduce, and the resulting ideological and discursive mismatches (Marinho, 2003) compromise its authority (Bakhtin, 1986). The PCNs' discourses enter teachers' discourses as imposition but not ideology (Bakhtin, 1986). They run in the background of teachers' past ideological notions of literacy as an autonomous model (Street, 1984) and language as function (Antunes, 2004) and they absolutely bring nothing that would shake the pillars of teachers' and society's views of lower-social class individuals' language and cultural heritage. The result of these dynamics to classroom practices can also be seen in:

1) The cultural power struggle between teacher 1 and her students that results in chaos and alienation.
2) The three teachers' condescending attitude towards their students which denies them as valid cultural reproducers.

In the same respect, at the other end of the social continuum, private school teacher 2 engages her students in the 'game of fictitious communication' they seem so proficient in (Bourdieu and Passeron, 197 p. 112). While this does not compromise the future of these students in Brazilian society, which has already been determined by their sociocultural capital, it also does little in terms of exercising their creativity and literacy potentials. In other respects, private school teacher 2's discourses do more towards reinforcing her students' stereotypes of their lower-social class counterparts, an aspect which contributes towards the reproductive machine of cultural and linguistic discrimination that feeds into social inequality (Bourdieu, 1991).

7.6 Summary

In this chapter, I presented and discussed data collected during classroom observations in the three schools in this study. The discussion was focused on what (content) was taught in each of the three teachers' lessons, how it was done (resources and approach) and on students' behaviours and responses during the lessons. I presented classroom observation fieldnotes and transcriptions to support the discussion. In section 7.5, I made links between teachers' discursive construction of students' outside school literacy practices, their classroom practices and the national curriculum guidelines. I concluded that data analysis indicated that teachers' negative conceptualizations of their pupils' outside school literacy practices meant that these practices were not present in their classroom work. Data analysis also indicated that the PCNs' guidelines that allude to the notions of genre-based pedagogy and a more inclusive approach towards non-mainstream individuals' language variants were not reproduced in the classes observed. In conclusion, the observed classroom practices combined elements of teachers' discourses

based on the traditional teaching of Portuguese writing (a focus on essay writing and literary genres), formal teacher-student interactions (a teacher-centred approach) and these teachers' interpretation of genre teaching which took the shape of presentation of textual elements and text construction.

CHAPTER EIGHT: FINAL REMARKS ON STUDENTS' LITERACY PRACTICES AND IMPLICATIONS FOR CLASSROOM PRACTICES

8.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to discuss the connections that can be forged between home and school literacy practices in the context of this study, most specifically in relation to the uses of digital technologies and the teaching of genre knowledge. The last section of this chapter poses the question of what indeed contributes to lower-social class learners' reproduction of school literacies and languages and suggests that further studies should look for answers in the lives and practices of non-mainstream individuals who achieve at school.

8.2 The intersection of home and school literacies: where should they meet?

Adolescents' uses of the new technologies have been described as a resourceful access to learning (Ito et al., 2008; Gee, 2003; Kress, 2003). Ito et al. (2008 p. 36) point out, however, that for adolescents to move from the stage of using these technologies from the friendly-driven purpose of hanging-out to more 'fluent and expert' uses there is the need for a combination of social, technical and cultural conditions:

> Youth who engaged in a dynamic range of learning opportunities with new media generally had robust technology access, ample time and autonomy to experiment and explore, and a network of peers who supported their new media interests. (Ito et al., 2008 p. 36)

They posit that while 'sporadic, monitored access at schools and libraries may provide sufficient access for basic information seeking', it is, however, 'insufficient for the immersed kind of social engagements with networked publics that are becoming a baseline for participation on both the interest-driven and the friendship-driven sides' (Ito et al., 2008 p. 36).

In the study herein, lack of access to these technologies at home was found to inhibit the use Carla made of the Orkut and its resources for socialization. However, in spite of not having access to the Internet at home, Bruna and Andrea were assiduous users of it in the public space of Internet cafes and displayed proficiency with the initial steps of 'messing around' with photos as did other participants with access to these technologies at home. This may suggest that when there is continuity, out-of-school youth culture can be experimented with in other public domains with the similar effects for youth as they are at home. This reinforces Ito et al.'s (2008) argument that adolescents should be given more autonomous access to the Internet in some public domains. They argue that lack of it, on the other hand, will place adolescents outside youth new cultural dynamics:

> We are concerned about the lack of a public agenda that recognizes the value of youth participation in social communication and popular culture. When kids lack access to the Internet at home, and public libraries and schools block sites that are central to their social communication, youth are doubly handicapped in their efforts to participate in common culture and sociability. (Ito et al., 2008 p. 36)

In addition, adult intervention also seemed to play a role in adolescents' skills in using the digital technologies to a wider range of purposes. The four adolescents in the study who said they used these technologies for a wider range of purposes were the ones who

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had also had some sort of adult intervention, such as informal tutorials from family members and/or ICT formal instruction inside and/or outside schools. Ito et al. (2008) also comment that in their study, those adolescents who declared themselves self-taught were also the ones who reported to have had some sort of adult support with using a computer and the Internet from an early age. On the other hand, for others of these participants the combination of access to computers at home and access to ICT instruction did not guarantee a more ample use of these technologies, this was the case of Kristiano and Andrea.

Data analysis also suggests that school demand on the use of computers for the completion of assignments also played a role in the development, use and maintenance of knowledge. In this way, while Fabio and Patricia used different technological applications and resources towards the completion of schoolwork, Andrea complained of forgetting the skills learned in an ICT course due to their schools' failure to get students engaged in these digital literacies. Here, Dewey's (1899/1998) argument on home and school links seems to be reinforced:

> From the standpoint of the child, the great waste in the school comes from his inability to utilize the experiences he gets outside of the school in any complete and free way within the school itself; while on the other hand, he is unable to apply in daily life what he is learning at school. (Dewey, 1899/1998 pp. 76/78 cited in Hull and Schultz, 2002 p. 3)

The discussion of home-school discontinuities in the technological era has brought about the debate that schools should be prepared to make these connections if they are to prepare individuals for the work market, both in a local and global sphere (The New London Group, 1996; Giroux, 1999). Questions of what schools can do in terms of

supporting their pupils' knowledge acquisition and maintenance of the digital technologies should also address the questions of what aspects of their youth cultures would be acceptable for adolescents to have reproduced in the school domain, and what department of learning adolescents may need more help and support with. Alvermann (2004) points out that adolescents might not want to see their youth culture co-opted in the classroom. Also, Ito et al. (2008) concede that adolescents in their study found the presence of adults in their social network pages intrusive.

Nonetheless, forging links between home and school literacy practices does not necessarily mean reproducing at school adolescents' vernacular practices as they are at home. It may mean to acknowledge the affordances of the uses of technology media for adolescents' learning, socialization and identity construction while at same time working around the challenging and problematic issues that may arise from these practices. Aspects that have arisen herein that can be seen as relevant to be inserted in a pedagogical critical framing are firstly, the issue of language use in the Internet and the need to prepare students for the work market (The New London Group, 1996); and, secondly, the implications that adolescents' identity constructions may have to these individuals' offline lives (Zhao et al., 2008). In addition, Marsh and Millard (2000, p.6) ponder that 'there is also a need [for educators] to be on [their] guard about the new media's power to persuade and seek to control'. This, the authors argue is the case because:

There are powerful tools in the hands of propagandists, pressure groups, spin doctors and advertisers, who have designs not only on our children's pockets, but also on their thought processes and opinions. (Marsh and Millard, 2000 p.6)

In this way, Marsh and Millard (2000) suggest that:

> both a knowledge of the pleasure they [the new media] arouse and an analytical eye for their positioning of the subject within their discourses are prerequisites for any teacher engaged in the use of popular culture in school. (Marsh and Millard, 2000 pp. 6/7)

For that to start to be the case in the context of the study herein, teachers' perceptions of adolescents' uses of the new technologies and their affordances to learning have to be re-contextualized. For the three teachers in this study, digital literacies are not valid literacies. This has been suggested to be the case given conceptualizations of literacy as solely school literacies: essay writing and the reading of literary classics; and due to views of language based on a fixed oral-written divide. In order to transform the discourses of literacies and consequent pedagogical practices, it is important that adolescents' uses of these technologies are seen for what they are, as valid artefacts for meaning making through multimodality (Kress, 2003).

Furthermore, any approach committed to bringing digital literacies into the curriculum has to involve the knowledge of the skills adolescents already have. Data analysis indicated that adolescent participants were able to engage with online vernacular practices fluently, also observing the differences in the use of registers according to their situation of communication. Adolescents cannot be seen as 'tabula rasa' in relation to either digital or print literacies. It should also be taken into consideration these individuals' own perceptions of what digital literacies mean to them and what they can achieve through them.

In this way, in place of reinforcing the perception that what they do online does not count as literacy, the issue of online literacies has to be taken from a critical, and at times more global, perspective of what the world has been doing with the Internet and how their own practices link them with this historical moment in time and space, which has had an effect on the way people engage with literacies and communicative practices (c.f. Pahl and Rowsell, 2006; Marsh, 2006). This would also address one of the main problems of how schools deal with digital practices, that is that these are taken out of their context, historically, geographically and culturally, to be inserted in a more sterilized context of ICT instruction, in the best scenario.

Along the way, by addressing the affordances of the new technologies to learning, teachers could also promote students' engagement with the literary texts which are valued in the school (Marsh and Millard, 2000) with the advantage of doing so in an environment their pupils are familiar with and comfortable to inhabit.

The New London Group's (1996) theoretical framework for pedagogical practice (through the steps of situated practice, overt instruction and critical framing) fits well with these aims.

However, it is needless to say that these pedagogical elements should be adapted to each local context. I have suggested earlier in this thesis that the context of education in São Paulo is one of social, cultural and geographical stratification for which notions of expertise exchange may not always be able to be applied straight forwardly. Working in a socially and geographically stratified city may mean that in cases where the expertise aimed at cannot be found within the same community of practice, it should be brought

from other domains, as professionals, companies and universities could help schools with knowledge transference. These links can also be forged online between schools at a local or even global sphere. These could, for instance, be applied to a project that seeks an exchange of knowledge about language and culture amongst schools from different areas of the city, or different regions in the country, or yet, from different countries in the Portuguese speaking world.

A pedagogical project which seeks to address the many affordances of the new technologies through ethnographic approach and situated learning may also have the potential to address teachers' conceptualizations of their own knowledge of these technologies and foment its development. By doing so, fears of loss of authority owed to the belief 'that students know more about technologies than us [teachers]' (public school teacher 3 in this study) can be addressed along the way. This project can work towards minimizing the conflicts that arise between students and teachers regarding the new technologies and the digital literacies.

Finally, the application of an ethnographic approach (Street, 2012b) to online research of language and literacy uses can bring both students' and teachers' interests together as they use these media to investigate patterns of language uses online and how these compare to language uses in official and vernacular domains. With the advantage that these can be done using the schools own resources, when applicable.

8.3 What to teach when you teach genre

Genre-based pedagogy proponents attribute to the school the task of teaching students social genres while also making them aware of the social aspects behind genre

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reproduction (Kress, 2003; Kalantzis and Cope, 2012). Kress (2003) points out that while the latter is beyond question; other important questions, which 'arise at a different point' are also those of:

[Are] genres to be taught as ideal and stable forms? Are the genres which are most powerful in a society to be taught in preference to others? Are the genres of marginal groups - whatever the reasons for their marginality - also to be included in the curriculum? (Kress, 2003 p.85)

Data analysis of teachers' discursive construction of classroom work suggests that students' vernacular variants are left out of the school curriculum and classroom practices, in favour of the focus on the reproduction of the dominant variant. This has been discussed to be the case given the issues of language discrimination and socioeconomically unequal power relations that are inherent to the discourses of language in Brazilian society.

From Bourdieu's (1990) perspective of language as social currency, the teaching of marginalised variants in the Brazilian educational context would realistically depend on a social and political action aimed at changing unequal power relations that render language as a tool of status quo. Bourdieu (1990) posits that:

One cannot save the *value* of a competence unless one saves the market, in other words, the whole set of political and social conditions of production of the producers/consumers. (Bourdieu, 1990 p. 57)

Bourdieu (1990) goes on to ponder that schools have the role of reproducer of these political and social dynamics:

The position which the educational system gives to the different languages (or the different cultural contents) is such an important issue only because this institution has the monopoly in the large-scale production of producers/consumers, and therefore in the reproduction of the market without which the social value of the linguistic competence, its capacity to function as linguistic capital, would cease to exist. (Bourdieu, 1990 p. 57)

Kress (2003, p. 85) finds the answer for his questions on the issue of genre reproduction in schools on the 'societal principles that generate the textual forms'. Kress (2003) goes on to explain that:

If we place the emphasis there, then there is no issue about teaching stable types: we would already have shown that the stability or instability of textual form derives from […] the social arrangements in which actions take place […]. This approach also answers the questions about non-powerful genres: we would always need to focus on the question of power; it would be in focus.

He carries on to explain that

[…] because the curriculum would show that generic configuration derives from social/cultural configuration, the question would be, do we want to learn from and about the cultural configurations of all groups in the society, do we want to benefit from the experiences of all cultures as they are coded in genre, or do we wish to neglect that knowledge? (Kress, 2003 p. 85/86)

Kress (2003, p. 86) reinforces the issue that 'the question would then be a profoundly political one, to which the literacy curriculum would provide both access and key'.

Alternatively, in a less political stance to schooling, and addressing the more general issue of cultural artefacts rather than language per se, other theorists have suggested that

use of popular culture and their artefacts as instruments for the acquisition of school literacies and, consequently, the dominant cultures. Marsh and Millard (2000) concede:

> We are advocating an approach to cultural ephemera that draws on their linguistic and cultural appeal to motivate literacy learning, rather than suggesting that they have any currency in their own right. Put plainly, it is not a matter of competing media narratives that we wish to promote […] but a general sensitivity to children's culture that will allow teachers to create more powerful language work from the currency of pupils' own preoccupations. (Marsh and Millard, 2000 p. 2)

In the social and educational context of this study, I suggest that there can be no questions in relation to the political stance that should be taken, as none of the above can be achieved without societal and local re-contextualisations of the pedagogic discourse of language and literacy in relation to non-mainstream groups. Pedagogically, this could also be achieved through an ethnographic approach project that aims at deconstructing assumptions and generalizations in relation to local groups and communities' language uses and literacy practices (Street, 2012b).

8.4 Recommendations for future studies: when lower-social class adolescents reproduce the school code

The two public school teachers in this study deemed the participants Felipe, Carla, Bruna, Sheila, and Vinicius successful with school literacies, an aspect hardly reported in studies from a tradition in sociolinguistics or practice perspectives that address the education of non-mainstream groups (Heath, 1983; Kleiman, 1995; Hull and Schultz, 2002). The question that arises is what makes some fail and others succeed in similar contexts of reproduction.

Given that these individuals were already adolescents at the time of this study, this study does not have enough evidence to argue for their success with academic literacy development on the grounds of aspects such as early parental involvement or school early years adequate provision which have been suggested as aspects responsible for promoting students' success with school literacies (Heath, 1983).

The ability to write school essays has been linked with the ability to distinguish between different language registers and genres (Kress, 2003). From this perspective, these participants have been able to distinguish between their vernacular speech and the school written genre. In this sense, they have also been able to overcome issues of language dispositions based on social practices (Bourdieu, 1977; Bernstein, 1996).

The literature of education in Brazil has many examples of failure (to acquire the standard language, and thus school literacies, and to acquire work skills etc.). In some respects, long term study following participants' early language development and early schooling to the models of Heath's (1983) study could shed light onto issues of language and literacy reproduction throughout these participants' school years. Alternatively, later investigation of the participants in this study could be helpful to address the question of whether their successful academic development at the time of this study progressed and how it came to influence their academic and working chances. The findings on the latter could also be relevant as to shed light on the issue of the relations between literacy and social capital in determining these individuals' socioeconomic future in Brazilian society.

8.5 Summary

In this chapter, I discussed the issues of the use of the digital technologies and the teaching of genre knowledge in schools. I drew upon some recommendations for a classroom project which should take into consideration adolescents' vernacular literacy practices and languages. I concluded this chapter by recommending that future studies should investigate the aspects which contribute for non-mainstream children's reproduction of school literacies and language in similar contexts of education.

CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSION

9.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I briefly comment on some of the aspects of data collection methods used in this study and summarise the study's findings.

9.2 Research data collection methods

In the first part of this research study, I investigated the literacy practices of adolescents in three different schools in São Paulo, Brazil. The adolescents who volunteered to take part in the study were asked to keep a literacy diary, which was followed by a literacy diary focused interview. As participants discussed their diary entries with the researcher during interviews, they added a number of detailed information about their daily lives. As a result, this combination of data collection methods generated a considerable amount of information on firstly, participants' literacy events recorded in their literacy diaries, and secondly, on their interactions within their social groups and hence on the aspects that inform their literacy practices (Street, 1984; Barton and Hamilton, 1998), gathered during their interviews. Adolescent participants' social network webpages were also investigated and used as sources of information on how these adolescents interacted with their peers through the use of reading, writing and other multimodal resources.

In this study, while the majority of participants kept a literacy diary (eleven out of twelve) and gave me access to their Orkut pages (ten out of twelve) the amount of data collected was not the same amongst all of these participants. This was the case because participants differed in the number of days they kept a literacy diary, in how often they

were available for interviews, in how much information they shared with the researcher during their interviews and, finally, in how much information they posted on their Orkut webpages. While these aspects affected the linearity of the presentation of data analysed and discussed in this study, it was still possible for the researcher to get an insight into the social lives and literacy practices of each of these individuals.

Likewise, the number of adolescent participants for each school was not the same. While five and four participants from public school 1 and public school 2 took part in the study respectively, only three participants from the private school kept a literacy diary and only two of them had interviews. The discussion of literacy practices across social classes would have been enriched with a higher number of participants from upper social class background. However, given the fact that this study did not have any quantitative ambitions, the number of participants did not interfere with its aim of providing an investigation into how the adolescents in the study engaged in literacy practices in a specific time and space.

This factor also did not affect the research questions of "How do teachers conceptualise their pupils' outside school literacy practices" and "What informs classroom practices" as through the research methods of semi-structured interviews and classroom observation, teachers' views and practices were also addressed in relation to the total number of students they had in their classes, rather than only specifically in relation to the participants in the study.

The two data collection methods of semi-structured interviews and classroom observation also worked well together in providing data for the analysis of teachers'

discursive construction of adolescents' literacy practices and of their classroom practices as well as for the investigation of classroom work. The format of data collection and analysis used in the classroom observation stage of the study focused on what was being taught (content), how (resources and interactions) it was being taught and on students' responses. This format met this study's aim to investigate whether elements of classroom practices were informed by students' own cultures and language which fell under the research question: "What informs classroom practices?" I also aimed to investigate the immediate effect these classes had on students.

In conclusion, in this study I chose to work with an ethnographic approach to research which enabled me to look into twelve individuals' literacy practices as well as to investigate three teachers' discourses and classroom practices in a specific context and period of time characterized by the transformations in the educational discourses of literacy and language studies and by changes in how adolescents interact and socialise with each other.

This study makes a contribution to the field of literacy studies inasmuch as it engaged with original data which provided an insight into how these participants constructed, reproduced and acted upon notions and practices of literacy. It also contributes to the field of discourse analysis from a Bakhtinian perspective in its analysis of how teachers drew upon old and new discourses of literacies and language in their discursive construction of classroom practices. The following sections present a summary of the study's findings.

9.3 The study's research questions and findings

9.3.1 Research question 1: "What are the outside school literacy practices of adolescents across social classes?"

Informed by a sociocultural perspective to literacy studies which sees literacies as social practices and, therefore, as multiple (Gee, 1996), I analysed and discussed the vernacular literacy practices the adolescent participants engaged in during these study.

Data analysed and discussed in the section Literacy stories in Chapter Five supported the theoretical argument of this study that individuals' interactions within their social groups inform and help to construct their vernacular literacy practices (Street, 1984). Factors such as lack or presence of resources (e.g. books, computers, access to the Internet and extracurricular activities); participation in religious groups; family dynamics; and individuals' personal interests transpired to shape these adolescents' outside school literacy practices.

Literacy patterning

Data analysis indicated that there was an intersection of literacy practices across domains. School literacies transpired to be present in the home domain of many of these participants. Some examples of this were Carla and Talita's parents' help with their homework, Felipe's help with his siblings' homework, Fabio's and Patricia's engagement with schoolwork in preparation for the university entrance test, and Kristiano's grandmother attention to his school needs and her attempt to provide him with different resources. In addition, in this study, religious literacy practices were found to go back and forth from the religious to the home and to the school domains. Religious literacies were

approached as dominant literacies in the reading of scriptures at home but were also approached as vernacular practices in adolescents' religious youth groups in their churches and temples, which involved play and discussion around these readings, blurring boundaries of domains and types of literacies (Hull and Schultz, 2002, also see Guerra and Farr, 2002).

Data analysis also indicated that participants engaged in literacy practices as a way to form social relationships. Digital technologies represented a considerable part of the literacy practices these adolescents engaged in and had replaced other physical domains as spaces for socialisation. Adolescents in this study used visual and language resources to construct and share their identities with their peers online.

Furthermore, letters (Felipe and Carla), poems (Bruna and Talita), notes and a love diary (Bruna) were also cited by some of the participants as ways of interacting with their loved ones. Adolescents also engaged in reading and writing activities when helping their siblings with their homework and telling them stories, as in the case of Carla, Felipe and Sheila.

Literacy artefacts such as magazines, comics, books and the digital technologies were also used as leisure and past time activities. The participants also used magazines, newspapers and the Internet as means to accessing information about their surroundings (e.g. daily news, films and TV programmes synopsis).

Literacy practices across social classes

Data analysis indicated that adolescents' engagement with literacy practices was very personal to each individual and specific to their interactions in their social environments,

as discussed above. Data analysis also indicated that issues of social class were not clear-cut. In this way, differences were encountered amongst lower social class individuals from the same school and area as well as in relation to their counterparts from the upper middle class school. Differences between lower and upper social class individuals were more emphatically perceived in relation to participants' engagement with 1) school literacies, 2) books, and 3) ICT. In relation to these aspects, data analysis indicated that, firstly, factors such as school ethos and teachers' expectations towards their students played a role in how students engaged in school literacies at home. Secondly, access to books at home and school assigning books as homework encouraged individuals to read books at home. Thirdly, access to ICT at home and its formal and informal instruction combined with school demands for its use for the completion of school assignments also affected the use these adolescents made of ICT resources outside school.

Parental support

Data analysis of participants' interviews also indicated that their parents or carers had some sort of involvement with their school literacies at home. Parental and carers' support was in the shape of the acquisition of resources (e.g. magazines, books, newspapers, computers); direct help with their children's homework; expectation that their children would achieve at school; and commitment to enrol their children in extra curricular courses (e.g. ICT). I argued that the findings of this study dispute the deficit hypothesis ethos which places lower social class individuals into the same homogeneous group which has been characterised by lack of parental involvement, little or no engagement with literacy practices and lack of interest in education (Edwards, 1979). Also in this respect, data analysis indicated that the lives of the two upper social class

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adolescents who fully took part in this study were rich in cultural and educational resources and in successful role models who motivated these individuals' quest to build portfolios with a view to achieving educational and professional success.

9.3.2 Research question 2: "How do teachers conceptualise their pupils' outside school literacy practices?"

The three teachers in this study cited the use of digital technologies as their pupils' main literacy practices. Digital literacies were seen in a negative light by these teachers and were deemed as a hindrance to their students' reproduction of school literacies. Data analysis of adolescents' literacy practices outside school and teachers' discourses indicated that the views teachers held of their pupils' engagement with literacy practices outside school fell short of the scope of use these adolescents made of digital literacies.

In addition, discourse analysis of teachers' interviews also indicated that the two public school teachers in this study viewed their students' homes as deprived of parental support or interest in their children's education. Parents' low levels of schooling and domestic problems were also seen by these teachers as the main factors responsible for students' alleged lack of reading habit and interest in school literacies. Private school teacher 2 also deemed her students' homes, which she described as rich in technological resources and poor in books, responsible for their alleged lack of reading habit and poor focus on school literacies.

In this way, the three teachers in this study associated their students' engagement with digital literacies and youth culture and their family dynamics with their alleged lack of

engagement with print (e.g. books) outside school and their difficulties with school literacies.

9.3.3 Research question 3: "What informs classroom practices?"

Teachers' discursive construction of classroom practices

Teachers cited the national exams, the new guidelines for the national curriculum, the university entrance test (in the case of private school teacher 2) and schools' ethos and decisions as factors which informed their classroom practices.

However, discourse analysis of teachers' interviews indicated that there were conflicts between what policymakers and schools recommended and what teachers believed should go in their classroom work. More specifically, private school teacher 2 opposed to the regimented format of the university entrance test; and public school teachers 1 and 3 contested the aspects of the national curriculum guidelines for the teaching of Portuguese which sought to distance the teaching of Portuguese from the traditional teaching of grammar and its nomenclatures. Discourse analysis of teacher 1's and teacher 3's interviews indicated that these aspects played a significant role in these teachers' descriptions of their classroom work. Departing from Bakhtin's (1981) notions of dialogism, these findings also indicated that the new views for the teaching of Portuguese based on genre-based pedagogy and a more inclusive approach to issues of language variants alluded to in the national curriculum guidelines have not been fully assimilated by the two public school teachers in this study.

In the same respect, discourse analysis indicated that the three teachers in the study constructed their views of language teaching and reproduction as based on aspects of a

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fixed oral and written divide. School literacies were constructed as print and students'
outside school literacy practices and youth culture were viewed as hurdles to students'
reproduction of school literacies. In addition, students' spoken vernaculars were deemed
defective. The implication of these views to classroom practices was that students'
spoken vernaculars and their outside school literacy practices were kept at bay.
Classroom practices were discursively constructed as the prescriptive teaching of
standard Portuguese (e.g. through the teaching of grammar categories and their
nomenclatures). These findings are on a par with the ideologically discriminatory notions
of language and literacy inculcated in the Brazilian educational system and society, as it
was discussed in the literature review Chapters Two and Three.

Classroom observations

Data analysis of classroom observation fieldnotes and recordings also indicated that there
was no evidence of the use of or the allusion to adolescents' vernacular literacy practices
or language variants in the lessons observed, as discussed above. There was also no
evidence of work focused on genre-based pedagogy which approached the analysis of
different language variants and their social and political roles in the Brazilian society.

These findings support this study's initial hypothesis that there is a mismatch between
adolescents' vernacular literacy practices and what goes on in classroom practices across
social classes.

In conclusion, the findings of this study suggest that in Brazil, the discontinuities
between home and school literacies and languages are now acknowledged in the debate
of literacy and language education (Kleiman, 1995; Collelo, 2007; Bagno, 2004).

However, a discussion of the socio-cultural and political reasons for, firstly, schools' languages and cultures being what they are and the fact that they reproduce and reinforce social inequality; and for, secondly, the failure of schools to cater for their non-mainstream pupils, such as Kristiano and Beto, have not yet been addressed in the school domain. Consequently, the participant public schools in this study lacked in strategies and solutions for this situation and were instead focused on attempting to assimilate their lower-social class pupils into the dominant culture and language through classroom practices which failed to reach out to all these individuals.

Bakhtin (1981) posits that discourses take time to be appropriated as authoritative voice. In this way, more should be done towards the recontextualisation of literacy and language in contexts of historical discrimination and inequalities. In Chapter Eight, I suggested that further steps towards this aim could be taken through a pedagogical approach of situated learning which aims at knowledge exchange and an ethnographic approach to the investigation of literacy and language in students' communities.

APPENDIX ONE: LITERACY DIARY SAMPLES

Sample one: Fabio (private school)
His diaries were written originally in English and sent to me by email.
Name: [Fabio]
Date: 19/05/2008
Weekday: Monday

Today, I	read	wrote	in my diary, in my school notebook, in the computer, on the Internet (blog, social network, etc.), etc.	at school, at home, in the library, on the street, in the shopping mall, etc.
Morning	At school	At school	At school	At school
Afternoon	I read the book "Happy old Year", by Marcelo Rubens Paiva, and also the newspaper	Homework, notes and pages on my notebook	Homework Scraps e-mails	none
Evening	Math, Geography books	Homework	Scraps (Orkut) e-mails	none

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Sample two: Patricia (private school).
Patricia sent me her diaries by e.mail**.**
Data: 30 de maio de 2007
Dia da semana: quarta-feira

Hoje, eu	*li*	*escrevi*	*em (ex.:* meu diário, caderno, no computador, na Internet (blog, comunidade etc.)), etc.	*no/a (ex.:* na biblioteca, rua, shopping, casa do amigo, em casa)
pela manhã	Matérias da escola.	Matérias da escola.		
à tarde	Livro para a escola, texto sobre crianças para o inglês e o dicionário.	Dissertação para o inglês.	Em meu livro.	Em casa.
à noite	Matéria para a prova de química e pesquisa de história.	Pesquisa de história.	Em meu caderno e apostilas.	Em casa.

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Patricia (translation)
Date: 30th May, 2007
Weekday: Wednesday

Today, I	read	wrote	in my diary, in my school notebook, in the computer, on the Internet (blog, social network, etc.), etc.	at school, at home, in the library, on the street, in the shopping mall, etc.
Morning	school work	school work		
Afternoon	book for school, text about children for English [course] and the dictionary	essay for the English [course]	in my notebook	at home
Evening	revision for Chemistry test and History research [assignment]	History Research [assignment]	In my notebook and handouts	at home

Sample three: Pedro (private school).
Pedro sent me his diaries by e.mail.
Nome: [Pedro]
Data: 29/10/07
Dia da semana: quarta

Hoje, eu	li	escrevi	em (ex.: meu diário, caderno, no computador, na Internet (blog, comunidade etc.)), etc.	no/a (ex.: na biblioteca, rua, shopping, casa do amigo, em casa)
pela manhã	nada	Matéria passada pelas profs	caderno	escola
à tarde	Jornal, noticias na internet	nada	na internet	casa
à noite	livro	lição de casa	caderno	casa

Name: [Pedro] (translation)
Date: 29/10/07
Weekday: Wednesday

Today, I	read	wrote	in my diary, in my school notebook, in the computer, on the Internet (blog, social network, etc.), etc.	at school, at home, in the library, on the street, in the shopping mall, etc.
Morning	nothing	Task given by the teacher	notebook	school
Afternoon	Newspapers, news on the Internet	nothing	in the Internet	at home
Evening	book	homework	notebook	at home

Sample four: Talita (public school 1)

Nome: Ta.
Data: 06/05/0?
Dia da semana: Domingo

Hoje, eu	li	escrevi	em meu diário, no caderno, no computador, na Internet (blog, comunidade etc.), etc.	no/a (ex.: escola, (em) casa, na biblioteca, rua, shopping etc.)
pela manhã	X	X	Em meu caderno de Crisma.	Na igreja.
à tarde		X	Cenas da peça teatral da escola.	Em casa.
à noite	X	X	Mensagens no MSN.	Em casa.

Name: [Talita] (translation)

Date: 06/05/07
Weekday: Sunday

Today, I	read	wrote	in my diary, in my school notebook, in the computer, on the Internet (blog, social network, etc.), etc.	at school, at home, in the library, on the street, in the shopping mall, etc.
Morning	X	X	In my confirmation [course] notebook	At church
Afternoon		X	Scenes of the school play	At home
Evening	X	X	Messages on MSN	At home

Sample five: Sheila (public school 1)

Nome: _Jhe_
Data: _05-05-07_ → Todos os dias
Dia da semana: _Sábado_

Hoje, eu	li	escrevi	em meu diário, no caderno, no computador, na Internet (blog, comunidade etc.), etc.	no/a (ex.: escola, (em) casa, na biblioteca, rua, shopping etc.)
pela manhã	meditação sobre os personagem bíblicos	resumo das meditações	não	\\ casa foi p a Igreja
à tarde	leitura da Bíblia	\\	\\	\\
à noite	\\	Carta para meu namorado	ORKUT MSN	\\

Name: [Sheila] (translation)
Date: 05.05.07
Weekday: Saturday

Today, I	read	wrote	in my diary, in my school notebook, in the computer, on the Internet (blog, social network, etc.), etc.	at school, at home, in the library, on the street, in the shopping mall, etc.
Morning	meditation about bliblical characters	summary of meditation	no	at home for the church [youth's group]
Afternoon	Bible			
Evening		A letter for my boyfriend	Orkut and MSN	

Sample six: Kristiano (public school 1)

Nome: K.
Data: 22/04/07
Dia da semana: DOMINGO

Hoje, eu	lí	escrevi	em meu diário, no caderno, no computador, na Internet (blog, comunidade etc.), etc.	no/a (ex.: escola, (em) casa, na biblioteca, rua, shopping etc.)
pela manhã	X	X	X	X
à tarde	X	X	X	X
à noite	Eu li uma reportagem muito bom falando sobre as pessoa que passão fame.	Como sempre eu escrevi no Diário ___ // ~	isso daí eu vi no meu computador na minha comunidade ~ // ~	isso, eu vi no estadão de São Paulo ___ // ~

no nordeste e isso, é muito triste

revista do Estadão.

Lo Orkut

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Name: [Kristiano] (translation)

Date: 22/04/2007
Weekday: Sunday

	read	wrote	in my diary, in my school notebook, in the computer, on the Internet (blog, social network, etc.), etc.	at school, at home, in the library, on the street, in the shopping mall, etc.
Today, I				
Morning				
Afternoon				
Evening	I read a very good article about people who suffer from hunger in the North of the country and this is very sad.	As always, I wrote on my journal	This I saw on my computer, in my social network [Orkut]	This I saw on the the Estadao de Sao Paulo [newspaper]

Sample seven: Andrea (public school 1)

Nome: G
Data: 21.04.07
Dia da semana: sabado

Hoje, eu	li	escrevi	em meu diário, no caderno, no computador, na Internet (blog, comunidade etc.), etc.	no/a (ex.: escola, (em) casa, na biblioteca, rua, shopping etc.)
pela manhã	/ /	/ /	/ /	/ /
à tarde	/ /	/ /	/ /	/ /
à noite	Eu li revista sobre artistas.	Eu escrevi no meu orkut.		em casa

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Name: A [   ] (translation)
Date: 21.04.07
Weekday: Saturday

	read	wrote	in my diary, in my school notebook, in the computer, on the Internet (blog, social network, etc.), etc.	at school, at home, in the library, on the street, in the shopping mall, etc.
Today, I	read	wrote		
Morning				
Afternoon				
Evening	I read a magazine about artists [celebrities]	I wrote on my Orkut.		at home

Sample eight: Vinicius (public school 2)

Nome: ~~Kri~~ _vi._
Data: 1/0?/0?
Dia da semana: _quarta_

Hoje, eu	li	escrevi	em meu diário, no caderno, no computador, na Internet (blog, comunidade etc.), etc.	no/a (ex.: escola, (em) casa, na biblioteca, rua, shopping etc.)
pela manhã				
à tarde				
à noite	em livo de pária			em casa

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Name: [Vinicius] (translation)
Date: 01/04/07
Weekday: Wednesday

Today, I	read	wrote	in my diary, in my school notebook, in the computer, on the Internet (blog, social network, etc.), etc.	at school, at home, in the library, on the street, in the shopping mall, etc.
Morning				
Afternoon				
Evening	A poetry book			At home

Sample nine: Felipe (public school 2)

Nome: _Feli_
Data: _20/09/0?_
Dia da semana: _Sábado_

Hoje, eu	li	escrevi	em meu diário, no caderno, no computador, na Internet (blog, comunidade etc.), etc.	no/a (ex.: escola, (em) casa, na biblioteca, rua, shopping etc.)
pela manhã	Eu li um livro "Irô como vei"	a lição de ciências	no caderno	Em casa
à tarde	li um livro no jornal	mandei mensagem pelo celular	no celular	Em casa
à noite	Eu li o livro "Frisoneira"	um pequenos textos para minha mãe	numa folha	Em casa

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Name: [Felipe] (translation)
Date: 20/04/07
Weekday: Saturday

Today, I	read	wrote	in my diary, in my school notebook, in the computer, on the Internet (blog, social network, etc.), etc.	at school, at home, in the library, on the street, in the shopping mall, etc.
Morning	I read a book "Three loves"	The science homework	In [my] notebook	At home
Afternoon	I read a headline on the newspaper	[I] sent a mobile text	Mobile phone	At home
Evening	I read the book "Three loves"	A short text for my mother	On a sheet of paper	At home

Sample ten: Carla (public school 2)

Nome: Olin
Data: 29 / 04 / 07
Dia da semana: Domingo

Hoje, eu	li	escrevi	em meu diário, no caderno, no computador, na Internet (blog, comunidade etc.), etc.	no/a (ex.: escola, (em) casa, na biblioteca, rua, shopping etc.)
pela manhã	Eu li um papel na rua falando sobre um [...]. [...] Coraure	Eu escrevi no orkut, para o meu amigo Kléber.	Eu li na comunidade. Eu escrevi no computador de eu no computador ou [...].	Eu li na rua e escrevi em casa.
à tarde	Eu li um Texto [...] [...] [...] da língua portuguesa.	Eu escrevi um Texto para a minha prima.	Eu li o Texto no livro e eu escrevi no computador da minha prima.	Eu li essa na casa da minha tia e escrevi em casa de minha prima.
à noite	Eu não li nada	Eu escrevi foriar coisa que não me lembro.	Eu não li eu. Eu escrevi [...] na casa no caderno	Eu não li. Eu escrevi em casa.

Name: [Carla] (translation)
Date: 29/04/07
Weekday: Sunday

	read	wrote	in my diary, in my school notebook, in the computer, on the Internet (blog, social network, etc.), etc.	at school, at home, in the library, on the street, in the shopping mall, etc.
Today, I				
Morning	I read a leaflet on the street talking about a contest	I wrote in the Orkut to my friend Kleber	I read in the community. I wrote in my computer	I read on the street and read at home
Afternoon	I read a text for the Portuguese Language [school subject]	I wrote a text for my cousin	I read the text in a book and I wrote on my cousin's computer	I read at my aunt's house and wrote on my cousin's computer
Evening	I didn't read anything	I wrote many things which I can't remember	I didn't read. I wrote in [my] notebook	I didn't read. I wrote at home.

Sample eleven: Bruna (public school 2)

Nome: _Bru_
Data: _28/04/07_
Dia da semana: _Sábado._

Hoje, eu	li	escrevi	em meu diário, no caderno, no computador, na Internet (blog, comunidade etc.), etc.	no/a (ex.: escola, (em) casa, na biblioteca, rua, shopping etc.)
pela manhã				_[ilegível]_
à tarde			_Entrei no orkut [ilegível]_	_na [ilegível]_
à noite	_Revista Atrevida_	_desenhei "Paro o almoço + [ilegível]_		_Em meu casa_

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Name: [Bruna] (translation)
Date: 28/04/07
Weekday: Saturday

	read	wrote	in my diary, in my school notebook, in the computer, on the Internet (blog, social network, etc.), etc.	at school, at home, in the library, on the street, in the shopping mall, etc.
Today, I				
Morning				
Afternoon			I accessed the Orkut	At the Internet cafe
Evening	Astral magazine	Poems "For the jealous people their enemy's failure is more important than their own success"		At home

APPENDIX TWO: SAMPLES OF ADOLESCENTS' VERNACULAR WRITING

1. Sample from Sheila's Orkut profile

- Chorar é lindo, pois cada lágrima na face são palavras ditas de um sentimento calado. As pessoas que mais amamos, são as que mais magoamos, pke queremos que sejam perfeitas e eskecemos que são apenas seres humanos. Nunca diga que eskeceu um grande amor! ♥

- Crying is beautiful, as each tear drop on your face tells of a quietened feeling. The people we love are the ones we hurt the most, because we want them to be perfect and we forget that they are just human beings. Never say you've forgotten a great love! ♥ [translation by the researcher]

2. Sample from Patricia's Orkut profile

Let's jump the sun, let's find forever.
Where does the time go?
Just live your life and you'll get another today, today and today. [written originally in English]

3. Sample from Fabio's Orkut profile

"No guts no glory". [written originally in English]

4. A passage from one of Talita's poems

A saudade mata …
… me consome por dentro
e me leva para perto de ti
em pensamento.
E ai me perco,
Sem saber onde estou.
E quando tento me achar,
Encontro dentro de mim,
Apenas voce!
[…]

Missing you kills me …
… it eats me up
and takes me closer to you
in my thoughts.
There I get lost,
Without knowing where I am,
And when I try to find myself,
I find in me,
Only you!
[…] [translation by the researcher]

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5. Sample of Carla's Orkut profile.

children: no
religion: Christian/LDS
humor: campy/cheesy, friendly
sports: I LIKE FOOTBALL + I ALSO LIKE VOLEYBALL
books: ONLY COMICS
music: I LIKE A BIT OF ALL OF THEM
tv shows: I LOVE WATCHING TV I'M A FANATIC
About [Carla]
I'M A VERY NICE PERSON FUN TO BE WITH I LIKE WHO LIKES ME BETWEEN
[SIC.] "I'M BEAUTIFUL AND VERY + [the sentence has not completed] [translation by the researcher

6. Vinicius's letter of goodbye to the researcher

Para minha querida amiga
Belo dia que eu te vi, com seu sorriso maravilhoso.
Eu acho que a sua 1^0 imprecao [impressao] nao foi muito boa, mas mesmo assim voce agio com alegria, sempre alegre.
Belos olhos que quando viu a gente
Brilharam que profundamente me deixou alegre.
Um dia a gente vai se ver um dia Elaine.
Um grande abraco do seu
Amigo [vinicius]
Bjjss [beijos]

To you my dearest friend
[In a] nice day I saw you with your wonderful smile.
I think your 1st impression [of us] wasn't very good, but even though you acted with contentement, always content.
Beautiful eyes that shone when you saw us [and] made me deeply content.
One day we will see each other one day Elaine.

A big hug from your
friend [vinicius]
[kisses] [translation by the researcher]

APPENDIX THREE: SAMPLE OF INTERVIEW ON MSN

Participant: Patricia, private school
Note: Black refers to Patricia's lines and blue refers to the interviewers' lines.

Hii Elaine

how are you?

hi P., just a second.

okay

hi, I'm sorry.

Let's start?

hi! no problems!

sure

Do you want to do in English or Port.?

Are you feeling better today?

whatever ;D

I am, thank you!

good!

if there's a hard question, I might answer in Port, okay?

Everybody else is answering it in Port. if you feel more comfortable it's better,

but if you want to practice your English it's ok as well

okay then, I'll answer in Portuguese ;D

Ok. So, tell me a bit about your reading and writing activities

well... I normally read the paradidatic the school assigns, and others that I choose myself. I also read a lot of stories written by other people on the fiction site.

I read it on your [literacy] diary, fanfiction?

Yes yes

What type of books do you choose to read?

Fiction as well. They're moslty light stories, such as Harry Potter, The Sisterhood of the Travelling Pants or Gossip Girl

Anything else?

I read a lot. I've just mentioned the most popular ones.

I read it on your diary that you're reading O Alto da Barca. Are you enjoying it?

hahahah, I've read it for a school assignment! To be very honest, I didn't like it much..it's very tediou, it cites a lot politics ... even the teacher dislikes it.

If you could choose the school list of books, which ones would you choose?

I mean if you were the one in charge of choosing the books ...

wow, I swear to you I don't know,

Do you mean the reading books or also the coursebooks?

The literature ones

Well...I'd try to choose the books that address relevant issues, but which aren't tedious, for instance:

Auto da Barca is very boring, but it was necessary because of Gil Vicente.

[...]

can I read some of your stories? ;)
The problem is that they're not stories really. They're esssays, which I do better

For school?

No, they're mostly for the English [course], but some I write because I want to

If it's for me to write anything, I prefer dissertative texts than narratives.

ah

How often do you access the Internet?

About 4 times a week, I guess..

And what do you access?

orkut ;D fanfiction..

Elaine?

yeah

I thought you'd gone

I think my computer's very slow..

ah yes

Do you also use your computer for other things, such as school work, games ...?

aham! I always use it to do research for school or to organize my assignments ... sometimes, rarely I play The Sims

[…]

APPENDIX FOUR: SAMPLE OF CLASSROOM OBSERVATION FIELDNOTES CHART

Teacher 1 (public school 1) 23.4.07 8A				
What	**How**	**Students' Task/Action**	**Behaviour**	**Comments**
Test and the guidelines followed on marking it	T. stands at the front of the classroom and talks (T-Ss)	Listen to the teacher, copy the lesson from the board and answer to elicitation	Students are noisy throughout the explanation	
Theme and context	Asks questions to whole class ('What does theme mean?'), writes the definitions on the board		Some sts at the back talk to each other throughout the lesson. T. ignores them and carries on with her explanation.	
Recalls a previous lesson and comments how inappropriate some of the texts generated from that were. She emphasises the differences between spoken and written language: 'the expression: he was kicked on the arse is not appropriate in a written text.'	Elicits some questions: 'what's a narrative?' 'In a narrative, who are the protagonists? 'What do they do?' [after some guesses, the right answer: 'they act.'] 'Who is the protagonist?'. And writes the definitions on the board.		Some sts talk, others stare into space and others copy the lesson from the board. S. takes part in the lesson contributing w/ her own questions. A. copies from the board and K. talks and causes havoc throughout the lesson. He sits at the back and doesn't copy anything.	In explaining the relation between the 'hero' and 'anti-hero', the teacher gives the example of an infamous drug dealer and causes commotion amongst students [those were very tense days in the city, when this drug dealer's cartel had caused a series of terrorist acts (burning bank branches and buses, and murdering a number of police officers]
	T. carries on talking regardless of the background noise and gives real examples: cinema and elicits their reaction		At least 5 sts are completely alienated. One reads the Bible. A. Chats with 2 other students who seem to be flirting with her	In general, sts don't seem very affected by my presence although some look at me occasionally.

APPENDIX FIVE: SAMPLE OF SUMMARY OF ADOLESCENTS' INTERVIEWS
AUDIO FILES

File: C. (E)
Person: [Carla], public school 2 (she goes through her diaries giving me explanations and details)
Subject:

- Diaries – what she wrote and why. It's a very detailed account of her literacy practices (reading sentences on t-shirts, posters etc.)
- She talks about her family and what she does in her leisure time
- She lives with her parents, she wrote for her mum
- Wrote notes, read books, revised: 'when I don't have anything to do I revise the school work'
- Has a computer, but not the Internet. Uses Wordpad.
- Talks about what she does when she gets home from school and how tired she is, etc.
- Talks about graffiti.
- Talks about how she likes reading and writing and what she prefers doing at school and at home.
- Talks about her house: 'I don't have a bedroom at home'
- Talks about her mom's working routine, about her sister and whether she helps her sister with her homework.
- Her parents help them with their homework. Her father studied only at primary school '… but if you see him helping us you wouldn't tell, because he's very clever.' Her cousins help them.
- They've got a few books at home (a collection her father got as a present)
- Her mom taught her the 'a,e,i,o,u' [the abc]
- Religion's not strongly present in her life
- Talks about how she felt about doing the diaries: she's positive about it.

File: A0031
Person: [Andrea], public school 1
Subject: Diaries

- Talks about what she does when she gets home: cleans the house, goes to sleep, reads, watches TV, uses the computer
- Diaries: A poetry book she got from her old school.
- Computer
- Internet only at the Internet Café
- She's learned how to use the computer (Windows, Microsoft package) in a 2-year out-of-school ICT course, but she's forgotten most of it as she doesn't use it for the school (there are no work that requires it).
- Lives w/her mom and twin sister (separated parents).

- Wrote a letter to her cousin who lives in Osasco w/ her father (sent it through her father).
- Her mom did the secondary school and works in a restaurant. She also paints (everything!)
- She's got books: encyclopaedia, poetry… (they're all a gift from someone or the school)
- Her mom didn't read for them, her father did. He read stories.
- Her mom looks at their tests, but doesn't help them with their homework. She asks for help from her father who's an accountant.
- Talks about her attitude at school: she switches off when she doesn't understand sth.
- She likes her current school, it's much better than the old one which was a mess.
- Talks about sts from the slums: schools with many sts from the slums are usually worse in terms of sts' behaviour and how strict they are. Her old school was very bad.
- About the future: doesn't know what she'll do as she wants to be a nanny. She wants to go to a private school, as the private must be better than the public as it is the case with schools. She thinks private schools are better as a *teacher* used to say that private schools were better as sts were interested in learning. She believes it's a matter of money (paying or not).
- On language at the Orkut: words are abbreviated and she doesn't like it and sticks to how she normally writes at school.
- How do the things you learn at school (read, write) relate to your life outside school: 'no, not at all!' 'I haven't used any of what has been taught at school'. And what about the themes, are they relevant to your life? 'No'. Now, the teacher has been giving us more current themes, but it didn't used to be like that, the themes had no relevance to us.

File: B.
Person: [Beto], public school 1
Subject: Diaries (he didn't do any)

- Has a computer at home and uses Orkut and MSN. He accesses it everyday. He watches video clips and reads articles but wasn't able to tell me what kind and says the last article he read was a long time ago.
- 14, he lives with his aunt and her two other children (9 and 15). He used to live with his mom before. Nobody tells him to do his homework. He gets home and goes straight out. His aunt reads Folha de Sao Paulo. He reads it sometimes (news, violence, accident).
- On ICT at school: 2 classes a week (50min each). They spend time playing silly games, but he likes it. They were learning how to write letters, to search. When asked whether he can use the computer he says he can and cites the MSN and Orkut as examples. He says his cousin has taught him how to use the Word and Excel, he says he learns more at home because at school the other boys disturb him.

File: B0007
Person: [Kristiano], public school 1.
Subject: Diaries

- Reads the Estadao
- He keeps a personal diary
- He reads books for his Buddism youth groups
- He reads the paper, writes about things he sees on TV
- He makes a summary of what he reads in his notebook (Buddism)
- He goes to his local library to read comics and magazines

File C0012
Person: [Talita], public school 1
Subject: diaries

- She became a regular churchgoer after doing the Christening course. Her parents don't influence her in that as they don't go to church. She occasionally reads the Bible.
- Lives with her parents and grandma.
- Her mom's a housewife, but she's got a degree in Literature. Her dad works at a night club venue. He hasn't got a degree.
- Her mom helps her with her homework, and has always done so. They used to read books together.
- She reads magazines. She hasn't got much time to read books as she spends most of her free time online. Other than contacting friends in the net, she also uses it to search for information for her school assignments.
- She doesn't go to the library anymore, she used to before the Internet.
- She talks about a book she was reading and had to return to the school library.
- She talks about the school play: she'll have to change the way she talks, she'll have to use more slangs etc.

File D0021
Person: [Vinicius], public school 2
Subject: diaries

- Books – he uses the school library. He reads Med magazine, Orkut, leaflets; lyrics; religious texts (he wrote a list of dead people at church)
- He goes to church every Monday and Friday. He goes with his friends, grandma and sometimes on his own. He says he goes from his own will. He reads the Bible in church but not at home. His grandma reads the Bible at home.
- He lives with his gradparents, 2 uncles and one aunt. His uncles didn't go to university. They've got many books at home. He says his aunt reads a lot, 'she's a spiritist, so she reads a lot'. His aunt doesn't read with him because she works out but she encourages him to read. He doesn't read much, he doesn't like it much. The last book he read was 'Debaixo da Gazilha da Franca' (action – title's unclear).
- He does his own homework and his aunt sometimes helps him.
- He attends the mass on Sundays and meets with the youth group after that. Before the mass they warm up by dancing and during the mass they read and sing.

File B0029
Person: [Bruna], public school 2

Subject: diaries

- She reads the Bible and goes to church when she feels like it.
- She has a few bibles she got from her father.
- She lives with her mom, brother and twin sister. In her house there's a Bible open in each room, but she can't tell whether her mom reads it or not.
- When she was a child, her mom used to work a lot and she used to spend a lot of time with her father who taught them 'a lot of things of God.' When he was hospitalised, she always had the Bible with her, she read it when she woke up, after doing her chores and before going to bed. As she grew up and became a rebellious teenager she stop reading the Bible.
- She reads magazines about horoscope and copies poetry onto her notebooks. When she was younger she used to write poems.
- She uses the Orkut nearly everyday at the Internet Café. She's done an ICT course and can use the Word Office. She practices in the Internet Café and at school. In the ICT lessons, who knows how to use the computer can access the Internet and the teacher teaches the others who don't.
- She read the Bible with her boyfriend [diary entry]. They read it together and she asked him whether he understood it or not.
- She doesn't watch much TV and she spends more time with her friends.
- She doesn't read books. She never finishes the ones she starts. She likes reading love letters published in magazines.
- She writes letters to her boyfriend, and she keeps a love diary. She writes music on it and her feelings for him.
- She's got only school coursebooks at home. She reads love texts in coursebooks.

File B0028
Person: [Felipe], public school 2
Subject: diaries
- He wrote some words in his notebook as there wasn't much for him to do [diary entry].
- Texts his friends, reads books (he was reading a book of tales by Shakespeare, Bronte and a third one). He was given these books by a previous teacher. He reads regularly.
- He revises lessons.
- He wrote a letter to his mom for her birthday saying how much he liked and admired her.
- He's got 3 younger brothers. His mom's 39 and he lives with his parents and brothers.
- He writes shopping lists with his mom, she dictates it and he writes it down.
- He's got a computer at home.
- He reads the Bible and takes notes on what he reads. He goes to church every Sunday with his mom and brothers while his father's at work. He's in the youth group. They talk about projects to better the church's facilities and he has guitar lessons there.
- He texts very often.

- He helps his brother with his homework. In one instance from his diary entries his brother was dictating some words to him and he was writing them down for his brother to type them in the computer later. He reads for his brothers before bed time and asks them to read as well. They don't have many books, but he says they make do with the few they have. He borrows books from the school library (suspense and horror) and chooses when he wants to give them back, he also borrows books from his local library.
- His mom reads books with them. She reads the science book and tells them about it. She's gone to school, she's a cook at the family's bar and he takes care of his brothers. They're from Ceara, he was a child when they went to live in Sao Paulo.
- He liked keeping a [literacy] diary, he found it different as he's never done it before.

File A20
Person: [Fabio], private school
Subject: diaries

- Diaries: 'Murder in the Orient Express' for pleasure, other books were read for school in two non-consecutive weeks.
- Did an English course (3 years private + always in school).
- He's doing Italian now to carry on with what he'd learned at school (up to year 8).
- He likes reading a lot and thinks his profile is not the norm.
- Because the vestibular is approaching he's now reading one [literary] book a month + one of his own choice. For school, they don't only read classics, they also read contemporary literature from Brazil and from other Portuguese-speaking countries (e.g. Mocambique).
- Has read the whole collection of Sherlock Holmes, Harry Potter and Lord of the Rings. He's been reading books by the same authors.
- He accesses the Orkut and MSN everyday during some periods of time. Otherwise, only once a month.
- He plays videogames.
- He does his reading/writing mostly in his own in his bedroom.
- His mom used to help him only when he was small. Now his sisters sometimes help him when he needs it (one is in medical school and the other has a degree in law). His mom has a degree in business administration and works out.
- Books at home: law and medical books, encyclopedias, classicals – every time he looks at the bookcase he finds something new, but he only reads his own books.
- He did an ICT course, but it was too basic for him and he quit it. He had ICT classes in the school up to year 7 but that was more about some specific programmes. He learned a lot by himself.
- Internet: (he sounds apologetic about using it) He uses the MSN but he prefers to use the phone. He only uses it on the weekend. There are people who access it everyday. He uses the Internet to research for school and to access study materials that some teachers leave in Power Point or Word in the school web page.
- ICT: Internet, Word, Power Point, Excel, Itunes, photos, makes videos and plays games.

Creativity: poetry, school play, letters
Books
Computer
Religion
School-related
Computer at school
Family support
Others

Participant: Talita (public school 1)

I.: (…) You wrote a poetry, I read on your diary that you write poetry, do you? So, tell me what you do when you're not at school.

T.: Ah, I get home, I switch on the computer, then I have something to eat and have a shower. Then, I stay online all the rest of the time. When I'm going to have a test, or have homework, I do it and then I go back to the computer.

I.: What do you do in the computer?

T.: Ah, I talk to my friends, my boyfriend. I search for something, like that.

I.: Do you use the computer here at school?

T.: If we use it here? No, but there are computers in the IT room.

I.: Do you use them?

T.: We only used them last year. This year, I don't know why, but we're not using them.

I.: O que voces faziam no ano passado?

T.: Ah, the teacher let us do anything, like a text, or a graphic, or she'd tell us what to do.

I.: And did you learn anything?

T.: Not here, but in my IT course.

I.: So, you're doing a coursse?

T.: Yes, today for instance I have IT classes.

I.: And, what do they teach?

T.: Ah, they teach you the basics and the professional [applications].

I.: And, what are learning now?

T.: Now, I'm learning Corel Draw? Do you know it? It's a computer programme that allows you to do many things like a CD cover.

I.: Uh, and what other programmes have you already learned?

T.: Gee, so many, Word, Excel, Act, Power Point, Internet, many, many.

[…]

I.: […] What sites do you like to access in the Internet?

T.: There are many sites that I like to access. There's the encyclopaedia site. I also search for things on Google. There are many interesting sites that I like.

I.: So, you use it to do your school assignments as well?

T.: Yes, when I don't know something, I search it.

I.: [Reading from here diaries] write essays and stories […], read books and write notes. Who do you write notes to?

T.: Sometimes a note to my mother when she's not at home, something like: 'Mum, I've gone to the supermarket', she may get home and not find me, you know, this type of things.

I.: And, do you write to your friends?

T.: Yes, often.

(??)

T.: Yeah, I also write letters to my friends.

I.: Do you send them on the post?

T.: No! We write them and give them in person.

I.: Give them in person?

T.: Yes, little notes.

I.: Do you also write with your friends?

T.: What do you mean?

I.: I mean, some thing like writing a note to someone together?

T.: Always! I write with R. L. and A. these type of things. Mostly now that we're writing the [school] play together. So, we sit together and do it.

I.: […] It's about drugs, prostitution and violence. We have to approach real life teenage themes assim, it's like [the film] *City of God*.

[…]

T.: I was reading a book from the [school] library, but they didn't let me take it home. They used to let us borrow books, but I don't why they don't anymore!

[…]

I.: [referring to diaries] And do you always write poems?

T.: No. It's that on this day I was inspired and I started writing it.

I.: How long have you been writing poems for?

T.: I don't know. I write when I'm sad or when I'm in love.

I.: Uh, are you in love?

T.: Giggles. Yes!

I.: Notebook for the Christening course [reading from Talita's diary]. Are you doing a Christening course?

T.: Yes.

[…]

APPENDIX SEVEN: SAMPLE OF CHART OF ADOLESCENTS' LITERACY PRACTICES FROM LITERACY DIARIES AND INTERVIEWS AND OTHER THEMES FROM INTERVIEWS

	Literacy practices at home (diaries)	Family background and involvement	Access to comp. and Internet	On keeping a diary	Religion and literacy	ICT classes	Knowledge of ICT	Interests related to the school	Access to books, papers, magazines etc.	Other activities	On language and the Internet
Carla	(school books, poems (school related), letters to her cousin and mother), likes practicing her handwrite by writing letters to her aunt and other relatives, read t-shirts and wrote it down, posters, leaflefts, aerosol	elaborates (mom's job, reading practices with her sister and cousin, homework with parents, parents' level of schooling and jobs (lives in the community?), gets help from her 21 y-old cousin. Parents did primary school, she gets help from both her parents and from cousins	a broken computer but not internet (note pad), access the internet very rarely as she can't afford it	positive feelings	touches upon (not strongly present in her life)		only uses Wordpad at home	likes reading workshops (oficina), better than a normal class	story and fairy tale books, she likes the snowwhite, they've got a collection of books her father keeps on top of the wardrobe	gives a detailed account of her leisure activities (visiting her family, reading, writing, doesn't hang out much on the streets), hasn't got much to do and reads in these stances although she doesn't like it much, does many literacy activities for not having anything else to do and to improve her skills (copying from dictionarie etc)	
Vinicius	comics, manga, magazines, books (from school library), leaflets, lyrics, Orkut	grandparents, uncles and aunt, uncles and aunt's schooling (no degree), aunt and grandma's reading habits (religion), aunt pushes him to read, sometimes gets help from her with his hw			strongly present in his life, great connection to his literacy activities				a lot of books at home, many religious ones	Church (youth's group) and centro espirita, TV, visit friends, charity at centro	
Bruna	(bible, love letters in magazines, orkut, poems (writing and reading) letters to boyfr. Keeps a love diary	tells me about her parents, separated, alcoholic father, lives w/mum, sister, brother. Mum went to primary school, housewife	no computer at home, goes to Internet café		reads the Bible, doesn't goes to church		who knows how to use the computer can access the internet and the ones who don't are taught by the teacher	has done an ICT course	Bible, many versions given by her father, magazines	doesn't watch much TV and spends time with friends, boyfriend and babysitting	
Felipe	orkut, books letters to mother, story and homework with younger brothers, shopping lists, Bible, notes about it, sms texts	parents, brothers, his mum reads books for them (science books, she reads it and tells them about it). His parents own a bar and he takes care of his brothers		liked it as he's never done it before	reads the Bible, goes to church regularly				hasn't got many books, but makes do with some old story books, goes to his local library, and borrows book from the school library	stays at home most of the time	
Sheila	Internet and Orkut everyday (describes herself as addicted to it)	mother and sisters (1 older, two younger, good relationship with divorced father, family has religious meetings every Friday and spends ev. Sat. together at home reading, praying and talking. Her mom asks her about her lessons and calls her from work to remind her to do the hw.		it's good because it encourages people to read or write as they don't want to have a blank diary	is a regular church goer, is part of the youth's group, does tests on biblical topics, summaries it and has debates about it	they only play games now that there are no working computers, before they used to play games and didn't access the internet		talks about her wish to go vocational school and uni		comments on the negative aspects of the school and compares it with the private school she studied in the previous year, comments on the lack of interest of public school teachers and sts	on abbreviating and changing words and how it affects the way she writes at school

	Literacy practices at home (diaries)	Family background and involvement	Access to comp. and Internet	On keeping a diary	Religion and literacy	ICT classes	Knowledge of ICT	Interests related to the school	Access to books, papers, magazines etc.	Other activities	On language and the Internet
Kristiano	newspapers, buddism magazines and keeps a diary for the budhism, Orkut and MSN	lives w/ his grandmother, his mom sells books, he doesn't tell me much about his family, I got info. about it from the teacher and deputy	has got a computer and Int. accesses it everyday (Orkut and MSN), doesn't use the computer for anything else	Good	his literacy practices seems closely connected with his religion	used to do an ICT course before joining the full-time school		likes maths and portuguese and claims to do the tasks, but says he doesn't do much at school because he's bullied	has got many books as his mum sells them, goes to the library to read comics and magazines		talks about the use of slangs in the net
Beto	didn't keep a diary. Newspaper, Orkut, MSN	lives w/ his aunt and cousins. The teacher tells me about his family problems	computer and internet at home			they spend time playing silly games but he likes it.	Orkut, MSN (?). Says to learn more about it at home	says he doesn't do the tasks because he doesn't feel like it. He likes dramma classes.			abbreviations, makes a reference to social class and language
Talita	poems, Bible, Orkut, MSN, hasn't got time to read books as she spends most of her free time online, is writing the lines for her carachter in a play	parents and grandmother. Her mom's got a degree in Portuguese and stays at home. She helps her with her hw.	computer and internet at home			used the computer to do charts, texts and also whatever they wanted	is in the 3rd year of a 3-year ICT course	enjoys the Portuguese classes		English course	says she'll have to change the way she talks for a play they're rehearsing (makes an interesting ref. to the outskirts) talks about lang. in the net
Andrea	letter to cousin, internet ocasionaly, magazines	lives with her mom and twin sister, did secondary school, her accountant father used to read for them and helps them w/ their hw.	computer at home and Internet at the Int. Café	interesting: it made her think about her day			did a 2-year course but has forgotten it all as she's not required to use it for school work		has got poetry books, encyclopaedias etc. that they got either from other people or from school		doesn't like the way people write in the Orkut, she sticks to the school way
Fabio	school work, Orkut, MSN, books for school, other books, christening course, magazines, newspapers	lives with his mom and 2 sisters. His mom works out, has a degree, sisters are doing degrees, doesn't get much help any longer	computer at home	it was fine	christening course at school	until he was 11 at school, learned alone, quit his ICT course because wasn't learning much	does school assignments: videos, editing, charts, research	enjoys the Portuguese and maths	has got many books at home, mother has a subscription of a newspaper, has access to Veja magazines	Italian course, swimming, travelling	doesn't like the way adolescents write, doesn't make the same mistakes
Patricia	books, fanfictiion, essays for school and English course, plays Simm, Orkut, MSN, letters to a friend who lives in the countryside	the only child, lives with her parents who are psychologists	computer at home	itt was Ok, she committed to it and just did it		course at school as Fabio, thinks she learned mostly by herself though	school assignments, research for school, different applications	enjoys the hunanity lessons, Portuguese and History	has got many books at home, parents have many books, she has her own, magazines	English course, travelling	abbreiviations and slangs that influence the way they write at school
Pedro	kept diaries but didn't have interviews. Diaries: blog, school work, Orkut, MSN, books for school, football and Veja magazines, newspapers		computer at home								

APPENDIX EIGHT: SAMPLE OF SUMMARY OF TEACHERS' INTERVIEWS

File D0018 (folder: schedule)
Person: teacher 1, public school 1

- o On Assessment: SAOB (sistema de avaliacao Olga Benati, follow the same guidelines as the SARESB) – 10 subjects, each teacher prepares 5 questions. Portuguese: 1 text, 3 reading comprehension, 2 linguistic analysis (bimestral – during the term, teachers prepare their own tests).
- o Sts were required to do draft for the essay and submit it with the test. This aims to make sts get the idea of organisation.
- o What type of texts: they work with a series of different texts with the aim to show that the same subject can be written in different way.
- o Coursebooks used: current books works with the nomenclatura grammatical and the use. She talks a lot about grammar: predicado nominal e verbal and how she uses texts to teach students it. Talks about how publishers try to be innovative with their coursebooks without realising sts are not ready for that. She gives example of a book from Parana, and of its lack suitability for sts from SP.
- o Literature books are more focused on reading classes. Reading classes are only extra-curricular (for pleasure).
- o Her talk about the themes being taught seems disentangled with the reality observed in class. She s talks about her choice of coursebooks, literature, grammar, assessment and she's very fluent on it.
- o They work with all sorts texts (o que pintar), there's a teacher in the school who helps them with searching for texts.
- o On language variants: today the school doesn't work with right or wrong, it works with 'adequacao'/contextualization, she means the school as an institution. She emphasises to them that these differences are pertinent to the spoken language and not written language. Sts should be made aware of the differences in context affecting language.
- o On the 'we' of her discourse: the Portuguese teachers in the school seem to share the same view. Teachers liaise about what to teach and share knowledge gained in the OTs (organised by the Secretaria de Ensino).
- o On bringing home language into the classroom: Situations are created for them to discuss, what happens is that they don't take part, they shy away as they're afraid of exposing themselves. During other work, they use a lot swearing words and they have to be told off.
- o Are they aware of linguistic variants? Yes, but they see linguistic variants as an error and as reason for poking the speaker and not as something which can be accepted, mostly in reference to regional accents (around 35-40min).
- o On technology and language: they don't realise that the language used in the Internet is close to spoken language and that should differ from the language used in the school. They mismatch orality with text. They're not aware of the differences between written and spoken language. The Orkut influences in the sense that sts abbreviate words and think that's OK to do the same in school work. They might even be aware of that, but they don't care much about taking the rules into consideration when writing school work (sts say: pra que acentuacao, pontuacao? Perde muito tempo…).

Does she tackle the issue of technology with sts? Last year they worked with linguistic variants, they were asked to simulate a conversation as if they were in the Internet. They were also asked to watch TV (two soap-operas: one in Rio and one in SP with speakers of different social and cultural contexts (immigrants etc.). The most important in the Internet is to understand (communicate).

- o Do you believe the Internet has changed their behaviour? Searching: google it, print it, they don't read anymore and don't learn anymore.
- o On reading: there are sts who like reading and will always read, there are sts who don't and will never read. They seem to be writing much more, but I don't know if we can say they read more, as it's instant reading and I don't know how much they get from it. We observe that many of them have difficulty in understanding what they read, even when it's simple texts, and that probably happens as a lack of practice.
- o They don't have the habit of writing, they write here because they have to. They see writing as an obligation, a boring task. They see school as a place where they should copy only.
- o Why don't they read more: lack of support and habit at home, many parents can't read themselves. The majority haven't completed primary school, many of them can't even write their names.
- o She talks about a task she prepared for them to see that other people also have difficulties in writing: she separated them in groups and each had a series of statements about problems, but they were unable to listen to each other. She wasted her Sunday doing that. She shows me the guideline of phases of writing she gave year 5 sts (in a different package, different approach), and says it worked well with them. Is it more productive to work with year 5 sts? Sts from year 5, 6 … are pushed to the following year, but that can't happen in year 8 as it is the end of the cycle, she can't approve sts in year 8 who can't read or write.

File DWA0048
Person: teacher 2, private school

- o Tells me about how the teacher's role goes beyond teaching grammar, they have also to care for sts' emotional problems. She talks about the case of a st. who's lost most of her family over the period of one year.
- o We talk about the children and Brazil's social problems both in the private and public schools (F's dad was killed in a robbery)
- o The st. needs a teacher who imposes limits.
- o Are they interested in the classes, in the themes presented? Not all, not 100%, but we manage to get their interest, mostly when it's a new subject, or when it's a difficult subject and they know it has to be revised.
- o The biggest problem in Br is the university entrance test (sistema do vestibular). The secondary school (ensino medio) is *atrelado* to the vestibular, the school worked is directed to the vestibular. Is it the case of this school? 'Yes, exactly. A parent who spends 13.000 reais a year on their child's education expects that they at least be admitted into a public university or in a similar one (GV, Mackenzie, PUC).' Sts from GV and some of these schools are rarely unemployed, they are awaited by for the companies. It's not fair that they have to read what they want, they have to read those authors who will appear in the vestibular. You have to organise your curriculum

according to what's asked in the vestibular, which's not fair. It'd be fair to let sts read what they want so long as they're reading, but that doesn't happen. They have, for example, to read Gil Vicente.

- o There's a general school curriculum, and on it are the books listed by the FUVEST (9 compulsory books) and other vestibulares 'isn't that appaling? (absurdo)'. It happens mostly in year 3 (they're asked to read the 9 books). It should be natural that sts should read Machado de Assis, for example, but that shouldn't be required at school and checked through assessment or in a vestibular. The vestibular is flawed but there seems to be no other way before the social inequality in Brazil. Because of that teachers have to constantly recap and that's a challenge and it makes it uninteresting for sts.

- o Assessment is designed by the teachers. Planning is divided into grammar, essay writing and literature. Grammar and essay writing are dealt with together, she explains why. 3 essays per term. Literature: compulsory books which are assessed through tests or seminars. Grammar is also assessed by tasks and by a general test (provao). Each department prepares their own tests. One week of tests: grammar, reading comprehension with charge, articles… The tests have to follow the ENEM format, which she believes is very cleverly planned. When asked to write an essay on their own views of literature, sts expressed themselves more openly than when faced with a traditional format of test ('What's literature for you?'). Most of them did well.

- o Home reading practices: they write messages/notes, messagens cifradas do MSN, Capricho (futil), gossip magazines (Caras) – they know everything about celebrities, there was a fever towards Harry Potter, Lord of the Rings, now it's chilling out. When asked whether they read books on their last holidays, of more than 100, only 10 would say they've read something for pleasure. She's not sure if it's better to read Paulo Coelho or to read nothing.

- o On technology and reading habits: She believes that it's taken adrift from reading (afasta-lo mais da leitura do livro) as they spend hours and hours online. What scares her is that they don't have the discernment to know what's indeed true or not, she gives examples of texts in the Internet by authors who never did it (Linspector writing poetry, Drummond writing self-help).

- o What about writing? I don't believe it's affected their writing (language), it happens once and again with a few sts. It's hard for them to concentrate on the school tasks as they're not used to that anymore. She doesn't believe it's possible to learn playing. You can even take them to the ICT room and play, but don't say that they're learning with the Internet, as there are many distractions in the Internet and you turn your back and they start opening other windows.

- o How's the use of the Internet approached in the classroom (language variants, reading)? it should be clear for them the differences between written and spoken language, sometimes they still take to the text the marks of orality, the way they talk to their friends. When you're writing an essay, forget that you have to speak. The written text has to be distant from the spoken to the point you think it's beautiful but you don't speak this way. They're aware of the differences. They're threatened: if you make this type of mistake I'll take points from your grade.

- o **(35.25)** Are they aware of the different language variants between social classes: yes, they are, they even play around it. Do the school tackle it? We work with the understanding of the literature by talking about communication and the differences, (os falares). We make it clear we don't have dialects, we have regional variants and

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falares. (I don't allow they reproduce oral language) even if it's to reproduce a more simple person's variants). I say my simple person has been to school. They spend 24 hours a day with orality, their time in the school should be spent learning to write (38min). They have a problem with vocabulary.

File: A0042
Person: teacher 3, public school 2

- What's expected from these sts (year 8)? That they can write and read as it's requested by the Saresb (she talks later about it, check **www.educacao.sp.gov.br**). They have serious reading and writing difficulties (associacao de palavras). She's been working with them since 20 March. She's replacing a teacher who cannot work in the classroom any longer for health/emotional problems.
- What level do you think they are? About year 6, 2 years behind. Explain the introduction of a year 9 (new policies to be introduced in public schools, it's already been done at private schools).
- Talks about how immature they are, and how immature their reading practices are (tastes).
- Talks about what happened to books given to sts: were sold.
- Themes for the lessons: according to their yearly planning, (based on PCNs – parametros do curriculo nacional and the books dictated by the government). Teachers don't have much choice when it comes to which book to be used. However, she doesn't strictly follow the books. Every two years, the publishers send them a couple of books to choose from. Evening sts do not even bring the books. Some books are very good, but too strong for them, others like the one she's using with her sts are two childish and tiring for the sts (too long questions).
- Sts wait for your answers instead of trying to do it themselves. Why do you think it happens? Because they're not interested. Why not? Because they're not retained [in the same academic year].
- On their difficulties: writing and reading as a result of social problems, family, technology, media (celebrities, footballers), the president who has no qualifications (by another teacher).
- Assessment: prepared by the teacher herself: reading aloud, grammar test (LDB: working with grammar in a different way, but sts don't even know what grammar is), talks about the importance of knowing what predicado etc are, text comprehension, writing (essay writing – redacao) every two weeks. What's expected from their reading skills: that they can write coherently (Saresb). Some sts are making progress.
- Talks about their low attendance: 40 sts, they miss many classes due to the fact it's a full time school, too tiring. She's not sure the school takes any action. However, parents should be called and more extreme cases should be reported to Conselho Tutelar as they're under age and are supposed to be in school.
- Reading and writing practices outside school: **none.** They play playstation (when they have one) or watch TV.
- Technology. What she does: use the Word and the Internet to prepare her own lessons.
- On the influence of technology: The Internet's influenced the way they write, she gives examples of abbreviations and misspellings that she finds in their essays. She

draws their attention to that. She thinks technology influences them negatively both in writing and reading. (50m.). It influences their acquisition of *Portuguese culto*. They're not aware of the differences of register. On plagiarism: avoiding typed texts. She cites the lack of communication teenagers' use of technology can cause between them and adults. Comments negatively: they know more about technology than teachers do.
- o Do they speak Portuguese culto. No, they even write with the marks of orality. We all speak Portuguese incorrectly. They should learn how to differentiate between written and spoken Portuguese.
- o Social classes and language: she believes there's a gap. She believes they're not aware of these differences

Note: This is an NVivo file hence the line numbers, skipped lines and symbols.
Participant: Teacher 1, public school 1

Strategies
Grammar
Portugues culto (orality /written)
Based on external exam
<Documents\Teacher1 (2)> - § 2 references coded [1.07% Coverage]
Reference 1 - 0.83% Coverage
And one of the things we were, actually, are working with them is the standardasition of
presentation of work, because we're an institution, you can't present my assignments in a
way, for the history teacher in a different way, and philosophy another, the content is different
but the layout has to be the same, and that's what she's working with them on in Organisacao
de Estudo e Pesquisa. Because we're also preparing them for outside school, so when they
submit a CV it cannot be done in any way (qualquer jeito), they cannot submit a greasy CV,
for instance.
Reference 2 - 0.24% Coverage
So, one thing we've been working on is the stages (etapas) of research, and the other is the
issue of orality, there are students who are aware of these differences
<Documents\Teacher1 (4)> - § 19 references coded [21.45% Coverage]
Reference 1 - 0.61% Coverage
This was one of classes, I haven't read it yet, but this was one of the classes which followed
the criteria that you had to make a draft to submit the essay, this is the one with the most
number of drafts.
¶7:
¶8: **Interviewer**
¶9:
¶10: So you kept the draft, is it compulsory?
¶11:
¶12: *Teacher 1*
¶13:
¶14: Yes, they have to leave the draft, because do you remember those steps we've been
working on?
Reference 2 - 0.73% Coverage
I work with these criteria, and I had asked that this part (*showing where in the test paper there
should be a space reserved for students' drafts*) was for the draft, but it wasn't possible this
time, but the next test… it's for the student to realise it's organised, if the sheet comes after he
doesn't see that as organisation and there must be a space for the draft and a space for the
final essay, otherwise they don't see that as organisation. So, this is the draft, and this is the
official text.
Reference 3 - 1.17% Coverage
 Do you remember that exercise I put (on the board), it was … this text here which gives more
information, it uses the linguagem denotativa, this one no, this one doesn't give much
information, this is a text for you to kill time, it's linguagem conotativa.
¶55:

¶56: **Interviewer**

¶57:

¶58: Then you made this comparison with them?

¶59:

¶60: *Teacher 1*

¶61:

¶62: Yes, and at the same time I'll work on grammar, because I'm working with them on description, this one is more descriptive and I'll use more nominal phrases. And this one talks about the parents' behaviour, and we'll use predicados verbais. So, we try to work in a contextualised way, and this was the reason why I changed books, I used one book and changed it to another one. because then the student (I interrupt her)

Reference 4 - 0.44% Coverage

Because the book you used?

¶67:

¶68: *Teacher 1*

¶69:

¶70: It was this 'Artemanhas da Linguagem'. In this book, the students found the exercises too hard, and also because it doesn't work with the nomenclatura gramatical only the use. This doesn't, this works with the nomenclatura and the use.

Reference 5 - 5.42% Coverage

I have to resume work on two things with them. Although grammar in a way relates to writing (a servico da escrita), tomorrow I'll correct this exercise with *predicado nominal* and *predicado verbal*, then I'll tell them when we work with *predicado nominal* when I work with description and the sentences are indeed *nominais*. Now, when do I work with predicado verbal? When I'm working with action, it's different, the text is different and if you work isolatedly the student doesn't understand the function of it. I remember when I worked with it about 2 years ago, I worked like this: I picked two paintings and asked them to describe them, one was dead nature, and then they of course only used predicado nominal, the other was a façada (?), the man threw the son (?) and they realised in the end that in one they only used predicado nominal and in the other only predicado verbal. When you use the text it makes it easier for them.

APPENDIX TEN: SAMPLE OF CHART FOR DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

We	*I*	*They (policies, books)*	*Parents & students*
Different texts/contextualised **The aim is to show** them that the same topic can be written in different ways, with different structures. Do you remember that exercise I wrote [on the board – *referring to one of the lessons I observed*], it was this text here which gives more information, it uses the *linguagem denotativa*, this one no, this one doesn't give much information, this is a text for you to kill time, it's *linguagem conotativa*. <u>We</u> aim that they adjust to the context. <u>The school today</u> doesn't work with the right or wrong, it works with the adjustment (to a context).	*Grammar (details – predicado verbal/nominal)* I'll work on grammar, because I'm working with them on description, this one is more descriptive and I'll use more nominal phrases. And this one talks about the parents' behavior, and we'll use *predicados verbais*. So, we try to work in a contextualised way, and this was the reason why I changed books, I used one book and changed it to another one because then the student [I interrupt her] I have to resume work on two things with them… I worked like this: I picked two paintings and asked them to describe them, one was dead nature, and then they of course only used *predicado nominal* *I've* heard it from the students themselves when I say: 'we've	No right or wrong (appropriateness): *Nowadays as there's no more right or wrong, as the focus of linguistics is on appropriateness.*	today the girls asked me: Teacher, what's *predicado*, so you have to stop and tell them. What did you learn, what was the topic? And they say: Ah, I don't know, the teacher gave us something. They can't identify it Now, what we notice is that they use a lot of swear words and sometimes we have to stop them, we have to say to them: look here's the school, because as I said to you, it's

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	revised the accents, and where are they, there are no accents here, and they say: 'Oh, teacher, come on what do we need accents for, it's a waste of time.' I try to work with them as the need comes … I started with punctuation…		acceptable in a certain context but it cannot become common place (*banalisado*), and for them it has, even because of the environment they live in, it's for them the same as saying *pen*.
Language variants and appropriateness (the school as an institution/info. from training) So *we* work with appropriateness, we try to value it, *we* tell them that we speak as we do, but in other parts of Brazil they speak in a different way. (being told by linguists?) *we* don't work with what is correct. […] it'll depend on whom I write to and what it is intended for, so there's not a correct language, we work with appropriateness. So in a text with different characters, they'll have to work with what is appropriate for that character, we don't work with what is correct. We aim that they adjust to	Books I changed books, I used one book and changed it to another one because then the student [I interrupt her]	One of the problems with this book that I even told the publishers' representative about was that sometimes the book wants to be very innovative and our students are not ready for that.	they still have the notion of the incorrect, they still don't see it as a variant which is logical and acceptable and they say: 'hah they speak incorrectly', mostly when it's a different accent, when there's a student from somewhere else [different parts of the country] they mock them, in some classes, they mock them, others find it

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the context, the school today doesn't…			normal, but it's seen as a mistake, they still value the notion of the incorrect, they don't understand it as a variant.
Different genres/a variety of texts (State of Sao Paulo) […] <u>mostly here in our school, actually not only in our school, in the State of Sao Paulo</u> *we*'re struggling to make them understand that there's not only narrative and description, and *we* work with a variety of different texts, a variety! <u>*We*</u> work with what comes along, many, many texts.	Contextualised way for grammar	As I've told you before, in recent years, the government has invested in the school, has invested in the teacher. The full-time school is another way of investing. However, I believe that education is a tripod, it's the result of school, family and society. If the family or the society don't take responsibility, it won't work	Yes, it does, because they don't see that the language in the Int. the lang. in technology in general is one and it's very similar to orality,.. So, there are many texts, from years 5 to 8, where they eat up the ending of words *falo* for falou, the dipthong: *so minha mae mando(u) eu fala(r) com voce*, they also add words: nos becomes *nois*, another one er what we notice in the tests is that they still write in the same way as they speak.

APPENDIX ELEVEN: SUMMARY OF CLASSROOM OBSERVATION FROM FIELDNOTES AND AUDIO RECORDINGS

Teacher 1 – Public school 1
Session 1:
23.04.07
Year 8A
- Guidelines for marking the test. The teacher explains the criteria for marking it according to the SARESP.
- Components of a narrative. The teacher elicits definitions for some of the components of a narrative (theme and context; and structure: protagonists and antagonists) and writes these definitions on the board.
- Some students talk, others stare into space and others copy t1's notes on the board.

Session 2:
23.04.07
Year 8B
- The same content and format as in session 1 with year 8A.
- Only a few students listen to the teacher's explanations, some talk to each other and a couple of them sleep with their heads down on their desks.

Session 3:
24.04.07
Year 8A
- Components of a narrative: the teacher writes on the board an extract from a narrative and the definition for the component of 'conflict'. She explains the meaning of a situation of conflict in a narrative and elicits answers from students.
- Writing task: students are asked to copy the extract of a narrative from the board and to individually write an end for it on their notebooks.
- A few students do their tasks while others wander about the classroom and chat to each other.

Session 4:
24.04.07
Year 8B
- The same content and format as in session 3 in year 8A.
- Half of the class does not do their task. They talk and some stand up and walk around the classroom.

Session 5:
02.05.07
Year 8A
- Reading comprehension: the teacher copies passages of a text and questions on the board. Ss are given about 10 minutes to answer questions about the text.
- She elicits students' answers. She writes the answers on the board.
- Only a few ss on one side of the room seem to be following the lesson. The others chat so loudly that it's hard to hear the teacher during her feedback on the task. Some of them

only start copying from the board when they should be listening to the teachers' explanations and feedback on the task.

Session 6
02.05.07
Year 8B
- "Borrowed lesson": while the teacher goes through students' notebooks individually, other students are allowed to finish drawing and colouring a map for the Geography class.

Session 7
07.05.2007
Year 8A
- Writing task: the teacher writes an extract of a text on the board and asks students to write a different version from another protagonist's perspective. Students work individually.
- Ss'task: copy from the board, listen to the teacher's explanations and do the task individually.
- Most of the students copy the text from the board. Four ss engage in a fight while the teacher carries on copying on the board oblivious of their behaviour.

Session 8
07.05.07
Year 8B
- The same content and format as in year 8A above.
- Some ss are engaged in their tasks. Some of them do other activities: listen to mp3 or sleep at their desks.

Teacher 2 – Private school 1
Session 1
14.05.07
Year 1B
- Literary genres: epic and narrative. The teacher introduces the theme of the lesson. She writes definitions for some of the genres on the board and lectures on them.
- Students are told off when they speak: 'you're not in the outskirts!' They copy the texts and listen to the teacher's explanation.
- Ss talk non-stop as they copy the text, but are very quiet while the teacher speaks.

Session 2
14.05.07
Year 1C
- Literary genres as in session 1 year 1B (text on the board).
- Ss copy the text and listen to the teacher. Some make comments on the discussion about Hitler which are positively received by the teacher.
- Students' group presentation. A group of students stand in front of the class and give a brief presentation on the literary genre of the novel. Other students listen to them – some look bored.

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Session 3
14.05.07
Year 1C
- Literary genres: novel, tale and soap opera. Teacher elicits definitions from students and writes them down on the board. She gives examples of soap operas and the role of black characters on them.
- While students do their work, t2 collects their homework and marks the names of those who did not submit it.
- Students listen and respond to elicitation. Some ask questions and make comments. (References to differences in social classes). Students are then asked to summarise the definition of these genres from their coursebooks. Students work individually.
- Some ss are told off for showing signs of tiredness (prostrated on their desks).

Session 4
14.05.07
Year 1D
- Speech figures: the teacher elicits definitions for the subject and writes them on the board. She makes comments about social classes and language use.
- A group of students give a seminar on literary genres. They read their parts. Other students listen to them and some are told off when they're not quiet or are not sitting straight on their chairs.

Session 5
16.05.07
Year 1C
- Students are told off for being noisy.
- T. writes the themes for the exam on the board. T. recalls the theme of the previous lesson. (The headteacher observes the lesson through a glass panel at the door).
- A student offers to read a passage from the book about 'tragedy'.
- Ss listen to the t. and only rarely speak.
- Some examples of real life: tsunami, casseta&planeta, congresso nacional (comedy).

Session 6
16.05.07
Year 1D
- Seminar by 2 groups of ss about literary genres. Ss read their notes and add examples.
- T. talks about the theme of the lesson. It's a very expository lesson.
- Ss do exercises in the coursebook: Millo Fernandez and T.S. Elliot (read and answer the questions to be submitted).
- Ss who talk are threatened to be sent out of the classroom. Ss listen to the presentation (fairly quietly).

Teacher 3 – Public school 2
Session 1
27.04.07
Year 8

- Text order (unscrambling)
- T. explains what to do
- Ss listen to the teacher, unscramble the text and stick it onto a sheet.
- Friendly environment: ss are charming and friendly towards the teacher. Ss make comments about language use. They chat but do their work. Occasional swearing and yelling.

Session 2
04.05.07
Year 8

- T. elicits what description is. Sets up a task: reads an essay from one of the ss as a model of work for other ss. Rhetoric questions – no time for students to answer them. Writes task on the board: essay (combine the elements of a narrative).
- Ss listen and respond to elicitation, copy from the board.
- They copy and talk at the same time.
- T. tells them off.

Session 3
10.05.07
Year 8

- Rehearsing a song for Mother's day.
- Ss talk loudly.
- T. shouts and yells at them. Ss imitate her.
- Ss sing the song.

Session 4
11.05.07
Year 8

- Rehearsing a song for Mother's day.
- Ss sing the song and wander around the room at the same time.

Session 5
18.05.07

- T. recaps the previous lesson: direct and indirect speech
- Some ss cause havoc and others take part in the lesson (one listens to music and the other films the lesson with his mobile). Ss listen, copy and respond to elicitation
- T. gives feedback on an exercise from a previous lesson as a whole class.
- Ss are louder than usual. Some students at the back of the room throw bags and notebooks at each other. Some students try to listen to the teacher despite the noise.

APPENDIX TWELVE: SUMMARY OF PARTICIPANTS' STORIES

Felipe

Felipe, 15 years old. Public school 2	
Data collected	Felipe kept literacy diaries for 10 days. I had one interview with him and we chatted on the Orkut social network.
Family background:	Felipe lived with his parents and two younger brothers at the time of the study. They had migrated from the North of country to São Paulo when Felipe was a small child. Both his parents worked in the family bar.
Literacy role models:	Felipe's mother had attended school until year 8, the same school year Felipe was attending at the time of the study. It was not clear what his father's schooling experience was. His mother liked asking him about his homework and liked to read his science book and to tell the children about it. The few books they had at home were Felipe's old school books, a book of fairy tales and a novel Felipe had been given by a previous teacher. Felipe believed the amount of books he had at home did not affect his reading for his siblings: 'I read books, John and the Bean's stock, for them to sleep, er, we don't have many books, but we make do…'
Print literacies	Felipe engaged in a series of literacy events that were related to his role as a carer and helper in the house. He read stories for his two younger brothers, helped them with their homework and helped his mother to write shopping lists: 'She dictates it to me and I write it'. In addition, he was also very keen on watching films and frequently read movie synopsis and information about TV programmes, such as the casting of new soap operas and other programmes. He liked reading 'Turma da Monica' and other superhero comics and usually went to his local library in search

	of those. At the time of study, he was reading a novel he had been given by a previous teacher. Religious literacies also accounted for a great share of Felipe's out-of-school literacy practices. He went to church every Sunday with his mother and brothers. He attended the youth group. During their meetings they discussed projects to improve the church's facilities and he also took guitar lessons. At home, he used to read the Bible and took notes of the passages he read.

Andrea

Andrea, 15 years old. Public school 1	
Data collected	Andrea kept literacy diaries for ten days. We had two interviews and chatted a few times on the Orkut network.
Family background:	She lived with her mother and twin sister. Her mother worked in a restaurant. Her father was an accountant.
Literacy role models:	Andrea's parents were divorced. She saw her father regularly, mostly on the weekends. Her mother read self-help books and magazines. She kept informed of her children's school grades, but did not help them with their schoolwork. Her father was the main provider of support with schoolwork, mostly mathematics.
Print literacies	Andrea was reading a poetry book she had been given by her old school as part of a project to get children involved in reading. Her preferred literacy artefacts were teen magazines and comics. She also used to write letters to a cousin who lived in another city. She had just finished writing one which was going to be posted by her father.
Digital literacies	Andrea had access to the Internet at an Internet café near her house. She had learned how to use the computer and the Microsoft Office applications in a 2-year out-of-school ICT course. She resented the fact that she had, however, forgotten most of it as she did not have to use it for the completion of schoolwork, 'there is no work which demands it!' In the Internet Café, she accessed the Orkut and MSN networks.
School literacies at home	Andrea had good grades in Mathematics, but thought she had some sort of [learning] difficulties as sometimes things 'did not stuck into her head'. She believed that what she had learned at school until

	then had had no effect to her home literacies and to her life: 'No, not at all!' 'I haven't used any of what has been taught at school'.

Beto

Beto, 14 years old. Public school 1.	
Data collected	Beto had two face-to-face interviews and we sporadically talked on the Orkut social network. He told me from the beginning of the study that he was not going to keep literacy diaries as he thought he was going to be expelled from school. He was not.
Family background:	Beto lived with his aunt and her two children, a nine year-old girl and a fifteen year-old boy. He told me it was a new arrangement as he used to live with his mother before. His father was in prison at the time of the research. Beto had suffered domestic abuse in the shape of physical exposition and humiliation.
Home literacy models:	Beto enjoyed sharing the newspapers with his aunt. At the time of the study, he was also learning how to use the Microsoft Office with his cousin.
Print literacy practices	Beto read 'the newspapers to know what [was] going on in the city'. He read about 'crime, violence and accidents' and suggested that São Paulo was a 'shitty city with a lot of violence.'
Digital literacy online:	Beto had a computer at home and despite telling me he never wrote anything, he used the Orkut and the MSN networks daily. His life online was very active.
School literacies at home	Beto expressed his frustration with his school and said to be uninterested in schoolwork. Nonetheless, he read the newspapers which is a literacy practice rewarded at schools and was keen to memorise his lines for the school play.

Patricia

Patricia, 16 years old. The private school	
Data collected	Patricia kept literacy diaries for fourteen days. We had an interview on the MSN and frequently chatted on the Orkut social network over the period of one year.
Family background:	She lived with her psychologist mother and father in a central and privileged area of São Paulo.
Literacy role models:	Patricia's parents had a large collection of literary classics and academic books at home. Her mother was an assiduous reader. Patricia did not remember whether her mother used to read for her when she was a child. She engaged in literacy practices mostly on her own in her bedroom where she had a computer and her own books.
Print literacies	Other than the classic literature books she read for school, she also read teenage literature. Her favourites at the time of this study were 'Harry Potter', 'Gossip Girls' and 'Quatro Amigas e Um Jeans Viajante'. She believed the great number of books she had at home encouraged her to read. Another aspect also very present in her literacy diaries was the reading of music lyrics. She also occasionally wrote stories 'if there [was] any spare time' and enjoyed reading teenage magazines. She used to write letters to an old friend who lived in the countryside. Then, she started writing letters only on special occasions such as friends' birthdays. On these occasions, she also wrote testimonials for her friends on the Orkut network. This she believed had the same purpose as writing letters. In addition, another of her passions, as she described it, was to communicate in English. She was doing an English course

	and it reflected on the large amount of reading and writing activities she engaged in English. She also communicated with some of her friends in English on the Orkut and had travelled to the U.S.A as a way to improve her English.
Digital literacies	Patricia was an assiduous reader of online fan fiction. She accessed the MSN, the Orkut and fan fiction sites about four days a week. She also occasionally played the 'Sims' game. In addition, Patricia used her computer to research for information for school assignments, for leisure activities and to read online newspapers.
School literacies at home	A considerable part of Patricia's daily home literacy practices were related to school literacies. Homework was a daily practice that also extended to the weekends. Although many of the references to schoolwork in her literacy diaries were simply put as 'homework', other more specific entries mentioned the frequent reading of classic literature books, the revision of different subjects for an impending test, and the reading of a newspaper article for the History test.

Pedro

Pedro, 15 years-old. The Private school	
Data collected:	Pedro kept diaries for fourteen days. We did not have an interview, but I had access to his blog.
Literacy models at home	Owing to the fact that Pedro did not have an interview, it was not possible to collect information on this aspect.
Print literacy practices:	Pedro read the newspapers on a daily basis and was reading a book at the time of the study.
Digital literacy practices:	Pedro read the news online. His Internet was also used for him to contact his friends on the Orkut and the MSN. He also had a blog which he updated on a regular basis.
School literacies at home:	School literacies were very present in Pedro's literacy diaries. He did his homework on a daily basis and was reading a book by Gil Vicente assigned by his school.

Sheila

Sheila, 15 years old. Public school 1	
Data collected	She kept literacy diaries for fourteen days. We had two interviews and chatted a few times on the Orkut social network.
Family background:	She lived with her mother and three siblings.
Literacy role models:	Her mother concluded her secondary school and was a manager in a rug factory. She enjoyed reading self-help books, women magazines and the Bible. In fact, the Bible played a central role in the literacy practices engaged in Sheila's home. Every Friday evening and some mornings, the whole family joined together to read meditation books, the Bible and to pray. As Sheila put it 'they blessed their Saturdays', by spending the day together and talking about various subjects. On Saturday evening, they read and prayed together. Her mother made herself present in Sheila's school life by showing an interest in what she was doing at school and calling her from work to remind her to do her homework because she tended to get distracted with the Internet and forget about it. Her mother enjoyed telling them stories of her life. Sheila was herself a role model for her younger siblings. She used to read stories for them and help them with their school homework.
Print literacies	A lot of Sheila's literacy practices reflected her commitment to her evangelical church. Entries in her literacy diary included a test on the Bible she did at church, and reading the Bible every morning. During our interviews she told me one of her favourite Bible stories. Reading the Bible seemed also to cross the boundaries between domains, as stories were read and exchanged in the church

	and home domains.
	She also enjoyed reading the "Turma da Monica" comics and wrote love letters to her boyfriend.
Digital literacies	Sheila described her access to the MSN, the Orkut networks as a vice. She connected to both every afternoon after arriving home from school.
School literacies at home	Sheila's academic success was also looked after by her church and the youth group she was part of. She attended this group meeting at church every Saturday afternoon and Sunday morning. There she engaged in a number of writing and reading activities. They wrote about the Bible and had tests. The church encouraged the youth at school by granting them points for doing well at school. Sheila believed that the literacy practices she engaged in at church helped her with her schoolwork as she read a lot and rarely made mistakes in her school writing. She believed her home, school and church literacy practices were all interconnected in her life.

Vinicius

Vinicius, 15 years old. Public school 2.	
Data collected	He kept literacy diaries for twelve days. We had two face-to-face interviews and had sporadic contact on the Orkut social network.
Family background:	Vinicius lived with his grandparents, two uncles and an aunt.
Home literacy models	Vinicius's family had many religious books home. She read a lot at home and liked to involve him in the reading of these books. His grandmother also read the Bible.
Print literacy practices:	In spite of saying he was not very inclined to read books, he occasionally borrowed books from the school library. At the time of the interview, he was reading a beautifully illustrated book about different areas in Brazil, which he had borrowed from the school library. He had also just finished an action book that he read over a month. In addition, in his literacy diaries there was evidence of other less frequent activities such as the reading of posters, leaflets and magazines; and the copying of music lyrics.
Digital literacy practices:	At the time of data collection, Vinicius did not access the Internet very often as his home computer was mostly being used by his uncle, who was unemployed. Later on during the study, his daily presence on the Orkut social network suggested he had again sole control of his home computer. On his Orkut page, there were many references to the reading of the Japanese manga 'Naruto'. These took the shape of texts and photos.
School literacies at home	In Vinicius' literacy diaries there were a number of entries about his doing his homework. According to his teachers, he was an accomplished student and put a lot of effort in using the school resources

	fully. That was seen in his use of the school library and his participation in a school photography project promoted by a magazine. As a result of his participation in this project, he visited different parts of the city with children from other schools, engaged in visual literacies and wrote a report about his participation in the project.

Fabio

Fabio, 15 years old. Private school	
Data collected	Fabio kept literacy diaries for fourteen days. We had an interview over the telephone and kept in touch on the Orkut social network.
Family background:	He lived with his mother and two sisters. His mother was an entrepreneur and his sisters were attending Medical and Law schools. They lived in a central upper-class area of São Paulo, close to private school 1.
Literacy role models:	Fabio's mother used to help him with his schoolwork when he was a child. His family had a large collection of literary classics and academic books at home. Fabio kept his own books in his bedroom and engaged in literacy practices mostly on his own.
Print literacies	Fabio was very keen on reading books such as Harry Potter and The Lord of the Rings. At the time of the study, he was reading Agatha Christie's Orient Express in English to improve his English knowledge. Fabio also engaged with religious texts in his Christening course.
Digital literacies	Fabio used the Orkut to communicate with his friends, but explained he did not do it as regularly as he used to as he was now committed to studying towards the university entrance test. He also used the Internet to search for information to complete his school assignments and to read the news. Fabio did an ICT course at school. At the time of the study, he had just finished editing a video he had made for one of his school subjects.
School literacies at home	Fabio was very focused on academic literacies as a preparation for the university entrance test. In this way, many of the recorded entries in his literacy diaries referred to the reading of literary classics for school and the completion of

	school assignments

Talita

Talita, 15 years old. Public school 1	
Data collected	Talita kept literacy diaries for ten days. We had two interviews and kept in touch on the Orkut social network and via post.
Family background:	She lived with her mother and father. Her mother used to be a Portuguese teacher, but was not working at the time of the study. Her father worked in a nightclub. They lived close to public school 1.
Literacy role models:	Talita's mother used to set reading tasks and games for Talita when she was younger. She also gave Talita close help and support with her schoolwork. Talita's mother's role was also commented by public school teacher 1 who saw her as a strong influence on Talita's academic success.
Print literacies	Talita was keen on reading and writing poetry. She was a regular churchgoer and engaged with religious texts at church.
Digital literacies	Many of Talita's literacy diary entries related to the use of the Orkut and the MSN to contact her friends and boyfriend. She also used the Internet to search for information for schoolwork and for leisure. Talita was doing an ICT course and was able to use the Microsoft Office applications.
School literacies at home	At the time of the study, Talita was engaged in writing a school play with some of her classroom peers. This was recorded in her literacy diaries as an activity she engaged in also outside school hours. She also did her homework on a regular basis.

Bruna

Bruna, 16 years old. Public school 2	
Data collected	Bruna kept literacy diaries for ten days. We had one interview and kept in touch on the Orkut social network.
Family background:	She lived with her mother, brother and twin sister. Her mother was a housewife and her brother and sister were attending school. They lived close to public school 2.
Literacy role models:	Bruna's literacy practices at home were closely related to religious texts. Bruna's father and his family had introduced her to the teachings of religious scriptures and she used to read the Bible regularly.
Print literacies	Bruna read the Bible and magazines. She also kept a diary of her relationship and was keen on copying song lyrics and poems from magazines and coursebooks.
Digital literacies	Bruna accessed the Orkut from an Internet Café and at school, as she did not have a computer at home. She was also doing an ICT course and practiced what she was learning in the Internet Café.
School literacies at home	Some of Bruna's diary literacy entries referred to her doing her homework.

Kristiano

Kristiano, 14 years old. Public school 1	
Data collected	Kristiano kept literacy diaries for three days. We had two interviews.
Family background:	He lived with his grandmother. Kristiano was on social workers' supervision as he had suffered physical abuse from his father.
Literacy role models:	Kristiano's grandmother paid close attention to Kristiano's school progress by checking his notebooks regularly and by providing him with print resources at home (e.g. books, newspapers and magazines) and with a computer.
Print literacies	Kristiano enjoyed reading comics, magazines and the newspapers. He attended Buddist ceremonies and a youth's group. He read the Buddist magazines he was given to in his temple and summarised these readings in his personal diary.
Digital literacies	Kristiano was a keen user of the Internet as a means to meeting girls. He accessed matchmaking sites and used the Orkut to contact his friends. He was attending an ICT course but did not use the applications he was learning at home.
School literacies at home	There was no evidence in Kristiano's literacy diaries of his engagement with school literacies at home.

Carla

Carla, 14 years old. Public school 2	
Data collected	Carla kept literacy diaries for fourteen days. We had two interviews.
Family background:	She lived with her parents, one sister and a cousin. Her mother was a housewife and also worked as a cleaning lady. It was not clear what her father did for a living.
Literacy role models:	Her parents stopped their studies after attending primary school. However, according to Carla she had always been able to rely on her parents and members of her extended family (who lived in the same slum community as her) for help with her schoolwork. Her home was, however, short in print or digital resources and Carla made do with the few short story books and school coursebooks she had at home.
Print literacies	Carla turned to the few print resources she had at home. She read the short story books she had at home and filled up her time with reading and copying a number of texts she found on shoeboxes, T-shirts and leaflets distributed in her community. Carla also enjoyed writing letters to a cousin who lived in a different part of the country.
Digital literacies	Carla had little access to digital technologies. She had a computer at home with no access to the Internet. She used it to write and copy texts onto WordPad. She had an Orkut webpage and accessed it sporadically from family members' and friends' houses.
School literacies at home	Carla engaged in different literacy practices with the intention to improve her school literacies. She handwrote texts in order to practice her calligraphy. She copied texts onto the WordPad in order to correct her spelling of words. She helped her sister with her homework. And, she

	regularly revised her schoolwork. She also put these practices down to her lack of other resources or leisure activities.

APPENDIX THIRTEEN: TEACHERS' INTERVIEW EXTRACTS FOR CHAPTER SIX

Extract 1

Teacher 2 (T2): Yes, exactly. A parent who spends R$ 13.000 a year on their child's education expects that they are at least offered a place in a public university or in a similar one: GV, Mackenzie, PUC. […]. In this way you have to organise your curriculum according to this [university entrance test] system, which is not the fairest one. It's much more interesting to let the student read whatever he wants, as long as he's reading something, but no, they *have to* read Gil Vicente because their knowledge of Gil Vicente's work is assessed in the university entrance test.
[…]

Extract 2

T2: The school has requested that tests should be done following the ENEM framework.

Extract 3

T2: […] And what I mean about the ENEM is that *they* want a student who reads the world. *They* don't want a student who only reads data, you know, how many inhabitants. *They* want to know what São Paulo is like, what life in São Paulo is like. *They* want a more participating student, and not a student who only memorises formulas and data and who can code these data, as we know there is the computer for this if we want it.

Extract 4

Interviewer (I.): What's expected from their writing skills?
Teacher 3 (T3): That *they*[1] can write at least coherently, in line with the *SARESP*, which is the biggest exam now in place. […] *They*[2] [*SARESP*] expect the student to write coherently, *they* don't focus on spelling so much because *they*[2] think that if the student can communicate through writing it's good enough. It's obvious that *we* work on spelling as well. And also within the structure of text: narrative or dissertative. If it's Ensino Medio, it's dissertative. It's narrative in Ensino Fundamental.

Extract 5

T3: [...] So *I* give them a reading (aloud) test, a grammar test. According to the LDB and other policies *we*[1] have to work with grammar in a different way, but students don't even know what grammar is, that's why *I* divide my classes. *I* do give them a grammar test apart from the other tests, because *they* have to know what *they*'re learning: this is grammar. Students from year 6 were given a mini grammar book, and the other day, it was so nice, *we*[2] were working on nouns and a student checked it in his book and said yes, what you're giving is grammar, it's here in my book. Because, you see, *they* don't have a clue, teachers

don't tell them noun and predicate are grammar, and students have to be aware of what *they*'re learning, for instance syntax analysis, morphological analysis. And *I* explain it all to them, for instance in year 8 *I* say to them you're now learning compound sentences.

Extract 6

T1: […] *they* [students] don't see that the language on the Internet, the language used with technology in general, is one, and it's very similar to orality because *you* have to be quick, so *you* write in a way that it doesn't matter as long as the person understands there isn't only one way of writing, but academic writing is different, *we¹* demand the lingua culta, so what *we²* notice in the essays is that *they* get the orality and written language mixed up. [T1 gives examples of errors made by students]. *They* also add words: 'nos' [we] becomes 'nois', another one. Well, what *we²* notice in the tests is that *they* still write in the same way as *they* speak. [...]

Extract 7

I.: So, would you say that the focus is more on making them understand the differences in text, genre?
T1: Yes, mostly here in our school, actually not only in our school, in the State of São Paulo, *we*'re struggling to make them understand that there's not only narrative and description, and *we* work on a variety of different texts, on a variety! *We* work with what comes along, many, many texts.

Extract 8

T1: *We* aim to ensure that they adjust to the context. The school today doesn't work with right or wrong, it works with what is appropriate.
I: What do you mean when you say 'the school'?
T1: The school, really.
I.: The school as an institution?
T1: The school as an institution. In the case of swearing words, for instance, if it's within a context it's acceptable, but it can't be vulgarized. The student is not supposed to swear all the time in the classroom as if it's OK. […] So, *we* work with appropriateness, *we* try to value it, *we* tell them that we speak as we do, but in other parts of Brazil they speak in a different way.

Extract 9

T1: I have to resume work on two things with them. Although grammar in a way relates to writing, tomorrow *I*'ll mark this exercise with predicate nominative and predicate verbal, then *I*'ll tell them when we work with predicate nominative when I work with description and the sentences are indeed nominative. […] I remember when *I* worked with it about 2 years ago, *I* worked like this: *I* picked two paintings and asked them to describe them, one was dead nature, and then they of course only used predicate nominative, the other was a 'the man threw his son (…)' and they realised in the end that in one text they only used predicate nominative and in the other only verbal predicate. When *you* use the text it makes it easier for them.

Extract 10

T1: Yes, Beto has a literacy problem, as he's the type of student who's been pushed through the academic years, so, er, his essay was submitted blank. *I*'m not teaching these students to write, *I*'m guiding them, so if he doesn't create anything it gets hard for me to guide him.

Extract 11

T1: Yes, and at the same time *I*'ll work on grammar, because *I*'m working with them on description, this one is more descriptive and *I* [general] will use more nominal phrases. And this one talks about the parents' behaviour, and *we* [general] will use predicative verbal. So, *we* try to work in a contextualised way, and this was the reason why *I* changed books, *I* used one book and changed it to another one, because then the student [I interrupt her]
I.: Because the book you used?
T.: It was this 'Artemanhas da Linguagem'. In this book, the students found the exercises too hard, and also because it doesn't work with grammatical nomenclature, but only with the use [of grammatical functions]. This works with grammatical nomenclature and the use [of grammatical functions].

Extract 12

T1: *I* try to work on things as the need arises, so in year 7 last year, *I* started with punctuation, this year 7 we did it differently, they researched it and presented it to the class, also because *I* can't give the same class every year. It depends on the situation, if *I* see they didn't get it yet, then *I* recap it. It's as I've told you before, *you* have your planning, *you* think you'll do this and that in a certain order, but sometimes *you* see *you* have to change it. So, the planning is not a straight jacket, it's very flexible, and what *we*'ve been told to do here at the school is for *us* to work on students' difficulties. So, if *you* planned to give speech figures and *you* couldn't, but he [the student] can comprehend a text it's great, because *our* aim is not for the student to have a lot of content, to have a full notebook, but for him to be able to read and write, and if he achieves this *we*'ll have accomplished *our* aim.

Extract 13

T2: Each department prepares its test. The school determines when they'll be done […] *We*, the teachers, prepare these tests as well, within all these perspectives we work on, er, I can ask a grammatical question, give an article from a newspaper for reading comprehension. […]

Extract 14

T3: […] So every other year the books are sent to us, and now I can't even change them. It's a bit complicated for the ACT teacher (temporary teacher). I don't have much option, and as I'm an ACT teacher there's the book and I have to adopt it. Yes, but I'm not following it itsy bitsy because there are things I find weak for them, so I use other materials, it's one of the materials. The new books are already arriving for next year, we'll have to

choose them. But you see, there's a text like this, but you see how many questions they have to answer, 5 here and 9 here, and I find it too complicated. It's a simple book, but [incomprehensible]. I've taught them compound sentences, because I divide my classes into grammar and writing, so it's more like a recap for them. You see it's all recaping.

Extract 15

T2: […]The biggest problem [in education] in Brazil is the university entrance test. The secondary school (Ensino Medio) is *linked* to the university entrance test. Schoolwork is directed to the university entrance test. So the whole curriculum of schoolwork is focused on it.

Extract 16

T2: […] but unfortunately we get *stuck* in this system, which makes you, for example, recap themes, and how can we tackle some topics which have already been studied by them? That is what sometimes makes it uninteresting.

Extract 17

T2: Yes, there's planning, a program which is done, but the books, for instance, are based on the list of books requested by the big university entrance tests, *isn't it absurd*? The FUVEST [university entrance test] requests a list of nine books, nine compulsory books.

Extract 18

T1: In years 5, 6, and 7 you're mostly *forced* to approve students to the following year, then in year 8 *you* have to try to do recovery work so that they overcome the problems that amounted over these 3 years. […]

Extract 19

I.: Why do you think it's now the case?
T3: Because they're not interested.
I.:Why aren't they interested?
T3: It's maybe because of the *progressao continuada*.

Extract 20

T3: They [the PCNs] *have to* be followed and there are also the coursebooks, and you have to follow them. […]

Extract 21

T2: What I see them read are these futile magazines, there's now this magazine "Capricho".

Extract 22

T2: […] so I see the girls read this. What they're reading is this [*Capricho* magazine] and gossip magazines. These things they like reading. Ask them about any good-looking soap opera actor, and this they know about. There was a fever of "Harry Potter", "Lord of the Rings", but it's chilled out. Ask students whether they read anything on holiday, of the universe of about 100 and 120 students I've got I probably wouldn't count 10 who have read a book for pleasure. A couple of them have read "The Da Vinci Code", this type of things, but reading a <u>classical book</u>? I don't really agree that even if it's for them to read Paulo Coelho, er, at least they're reading something. <u>I don't know, maybe after they've got the habit and can discern what's really literature.</u>

Extract 23

T1: So, there are two things: reading and writing. As to writing, they're writing much more, without worrying with spelling, they write, God knows how, but they do. As for reading, I can't really say whether they read more, because it's a different type of reading. It's quick reading, it's as if you had a globe and span it around and that's it, it's an instant reading, but I don't know how much content they learn. We notice that when they're reading a simple text, many of them have difficulties understanding it, and sometimes it's nothing very complicated, it's something simple, sometimes it's even the obvious and I think that's down to lack of reading [practices at home].

Extract 24

T2: I believe that it's distanced students from reading, from the book, from getting a book to read as they spend hours and hours [online]. We can't say they waste hours, some are indeed wasted hours [though].

Extract 25

T2: There are parents who say, ah, but he writes, he writes and he doesn't make so many mistakes, but he only gets a grade 5. And, I say, yes, but there's no substance, it's an empty pastry, I don't want an empty pastry. <u>But they need knowledge, and this knowledge they acquire only by reading.</u> […]

Extract 26

I.: And what about reading?
T3: As well, because it's easier, there are more pictures (images) in the Internet, and a book, like Carlos D. de Andrade is different, there won't be any pictures. So much so that in the curriculum guidelines they ask us to work with texts with illustrations to influence the student, to work on pre-reading.
I.: And what do you think of that?
T3: It's interesting, because it seems they focus better. If we say, look, what's this wolf in this text, then they fantasise more. And then, there's the reading and the post-reading, which is when the teacher explains the text and makes comments on themes etc.

Extract 27

T1: (…) because in the computer you don't have to worry about punctuation, accents, about spelling, so what matters is to communicate, regardless of how. I wouldn't say that it's a lack of care, but because of the speed (…). I've heard it from the students themselves when I say: 'We've revised the accents, and where are they, there are no accents here, and they say: 'Oh, teacher, come on what do we need accents for, it's a waste of time.'

Extract 28

T1: […] So, there are many texts, from years 5 to 8, where they eat up the ending of words 'falo' for 'falou' [speak], the dipthong: so 'minha mae mando [instead of 'mandou'] eu fala [instead of falar] com voce' [*my mother told me to talk to you*]. They also add words: 'nos' [we] becomes 'nois', another one, er, well, what we notice in the tests is that they still write in the same way as they speak. [...]

Extract 29

I.: Do you think the use of technology has influenced their reading and writing in any way?
T3: Yes, why do you think they like to abbreviate words, it's because of the Internet.
I.: Do they do that in their essays?
T3: Yes, they write *vc* instead of *voce*, p/ instead of *para* and we can't accept this type of thing.

Extract 30

T3: Well, if I have an essay like this I'll tell them I don't want abbreviations, but it's like I've told you, students are too stubborn, and sometimes they do things and you tell them and they carry on doing the same. And the technology is influencing them in a negative way, in relation to *Portuguese* as well, they have a different language [online].

Extract 31

I.: So, you said that the way they write on the Internet they don't reproduce at school.
T3: No, no, for God's sake! But also, they're threatened: 'If you make this type of error I'll take that many points from your grade'.

Extract 32

T1: […] So one thing *we*'ve been working on is the stages of research, and the other is the issue of orality. There are students who are aware of these differences: I'm on the internet, I use this language, I'm in the school, I use another, but there are students who think it's all the same, that the most important thing is to communicate, no matter how, but it's not. So *we* have to make it clear that it's quite not like that, when you are on the Internet, it's one context, when you're at school, it's another. So, the issue of context is very important for them to be able to communicate. It's the same as if you came to classroom and only talked to them in English, you wouldn't get anything from them because very few of them know any English, for the ones who can understand, OK, but for the others…

Extract 33

T2: What I tell them is that what should be very clear for them is the difference between written and spoken language, and it is.
I.: And, is it?
T2: It is, although sometimes they still reproduce on the written text the marks of orality of when they talk to adults. It still happens mostly in the first years [of Ensino Medio], it has to be made very clear to them, mostly in these initial years. I always tell them: 'when you're writing an essay, forget that you have to speak'. Because, the written text has to have a characteristic to it that when you read it you think 'how beautiful, but I don't speak like that'. And, we really don't, we write like that. So, I try in many ways to pass that on to them.
I.: And, they are aware of these differences?
T2: They are, they are.

Extract 34

T3: Yes, there's not shadow of a doubt, when they write, they write with marks of orality. There's no doubt of that, but they have to distinguish between the spoken and written language. We speak Portuguese wrong ourselves, everybody speaks Portuguese wrong. The Portuguese language is the most difficult language in the world. So, they *can't* let orality influence the text, they *have to* differentiate it.

Extract 35

I.: So, you think they don't know what's appropriate?
T1: […]: They might, but they don't use it. They don't give it any importance.

Extract 36

T1: […] in the past when you asked students to research a certain topic, they would check it in different sources, they'd at least go to the library and search it in a book, at least they'd read [about it]. Nowadays, they access Google or any other website and print it out, and bring it to you. They don't read it, and when you ask them about it they don't know anything about content because they think researching is simply entering a topic [on the Google search engine], printing and submitting it.

Extract 37

T2: (…) when you ask them to research a certain topic, I usually ask them to do it by hand, otherwise they'll simply copy and paste and won't read it. I've asked them to do research on speech periods. They've done this in the past, and they'll need it because it's the basis for them to start reading poetry, antithesis, paradox, I'd like them to do it, I won't do it, but I asked for it to be done by hand, and they said: 'Why by hand, aren't you from the computer age?' I said: 'No, I'm from the age of mechanical pencil, the pencil'. Why? Because they copy and paste, but as they had to handwrite it at some point they had to pay attention. Some have done it already, I've checked notebook by notebook, I've also asked for

375

examples. The greatest aim is to make them at least read, understand what they read, and to write clearly.

Extract 38

T3: So if I ask them to write an assignment on abortion, the first thing they'll ask me is if it can be typed and I'll say no. Why? Because it's not as if they'll read, interpret, and think about it. No, they'll search it on the Internet, will delete the [webpage] address and will submit it to the teacher, and this is not research, it's copying. They like copying, in every other sense. So, you can't embrace the Internet and technology. So, I have to ask them to handwrite their work, because if they at least copy it from somewhere they'll be reading and understanding some of it. I think that in this way they can write a conclusion at the end of the task to show they've learned something.

Extract 39

T2: (…) We all know that not everything on the Internet can be trusted and what scares me is that they [students] don't have discernment to know what's indeed good, trustworthy, [she gives examples of online texts wrongly ascribed to literary authors]. Linspector writing poetry, which she never did, Drummond writing self-help books… You have to know [her work] to know she never wrote poetry. A student once brought a poem by her!

Extract 40

T3: (…) I don't even use the Orkut, I don't know, don't want to know, because I think it influences students negatively. There are so many things, sometimes the students from the other school say they'll take my picture and put it on the Orkut social network, and I say yes, because I don't even check it. Why do they say it? Because there are a lot of wrong things they do, you know that. [Her examples are that students cut the face of one person and put it in the body of someone else]: [They] take the body of one person and face of the other, you know that.

Extract 41

T2: They want to be in front the computer, talking, interacting, talking really with their friends, saying silly things, lies, so much is said, and if you don't know the other speaker, you can give false age and job, there's all this fantasy […].

Extract 42

T1: He [Beto] has behavioural problems, and it comes from the fact that he has problems at home [*she tells me about his home problems*]. This doesn't justify it, but it explains a lot, because I might say my father is in prison, but I can choose to do things better, but we've noticed that our students have their moral values mixed up. For them the worst thing would be for them to become a teacher, what is cool is to be a criminal or a criminal's girlfriend, it's a matter of status. […]

Extract 43

T1: The evening students have more problems to write than the day ones. Year 2 [*Ensino Medio*] students write as students in year 5 [*Ensino Fundamental* – Primary School]. […] My curiosity is the following: I work in state schools as a moral principle, on my prom day from university I made the decision to work in a public school. <u>But lately I've felt that no matter what you do, how much effort you put into it, they don't care, students couldn't care less.</u> I get to the classroom and they ask me if it won't be a class following [a course] book. It's very easy to follow the [course] book. I don't have to do much, and the lesson is done.

Extract 44

T1: It's weird, because you realise they don't value knowledge, they value things. So, for instance, if you ask them to buy a book or for some money for photocopying, they don't have the money, but on the other hand, they've got nice mobile phones and clothes that I can't afford myself. It's not a matter of social class, but of what they value. You can see that the girls wear nice clothes.

Extract 45

T1: […] I think most of them will wash cars, or be porters. They don't have a dream of having a profession, studying, getting a degree. I used to say to students of *Ensino Medio* that it wasn't because they were in a state school that they wouldn't want to [have a career]. For many [of them] finishing the secondary school is enough. They don't have perspectives for the future. They think 'I'll finish the secondary school because I have to'.

Extract 46

T3: […] they're not interested any longer, there's also technology, the television, in the words of another teacher, they see, for instance, a footballer doing well and they say: why should I study, I can become a footballer and make millions playing. But, it's actually not quite like that, not everybody can be a footballer. **[…]** And the parents also think like that, I know because I have cases like that in my own family. [T4's colleague: another argument that I hear very often is if our president didn't study, why should I?']. Yes, these are things they see on TV, and all of these influence them.

Extract 47

Teacher M [T1's colleague]: it's also for thinking that only coming to school and copying would be enough, as if they could learn by osmosis, by only copying. **T1**: Yes. One comment made by one of our temporary teachers, she went to cover for the History teacher, and she gave them an activity that would make them think, and what did they say to her?: Teacher, write it on the board, and we will copy it', so they think that a lesson is
391: M: that old traditional scheme…
392: T1: Yes, of you writing on the board and them copying it.

Extract 48

T3: This coursebook is a bit too childish. Look at how many questions for one text, 22? Don't you think the student won't get tired? They don't do it, you waste 2 classes for them to read the text and write. I grade them on reading as well. <u>They just hang out and wait for you to write the answers on the board. It's way gone the time when you asked students to do something and they actually did it.</u>

Extract 49

T2: Mine, the school's [aim], is to focus on essay writing. I don't know if you realised today [in class] the difficulty they have in keeping quiet to read: 'I don't understand what you want'. They don't want to think, they want me to explain it to them, so I read [it to them].

Extract 50

T1: But you see they don't have the habit of writing, they write here at school because they are made to. They see writing as an obligation, as something tedious. They don't have the habit of writing.

Extract 51

I.: I see, but you said they don't have a reading habit, you also said that some like reading and writing but that the majority don't, what are the reasons for that?
T1: Lack of habit, and lack of encouragement at home. There are two things: they're not encouraged to read from an early age, there's also the issue of their parents' schooling, not all of them can read, not every parent can check their notebook and follow up their lessons. I'd say that the great majority can't.
I.: Here, in this school?
T1: In this school, what we see judging by the involvement of the parents is that many of them did not conclude year 4 (primary school), there are parents who are lawyers, etc. but there's a majority who didn't finish year 4, so you call them here and they can hardly write their own names
I.: I see.
T1: So, you can't expect much from the student because he's not encouraged at home. […]

Extract 52

T1: Despite it all, I'm not a pessimist. I still think there's some sort of positive
future, but the parents have to be present in the school, not to demand from the teacher, but to work with us, because I think it's very hard to educate a child in this way. It's easy to put them in a full-time school and expect the teachers to do it all, and when they get home you just feed them, bathe them and put them to sleep. What's their role as parents? Educating does not take place at school. It should take place much more at home than at the school, and I think parents put their children in a full-time school to get rid of the problem.

Extract 53

I.: What's the source of these [literacy] difficulties?
T3: There are many reasons, the social, you see that these students have a difficult life, there's also their family situation. There are a number of factors involved.

Extract 54

T2: It's lack of habit, there's no habit any longer. It's rare for a student to get a book as a present.

Extract 55

T2: It's really a myth. Yesterday, for example, an old colleague, a History teacher called me and asked whether I didn't have 'Sargento de Milicias', he doesn't have it. This is a classic. It was asked at school. Everybody should have this book, so it's really a myth.

Extract 56

T2: When they approach year 3, in year 1 they play and in year 2 they don't put much effort on it [studying], but when they get to year 3 their parents start to push them, because sometimes they're pushed by their parents because of the university entrance test. Then, they realise that they'll be asked for results and they start worrying about the writing element of it [the university entrance test].

Extract 57

T1: He's got some difficulties, but asks questions, also to T. His father is very strict and present, he even takes him to school. He stands out from the others in his class, because the others don't do much and he does. I think it's because of his father's involvement, he comes to school and asks questions. It's the same with Talita, her mother's very strict and present. T.'s a perfectionist, her things are all nice (well done)

Extract 58

T1: […] Kristiano follows the same religion as I do, when I saw him with the [Buddism] magazine, I asked him what he was doing with it, he said he was [a Buddist], and I said, 'no, you can't be!' I mean, he can, but I told him, 'we learn one thing and you do everything that goes against it', and he said, 'no teacher, I am', but he must be new to the religion and we can't expect much from him. I was surprised. […] As I told you about his life, I was surprised, because you'd never image that students with behavioural problems would have a reading habit. And also, because in the classroom he doesn't usually submit his work, he kills time mostly, so it's hard to see him through. I said I was surprised to catch him reading.

Extract 59

T2: I've had mothers who came and asked me 'Teacher, does D. fall asleep in your class?' And I feel like asking: 'How do you know?' But I wouldn't say that and she says: 'It's my fault because he spends long hours in front of the computer and I go to sleep and he stays up in front of the computer in his bedroom', because they've got everything in their rooms. And do I need to take this individual to use the computer? Do I need to take them to have fun with the machine? No, he's here to learn. And another student was sitting, er, and I said please sit properly. And he said it's uncomfortable, and I said yes, it's meant to be uncomfortable for you to pay attention to what I'm saying, you should be comfortable when you travel, when you're sleeping at home, not here. Have you ever achieved anything you did by having fun? […] and now should I take you to the front of the computer to have fun? No, and then they [parents] want the boy to be approved in the FUVEST? A colleague of mine went to give a private class in a Japanese family home, in a huge flat, it was absolute silence in the flat, at a certain moment the mother walked into the room to leave some drinks and he hardly noticed her. It's the discipline of the Japanese, it's been proven that the Japanese are not the most intelligent but the best disciplined.

Extract 60

T3: You see, studying is not their priority anymore, and it doesn't only happen in the Portuguese classes but in all of them. The student isn't interested any longer. He knows he'll come to school and will pass at the end of the year. In year 8, we tell them, we say they can be held back in year 8, but they're so used to not being held that they don't care. Also, they know more about the policies than us. The policies are all in their heads. They know, for example, that it's not possible to retain a whole class, you can retain only a few [students at once].

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