



TRODDEN PATHS AND UNTRODDEN LANES
Tongan Students' Readings Across Texts

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ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|-------|--|
| CDU | Curriculum Development Unit |
| L1 | English as a First Language |
| L2/FL | English as a Second Language |
| MC | Multiple Choice |
| PSSC | Pacific Senior Secondary Certificate |
| TCFE | Tokaikolo Christian Fellowship Education |
| TMOE | Tonga Ministry of Education |
| TSC | Tonga School Certificate |

ABSTRACT

Using poststructuralist notions of 'texts', 'textuality', 'discourse', 'subjectivity' and 'knowledge, this study explores the kinds of meaning links and the location of these links as made by a group of 14-16 year olds Tongan students when they read a range of literary and informative texts (poems, short stories, advertisements, cartoon).

To construct 'reading vignettes' of the students as to the discursive constructedness of their meaning links, I adopted a variety of methods: gaining information from school documents, students/teachers open-response questionnaires, and on-line and ad hoc reading tasks. The data from these sources suggests the need to explore alternative ways of looking at reading practices and the nature of response in Tongan classrooms. I did this using a poststructuralist, pedagogical framework of scaffolding and problematising. This entailed soliciting the co-operation of a co-teacher to demonstrate various ways of poststructuralist scaffolding during reading. A select group of students were chosen to be engaged in these scaffolding sessions.

The study found that meaning links are not only fluid, but paradoxical in nature and that such links are triggered by textual ideas that are of relevance and interest to the reader. Moreover, such links are located variously, either inscribed in texts or constituted from discoursal discursive practices framing response. Personal links are particular to how each has been historically constituted as a reader and vary according to texts, gender, biographical backgrounds, and even in rereadings of the same texts. Most are rooted in alignments to do with minority issues (gender, race), interests, and beliefs. However, at a broader, discoursal level, these meaning links share a commonality in the location of their sources, that of clearly defined Tongan notions of family solidarity, religion and hierarchical

social roles. Both the readers' personal and socio-cultural meanings therefore constitute and are constitutive of their interpretation and both impact upon each other.

Texts are constructed with a set of assumed prior knowledge for readers. The study found that if a text's set of knowledge is not in the readers' knowledge repertoire, the reader takes recourse to other meanings to fill in sutures in the texts other than the dominant reading. Despite being scaffolded on ways to problematise textual constructions and ideology, some unwittingly fell prey to textual ideology because of a limited repertoire of other knowledge links to interpret texts alternatively or an inability to perceive textual construction. Some however, knowingly chose to align with textual ideology when it concurs with theirs, whilst those who read against a text's preferred reading, gave a range of readings rooted in alignments constituted by personal, socio-cultural and political ideologies. Such findings imply that if the text's assumed knowledge is not shared by the reader, a poststructuralist reading approach enables the reader to utilise various strategies and knowledge links either to appropriate such knowledge, transform, or resist it. This is potentially useful in Tongan classrooms and particularly with those raised in a culture of hierarchy and textually deferential readings. The findings in general suggests that a poststructuralist reading approach allows students to identify and bring to the fore, often subjugated knowledges; explore and negotiate a range of meaning possibilities; and exercise meaning choices whilst critically cognisant of the range of knowledges at stake. In the process of this negotiation, they refine and develop wide-ranging ideas. The findings have important implications for a poststructuralist, bilingual framework to reading pedagogy and assessment in Tonga either for studies in English, the vernacular, or any other subject area, particularly in terms of giving voices to, and carving out spaces for those whose meanings tend to be marginalised in language classrooms.

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I want to serve the purpose of God in my generation
I want to serve the purpose of God while I am alive...
Mark Altrogge (1982)

My soul magnifies the Lord
And my spirit rejoices in God my Saviour
for he has been mindful of the humble state of his servant.
Mary's Song of Praise, Luke, 1:46-48

*For my Husband, 'Alipate,
Sons, Tevita Christopher and Mosese Schaaf Maka
and all Young Readers*

Intellectually we stand on an islet in the midst of an illimitable ocean of inexplicability. Our business in every generation is to reclaim a little more land, to add something to the extent and solidity of our possessions.

Thomas Henry Huxley

1:EM-POWERED VOICES

1.1.Introduction

As an embodied subject/object institutionally and historically constructed partially by my identities as a past teacher of English, and as an English Curriculum Development Officer in Tonga's Ministry of Education (henceforth TMOE), my interest in 'reading' particularly as it relates to 'practice' was grounded on the dominant modernist, psychocognitive view of reading that dominates reading practice in Tonga¹. This is a view that selectively disciplines via the prohibition of other views. It promotes reading as a set of behaviouristic and cognitive skills, based on an accurate rendition of graphic signs and textual meaning. My readings of poststructuralist notions of the discursal construction of knowledge and constitution of subjects (Foucault, 1980) as effected via language began to rock the routine, and seemingly stable grounds on which this disembodied view of reading had been constructed. The habitual assumptions I had about an unitary reading, text immanence², textual authority, and autonomous readers seem fractured and no longer have any immutable foundations. Foucault's notion of subjectivity and knowledge as locatable and constituted in material, historical/cultural discourses, and which are saturated with power and regulating how meanings are made, trenchantly brought home to me the all-pervasive politicality of reading and educational practices. In other words, knowledge is imbricated in power relations and suggests that the view of reading that I had taken on board is constituted by the legitimisation of certain

¹ Some background information on Tonga is provided in Appendix 1.

² Mills (1995) uses this phrase to refer to the primacy of textual meanings as championed by linguistic/psycholinguistic/cognitive/formalist theories.

view of reading that I had taken on board is constituted by the legitimisation of certain knowledges of dominant modernist discourses. Such a view has been inscribed in the way I (and other Tongan teachers) have taught reading/English and written materials about it. Foucault's notion made me aware of my practice as a disciplinary discourse which constrains meaning possibilities by privileging, through my power as a teacher/curriculum officer, certain knowledges at the expense of others. Moreover, that the knowledge of reading that I have constructed for students work to sustain and propagate this dominant view, thereby precluding the chances for other knowledges to be constructed. It made me feel the qualms of guilt both moral and epistemological because the processes that I had taken to be universal and fixed now seem contradictory, and that the knowable meanings that are supposedly residing in texts seem fluid, indeterminant and difficult to ascertain. I feel guilt because I had helped cultivate these certainties in Tongan classrooms, certainties which have constituted what I believe typifies many Tongan readers - deferential selves to teachers' and textual meanings.

Decisions on how English should be taught in Tonga have always been Top-down and examination oriented, and until recently³, has not been covertly contentious. The disciplinary effects that examination has on reading practice and on the type of texts/tasks to be read/undertaken work to disregard the L2 status of students; the general lack of reading resources available for them to use; and the meanings that they bring with them. As would be discussed in detail in the second part of this chapter, reading is only linked to text-based comprehension tasks and to literary study of a set of canonical texts in the upper secondary level. Carried in both these tasks is an assumption of text-immanence, of a hierarchy of

³ There has been a surge of expressed concern over the multiple-choice type assessment of reading comprehension in the last five years and on the reading selection for the study of literature.

knowledge and values, and of students as objects. The study of a set of canonical texts⁴ confined only to upper secondary presumes a sophistication of reading strategies/skills (Saunders & Hall, 1995), as well as presumes that such skills are only necessary for such texts. The notion of a canon also aims to acculturate students to a cultural heritage of civilised protocols and higher morals, creating what Benston (1984) terms "*enslaving fictions*" (p.15), because of the constraints specific language use 'enslaves' meanings and expectations by putting discursive limits of fixed identities/stereotypes of certain subjects on the readers. This notion also suggests that texts written by emerging voices from other countries/races, as well as other texts such as cartoons, popular romances, media texts, popular magazines and so on are not of equable worth to be read, or to need critical reading skills.

My involvement in recent reading workshops⁵ and the revision of an English text based on Reader-Response theories was, I was convinced at the time, a significant departure from the textual focus of our text-immanent view, as well as an acknowledgment of the importance of readers' meanings. However, Foucault's notion of how knowledge and subjectivities are discursively constituted by institutional power discourses made me realise that the knowledge that readers bring to their reading (as well as the readers themselves) in both a psychocognitive and a cultural heritage tradition is depersonalised, norm-alised, and slotted into ranks. This notion grew to nag my 'imaginary' complacency with Reader Response notions with all kinds of questions - questions to do with the kinds of readers constituted in such liberal humanist

⁴ Texts mostly of anglo-saxon origins and written by males - William Golding, Shakespeare, Joseph Conrad, Thomas Harding, Charles Dickens, John Steinbeck among others.

⁵ Since 1994, I had helped co-ordinate reading workshops based on Whole Language/Reader Response notions for both primary and secondary English teachers. The project is still ongoing.

practices, and with the types of personal truths/meanings/knowledge⁶ that would be sanctioned under the still disciplinary influence of the present selective assessment system. In particular, uneasiness about the unquestioned political assumptions suggested by the catholic acceptance of the personal dimension of reading that is championed by these notions. I note Foucault's (1983), caution about the normalising tendencies of even seemingly well-meaning, liberating programmes such as Whole Language and Reader Response which may focus on their particular regimes of truths thereby marginalising certain other truths. I was disturbed for instance, whether such notions, by giving leeway to a variety of students' personal voices, allow for an interrogation of textual ideologies? That is, would an over concern with their personal experiences override how texts, to some degree, construct/position them into certain interpretations, as Walkerdine (1986) had suggested that liberal humanist progressivism does by rendering 'powerlessness' invisible? Do they encourage some kinds of hegemony? Would the peer-led discussions it advocates be a replication of teacher-led dominance particularly if more articulate/knowledgeable peers lead discussions? This growing critical awareness makes me sceptical of the value of these liberal humanist notions which are just beginning to make their mark in Tonga. It seems that even their progressivist goals of liberating individuals, like the tokenist acknowledgements for equality treatment of marginalised groups in curriculum documents/policies, would not necessary alter practice or make students aware of how ideology inscribed in language constructs for them certain knowledges and positions.

Then there are my other concerns. How would a poststructuralist reading approach (implied by Foucault's suggestion of the need to understand how discoursal regimes of truths operate

⁶ I will be using these terms interchangeably.

via language in constituting knowledge and readers) fare in Tongan classrooms given that this liberal humanist approach is just making their mark? How would it be possible to reconcile these approaches in a way that would not disrupt and confuse teachers given that this approach is recent? How would it address general Language education of Tongan students, both in reading in the vernacular and in English as a Second Language? What implications would a poststructuralist interrogation of textual construction have for students whose textual knowledge of English are limited to text-book exercises, and who, I suspect, are not habitual readers? Would this be a constraint on their interrogation? How viable would such an approach for reading in the vernacular and other subject matters like History and Geography for instance? Equally pressing, how would such an approach cope with deeply conservative elements that are part and parcel of the socio-cultural fabric of Tongan society? I was plagued by these disturbing questions.

These scepticisms were brought to bear in this study, particularly with my aim of addressing these concerns via a notion of 'empowerment'. This empowerment aims to introduce Tongan student readers to a range of meaning possibilities that would raise their critical consciousness of how they have been positioned by language, by texts, and by practices that they are engaged in. Through such consciousness, they can be 'em'-powered by 'consciously exercising' choices on a range of knowledges.

The word 'empowerment' generally presupposes an "*agent of empowerment; a notion of power as property; and some kind of vision for a desirable end state*" (Gore, 1992, p.56). This suggests that for an agent to empower, s/he has to give authority/license to the empoweree so as to possess power. However, rather than follow this view of power as a possession, I

appropriate three particularly liberatory poststructuralist dissertations for the 'oppressed' which I think would be productive for my empowerment aims. One is Foucault's (1980) non-pejorative alternative of 'power' as an enabling element (and not merely oppressive), something that exists only when 'exercised':

"..Power..is never in anybody's hands...Power is employed and exercised through a net-like organisation. And not only do individuals circulate between its threads; they are always in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power. They are not only its inert or consenting target. They are always also the elements of its articulation." (p.98).

Rather than 'license', my empowerment presupposes opportunities for readers to 'exercise' a range of meaning choices out of critical awareness. In other words, if students can be empowered, it has to be realised in 'action', in a choice made with a 'critical consciousness' of the stakes of knowledges at play. Such a view also suggests that if power is conceived only if 'exercised' rather than possessed, I need to probe into the microdynamics of this power in its historical specificity - in the particular sites where/when reading/knowledge is practised and constructed, that is, in textual production and reception.

I am also guided by Kristeva's (1980) displacement of Lacan's (1977) 'imaginary' stage⁷ (of language development) into her semiotic 'chora', a positivity rather than an incoherent, disruptive 'lack' which needs to be repressed as seen by the Lacanian Symbolic regulating order. To Kristeva, the Symbolic order with its social disciplinary rules work to limit the meaning choices students can have access to by privileging only certain meanings. In the process, certain subjects continue to become 'objects', become repressed because their meanings are considered too unsettling and disruptive for the seeming coherency of the Symbolic ruling order.

⁷ This is the imaginary or pre-psycho:sexual phase of human development where the child is bonded with, and reliant on the 'maternal'.

Moreover, I am persuaded by Derrida's (1981) suggestion that ideas that are often dominant are logocentric in nature and needs to be 'deconstructed', that is, overwritten by bringing the 'absent' or 'subtexts' to overwrite the logocentric 'present' idea with alternative ones. Empowering students to 'exercise' critical meaning choices therefore necessitates accessing them to a range of knowledges, to a 'counter-discourse' (see Pecheux, 1982, Said, 1993), or an "*alternate wisdom*" (Morrison, 1981, p.43). This would entail bringing the semiotic to the fore to transgress the Symbolic, the logocentric, and to destabilise its normalising and disciplinary rules. In this way, their empowerment, if they 'exercise' critical choices by generating repressed meanings, is linked to Foucault's productive notion of power. As evident in counter-narratives written by many black American, African, West Indian, Pacific, Maori writers, of whom the majority are women⁸, their alternative narratives have a two-pronged effect where they construct identities which question dominant discourses, and at the same time, suggest to the reader the viability of such an alternative discourse.

My empowerment aims are also rooted in Freire's (1971) notion of 'conscientization' which aims to encourage students to 'write the world' actively. He argues that there is a culture of silence in pedagogy where even the literate is oppressed because they are unaware that their actions can be transformative and creative. He thus suggests that these students suffer the double risks of the exterior silence of oppression (via teacher privileging certain meanings/examinations) and the interior silence imposed by a lack of critical awareness. This conscientization thus, is a process of developing a critical consciousness that has a transformative power in social relations. It is an attempt to "*insert the person into the*

⁸ Black American writers like Toni Morrison, Maya Angelou, bell hooks, Richard Wright; and others like Alice Walker, James Baldwin, among others.

demythologized reality..to enlighten people about the obstacles preventing them from a clear perception of reality".(p.30). That is, for students to "take the role of agents, and to discover the myths that deceive us and help us maintain the oppressing, dehumanizing structures" (1971, p.24).

My readings of naturalisation notions of ideology (Althusser, 1971; Bourdieu, 1977; Gramsci, 1971; Pecheux, 1982) and their link to the knowledge-power relations continue to fuel my concerns with the constitution of Tongan student readers as they foreground the issue of dominance. They suggest that questions of dominance should not be ignored particularly if dominance works to privilege only certain people to knowledge (power). Gramsci's (1971) notion of hegemony (see also Foucault, 1979) for instance, raises the issue of power asymmetries as they relate to notions of domination, access and exclusion. He suggests that hegemony operates by securing consensus through the exercise of power (see also Fairclough, 1995). This exercise is made via the dissemination of a certain ideology which becomes a means of power investments and struggles. Similarly, others suggest that ideology assumes a naturalness/obviousness which hails readers who unsuspectingly take it up (Althusser, 1977; Bourdieu, 1977; Barthes, 1977; Pecheux, 1982).

I was intrigued therefore about how the various discourses and discursive practices related to literacy development in Tonga would have worked to privilege certain ideologies. Because of Foucault's suggestion of the historical discursivity of knowledge and readers, I wondered about the types of reading knowledge in terms of views of reading, response, notions of text and social ideologies that dominate. Who has access or is excluded to such knowledge? Being exposed only to abridged/adapted narratives/expositives and certain literary texts, I wondered

how Tongan students respond to inscribed ideologies in scripto-visuals and media texts for instance - do they transform or consent? What particular textual ideologies constitute them or trigger certain responses?

The disciplinary regulation of discourses as suggested by Foucault and naturalisation notions of ideology, operates by means of a normalising system of rules or metanarratives which regulates the ordering of students/knowledge. This raises another concern - concern with the all pervasive modernist and hierarchical ethos of school organisations, classrooms and examinations. In particular, I am concerned with the effects classroom practice may have on providing equitable, collaborative learning experiences for students, particularly where 'females' and 'poor readers' are concerned. This is a concern similarly raised by feminist poststructuralists concerned with improving knowledge by questioning established, hierarchical views embedded in all facets of life that subordinate minorities such as women and others (in terms of race, class, religion - e.g. Alvermann & Commeyras 1994, 1995; Fine, 1992; Gore, 1993; Jones, 1993).

Studies on teacher and peer-led discussions (Alvermann *et al*, 1990; Green & Meyer, 1991; Green *et al*, 1994), and on textual contents (Christian-Smith, 1991; Davies, 1989; Freebody & Luke, 1990; Gilbert, 1989; Smith, 1986) show how these hierarchical notions are reproduced in classrooms and texts and impart certain views about being male/female; social class/roles, ethnicity, religion, etc. These construct students as they read texts and participate in reading tasks thereby constituting their selves and positioning them to align with certain categories. Given the strong patriarchal elements in the socio-cultural fabric of Tongan society; given cultural notions of subservience and passivity; and given the hierarchical notions

of knowledge and skills built around all facets of Tongan students' education - around assessment, around texts/reading (text immanence, skills/knowledge, single correct meaning), and around teacher-pupil relations (teacher as authority on knowledge), I begin to see how the notion of a metanarrative might be affirmed and sustained by these practices. Given other classroom constraints⁹, I wondered how, and what meanings, would students assign to texts if they are given alternative ways of reading them? Which meanings would they emphasise? How would such meanings reflect their own historical construction as readers? Would they vary within and across gender? Would they be related to specific socio-cultural factors as much as to idiosyncratic dispositions? Would there be some common strands in their meanings that may show some kind of ideological affiliation, for instance, some of Fish's (1980) 'interpretive communities'?

Then there is my concern with textual construction as it relates to reader positioning. How do textual codes variously viewed as: 'ideology' (Althusser, 1971), 'structured language' (Anderson & Pearson, 1984; Mandler & Johnson, 1977), 'readerly'/'writerly' formations (Eco, 1979), 'cultural' (Barthes, 1970), or 'generic/discursive constructions' (Althusser, 1984; Derrida, 1978; Lacan, 1977) position readers? Which codes are the most influential in hailing readers into certain positions? That is, which ones produce 'immanent' or 'contested' (Corcoran, 1989) meanings? Equally, I wondered about the pedagogical and curricula implications of such an approach - would it be seen as 'just another fad' in the name of

⁹ A host of problems in the Tongan educational system were identified by a US-peacecorps sponsored study (1988). Platt (1988) also found a high incidence of learning difficulties in Primary schools due to some of the problems identified in the Peace corps study. Note also the focus on a limited range of text types and a selected canon.

educational progress and advocated by a scholar who may be just as guilty of hegemony in advocating a particular approach?¹⁰

A teacher's role is a vital component of my empowerment aims since they have to be grounded in 'praxis' that is, in a reflective "*pedagogical moment*" (Lewis, 1990, p.469) - in thoughtful practice. Praxis, to Freire (1972) is the interface between thought and action, between subjectivity and objectivity. It is the intellectual contextualisation of practice by a 'reflective practitioner' (Stenhouse, 1975) and embraces a teacher's subjective, political, social beliefs/values in view of a transformative goal. The implications of this notion of praxis as regards to a teacher's role as an agent in empowerment leave me with disturbingly awkward questions. For instance, how can s/he begin to empower students if they are still shackled to the chains of internalised repressive knowledges (e.g. accurate and speedy rendition; text immanent meaning; good and poor readers) and since no provision for that is provided by the curriculum/examination prescription? How can I address both teachers' and students' embodied multiple subjectivities, their own varied and discursively-located identities given that they are different social identities in the wider society (wife/husband; son/daughter; Nobility/Lower class, etc)? And by implication, how would I design a pedagogical moment that would deal with these diversities? More importantly, how would I ensure that the transactions to be taken place would be 'action in reflection' (Freire, 1976), or as voiced by Ellsworth (1992), "*a safe space for students to speak out and talk about their oppressions, their experiences, resentments..*" (p.107), their meanings? Equally, how can I address possible

¹⁰ As cautioned by Fairclough (1995) and Coles (1995), I have to be wary that I don't contradict my philosophical position and suggest that this is 'the truth'; 'the only way'.

constraints to do with giving spaces for students' voices (e.g. research/academic logistics) and risk forfeiting my empowerment aims?

Added to this is an equally valid concern raised by sociologists such as Lawton (1989) and Thaman (1990) of the need to use appropriate cultural tools, to be culture sensitive in the practices of knowledge acquisition. Since the examination system dictates the tools to be acquired, I wondered what those tools are and how they would have shaped Tongan student readers. What implications would a focus on cultural tools have for my empowerment aims? Moreover, how would a poststructuralist reading approach be received in the face of cultural identity movements in Tonga today¹¹ as voiced by Thaman (1992, p.3):

"how best to reflect their traditional educational practices through the imposed structure of the school so that people are able to survive in a modern world and retain their cultural identities"

Wouldn't this cultural movement be another repressive myth that would limit critical consciousness of textual construction and meaning possibilities? I am uneasy with this view in light of my discussion of the adverse cumulative effects of cultural notions of passivity and deference as they relate to how students assign meaning, and how such notions (via normalisation) produce Pecheux's (1982) "*miscognitive*" (p.129) or 'forgetting' subjects who are unaware of ideological operations. Especially since such notions might preclude a critical interrogation of how texts and practices position readers in certain ways. Such notions would also deflate the advantage of wide reading and the intrinsic value of reading itself especially if the emphasis is to read/or prepare culturally appropriate materials. Reading should be seen

¹¹ Such concerns have been manifested in recent moves emphasising the importance of the vernacular as a means of communication (see Bilingual Language programme, p.21).

as intrinsic to one's knowledge development and a site for meaning possibilities, for contestations of dominant meanings.

The politicality of reading is something that has not often been explored in research because of the apolitical, asocial view that has dominated reading practice. The resurgence of poststructuralism highlights the need to consider the ideological positionings of readers as they play a crucial part in shaping their reading repertoire, their meaning-making and what constitutes their reading selves. As Foucault suggests, institutions such as schools, church, families have embedded ideologies with regard to gender, social roles, generation, racial, educational, etc. issues. These are inherently entrenched in their respective practices so that their disciplinary processes are often taken up unconsciously by participating individuals as their own. In this guise of normality, they mask the ideological constitution of selves - a process which often entails the inculcation of certain differentiation categories and value dichotomies.

As already raised, my empowerment aims have pedagogical implications for reading in the vernacular. Reading is framed within the context of language learning; and constituted by the knowledges gained from readings/texts/discourses both in the Tongan and English languages. Since poststructuralism in general is primarily concerned with the politicality of language and how it constructs/authorises certain knowledges and identities for readers, my empowerment process can be productively utilised for readings of any kinds and for any language use. In sum, my aims of empowerment include: raising their (and teachers') critical consciousness in how power-knowledge relations and their reading selves are constructs of institutional discourses and are inscribed in language use and forms; furnishing them with a toolkit of

strategies to interrogate this political operation of language which may eventually lead to a critical exercise of their preferred interpretations; and giving them space to converse and engage in active reflection and reflective action (cf. Freire, 1972).

My questions breed their own scepticisms, and elucidate the healthy scepticism that I now have for the reading theories which have shaped my own views on reading and influenced reading practice in Tongan classrooms. At the same time, they bequeath a sense of responsibility given my feelings of guilt and indeterminacies, my genuine interest and concern for equity of educational access for Tongan students, and my awareness that even I, as an insider in the Tongan reading scene cannot make any definite claims about reading, about what, how and why Tongan students read. It is in this position that my study has evolved and taken shape¹².

Outline of the Dissertation

This study is organised around SIX chapters. This chapter sets the scene for the study. As described in this introduction, I explore the personal and political concerns that led to this study, highlighting in particular my hope to em-power Tongan student readers by exploring the means of carving out spaces for their meanings to be expressed and given equitable hearing. I also examine the historical base of this concern, specifically looking at various discursive habitats that would have been influential in their constitutions.

In Chapter Two, I review the extant reading research literature in my search to understand the historical and ideological bases of reading theories and how they may have regulated and

¹² As will be explained in chap.4, my theoretical position was not always this sceptical. My readings of poststructuralism have widened my initial socio-cognitive concerns to embrace political concerns.

inform, the literacy practices that have constituted my co-readers, my own research concerns, and the kind of methodology that may be appropriate for these concerns.

In **Chapter Three**, I describe my fieldwork journey drawing from my understanding of the various knowledges offered by theories in Chapter 2 to construct an interdisciplinary approach to data collection. My decision to look at a group of six student readers and to build a historical portrait of their reading selves led to my taking recourse to a range of data collection tools. These tools include historical documents, questionnaires and a range of reading tasks that these students were engaged with. I also explore my own journey as a researcher and the pitfalls and tensions I experienced in the course of the journey.

In **Chapter Four** I chronicle the reading vignettes of these six students. Particular focus is made on the kinds and locations of meaning links that they make in the reading tasks that they were engaged with, as suggested by their respective reading histories, educational institutions, and wider Tongan socio-cultural discourses. Two students are profiled in depth with the remaining four acting as illustrative sketches.

In **Chapter Five**, I synthesise these students' responses, drawing on their personal and reading histories to locate, as well as explain, those links. I also discuss, based on the provisional findings generated, the nature of those links in terms of the reading stances and alignments they make with regard to inscribed textual ideologies, and in terms of the reading perspective(s) that those links reflect, particularly as they relate to issues of access and exclusion, of hegemony.

Chapter Six is a reflection on my journey, synthesising and problematising the journey as a whole. It also looks at the various possibilities implicated in the findings as they pertain to notions of reading, reading research, curriculum, pedagogy, and assessment.

In the following sections, I contextualise the reading scene in Tonga to justify my empowerment aims, looking at reading-related discursive practices to see how they may have helped to some extent, constitute Tongan student readers. This is prefaced by a socio-cultural contextualisation deemed pertinent for the rest of the discussion.

1.2. Socio-cultural Structure

Bourdieu (1977) claims that in every society, their official 'culture' or habitus is formed by the features selected and invested upon by a ruling group. Moreover, that people in such a society function within what he terms the "*conditioned and conditional freedom*" (p.72). That is, people are led to act in certain ways oblivious that they are being conditioned and that such acts are contingent on their subscription to the ruling culture.

Tongan society is stratified into four classes: the King, nobility, commoners and convicts, the former two echelons, hereditary titles. Within this hierarchy is a clear delineation of social roles and rank, punctuated by differential language usage for each class. Hierarchical status, particularly by bloodline, is valued, both in the macro level (between classes) and within the extended and nuclear family units. These hierarchies and differentials reflect the hegemony of class culture, the 'official culture' in Tonga. In Bourdieu's terms, consenting to the class culture is a form of conditioned freedom masking the operation of hegemony. Any perceived freedom to live in such a society will be based on subscription to its class culture. Those who

may be unquestioning may invoke 'custom' or 'tradition' as the reason why the society should be organised in a particular way and this invocation works paradoxically to mask the ideological reproduction of their passive deference, and to reaffirm the hegemony of the ruling 'habitus' (see also Cowling, 1989). Relationships between classes and among people in Tonga is generally one of Bourdieu's 'conditionedness' where subservience and reservedness are the acceptable norms for social relations. It is a predominantly patriarchal society with clearly defined roles for males and females. Males are normally heads of the household and usually take leading roles in managerial, administrative positions, while women's domains are often those traditionally- defined ones to do with the domestic and nurturing¹³. This clear delineation of roles is historically augmented both by myths/legends and biblical teachings which depict in stark contrast binary notions of social values (e.g. masculinity and femininity). Hegemony via hierarchical notions of rank, social class, social roles reign.

In Tonga, tradition and christianity are deemed inseparable. A certain mysticism and fatalism seem to go hand in hand with christian tenets, which are given preeminence in what Thaman (1988,1990) calls the 'valued emphases' or '*anga faka-Tonga*' (Tongan Way). These are an emphasis on: religion and oral tradition; concrete examples for sharing abstract ideas; a high degree of conformity to the Tongan social conventions or the 'Tongan Way'; extended family communality; respect within the stratified society; the practice of '*ofa*' (love) which is an all-encompassing term for all other redeemable christian qualities such as *inter alia* 'fetokoni'aki' (sharing), 'feveitokai'aki' (neighbourliness), and compassion. Many of these 'Tongan ways' would be taken up as cultural tools by Tongan students and may find expression in the way

¹³ This is evident in the male/female distribution in Tonga's workforce where most women are found in the teaching, nursing and clerical/secretarial services.

that they make sense of texts. However, if these ways, laudable as they are work to inhibit active, critical interrogation and reproduce instead, passive, deferential stances, then there is a disturbing paradox in their effects given the humane aims they espouse. Such a strong hierarchical context portends that students' meaning repertoires and reading selves would be rubber-stamped with cultural notions of social roles/responsibility, that is, of being a certain: christian, male/female, parent/son/daughter, student/teacher, or generation. As such, their textual interpretations may help to sustain the modernist Symbolic order and patriarchal views of reading that dominate in Tonga.

This conditioned facet in the Tongan way of life is another *raison d'être* for this study. Considering that this may also influence: how Tongan students interpret texts and respond in classroom transactions; how teachers approach reading tasks; and how reading is assessed, it is possible that Tongan students will continue to be led to think in ways that would reproduce the repressive, text-immanent ways of meaning-making, and suppress alternative knowledges. They would therefore consider it normal that there are better readers than themselves, that only good readers can climb the social ladder, that getting the teacher's meaning is the ultimate authority, and that interpretation entails understanding textual meaning. Given such a background, I suspect that these asymmetrical relations are reproduced in literature discussions and other reading transactions.

In the next section, I will try to justify my study by reading how key discursive practices in the Tongan educational system may have helped/be helping to construct and position Tongan students as certain readers, and why reading should be seen as a historical, political act/practice.

1.3. Educational Practice

(i). The Literacy Experience - Past to Present

Missionaries introduced literacy to Tonga primarily as a tool for the indoctrination of christian dogma. To be able to read for many Tongan chiefs at the time was a means not only of glimpsing the strange christian world of influential missionaries, but of power. Written messages of conspiracy for instance, were safe means of political control in the midst of tribal conflicts, particularly within a majority who relied heavily on 'oral messages', i.e. who were unable to read (Campbell, 1992). Reading, as practised in other institutions, is also for moral/political reasons. In churches for instance, it is aimed at christian acculturation entailing rote memorisation and choral chanting of key biblical verses and events. A powerful manifestation of the pivotal importance of christianity in Tongan life, is in the fact that the bible is the only reading material that one would expect to find in all Tongan homes.

In the education sector, the past four decades have seen education policy driven by similar 'instrumentalist' views, not to further the causes of christianity, but the demands of a market economy via exams certification. The government does this by continually opting for a traditional general core curriculum: English, Tongan Studies, Mathematics and Science (Tonga Government, 1980-85;86-90;90-95). Emphasising basic knowledge and skills in these core subjects will, according to the TMOE, equip school leavers with the knowledge and attitudes necessary to meet Tonga's manpower needs (TMOE, 1993). Schools are thus seen as market places catering for society's needs (Maka, 1993), being more, as Kelly (1989) describes it, concerned with what education is for (societal needs) and treating students as 'objects' than what it is, as a process for individual development. The TMOE's belief in a core curriculum suggests a valuing of certain criterial skills - employable skills. Such a view inevitably

prescribes what and how knowledge is learned. In other words, the knowledge sanctioned by, and relevant for, the society or ruling majority prescribes what would be learned/how it would be taught. The scenario may be the same for reading practices at schools.

Though, reading has widened its functions, it is still a political exercise because, in Foucauldian terms, it is seen, instrumentally, as suggested in Tonga's educational policies to date, as a source of power, a tool for access to certain powers/types of knowledge.

(ii) Primary Reading/Assessment Policy

Many Tongan children do not benefit from a formal, pre-school experience. Pre-schools are privately-owned and the very few in the country are often inadequately staffed and resourced¹⁴. As earlier mentioned, reading experiences of most Tongan children are limited to church stories and rote memorisations of bible verses. Parents reading to children is rare and access to various texts (stories/magazines, media) is either absent or limited. It is possible therefore, that these children carry with them to primary schooling, a view of reading as functionally limited and instrumental, for spiritual guidance and material profit¹⁵.

At primary school, children learn to read in English through the audiolingual, phonic drills method developed by Gloria Tate (1971) based on a Bottom-Up view of reading targeting accuracy through mastery of skills¹⁶. This programme was still in force until the national

¹⁴ Pre-schools receive no government subsidy and have been peripherally treated by the TMOE in terms of their benefit to children's socio-educational development.

¹⁵ Sunday school assessment is a selective process similar to school assessment and a means of garnering the most presents from the christmas tree.

¹⁶ This view is discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

implementation of a new Bilingual language curriculum in 1995. Rote learning of patterned structures and vocabulary provided in accompanied readers was emphasised in this audiolingual programme, as was regurgitation and drills. These readers still provide the bulk of reading materials in most primary classrooms. A similar practice is adopted in Senior Primary with reading tasks invariably multiple-choice (henceforth MC), True/False responses based on single passages. Through this approach, children would have viewed reading as an accurate rendition of graphic signs similarly constructed in their church reading experiences; as the application of a set of skills to get textual meaning; and that this accurate rendition is a tool to secure educational success and the approval of parents and teachers. Deferential reading and mere decoding becomes the norm.

In the past five years, the influence of Whole Language theories led to local attempts to move away from the audiolingual method. These initiatives¹⁷ mark a shift in reading perspective with the reader's role and cultural meanings¹⁸ now being acknowledged. It is also a tangible move to show the value of 'reading'. The Bilingual programme recently implemented to replace the audiolingual method is an outcome of this initiative. It is based on a liberal humanist Whole Language view of language where learners are given opportunities to use real language for real purposes in a range of real and life-like situations. Peer and shared readings are encouraged using stories depicting natural situations and language. Unlike the old syllabus, it emphasises communicative and functional skills over accuracy (TMOE, 1992).

¹⁷ Setting up school libraries with donated books, a mobile library, affiliation with the National Library Association, formal acknowledgement of the International Literacy Day and regular inservice workshops on reading approaches.

¹⁸ Schools now use local resources, traditional myths and legends, biblical stories (Cocker:Maka, Personal Communication, 1994).

However, the new programme's aims may not be realised due to the host of structural and financial constraints which plague most schools. Other more perennial problems are irregular inservice support, large overcrowded classes, especially in schools around urban areas; the prevalence of composite (two classes taught by the same teacher at the same time) and multiple classes (more than two levels are taught by one teacher at the same time - e.g. classes 1 - 3), little or no appropriate support/facilities and resources (photocopying or duplicating machine, books, furniture, teacher's aids.) and lack of suitably qualified teachers (cf. Peacecorps study, footnote 9, p.10 - most primary teachers hold local certificates/diplomas which are not internationally sanctioned).

Despite the emphasis on shared reading and real-life experiences, what is worrying is the exclusion of space for a reflective dialogue of meaning explorations via a range of texts because the assessment policy still retains its traditional format, being predominantly focused on structural/linguistic aspects. Thus teachers may be forced to teach traditional structuralist notions as a result of examination pressure. This, together with the difficulty of changing ingrained traditional methodology and views may mean that the linguistic structuralist mode will continue to dominate reading activities in primary classrooms.

(iii) Secondary Reading/Assessment Policy

There is a paper existence of the functional view of reading in policy documents (e.g. in *Aims of Education* & in English F5/F6 Prescriptions), and the focus on the preparation of students to be literate was, and is, still confined to the traditional 'skills' paradigm. Reference to reading is as knowledge to do with vocabulary and oral proficiency, and skills for fluency. For some students only will there be "*the development of further skills in those aspects of*

English language necessary for higher education." (TMOE, 1981, p.53). This currently enforced *Language Education Aims* for Tonga is now fifteen years old. Its lack of specific reading aims and guidelines is axiomatic of the state of reading in Tongan classrooms - that is, there is a patent limitation on the promotion and cultivation of critical and empowered reading subjectivities. The aims overall regulate what knowledge should be taught and how it should be taught via a differentiation ethos. Even if this is the reality that only a few can pursue higher education, the mere inclusion of the clause ("*for some students*") works to patronise the notion of 'skills' and dichotomous abilities - a process of access and exclusion to certain privileged knowledge and depicts a view of reading as a hierarchy of skills. They may have relayed the message to teachers for instance higher reading skills are only the prerogative of a select few; that everybody is entitled only, as worded in the aims, to an "*adequate level of skills*" (p.53). The use of both "*adequate*" and "*skills*" therefore has a prohibitive effect. It implies only mediocre competence and certain fixed criterial abilities.

To date, there is no official English syllabus for secondary levels, only a draft version. Even if it was aimed to encourage school autonomy via school-based syllabi, the lack of a rigorous, ongoing revision programme, and a flexible framework that allows for a range of texts and meaning explorations, are paradoxically at odds with the importance placed on English by the Education aims and by the Education department as a whole. This 'Draft' gives the illusion of a broader view of reading as: functional - "*communication for a variety of purposes*"; intellectual - "*to gain knowledge, information*"; and aesthetic - "*appreciation of literature*" (TMOE, 1974). However, it is cosmetically treated and still confined to acquiring textual knowledge, a cultural legacy of values/protocols, and oriented towards traditional, structural modes of accuracy and grammar ("*have an increased knowledge of vocabulary and structure..*"

and "*read..accurately and fluently..*", p.53). It excludes the types of readings and texts that appeal to young students and which are the most accessible as reading materials in Tonga - texts such as cartoons, romances, popular fiction, fashion magazines, local newspapers, advertisements and video/television texts. It ignores that these texts are most likely the most influential in shaping their reading selves and would be powerful, accessible means of exploring alternative meanings.

(iv). **Reading Practice**

As can be expected, the dominant view of reading as a set of skills to be used to understand textual meanings, and the notion of 'text immanence' regulates reading practice in most Secondary English classrooms. There is not much variation among schools in the reading programmes that they adopt. Some schools, as a result of the initiatives of overseas teacher volunteers, use a Sustained Silent Reading programme ranging from 10 - 30 minutes. These are usually followed by a formal report or book review. Some incorporate reading into their Library/English periods with book reviews as a sequel. Most of these programmes however, are poorly planned and administered so that they often run their course long before the academic year ends (TMOE Evaluation Reports, 1989, 1990, 1993). Until quite recently, most schools did not teach literature (poetry, short story, drama, novel, non-fiction) until F4 or F5 to prepare for external examinations. I had observed in my past involvement in Secondary school inspections (1988-1992), a lamentable 'teacher-directed' passivity in English teaching using limited reading tasks (e.g. MC and short answer questions). Neglect of reading acts for aesthetic reasons was also evident. Most reading tasks revolve around a single passage using MC and short-answer questions aimed at gauging textual skills/knowledge. Discussions are usually teacher-centred but often, students are left in swim or sink situations to arrive (guess)

at an identifiable correct answer. Often, there is no discussion of students' meaning choices, no facilitation of any possible hindrances to the reading, no utilisation of pair and group work to encourage dialogic, collaborative 'grand conversations' (Eeds & Wells, 1989; Freire, 1971; Vygotsky, 1978) about meanings, no reflection on ideas and most often, limited regular, or comprehensive teacher checking of students' understanding and whether work has been done (TMOE Report, 1990, 1991, 1992). The same pattern is repeated in the study of literature. The search for a perceivable authorial/textual¹⁹ message can be identified by making textual links and literary analysis. Teacher-controlled discussion is the norm, accompanied by copious notes. There is minimal student input in discussions and personal response is confined to the relevance of its link to the authorial/textual message. Follow-up tasks are often examination-oriented and literary analysis is confined to examination-type concerns. Most school libraries are poorly stocked. Many books are old and inaccessible in terms of interest and level. It would be quite normal to find the average student having been through six years of Secondary with less than 5 complete books read, their readings being confined to that prescribed by their English course.

The state of reading practice both at primary and secondary levels that has just been depicted gives us a fair idea of how Tongan students may have been constituted as readers and the kinds of views about reading that they may hold. Notwithstanding the financial and material constraints in terms of textual resources, teaching aids and underqualified teachers, actual classroom practice to date, seems to reproduce Tongan cultural notions of passivity, and affirm

¹⁹ I will be using this 'either/or/and' combination because textual signs often direct to a reading that is not often that of the author's. Where textual signs are seen to cohere, converge and point to an obvious meaning and identified by the reader (e.g. an authorial meaning), as that aimed at by the author, then textual/authorial meanings concur and can be used interchangeably.

the reign of the Symbolic system of differences given the dominance of the text-immanent view of reading and teacher-centred pedagogy. By virtue of this passivity, readers may believe in everything they read/or are told by teachers in a non-discriminatory way. Classroom focus on the single passage paradigm; the view that the meaning of a passage is based only on textual knowledge and skills; and the view that one's personal meanings can only be deemed valid if they are consonant with the textual message, may all work to reproduce deferential stances to textual authority, masking the operation of readers' subordination in the process, and repressing other knowledges that readers can utilise and explore. It is a view which relays to students that their own meanings and historical experiences are inconsequential if they do not match that of the texts. It fosters defeatist, negative attitudes to reading for those whose meanings are not congruent with the dominant ones. Further, such practices and support prohibit via exclusion, the opportunity for reflective transactions about, and with texts. That is, such practices would have only given Tongan students limited cultural tools for interpretation.

It is also in this context, *inter alia* (e.g. the 'draft' content of the English syllabus and its lack of any 'reading guidelines') that my study has been inspired. A poststructuralist approach to reading would not only allow students to critically evaluate how textual ideology positions them but would also give them the choice of generating alternative meanings regardless of the dominant reading that they are usually offered. It is an approach that would em-power them: in their *knowledge* that a text can be read in multiple ways (no single interpretation); in their *awareness* of how they are constructed/positioned as readers not only by texts but by other relevant meanings available to them at that point in time; in the *choices* available to them to

generate alternative meanings; and in the *conscious exercise* of these choices²⁰. In the process, the notion of reading as a 'set of skills' to decode textual meanings would be dispelled. The fact that the TMOE's current educational policy acknowledges the inadequacy of its present aims for its primacy of material over individual needs, and its inability to "*develop a curriculum which will provide a type and level of education appropriate for the new few decades*" (TMOE, 1994) additionally fuels this study in my hope that a flexible, all-inclusive framework (eg. range of texts, authors, contexts, meanings) is designed to allow spaces for students to exercise with critical awareness, meaning choices. This is essential given that textual technology is an all-pervasive educational medium, and assumes mammoth importance for employment, communication, further studies, success in other subject areas, and for aesthetic reasons.

(v). Structural Constraints in Schools

As discussed, my aim is to provide a means for students to have an equitable learning experience by allowing their own meanings to be understood in terms of their historical locations. This has not been possible with current notions of reading/reading practice in Tongan classrooms, and is reflected in, and constituted by, wider school practices.

Schools are sites for the reproduction of inequity and class structures (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1991; Shor, 1986), or in Foucault's (1977) view, a disciplinary power. Streaming and examination are central tools in this regulating process. Most schools in Tonga stream classes

²⁰ Gore (1993) cautions us on attempts to empower others given Foucault's argument that "power is exercised, or practised rather than possessed", existing only in action (p.52). It means, one is not empowered if that power is not 'exercised'. However, I argue that without critical consciousness, an 'exercised' meaning would not necessarily empower students.

according to an overall aggregate of subjects which usually include English, or they stream in terms of English ability alone, usually via standardised tests. In doing so, schools create their own forms of oppression and foster dichotomous notions of good/poor performers. By clumping together similar abilities, different groups in the same level may not receive equal forms of instructions; not to mention the negative psychological impact such streamings will have on those labelled 'poor performers'. The discriminatory effect of such streamings in literacy programmes is evident in 'billabong' and 'anabranh' literacy programmes that Henderson (1993) evaluated. The former refers to programmes that segregate struggling readers from the mainstream programme, thereby disadvantaging them, and the latter refers to those that integrate failing readers to participate as literate members of mainstream programmes.

Assessment policies not only regulate but sustain dominant notions of reading via inequitable, dichotomous labels of 'correct'/'wrong'; 'valid'/'invalid'; 'good'/'bad'. Standardised testing has dominated Tonga's assessment scene to the extent that it is generally perceived as the norm to evaluate and select good and poor academic achievers. The public greatly values examination or 'official' results as a barometer on which to measure one's level of education, a reliance that suggests their unstinting, unquestioning support for such a means. Again, this unproblematic acceptance is a classic case of Bourdieu's notion of cultural reproduction, and what Alvermann & Commeyras (1995) term the perpetuation of the "*given and risk forfeiting possibilities*" (p.14) (cf. naturalisation notions in p.9,12). Such support leaves little room to look into alternative assessment possibilities. To Foucault (1977), examinations constitute a perpetual comparison of subjects as individuals and as a collectivity thereby making possible "*the calculation of the gaps between individuals and their distribution in a given 'population'.*"

(p.x). That is, they normalise and compare for the purpose of classification and punishment/exclusion. Failure for instance, is attributed to individual defect.

By implication, the present standardised testing that is currently used for internal and external judgement of ability in Tonga not only maintains the hierarchical order and normalising views of good/poor readers, it is also biased against the majority of Tongan students in the sense they are being tested on abilities and knowledge they have not been adequately prepared for, given the material, financial, and teaching constraints that they have been subject to. Emphasis is more on normative outcome than on how that outcome has come about (process). They have no real instructional value apart from the institutionalised functions they serve. They promote and reward textual analytic skills - the ability to analyse connections between bits of language as they connect to a single meaning, and 'discipline' others by silencing their voices, their potentialities. They have fostered a failure regime which continues to reproduce a dichotomous view of reading, the primacy of textual knowledge, and the single meaning paradigm. Eighty percent of the SEE English paper for example, is divided evenly between MC/short-answer questions for Reading Comprehension and Grammar tests²¹. The existing Tonga School Certificate (TSC) (Form 5, ages 16-17) English Paper for instance has 30% reading comprehension MC and short-answer items. Overall, the selection process of the education system seems to have helped perpetuate the classist climate that permeates the whole Tongan society, and prescribes how reading is done in classrooms.

²¹ Having been a past examiner; I know that the choice of the MC questions was for administrative/marketing convenience. The questions and choice of 'passage dependent' extracts were based on the psychological-view of text immanence - single meanings and textual knowledge. Personal meanings do not count.

Apart from its general repressiveness, what also makes me deeply uneasy is the official reporting of performance in English as showing a modest increase over the past years (TMOE Report, 1994)²². Notwithstanding catalytic validity and legitimisation issues²³ that such analyses raise, I am more concerned about what the misrepresentation of such data may invoke on educators, teachers and the community. It misleads and misrepresents students' abilities to teachers and parents and this has negative repercussions on providing equity of educational access to all students. This is one of the pejorative effects of this ideology. Hierarchical ideas about performance have become standardised, 'norm'-alised that people are unaware of their repression. My involvement in English examination marking suggests that students are inadequately furnished with textual knowledge given the assessment focus on it, so there is thus a need to consider alternative ways of acknowledging other meanings in their repertoire and fostering meaning possibilities.

Material and staffing shortages in most schools in Tonga mean that many of the school systems operate on an 'availability' dictate. It is quite common to find overseas volunteers teaching English without any proper qualifications by virtue of it being their native Tongue, and for other specialised teachers to be teaching English on top of their own specialised teaching loads. By operating on minimal resources, schools continue to produce students who are not furnished with a range of knowledge to help in their signifying processes. Moreover, the official medium of instruction at secondary level is English from F3 onwards, but this policy is more

²² A more focused item analyses on reading comprehension using a random sample of 100 candidates over the past five years show a similar improved trend.

²³ For a poststructuralist research framework, Lather (1986) suggests that modernist concerns to do with validity and reliability should be focused on 'catalytic validity' and 'legitimation'. Catalytic validity is the degree in which a particular researched community are em-powered. The latter is concerned both with the former, and with ethical questions to do with subjectivity, reflexivity, and self-reflexivity.

honoured in the breach than in the observance; teachers preferring to teach all subjects, even English, in Tongan/bilingually. Code-switching in English classrooms is therefore quite common. It is often employed because of the low threshold of English proficiency that Tongan students have and also may have been prompted by teachers' desires to impose their own meanings as clearly as possible (for examination purposes). As earlier referenced, a poststructuralist reading framework has important implications for the low level of English proficiency of students, reading in the vernacular, and a bilingual approach. For instance, rather than treat bilingual approaches as detrimental, it will seize this as a basis, using Tongan texts as well, to pave the process of critical conscious-raising using the medium that students are comfortable with so that they can voice and reflect upon their meanings (cf. Kristeva's displacement of Lacan's 'imaginary' into a positivity, p.6).

The social status of English is paradoxically treated in Tonga. English, being the official language for Government transactions, is a high stake language essential for: social and economic success; social prestige; world-wide communication; aesthetic appreciation and information reception. Ironically however, as already mentioned, the practice, support and reading acts necessary for its promotion and augmentation do not match this. This is understandable given financial constraints and the lack of quality books and resources.

How students/society perceive school may have a direct influence on how they view it. Socio-cultural notions of family solidarity are made possible by fulfilling one's filial responsibility and other social roles. Education in Tonga seems to be valuable for the purposes of passing examinations, for further education and/or to gain employment for the overriding purpose of fulfilling one's social duties. It is a prevailing understanding, (i.e. a 'given') for Tongan

students to think of their education as a means of fulfilling their social responsibilities and not strictly as a means of finding a life for oneself. It is also quite common for many Tongan students who fail to succeed, to assume that they have failed the system and to accept this fate unquestioningly. Implicit in both this acceptance and the perceived social roles of education is the reinforcement of the Symbolic, logocentric order - hierarchical discourses and traditional notions of obedience and unquestioning subservience. It conveys commonsensical given notions that failure to read is inevitable. It conveys, through lack of support services, that fighting passivity is an 'impasse' and impracticable, and that there is no other way but to remain textually deferential.

The lack of educational research in literacy-related areas, particularly reading at all levels in Tonga also makes this study necessary. Though my discussion portrays the school system as a site for the reproduction of the dominant order, its underlying assumption of the role of schools is optimistic - as a site for change and meaning contestations - that they can, through informed educational policies and practices, transform it on behalf of students. This study aims therefore, to explore through a poststructuralist framework, the means of empowering Tongan students by furnishing them with a 'toolkit' that would allow them to generate meaning possibilities, meanings which would have transformative implications for pedagogy, assessment, knowledge, and for students themselves.

To focus, as well as to clarify my inquiry, I pool together my initial questions into some broad frame as a starting focus as I consider the methodology I would take. Broadly, these questions are concerned with an understanding of how Tongan student readers interact with, and position themselves in terms of, the meanings they ascribe to a range of texts, the view of reading

reflected from, and the location of, those meanings. It is to understand their constitution as readers in terms of the type of meaning links that they make across a range of texts, to enable me to make an informed, reflective, pedagogical decision for their empowerment. Crudely, these questions are:

- (i) What counts as 'response' in terms of 'processes' in specific reading tasks that Tongan student readers are engaged with?
- (ii) What evidence in terms of knowledge (meaning) links, reading positions (stance), meaning locations, and reading perspectives do these responses reflect?
- (iii) How have these elements of response (knowledge, stance, meaning location, reading perspective) helped to constitute these readers in terms of poststructuralist notions of textuality, intertextuality, hegemony/power relations?

These questions, as we will find in Chapter 3, were eventually modified in the course of my 'readings' of the research literature on reading/literacy. An understanding of these readings and how they have shaped my initial understandings of the nature of meaning-making and methodology for this study is discussed in the next chapter. My search for insights about research into reading is necessary because I need to understand the knowledge they offer about reading in order, to use Foucault's words, (1971) to "*cut it*", to excavate the surface normality for ruptures and silences. In the 'cutting', I may gain insights into why and how certain theories and approaches were/are used historically, and that such insights will help me problematise as well as seek a base from which my methodology would be framed.

2: IN SEARCH OF MEANINGS

It ain't enough to know where you're going.
You gotta know where you're coming from.
Wizard of Oz to Dorothy

2.1. Introduction - A Poststructuralist Framework

Pemberton's (1993) claim that any form of inquiry depends upon an existing interrelated set of conceptual frameworks to guide and direct research points to the advisability of identifying an appropriate epistemic framework for my study. In light of this claim, and given my aforesaid poststructuralist leanings, I will devote the first part of this chapter outlining key poststructuralist tenets that I deem important for my empowerment aims particularly as they relate to textual 'response/interpretation'¹.

Generally, poststructuralism argues that language, and all discourses pertaining to its use are political constructs because they are driven by power relations/struggles. Moreover, that textual language/forms depict some of these struggles. As foregrounded in Chapter 1, I am drawn to its notion of discourse, as it relates to the nexus of power, knowledge and subjectivity because it is directly relevant to my empowerment aims. This is especially in view of the analytic framework it provides - in assessing how language as a powerful tool of discourse constructs certain readers and ideologies.

(i) Michel Foucault

Foucault's (1974) notion of 'discourses', the structuring mechanisms of socio-political

¹ I use the two terms here deliberately to refer to the meaning-making process as opposed to the normative term 'reading comprehension' which connotes a singular, definitive meaning. The two terms however do not distinguish between the degree of spontaneity and reflectivity of the process.

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institutions with their own rules and regimes of truths is central to this analytic framework.

They are:

"practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak... Discourses are not about objects; they do not identify objects, they constitute them and in the process of doing so conceal their own invention" (p.49).

With their rules and regimes of truths, they produce and sustain power, regulating what can be said and thought, who can speak, when and with what knowledge. These rules become the dominant knowledge suggesting therefore that meaning arises from institutional practices as inscribed in power relations, and are diffused throughout a society. They operate in ways which are oppressive and repressive to people within/outside that discourse. As such, they constrain signification possibilities. The subject then becomes a 'construct' of the discursive practices of discourses via their participation in such practices. Moreover, it is the basis on which discourse is founded, and at the same time, the object for discourse to act upon - s/he is both *"an object of knowledge and as a subject that knows."* (1970, p.323).

Discourses, by sanctioning certain knowledges stand in opposition to other discourses, to other possibilities of meanings, hence they become sites for contestations of meanings: *"discourse is not simply that which translates struggles or systems of domination, but is the thing for which and by which there is struggle"* (1981, p.53). This view suggests that meaning production as an effect of discourse is a process of struggle as various discursal constraints (e.g. rules) are placed on the writer during production, and on the reader during reception. In other words, texts as discourses are written, read and reconstructed from a range of constraining and enabling factors thereby rendering them heterogeneous and layered with multiple meanings. To Foucault, the struggle for dominance and their oppressive effects call for a destabilising strategy, or his 'principle of discontinuity':

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"We must make allowance for the complex and unstable powers whereby discourse can be both an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling block, a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy" (1982, p.101).

By this, he suggests that discourses in their constraints, can be used to justify a resistance to their rules. Moreover, because they exclude or include specific historical knowledge, they should be critically analysed:

"Discourses are composed of signs, but what they do is more than use these signs to designate things. It is this move that renders them irreducible to the language and to speech. It is this 'move' that we must reveal and describe." (1972, p.49).

As such, reading-related practices and material forms such as curriculum documents/texts, evaluation, and pedagogy need to be examined for their signifying and 'ordering' operations and to be rendered strange.

An important outcome of the Foucauldian notion of discourse and power-knowledge is the shift of the locus of meaning production both from the 'subject' and the 'author' seeing them as discursive 'constructs', constituted by/within the constraints of discourse. Such a view destabilises the notion of a stable, coherent, homogeneous subject and author, and by extension, destabilises 'given' binary categories ascribed to ideas/subjects (e.g. male:strong /female:weak). Knowledge is not located in the subject/author, but a construct of discursive discursal forces. My discussion in Chapter 1 of Foucault's notion of power as productive rather than dominating also works to question binary/hierarchical formations. These notions have important implications for my empowerment aims for they suggest a mode of analysis that can destabilise systems of 'given' differentiations in localised (e.g. textual transactions) and wider discourses so that a range of knowledges are made available to, and generated by, readers.

Foucault (1972) sees discursive regimes of truth as a disciplinary system of ordered rules for the production, regulation, distribution, circulation and operation of statements. Because discursive rules/constraints are the means by which such regimes maintain hegemony, Foucault continues to advocate for a perusal of their power-signifying operations for this is the only way that subjects can be freed from their repressive grips. In his *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, he suggests the value of analysing the signifying rules regulating and sustaining institutional forces and their practices, forces that constrain/ enable the dissemination of certain views as inscribed in language (statements). That is, analysis must:

"loosen the tight embrace of words and things of..of rules which define not the dumb existence of a reality, nor the canonical use of a vocabulary but the ordering of subjects" (1972a, p.48-49).

By implication, an archaeological analysis focuses on deconstructing/excavating discursive practices and their signifying rules for the purpose of transforming such practices.

This is where another Foucauldian contribution relating to knowledge-power relations and the constitution of subjects are important for my empowerment aims. In his *Genealogy of Truth* thesis, Foucault (1979) sees truth as linked in a circular relation with discourses or systems of power which produce and sustain it. That is, it is linked to effects of power which induce and extend it, regimes of truths. Such regimes are developed by the exercise of power in disciplinary institutions such as educational practices(see Chapter 1). It is used in turn, to legitimate further exercises and production of power - as power-knowledge and become naturalised and homogenised in the process. In this way, Foucault is rereading power as a productive, strategic element rather than repressive, constituting subjects as either 'power-less' or 'power-ful', a power which can be utilised instrumentally to produce alternative/counter-

discourses². This power however, as discussed in Chapter 1, cannot be passed down and is realised only when "*exercised, ..only exists in action.*" (1980, p.89). It entails resistance, but Foucault appropriates the notion of 'resistance' as linked to subordination, to one where resistance is an essential component of power. This is because he sees knowledge as immanent in, and not reflective of, power relations. An act of resistance to dominant discourses, is thus an exercise of power.

By implication, the notion of a genealogical analysis as a search by ascent, is not a search for coherent foundations but a search that would unravel the power-relations imbricated in knowledge acquisition. It aims to bring to the fore repressed, subjugated knowledges, fragments, faults, omissions - those unspoken factors that would render the normalised dominant knowledges untenable and fragile. Such a search allows more scope and sharper focus for analysis, allowing researchers for instance, to analyse the power relations in reading-related practices, and more specifically, in texts/language, and how the dissemination of certain truths via 'statements' in texts positions and constitutes readers, and in the process, sustains the power of that discourse.

In sum, an archaeological analysis probes into the forms of institutionalisations such as legal, traditional, hierarchical structures such as the family, the school etc; and the degree of rationalisation that endows, elaborates and legitimates processes for the exercise of power (Marshall, 1990). A genealogical analysis in turn, would scrutinise power-knowledge relations, the systems of differentiations that allow such power relations to operate - relations

² A similar view is reflected in Pecheux's (1982) notion of "*counter-identification*" (p.159), also Said, 1993.

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such as teacher-pupil; text/ideology-reader; examination-pedagogy, and so on which provide conditions for bringing power into play; the type of objectives pursued as dictated by those in power such as examination-oriented objectives; the means of bringing power relations into play by normalisation procedures, selection tests, top-down teaching, compliance, teacher/textual-authority, normative assessments, and so on (Foucault, 1983). Such analysis can unmask the power-knowledge operations that sanction certain knowledges, and may lead to a critique of 'givens' and a reconstruction of alternative knowledges.

Extratextual views of discourses embracing the social and the political have also been generated, based on this Foucauldian view. Gee (1990) for instance, sees them as:

"ways of being in the world...which integrate words, acts, beliefs, attitudes, social identities.. gestures, glances, body positions and clothes...a sort of identity kit which comes complete with the appropriate costume and instructions on how to act, talk, and often write, so as to take on a particular social role that others will recognise." (p.142)

or as *"socially and culturally informed systems of possibilities for knowing, being and acting"* (Kamberelis & Scott, 1992, p.361), or as sites for *"social reproduction and change"* Fairclough (1995, p.2).

(ii) Psychoanalysis - Lacan and Julia Kristeva

Psychoanalytic theory on the role language plays in constructing subjects and regulating the operation of regimes of truth also has important implications for this study. In particular, it has provided a strategy for a Foucauldian resistance in its criticism of sexism and other repressive measures, its celebration of what is often repressed, and its reappropriation of dominant (e.g. patriarchal) truths into alternative ones. Sharing Foucault's notion of language as a discursal tool with rules (through images, ideas, metaphors) which structures individuals

into certain subject/object (often subordinate) positions, it argues for a resistance of dominant truths that are based in systems of differentiations.

Influential in this cause is the work of Kristeva (1980) whose exploration of Lacan's (1977) notion of the split subject has implications for the representation, signification and production of truths/meanings. Lacan's subject is divided between the realms of the conscious and the unconscious, and subject to different orders of being (the Imaginary/Pre-oedipal, Symbolic and the Real). The acquisition of language to Lacan is always unconscious and the subject is positioned unconsciously by the Symbolic (the order of social and signifying relations). The real is perceived only through the filters of the Symbolic and the Imaginary. Kristeva appropriates the Lacanian 'imaginary' to analyse the production of meaning in various signifying systems, rethinking it as the 'semiotic', a dynamic, heterogeneous, pre-symbolic process of resistance. This is the unspoken and unrepresented state of signification, and differs from the Lacanian 'Symbolic'. The Symbolic order corresponds to the patriarchal social order of modern class-conscious society, and structured by the grand signifier, the phallus, ruled by the (patriarchal) Law which the father embodies.

To explain this 'semiotic', Kristeva draws from Plato's notion of 'chora', the site of the undifferentiated, tangled bodily space the mother and child share, a mother-child combination which makes the semiotic possible (White, 1992). The Symbolic on other hand, is the site for the creation of unified texts, cultural representations and knowledges. It forms and sustains its power via the repression and sublimation of the semiotic and must co-exist with the semiotic. Kristeva argues that the semiotic is also integral for the function of human experience, and as Terry Eagleton suggests (1986), the stabilisation of the semiotic or its

repression is not total for it can still be discerned as a "*pulsation, a pressure within language, in tone, rhythm, structure... contradictions, silences, absences*" (p.214). To Kristeva, the chora as the place of negativity, incoherence, and resistance to the formal and rationalising 'symbolic' order of language signifies the repression of the marginal in language. Signification therefore, depends upon rather than is annulled by, the repression of the chora, and so too, does the identity of the subject which remains a live source of negativity or heterogeneity (cf. Foucault). The semiotic problematises the Symbolic, threatens to undermine and destabilise its rule-governed operations, and is a site for the disruptive transgression of the patriarchally-regulated Symbolic. It is often manifested in textual production such as Art works, classics, literary canonical texts and other dominant forms of truths. Kristeva believes that ruptures in these ruptures are symptomatic of broader ruptures in the social order, in the Symbolic. Also, she argues that this semiotic is not strictly associated with the feminine though in practice it is associated with the marginal, just as in principle, the Symbolic is not of the patriarchal order though in practice it is. This view thus suggests that feminine and masculine modes are constructs of language, not of self.

Kristeva's work has provided a mode of textual interrogation that is akin to Foucault's concern to analyse signifying discourses. She suggests that all cultural production requires an understanding of unconscious and signifying processes and this can be done by re-perceiving the semiotic to transgress the symbolic and by doing so, transform the existing dominant signifying order. One way of doing this is by celebrating and articulating the repressed "*jouissance*" (Kristeva, 1984, p.80) of semiotic impulses, and by making explicit the socio-

political investments in the repression and subordination of the semiotic. 'Jouissance'³ to Kristeva is the opposite of 'lack' attributed to the semiotic, and works by transgressing the boundaries of identity and coherence set by the Symbolic via a reconstructing of the chora as a positivity rather than a negativity of the Symbolic. A resistance strategy to introduce the jouissance is via 'avant-garde' texts/practices in opposition to established (e.g. canonical) ones. These would destabilise the notion of an autonomous, homogeneous, subject and of a coherent, autonomous text, akin to Foucault's notion of subjects as embodied constructs. They are seen by Kristeva as points of critical disruption within creative, signifying practices, and their materiality signifies the semiotic transgression of the Symbolic (Wright, 1992)⁴. Both the avant-garde and the semiotic, and by implication, the radical production and reception of texts can destabilise existing power-knowledge and calls into question dominant knowledges/patriarchal supremacy. Kristeva's account is insightful in explaining the costs and the conditions of the acquisition of certain truths and a Symbolic position: the subject does not develop naturally, nor is s/he merely the effects of 'conditioning' or 'upbringing'. Rather, the Symbolic subject is based on a constitutive repression of the maternal and the chora/semiotic.

Many poststructuralist feminists have taken on board both Foucault's notion of power as productive and Kristeva's semiotic notion where they perceive patriarchal/hierarchical processes as constructs of institutional structures and their discursive practices, which are in turn, reconstructed in language (Weedon, 1987). They see textual production/ interpretations as produced on behalf of (and thereby constrained by) certain positions, not so much personal,

³ In Freudian (1900) terms, it means 'wish fulfilment'(p.122).

⁴ Kristeva also introduces the notion of the 'abject', a pre-oedipal sporadic companion of the subject and functions like the semiotic. It operates ambiguously - neither a subject nor an object and renders untenable a clear identity for each. It is often found in cultural taboos, in literary texts and religious doctrines and rituals.

idiosyncratic meanings but meanings located in specific values and belief systems which legitimise certain knowledge/practices in particular discourses (see also Alvermann, 1995; Christian-Smith; Davies, 1993; Fine, 1992; Gilbert, 1989; Mills, 1991; Patterson, 1990, 1991, *inter alia*). They have taken on board Kristeva's 'semiotic' notion and use it as a strategy to conceptualise the feminine, the repressed. They believe that there is a prevailing sexism in all facets of life which distorts how educational practices and outcomes are understood and researched and this should be critiqued.

Generally, many focus on criticising 'phallogentric'⁵ texts, texts constructed on patriarchal views by a repression of the semiotic with the aims to: (i) celebrate the feminine-linked chora and assert female difference to males (cf. also Cixous, 1981 and notions of *écriture féminine*)⁶; as well as to (ii) destabilise dominant genealogies of truths by which gender differences are rooted (Mills, 1991). Feminists in literary criticism for instance, critique the ways texts represent or describe women, an aspect which has been largely ignored by most mainstream literary/linguistic theories. This, according to Mills (1995) is understandable given such theories' perennial concern with universal reading strategies and skills, and given their dismissal of gender as a crucial factor in interpretation, evidence of modernist/patriarchal dominance in notions about reading. Mills believes that this fosters universalist concerns reflected in many reading practices and gives misleading assumptions about reading. For instance, texts (esp. canonical literary texts) assume a universality in their target audience, a

⁵ Derived from Derrida's conflation of the terms 'phallogentric' and 'logocentric' to mean 'cocksure'. This cocksureness to T. Eagleton (1986), is used by those who wield sexual and social power to sustain their power.

⁶ Cixous, like Irigaray, transforms the Lacanian notion of 'lack', the pre-oedipal state associated with females, into positive qualities. Kristeva, however, is opposed to this notion of *écriture féminine* because she sees it as essentialising the notion of 'woman'. Hence her heterogeneous 'semiotic'.

universality masking the operation of symbolic/patriarchal dominance (hence female subordination).

Fetterly's (1978) seminal work on how a group of students resisted and made a critique of what seemed to be a dominant reading of the texts they read seems to have been framed in the first part of the Kristevan framework (see i, p.43). Her coinage of the term 'resistant readings' when her readers refused to take up the position offered to them by the text is, according to Mills (1994), a useful concept but is limiting in the sense that a Foucauldian concern with constraints imposed by textual language was not embraced nor considered by these readers as a tool to resist the dominant reading. Relatedly, Weedon (1987) voices a Foucauldian concern on the dangers of the psychoanalytic view which posits femininity and masculinity as universal aspects of language rather than as specific constructs of discursive historical formations. Taking this into account and also because the Kristevan framework does not specifically address power-knowledge relations of wider discourses, some feminist poststructuralists have included Foucault's archaeological/genealogical modes of analysis, in their feminist framework with the aim of altering practice on behalf of subordinate groups (e.g Mills, 1991). In terms of my empowerment aims, I find it useful to adopt a Foucauldian approach considering the discourses in which Tongan readers are constituted, as well as to utilise simultaneously, the strategies of a Kristevan framework in order to focus on specific language effects in their interpretations and positionings.

(iii) Jacques Henry Miller, Jacques Derrida

The work of J.H. Miller (1976) on cross-disciplinary notions of reading also has ramification for my study. Parallel to Kristeva's avant-garde notion, Miller tries to underpin canonical

literary and theoretical texts by reading them agnostically, rather than as deemed normal in order to suggest the possibilities that language can do when it is freed from controlling assumptions and authorial intentions. He insists on the necessity of 'misreading' which arises when the play of metaphor is invoked during an attempt at a definitive interpretation. The reading thus, necessarily errs, meaning both to mistake and to wander as signs refer to signs. To him, a text is a labyrinth and reading is a retracing, a kind of writing - thereby suggesting temporal and spatial dimensions of the process, akin to Derrida's movement of 'differance' (see below). To both Kristeva, and Miller (1987), the transgressing of limits which critical analysis and/or misreadings symbolise enables alternative views to emerge. Misreading can be therefore utilised as a strategy that would yield alternative meanings.

Derrida's (1978) work with regard to how subjects are constituted and position themselves in terms of signification processes is a valuable strategy to adopt for this study. Derrida's central argument is centred on the tendency of philosophies to adopt a 'centrism' stance which emphasises 'presence' thereby giving rise to 'logocentric' notions⁷. He argues that this logocentredness is problematic because every presumed 'centre' yields to another that follows as its 'trace' (Derrida, 1972). He suggests, like Miller, that significations are temporal and that signs not only differ from each other in their generation of meaning, but also 'defer' meaning. This "differance" (1981, p.28) therefore has no centre, no author and precedes all play of signifiers. This is because they are inscribed in a chain of other concepts of 'differences' and are dependent on these concepts for their signification. In other words, the

⁷ To Derrida, an example of logocentric thought is the centric tendency to give priority to speech over writing in the functioning of language. Speech implies a presence of the speaker in unconscious presence to a partner but written texts have not the same immediacy and take on a certain exteriority (Derrida, 1981).

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'present' meaning of the sign is deferred because it is only made significant when it is linked to what is 'absent' or 'different', from a system of differences. This view suggests that texts do not represent nor reflect actual meanings/identities in the world but create them contextually, that textual signs are possibilities of meanings, and that meanings are caught up in an endless interplay of 'presence' and 'absence', in a process of intertextuality:

"..necessarily and essentially inscribed in a chain or a system, within which it refers to another and to other concepts, by the systematic play of differences. Such a play, then - difference - is no longer simply a concept, but the possibility of conceptuality, of the conceptual system and process in general." (p.140)

Interpretation therefore involves readers assigning meanings/identities from this system of 'differences' - meanings which depend on their positions from the ordering of beings, from specific contexts (syntax/genre of a text), within specific social contexts and cultural practices. This system of differences or hierarchy is linked to Foucault's notion of discourses as regimes of truth, where dominant truths exist by virtue of the repression of others (cf. also the relationship of Kristeva's semiotic and Lacan's Symbolic). A system where the meanings/identities readers assign to signs are those constructed by the discourses they have participated in. Signs, to Derrida, therefore have a temporal dimension. By virtue of this temporality, they differ in their generation of, as well as defer, meanings:

"When we cannot take hold of or show the thing, let us say the present, the being present..then we signify, we go through the detour of signs. We take up or give signs; we make signs. The sign would thus be a deferred presence.." (p.138)

There is also a similarity between Kristeva's semiotic and Derrida's identification of a radical disseminating force (difference) in the formality of a language system. It is linked to Derrida's notion of 'trace' where every text contains traces or residues of the repressed semiotic (see also Bakhtin's 'polyphonous voices', 1981).

Derrida's opposition to logocentric philosophies gives rise to his notion of deconstruction - a

task aiming at discerning the movement of difference, to bring to the fore the contradictions that permeate a text, to articulate its self-negating subtexts masked beneath its surface meaning (or to reverse the primacy given in the text to the author's aim by addition or 'dislodged dislodging' (see below) To Derrida, this means a kind of "*double writing*" to "*overturn the hierarchy*" (1981, p.41) implicit in contradictory ideas (presence versus absence); and second:

"by means of this double and precisely stratified, dislodged and dislodging, writing, we must also mark the interval between inversion which brings low what was high, and the irruptive emergence of a new concept, a concept that can no longer be, and never could be, included in the previous regime" (p.42).

Because I am concerned with how certain knowledges and practices constitute readers through language, it is necessary that I draw on some theoretical dissertations on how such knowledges/ideologies/cultural codes⁸ are disseminated, given significance and prominence. As suggested earlier, ideologies are organising social forces within discourses which actively construct individuals as subjects through their lived experiences, and aim to equip them with forms of value and beliefs relevant to their social roles and to the maintenance of the social order (Eagleton, 1991). Dominant ideologies (even some oppositional ones), to Eagleton, often use strategies such as "*unification, spurious identification, naturalisation, deception, self-deception, universalisation and rationalisation*". (p.222). But they do not do so universally because oppositional ideologies within which they are juxtaposed in discourses can position subjects agnostically (e.g. via Miller's 'misreading'; 'Fetterley's resisting reading' - cf. Kristeva's 'semiotic'). This concept of 'ideology/ies' is linked to Foucault's discourses of regimes of truth as sites for contestations, and to Kristeva's and Derrida's concerns with how inscribed ideologies in language, constitute subjects in the signification process.

⁸ Though their meanings are not strictly identical, they all point to some encoded ideas so I will be using these terms interchangeably.

2.1.1 Ideology

A description of the operation of 'false' or 'repressive ideologies' is proffered by naturalisation notions of ideology. Althusser, 1984, amongst others (Barthes; 1977; Pecheux, 1982) theorise how certain truths construct subjects. Echoing Lacan's (1977) psychoanalysis views, Althusser sees ideology as a set of 'signifying practices' or "*dominant formation*" (Eagleton, 1991, p.18), which operate on the affective, unconscious relations of the subject with the world and constitute individuals as social subjects. They produce the lived relations by which such subjects are connected to the dominant relations of production in a society. Subjects are thus "*pre-reflectively bound up in social reality*" (Ibid, p.18). Texts to Althusser are coterminous with, and inscribed in, wider discursive practices/ideologies, with their subjects of teachers, readers and writers constructed in their engagement in such practices (see also Derrida, 1978; Lacan, 1977). They construct ideological roles for readers through a constant process of interpellation or hailing, with readers being hailed because ideologies are univocal and are often self-evidently true or have "*obviousness*" (p.46). Readers can either take on or resist the role being hailed, but as Althusser suggests, the obviousness of the message gives them no option, (make them oblivious) but to take up this dominant message (see similar view by Barthes, 1977; Bourdieu, 1977; Pecheux, 1982; Volosinov, 1973). In taking up this 'obvious' position, they make a "*dominant reading*" (Mills, 1995, p.73). According to Mills, Althusser's 'obviousness' is usually reflected in typical intro-/retrospections such as 'that's true', 'yes, I know that' or a simple nod or aye marking agreement with what seems to be a self-evident truth.

Similarly, Pecheux (1982), like Bourdieu (1990), suggests that ideology is often hidden from a subject through a process of 'miscognition' or 'forgetting' (see p.11) either through oblivion

or repression, where the subject forgets the operation of a discursive formation and so misrecognises her/himself as the author of her/his own discourse. In such a process, ideology assumes a naturalness as the subject identifies with it. Relatedly, Barthes' (1957) naturalisation thesis on 'mythologies' suggests that myths/ideologies do not repress things but make them innocent and give them a natural and material justification. They are deceptive signifiers which subjugate semiotic impulses.

The major criticism of Althusser's notion is his simplistic description of the process of hailing and the suggestion that ideology is a fixed phenomena. He does not take into account the notion of 'indirect address' (Mills, 1995), nor of the reader's agency in constructing alternative meanings (e.g. resisting or transforming). He is more concerned with the effect of ideology on readers (unidirectionally from text to reader) than he is with the way readers react to this ideology. However, readers are variously positioned and are not passive consumers of a text's ideology as he suggests. For example, Mills' notion of 'indirect address' suggests that readers may be addressed indirectly by: their understanding of the 'obviousness' in the message (though they may not be the specific target group and may not defer to the message), and/or by an assumed (shared) background knowledge.

Hodge and Kress (1988) also criticise Althusser's suggestion of ideology as immutable and conferring pre-ideological social identities/roles which allow them no room for resistance. Like Eagleton (1991) and Mills (1991), they suggest that ideology is a dynamic force. It is always contentious and should be seen as a type of discourse effective only on the use to which it is being put. Eagleton however, goes further to suggest that ideology should be viewed as a *"discursive and semiotic phenomenon...as a particular set of effects within discourses"*

(p.194) rather than Althusser's concept of it as a set of 'social practices' or as sets of discourses. This is valuable for my empowerment aims as it suggests a mobile view of ideology which offers possibilities for change in reading knowledge and practice.

Eagleton (1991) gives a more sceptical view of ideology which I find additionally optimistic for my empowerment aims in the sense that this view gives agency to readers. That is, ideology may contain propositions that are true so that not all ideological language necessarily involves falsehood; nor operate by naturalisation. It is quite possible for a dominant order to make ideological pronouncements to buttress its own power but which are in no sense false. Nor is it necessarily the case that all commitment to the dominant social order involves some sort of delusion, or 'enlightened false consciousness' which lives by false values but is ironically aware of doing so. That is, it is unwise to assume that dominant groups are always victims of their own propaganda. For instance, a man might appreciate the justice of the feminist cause, but will not surrender his male privileges. Eagleton therefore suggests that if dominant ideologies involve falsity, it is partly because most people are not cynics, for if everybody is a cynic, then there would be no need for ideology as a set of discourses concealing or legitimating injustice. I find this view appealing because a poststructuralist approach, via critical consciousness raising, affords 'agency' for the reader to make active choices (even out of enlightened false consciousness), rather than have the approach be accused of privileging certain regimes of truths over others.

However, I am particularly interested in those ideologies which help to legitimate the interests of a ruling group or class especially by distortion and dissimulation as they relate to views about reading, text production/reception and practice. To Eagleton, the function of ideology is to inculcate certain beliefs either by falsifying social reality, suppressing and excluding

certain unwelcome features of it, or suggesting that these features cannot be avoided. The latter suggests that certain things may be true of the 'present' system (e.g. poor readers/unemployment) but not of some future alternative - that is, this view suggests that things may be true as presently constituted but false in so far as they work to barricade the possibility of changing views. Or, in Eagleton's words, "*the very truth of such statements is also the falsehood of their implicit denial that anything better could be conceived*" (Ibid, p.27), a view which suggests the dynamicity of ideology argued by Hodge and Kress (see p.49); a view that refuses to acknowledge the possibilities for change. It is this very denial that fuels my empowerment aims in terms of the need for altering established views/practices of reading.

All these suggest that texts, reading programmes, assessment policies, and pedagogy are chosen out of certain ideological positions, and are sites for their dissemination and maintenance. Such ideologies intrude upon and impact upon the practices of reading. In the process, what becomes 'knowledge' about reading is that which is defined by whatever is the dominant ideology, and this ideology acts as a constraint on the productivity and creativity of students to generate alternate meanings. It is in this light that a poststructuralist position sees the essentiality of problematising 'given' notions of reading, particularly when they are seen to suggest an immutability of knowledge and impossibility of change. A commonsense knowledge which, by its mere 'commonsense', would allow unsuspecting teachers/readers to take it up as their own knowledge, thereby masking the divisive operation of ideology. A poststructuralist problematising reading provides a means of sabotaging dominant ideologies, prising them apart and making them untenable - an act of genealogical deconstruction⁹. It

⁹ Derrida coins the term deconstruction, because he believes (like Foucault, Lacan, Kristeva) that all texts and discourses are, like language, constructed.

invites readers to treat gaps or the unsaid in texts as problematic, and to transform them because they reveal hidden values and interests and should not be taken as given reflections of reality. Readers would become empowered in the process of challenging textual ideologies, when alternative meanings are generated, or when they are conscious of their constitutions.

A means of specifically gauging the process of ideological hailing in constructing readers, as well as assessing the intra- and intertextual links they make from a Foucauldian, Kristevan poststructuralist framework, is proffered by studies in Critical Linguistics and Feminist Stylistics. They suggest specific analytic strategies as a toolkit for such analyses. These are crucial to my empowerment aims in terms of raising consciousness about the operation of dominant ideologies, which, in the process, deny meaning choices to students via certain language choices. They are described next.

2.1.2 Critical Textual Analysis

(i) Critical Linguistics

Critical Linguistics is generally concerned with the political effects of language, in particular, with how ideology operates (Fairclough, 1989); and with the linguistic constraints on signification as determined by social forces (Fowler and Kress, 1979), akin to Foucault's systems of rules. It sees meaning as pervasive of other systems/discourses and not confined to texts (Hodge & Kress, 1988), a view traceable to the poststructuralist notion that a text is not a coherent, transparent, autonomous entity, and echoes the Derridan intertextual notion of trace and deferral (see p.46). It sees texts as having ruptures and gaps which involve competing multiple meanings of the discourses and practices that have shaped their constructions. In sum, it views the language of a text as a political construct, a form of social

control, and constitutive of the knowledge-power relations within society so that it means a certain way in a particular context. This is encapsulated in Fairclough's (1989) statement:

"the producer of the text constructs..text as an interpretation of the world..of the facets of the world; formal features of the text are traces of that interpretation. The traces constitute cues for the interpreter who draws upon her assumptions and expectations..to construct her interpretation of the text" (p.80).

as well as in Fowler and Kress' (1979) assertion¹⁰:

"language serves to confirm and consolidate the organisations which shape it, being used to manipulate people, to establish and maintain them in economically convenient roles and statuses, to maintain the power of state agencies, corporations, and other institutions" (p.190).

Some of their analyses show how and why certain discourses gain dominance, how they are made available, and sanctioned over others. For instance, Fairclough's discourse analysis (focusing on the generic form, structure of text, conversational turns, cohesive relations) of the political speeches of former British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher in terms of the operations of ideology and gender construction shows how she selects certain available discourses fitting for her purposes, to position herself; discourses that reflect the patriarchal order and position of power of her political role.

Halliday's (1978) Systemic Linguistics is also concerned with how textual language socially constructs subjects through its use, and is informative for my empowerment aims. This is exemplified in his multi-functional view of it as "*ideational*" (constitute systems of knowledge and beliefs), "*interpersonal*" (constitute social selves and relations), and "*textual*" (constitute textual/contextual coherence). Such functions work as political/ ideological constructs by the writer using certain available knowledge at a specific point of time for a particular purpose.

¹⁰ Fowler and Kress also see interpretation as determined by a Foucauldian system of constraints on language: "interpretative meanings are not created uniquely for the occasion; the systematic use of these linguistic structures is connected with the text's place in the socio-economic system, and hence they exist in advance of the production of the text and our reception of it." (p.185)

It implies the constructed nature of subjects and knowledge. Thus, readers must be made aware of how texts invite them to accept their ideational, inter-personal and textual constructs or constructed knowledges, social identities and links.

In general, a critical linguistic interrogation is a vital analytic strategy within a poststructuralist framework in order to achieve my empowerment aims. Such analysis is necessary if the politicality of textual construction and response is to be fully understood. Like the interpretation process, it always, as Foucault suggests, involves a power struggle to make certain meanings seem more plausible than others.

(ii) Feminist Stylistics

Specific analytical strategies are offered by feminist stylisticians. Feminist Stylistics, framed within a poststructuralist mode of analysis, draw eclectically from: Sociolinguistics which focuses on how certain textual elements such as syntax, vocabulary, and pronunciation; stereotypical language, and conversational styles constitute binary differentiation (e.g. on gender - see Mills, 1995 for a discussion); Critical Linguistics earlier discussed which looks at the text and its social context of production and reception in its entirety; from Halliday's (social) Systemic/Functional Linguistics; and from Discourse Stylistics like that offered by Carter and Simpson, 1989; Toolan, 1992)¹¹. Feminist Stylistics draws on these productively as a basis to analyse how these construct meanings, paying close attention to discriminatory discourses (sexism, racism, etc.) and how they construct readers/knowledge. They do this by

¹¹ Discourse analysis moves beyond the micro-context of texts to wider social signifying patterns which determine the ordering/meanings of textual items. See Mills (1995) for an exemplary example of analytical strategies.

advocating a close, "*suspicious*" (Mills, p.15) textual analysis of linguistic elements/cues (features, syntax, lexis, genre and so on) as they are used in the larger signifying systems which regulate ideas and rules of representation (e.g. the socio-historical context of the text's production and reception), and how these have been used to make sense of the text. It aims that through suspicious readings, its concern with minority bias is foregrounded thereby raising awareness of the social systems of differentiation operating on the signifying process, and their role in marginalising other types of knowledge¹².

In recapitulation, Critical Linguistics and Feminist Stylistics forms of analyses can be insightful in understanding how commonsense views are maintained; and how through such an understanding, alternative knowledges can be produced. As earlier described, a dominant reading seems to be the coherent outcome of a reading where every textual cue is 'linked' to produce a coherent message or ideology (Mills, 1995, see, p.48). A critical textual interrogation can allow readers to see how textual cues construct certain dominant positions for readers. Such analyses are useful to adopt for my empowerment aims.

Other studies drawn from semiotic notions of text and textuality, provide specific insights into 'linking strategies' readers can use for signification.

2.1.3 Semiotic Notions of Texts and Textuality

Texts, semiotically, are 'intertextual constructions' as opposed to traditional definitions that see them as 'autonomous written scripts'. A text is anything that communicates meaning

¹² Mills (1995) suggests the value of using this close reading contemporaneously with the content analysis that has dominated much textual feminist analyses.

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(Pierce, 1931, Saussure, 1966) and includes both linguistic and nonlinguistic signs so it can be an utterance, a picture, conversation, a piece of music, a performance, a flexible chunk of meaning (Rowe, 1987, Short, 1986). It can be an 'inner text' (Pearson & Tierney, 1984), akin to Witte's (1992) 'experiences and ideas', or a composition of "*elements*" from other texts (Kristeva, 1969), "*echoes of another text*" (Plottel, 1978, p.xv) or in Hartman's (1995) words, an "*ideogram*" or a kind of "*textile.. woven with a network of threads of warp and woof going in different directions*" (p.523), or for Barthes (1977), "*a tissue of quotations..a multidimensional space in which a variety of writings, none of them original, blend and clash.*"(p.146). A text therefore is multi-semiotic and linked to Derrida's notion of 'trace' and Bakhtin's (1981) 'polyphonous voices'. It is produced in specific social situations for specific purposes; and is a manifest product of the ideologies of discourses and discursive practices. The available knowledge at the time of textual production governs what/how can be said/conveyed. This multi-semiotic view, from a Foucauldian framework suggests the discursal mediation of textual construction. That is, authors represent certain truths from within a system of discursal constraints.

The textuality of a text is caught up in the process of intertextuality, the linking of 'texts' or one's various knowledge/meanings. Studies on intertextuality find that readers make multiple connections across texts, ideas, and experiences. These connections change over time with each new experience and text creating a continuous intertextual loop (Bloome & Egan-Robertson, 1993; Fairclough, 1992, Hartman, 1991, 1995, Watson, 1993). Watson refers to this kind of reading as "*multi-layered*" (p.19) both for the text and reader, akin to Rosen's

(1984) 'interconnected stories' where each exists only by virtue of other stories¹³. Critical linguists such as Bloome (1993) see intertextuality as engagement in any language event where readers' links are determined by their socio-political and cultural histories, as well as the particular social context within which these links are made. Classrooms for instance, determine the intertextual links made by teachers and students¹⁴. Similarly to Hartman (1991), it is a reciprocal, transactive process which enables readers to construct new meanings that are continually revised and reconstructed. A single referent can yield different meanings in different contexts as it is subjected to continual reconnections (cf. Derrida). This is evident in a study by Pecheux (1982) where two groups of readers who were given different positions to read an economics text, interpreted it differently.

Hartman's (1991, 1995) account of eight readers reading a range of texts shows them making two general types of links which constructed certain reading positions. The first links between ideas, events, and people. Three types of readers made such links. An intratextual one where a reader's links were largely sourced from textual elements, such as to previous sentences or paragraphs within the text being read. An intertextual one where links were drawn from within, between, and beyond texts; and an extratextual one where links were mainly from textual resources beyond the five texts used¹⁵.

¹³ It would be useful to view this multi-semiotic nature of texts in relation to Koestler's multidimensional linking system of holarchy so links between texts are not confined to a narrow types of texts (e.g. written ones).

¹⁴ As shown by the various links made by students in Green et al's (1994) study already referred to (p.97).

¹⁵ These bear a close resemblance to Pecheux's (1982) intradiscourse, the operation of discourse in relation to itself, interdiscourse and transverse discourses which cross and link together the discursive elements in their constitutive discourses (p.116-117).

The second type of links reinforced the socio-cultural dimensions of reading. He also found that three discourse stances were reflected in the ways readers positioned themselves in relation to the texts. *Logocentric* readers read as if they were 'buried' in a passage, trying to unearth the author's meaning (borrowed from Derrida, see p.45). Their textual worlds were largely defined by the author's authority. *Intertextual* readers read as if they explored possibilities with many textual resources, considering several interpretations as equally valid. Their textual worlds were formed by taking recourse to various sources and by reading texts in terms of other texts. *Resistant* readers read as if they were fighting with a passage, trying to impose their own meanings other than the authorial one. Their textual worlds were defined largely by their individual authority (Hartman, 1991, 1995).

Intertextuality also suggests the historicity of signification and the fact that prior knowledge is not strictly something that readers bring to a passage and unload on to a text as is assumed in 'pre-reading' tasks traditionally used in comprehension tasks. As Hartman (1991) found, prior knowledge is utilised, constructed and reconstructed by readers during reading. The stances suggest that reading is not a mechanical, universal linking process but is shaped, developed and influenced by implicit broader agendas to do with ideological affiliations - suggestive of power relations. Readers are not simply categorised as fixed members of social groups, but are positioned/invited to agree with certain beliefs and views within a system of discoursal constraints. For instance, Hartman's 'logocentric readers' suggest that their interpretation may have been constrained perhaps by the view of a writer in control of the representations they make, a view reinforced by practices that these readers may have been engaged in. Subversive readings occur if there is no concurrence between the readers' schema/ideology, interest, purpose and that of the writer. Such subversive readings, shifts in

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stances, and links augur well for my empowerment aims for they suggest the multiple meanings a text can elicit, and the active interlooping of readers' other texts in opposition to dominant textual ideology. The type of links would also be insightful into the types of knowledge made available to Tongan readers.

This multi-layeredness of meanings, and their continual interloopings both in a text and in a reader is also succinctly described by Byatt's (1990) narrator in *Possession*. The narrator suggests the varied and contradictory readings of one text and that which one brings to one's readings (e.g. genre rules); and the suggestion of 'direct address' (cf. interpellation, p.48) that makes one read a text dutifully e.g. a dominant reading (see my emphasis)

"There are readings - of the same text - that are dutiful, readings that map and dissect, readings that hear a rustling of unheard sounds, that count grey little pronouns for pleasure or instructions...There are personal readings, that snatch for personal meanings...There are... impersonal readings...Now and then there are readings which make the hairs on the neck stand on end...readings when the knowledge that we shall know the writing differently or better or satisfactorily, runs ahead of any capacity to say what we know...a sense that the text has appeared to be wholly new, never before seen is followed almost immediately, by the sense that it was always there, that we the readers knew it was always there, and have always known..."p.471-72.

As the quote suggests, intertextuality allows readers to bring to texts their own understandings and their own life experiences gained from readings/viewings/listenings to, other texts. It is an opening for 'misreadings' (see p.45). In doing so, texts can be re-read, alternative meanings can be made, with the understandings that readers have developed from earlier readings¹⁶.

These notions of textuality and intertextuality are in line with the Foucauldian suggestion of the historical/socio-cultural and discursive-situatedness of meaning-making. I find them potentially useful for my empowerment aims as a linking strategy for they may open up possibilities of alternative meanings, and of restructuring and disambiguating unfamiliar and

¹⁶ Echoes notions of Reception Theory/Reader Response and ties in to some extent with schema theory of background knowledge if we view background knowledge as other 'texts'.

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formulaic or closed texts whose constructions tend to be masked because readers are unfamiliar with their generic forms or culturally loaded signs. They not only show the incoherence of a text (or a writer's representation) but also question as Foucault has suggested, the authority/stability of the role of the author as a portrayer of reality.

Poststructuralist notions in general, are in accord with my empowering aims because they have identified an analytic framework and specific strategies for exploring how knowledge is disseminated/maintained/repressed in social relations. They are especially relevant to my study because: (i) of their concern with 'language' and its role in constituting subjects, meanings and social relations; (ii) of their problematising modernist metanarratives and their concept of 'truth' seeing truth/knowledge as a discursively/historically-located phenomenon; (iii) of their focus on the notion of 'discourse' and 'discursive practices' to show how knowledge, social relations and subjects are constituted within such structuring mechanisms; and (iv) of their concern with power-knowledge relations and how knowledge that is produced as 'truth' is linked to, and constituted by, the system of power which produces and sustains it.

This analytic framework, in sum, seeks in terms of my empowerment purposes to: (i) demystify through an archaeological/deconstructive analysis of how logocentric truths propagated by certain discourses are normalised and universalised; (ii) localise this demystification process by a genealogical analysis of the knowledge-power operation of difference, or the process of exclusion and access, and how meanings are made to work (e.g. using a Foucauldian re-perception of power as productive, and encompassing a Kristevan reappropriation of 'lack' as plentiful and worthy). The former (i) can be done by 'awareness-raising' tasks. The latter via critical linguistic interrogation strategies and intertextual linkings.

The framework is appropriate for my empowering aims for it offers possibilities for a counter-discourse which not only criticises and disrupts, but transforms given knowledges via the 'conscious exercise' of alternative meanings. Its problematising notion is also a useful tool to adopt as I search for the knowledge offered by leading reading theories in the next section, in order, to use Foucault's words, "*to cut it*". This cutting involves both an archaeological and genealogical analysis of the particular research and educational discourses within which claims about truths are made, and how such discursal truths have constituted texts, readers, response, and reading practice. In particular, I will look for divergences or 'choras' that need to be highlighted for these will act as provocations for me to continuously assess my ideas about reading and literacy-related matters (Hargreaves, 1985; Kristeva, 1983; Tierney, 1994). I will treat their truth claims sceptically as instances of partial knowledge relative to the historical reading/research practices that have positioned them and relative to their potential insights into the reading constitution and knowledge constructions of Tongan students.

In the **THREE** sections that follow, I look first at various L1 and L2 knowledge claims about reading in terms of how they are constituted by wider discursal ideologies. In particular, I assess their contribution to a description of signifying 'processes'. This is followed by a perusal of literary theories, particularly in terms of 'response' and 'reader-text relationships'. The last part discusses literacy¹⁷ 'practices/research' rooted in social learning theories and how they influence, and/or relate to the construction/repression of knowledge, readers, and power in terms of response and pedagogy. Descriptions are followed by 'commentaries'.

¹⁷ A discussion of literacy rather than reading is necessary because literacy embraces the complexity and variety of discourses that frame reading or within which reading acts are made (e.g classrooms, pedagogy, reading/writing/etc. policies, socio-cultural context, etc.)

2.2. Reading Models and Theories - Signifying Processes

Three main models describing the reading process dominate reading research based on either text-driven, knowledge-driven or reader-driven factors.

(i) Cognitive: Bottom-Up or Text-Driven Models

In the late 1960s and early 70s, reading was viewed mainly as a decoding, text-driven process. The reader reconstructs the writer's intended meaning by recognising the letters and words as meaningful units (Yorio, 1971). Data as linguistic chunks are absorbed, analysed, transformed, and then added on to the next chunk in linear fashion until they become meaningful. These are then combined into a meaningful chunk through a mental dictionary of words and meanings (Gough, 1972) and once that is understood, new data enters (see also Carpenter & Just, 1977). When one is fluent, one identifies letters quickly, reading every letter serially, from left to right. The model claims that processing hinges on readers' experiences, skills, text type, and tasks; and that automaticity, linked to good readers and proficiency, is developed over time. The easier the text, the fewer words readers need to look at. The harder it is, the more words they need to process. An L2 reader however, fixates more densely over a text than an L1 reader, and those who have not gained automaticity focus on decoding than on meaning. In this model, textual elements must be accessed by readers to gain comprehension. Vocabulary and word recognition for instance, are deemed requisite. However, vocabulary research provides contradictory findings. Hudson (1982) & Johnson (1982) found that studying unfamiliar words before reading does not improve students' comprehension. Contrastingly, Davis (1988) found that students had higher recalls when background knowledge questions and/or unfamiliar vocabulary are glossed.

Phonological encoding or subvocalisation, standard in reading any orthographic system is

presumed to help comprehension. It is a process where readers hear what they are reading through a subvocal movement at either silent or oral reading. To Carver (1977), the more difficult the text, the greater the subvocalising and vice versa.

A knowledge of syntax (word order/grammar structure) and semantics (meaning in words) is also crucial for comprehension. Readers take in chunks of language one at a time with expectations of meeting certain textual components as they read on. If these expectations are thwarted (wrong syntactic structure, wrong contextualised lexicon), then mis-understandings will occur. Conflicting findings however, in L2 reading research are on the effect of syntax on comprehension. For instance, textual ideas (semantics) are found to be more difficult than their syntax (Strother & Ulijn, 1987), while Elley (1984), found that structures did not affect the comprehension of Fijian and Indian children, and so did Wallace (1988) in a similar study on L2 readers. In contrast, Berman (1984), Aronson-Berman (1978) and Cowan & Sarmad (1978) (cited in Devine, 1987) found a syntactically-simplified text significantly easier than a similar unsimplified text and that L2 readers tend to view the target language text in terms of native language syntactic structure.

Text graphics (print size, type face, punctuation, colour), also can assist comprehension (Waller, 1987), so as text type/typology where some textural forms seem to cause more comprehension difficulty than others or may evoke different reading strategies (Berkowitz & Taylor, 1981, Hare & Smith, 1982, Kimmel & MacGinite, 1984 - cited in Barnett, 1989). For example, narratives seem easier to recall, read rapidly and to understand in terms of structures than expository texts (Graesser, *et al*, 1992).

Commentary

The Bottom-up cognitive model celebrates the primacy of text immanence. It led to widespread skills-based, basal programmes, as early as the 1940's, and as already discussed, it became the basis of the audiolingual method that informed reading instructions in Tonga until recently. It is valuable in the sense that it provides some insights into processing strategies. However, it is limiting in its de-emphasis of the role of the reader in the process; in its belief that reading is a singular, psychological phenomenon; and in its restricted view of text immanence - that a text has an 'authored' meaning that a reader has to access through a speedy and accurate 'decoding' of textual elements. It does not acknowledge readers' agency and meanings; the dynamic interplay of readers' and textual meanings; the reading context; nor discoursal forces that constitute interpretation.

Its concern with 'automaticity' and 'proficiency' has grave moral and pedagogical implications for how reading is perceived and how a reader is defined qualitatively (Freebody, 1991). From a Foucauldian viewpoint, such concerns convey a definition of comprehension¹⁸ as an 'accuracy' rendition of print and that accuracy is the exclusive preserve of 'good readers'. In other words, one has to be an accurate reader to be a good (proficient) reader. This implies that with poor language proficiency (most L2 readers in the early stages), readers must take recourse to textual elements to help them read accurately. This view therefore relegates readers/reading into a system of differences, into value-laden dichotomies of 'good' and 'bad' acts, a view which is as demoralising to fledgling readers as it is in fuelling debates about what constitutes good and bad readers/reading. Given its long-reigning dominance in Tongan

¹⁸ The term 'comprehension' suggests a textual reading, and is fitting only for such rationalist views and is inappropriate to be used in poststructuralist terms, that is as a term denoting 'understanding'.

classrooms, it would generally have worked to sustain its dominance and to construct Tongan readers who see reading as mere decoding; who value skills and accuracy as the hallmarks of 'good readers'; and who believe that reading is a textual prerogative confined only to classrooms, to school texts, to narratives, expositives (see their research focus), and divorced from interest, purpose and socio-cultural influences.

Other weaknesses can also be noted in this theory. The reading theory for instance, refers only to typical reading situations. Its neglect of other ways of readings (e.g. skimming, scanning, studying) seems to discount the purposeful and varied nature of reading. It is also unable to describe what 'normal reading' is given the model's rationalist concerns for criterial definitions, unless it refers to reading 'accurately' as this model espouses. Moreover, if configured on an L2 context, more subvocalising will occur especially if in a reading environment that emphasises accuracy and fluency. This is because L2 readers may be forced to listen to their own pronunciation at the expense of processing meaning given the model's emphasis on phonic accuracy¹⁹.

The model's limited focus on certain texts for their research (expository and narratives) does not account for the range of texts that students encounter daily and which heavily utilise graphics for their messages (advertisements, notices, cartoons, computer texts etc.). According to Heaps (1991), the mere selection of certain types of texts (narratives and expositions) sanctions the use of such texts in pedagogy, and points to the fact that reading is

¹⁹ For example, one can understand the word 'subvocalising' without being able to pronounce it accurately. The reverse can be true. One can pronounce it or know it is an English word (word recognition), but not know the meaning.

"(con)text-dependent" (p.113). In being exposed only to such texts, readers are constructed with certain assumptions, and on a limited range of text type and knowledge. That is, how readers read texts and their assumptions about them initially depend on their familiarity with the text type²⁰. The research on textural aspects (graphics, form) is also premised on the essentiality of textual elements in the search for textual meanings thereby ignoring culturally-specific ideologies embedded in textual cues.

The contradictory findings in studies based on this model suggest that some processes may proceed as described by the model, but it is not the only way. As the next model shows, reading can be done in several ways.

ii. Top-Down Models or Knowledge Driven Operations

Goodman's (1967) & Smith's (1971) psycholinguistic model has had great impact on L1 and L2 reading alike. Like the Bottom-up view, reading is a linear reader-driven process. Readers work on the text globally (the higher cognitive operations), and then componentially through four processes. First, they make *predictions* about the text's syntax drawing on their background knowledge. Print is then *sampled* to confirm predictions. Unlike the Bottom-up view, it is not necessary to see every letter or word. The more highly developed are readers' sense of syntax and meaning, the more selective they sample, and the less they rely on print and graphics. After sampling, they *confirm* and/or *correct* their guesses.

²⁰ See Story Grammar research: Mandler & Johnson, 1977; Rumelhart, 1975; Stein & Glenn, 1979; Thondyke, 1977; and studies on 'genre' (e.g. legends), and 'schema' notions (forthcoming). A more forceful example is the research on legends where attempts to subvert traditional roles of heroines/heroes were deflated by the prior conceptions that children have on what a heroine/hero should be like (Baker & Freebody, 1989; Davies, 1989; Gilbert, 1989).

Drawing on Goodman's (1967) & Smith's (1971) psycholinguistic model, Coady's (1979) L2 model suggests that comprehension is an individual process resulting from the interaction of conceptual abilities, background knowledge and process strategies (see also Rumelhart, 1977). Readers must have strategies to comprehend, and be able to use these variously to match different text types or reading purposes.

Commentary

Goodman's psycholinguistic model²¹ led to the advent of Whole Language, non-basal approaches argued to be liberal, child-centred and progressive (Luke, 1991). Instead of basal's skills and product-oriented programmes, it focuses on process, meaning ownership and self-exploration via a holistic, natural approach preferably literature-based. However, the evidence that this theory draws upon is from children's miscues and retellings whose relevance to L2 adolescent readers may be dubious. As earlier suggested, L2 readers may have a greater chance of subvocalising during oral reading than L1 readers because their miscues may be influenced by a sensitivity to being taped or making pronunciation errors. The strength of the model however is its student-centred focus and instructional value for the practising teacher, where teachers can design prediction tasks that can call upon a range of meanings other than that prescribed by the text. Coady's model shows its modernist's influence by its insistence that reading is an individual act and that there are common strategies to be acquired. At the same time however, its view that readers vary their self-editing strategies points to a reconstruction process that may lead to multiple readings and to the influence of extratextual factors. However, this can only be inferred as the model does not describe these 'ways'.

²¹ Goodman (1992) has recently modified this description of the reading process to a transaction between reader and text similar to Rosenblatt's (1978) transactional theory of reading.

In general, the Top-down model is a shift from the Bottom-up audiolingual 'behaviourism' to humanist, social and psycholinguistic perspectives. However, despite ostensible differences in the two models, they share commonalities²². Both are psychologically based; what counts as reading, as knowledge, as a text, and as a process, is pre-specified and normalised (Heap, 1992). This suggests that each model dictates what reading is and how it should be done. For both, a 'response' entails accurate/speedy rendition, a text has a unified meaning to be interrogated, and a meaning is that determined by the author and resides in the text. Such views and their attendant practices have been taken in as 'standard' so that the rationalist ideology of their construction remains hidden because of their veneer of 'normality' (see naturalisation function of ideology, p.48-50). By virtue of their dominance in research and practice, they become channels for the promotion of vested interests, thereby limiting the meaning spaces that readers can explore. They prescribe what and how reading is and should be taught, a type of socio-cultural control given that certain reading knowledges, behaviours (e.g. strategies such as phonics spelling) are privileged over others. The politicality of literacy embedded in both the act and practice therefore remains hidden, because their claim of ownership to the definition of reading and what is to be taught constitute, construct and authorise who is literate (Luke, 1991). This is a view already noted by Bernstein (1971) who saw reading processes as instances of school knowledge subject to "*selection*", "*classification*", and "*framing*" on behalf of certain interests that are not often educational.

The progressivist individualism purported by Whole Language programmes for reader development marks a significant departure from Bottom-up views of reading. However, this

²² The mere notion of a 'model' connotes universalist aims.

liberal humanist goal neglects that meanings are actively constructed in, and shaped by, the cultural context, and are historically specific; and that readers produce meanings not so much from their inner selves but from the meanings that are available to them (Patterson, 1991; Walkerdine, 1988). Such meanings are taken up by readers as their own, hence their individual claim to it. Interpretation is therefore not an individual act because those available meanings that readers take recourse to, are traces of other 'voices', constructed out of the available and relevant knowledges that have constituted their literacy development (see Bakhtin, Derrida, Miller, *inter alia*). Given the model's current popularity in Tongan schools, a poststructuralist framework can use these criticisms transformatively by taking note of possible whimsical effects, and building on the knowledges students bring to their readings and use these to analyse variations/similarities in their ideas and how these constitute certain ideologies, positions and subjectivities.

Street's (1984) concept of literacy - as a historically specific tool with its uses, purposes and effects specified in, and through, cultural (and economic) institutions such as schools (see also Scribner & Cole, 1981) resembles the Foucauldian suggestion of the discursal-embeddedness of signifying processes. For instance, in Tonga, literacy events have served historically particular purposes and ends dictating in the process, textual practices - why and how and when they should be used. As earlier explained, reading was introduced to Tonga by missionaries as a political rhetoric in the guise of 'enlightenment'²³. It prioritised bible readings over any other texts for the purpose of promoting christian values and doctrines - the prescription of the dominant, as well as available ideology as perceived by missionaries and

²³ It can still be argued that this politicality does not suggest that this ideology is pejorative and that their aim was to falsify or deceive as some ideologies normally do (cf. Eagleton, 1991)

supported by native chiefs²⁴. This process was continued by the use of Bottom-up Basals, used in Gloria Tate's (1971) audiolingual programme, followed by Whole Language packages. What is common for all these packages despite the seeming differences in the histories and discourses that frame them is the cultivation of particular views of reading. Each cultivates a view that reading is done in a certain way, for certain aims (Moral-Biblical/Functional/Individualistic Growth).

Shifting from this Top-down view, knowledge-driven based research led to the emergence of an Interactive model that compromises between the textual and knowledge-driven concerns of the previous models.

iii. Interactive-Cognitive Models

The Interactive model, like the psycholinguistic model, is reader-driven, though it is not linear. It takes a cyclical view of the reading process where textual data and readers' mental processing of graphic, syntactic, lexical, semantic and pragmatic information, equally and simultaneously impact on comprehension. As in Top-down models, readers use their expectations and previous understandings to guess text context; and as in Bottom-up models, they rely on textual elements²⁵. To LaBerge & Samuels (1974/83), fluent reading involves automatic processing and skills/subskills are automatic when they can complete their processings while attending to something else. Fluent readers therefore can pay attention to

²⁴ I constantly refer to 'available' knowledge in the sense that often, what becomes 'dominant' is what is available in a certain point of time. This is the case in Tonga when there was no other written publication other than biblical texts. The vernacular was orthographically scripted at the time for these purposes.

²⁵ Anderson & Pearson, 1984; Just & Carpenter, 1980; Kintsch & Van Dijk, 1978; Rumelhart, 1977; Rumelhart & McClelland, 1986; Smith, 1971; Stanovich, 1980.

meaning, whereas beginning readers need more attention for decoding. Similarly, Stanovich's (1980) interactive compensatory model suggests that strength in one processing stage can compensate for weakness in another. For example, limited vocabulary can be compensated by a knowledge of text topic etc. He argues that any knowledge source deficit results in an overreliance on other knowledge sources, regardless of the processing level hierarchy.

Relatedly, Walczyk's (1993) compensatory-encoding theory suggests that reading involves the concurrent execution of several subcomponent processes arranged hierarchically. Beyond a certain level of skill development, reading, however inefficient, does not normally affect performance because compensatory mechanisms operate routinely during reading. For instance, inefficient lexical/semantic memory can be compensated by reading slowly, or referring back to the text to reinstate forgotten data in memory. Competition for limited resources between subcomponents and inferential processes usually occurs as pressure (e.g. test) is placed on performance. Also, if exposure time to text is brief, then those who are not efficient decoders or contextualisers of word meanings may focus more on decoding and accessing meaning. Thus, comprehension would be impaired. Other influential interactive, reader-driven models are: the schema theory (Anderson, 1978; Rumelhart, 1977); propositional theory (Kintsch & van Dijk, 1978), and mental model theories (McNamara *et al*, 1992). The vast scale of research on this area precludes any attempt at an exhaustive survey (but see Barnett, 1989; Bernhardt, 1991). I will confine discussion to key findings.

Schemata are a reader's existing concepts about the world or "*knowledge already stored in memory*" (Widdowson, 1983, p.34, cited in Wallace, 1992). Schema theory views reading as an interactive process in which the author's perspectives or allusions are interpreted via the

reader's experiences, views, and social biases. It involves re/organising and building data by forming schemata and incorporating new data into them driven by reading purpose (Ruddell & Unrau, 1994). Readers may possess various schemata: text-related (formal schemata) and topic or content/background-related (Bernhardt, 1984).

Formal schemata (knowledge of how texts work/text genre) are important as they define readers' expectations about how textual components relate to each other. Texts vary texturally so readers' expectations will vary and these determine to a certain extent, their facility in processing text information (Anderson & Pearson, 1984; Bernhardt, 1991; Carrell, 1984, 1988; Mason & Au, 1981; Meyer, 1975, 1977, 1979). Readers' content or background knowledges also facilitate greater comprehension (Alderson & Urquhart, 1984) and these knowledges are culturally-determined (Barnett, 1989; Bensoussan & Rosenhouse, 1984; Bernhardt, 1986a; Carrell, 1983; Parry, 1987; Steffensen *et al*, 1979).

Kintsch & van Dijk's (1978) propositional theory refers to the representation of textual structure. It assumes the: (i) multiple micro-processing of propositions in a text; (ii) a drive toward text reduction (i.e. finding the gist or *superordinate proposition*), sometimes using inference which is crucial to meaning processing; and (iii) the use of memory and reader formal schemata to generate a new 'coherent' text²⁶. Readers' goals, directed by readers' schemata for each text, are vital since they determine how texts are transformed through inferences into macro-propositions containing the gist of texts.

²⁶ For a new text to be coherent, the textual propositions must be linked and logically supportive at the macrostructure levels.

Johnson-Laird's (1983) Mental Model Theory focuses on readers' inferential processes where readers form images of textual data and construct causal relationships based on inferences. It believes that poor readers in particular have difficulty in forming images and inferencing²⁷. They make erroneous inferences by focusing on irrelevant data due to their failure to contextualise information. Erroneous inferences may also be caused either by an underutilization (Spiro & Myers, 1984, cited in McCormick, 1992), overutilisation (Anderson, 1978) or lack of, prior knowledge (see Pearson *et al*, 1979) because readers are: unable to determine which schemata to draw upon; do not link existing schemata correctly nor maintain schemata activation of knowledge; give undue attention to word identification; and lack appropriate strategies to retrieve data from long-term memory causing responses that are either too 'text-based' or 'reader-based'²⁸ (Spiro & Myers, 1984; see also Anderson's (1978) reconstruction hypothesis). Spiro & Meyers (1984) also suggest that an overreliance on prior knowledge may cause erroneous inferences due to poor word recognition.

Pearson and Tierney's (1984) Reading writing model prioritises the role of the reader. It suggests that reading is the active composing process of meaning negotiation between a reader and an author, with readers as "*thoughtful...composers*" (p.147). During reading, readers assume four interactive roles: planner, composer, editor, and monitor and comprehension is the act of composing *a new version* of the text for an inner reader. As planners, readers create goals, mobilise knowledge/prior experience and decide how to align themselves with the text. As composers, they search for coherence and may fill gaps in texts with inferences,

²⁷ Bransford et al, 1972; Davey & Macready, 1985; Holmes, 1987; Wilson, 1979 - cited in McNamara et al, 1991).

²⁸ See similar studies cited in McCormick, 1992 (Hansen & Lovitt, 1977; Holmes, 1987; Phillips, 1988; Omanson et al, 1978; Hansen & Lovitt, 1977; Lipson, 1982).

and as editors, they stand back from the former two roles and examine their developing interpretations (using good editing behaviours such as rereading, annotating, and questioning). The monitor directs the planner, composer and editor on which role to direct the process at a particular moment (Pearson & Tierney, 1984)²⁹.

Commentary

The Interactive models provide further insights into the cognitive aspects of signification. For instance, LaBerge-Samuel's view of the attention needed for decoding by beginning L1 readers may help us understand the lack of reading automaticity in L2 readers. Also, Stanovich's compensatory theory may explain why poor readers sometimes show greater sensitivity to contextual constraints than good readers (Barnett, 1989). That is, poor readers may be using strong syntactic and/or semantic knowledge to compensate for limited vocabulary or orthographic knowledge. This suggests that efficient L2 readers might use L1 strategies (cases of direct translation) to compensate for linguistic weakness. Mental model theories also provide information on inferential processes - how readers use their schemata to infer meaning; and how they can understand new data inconsistent with a already intact schema.

Like previous models, textual knowledge reigns supreme for both the propositional/mental theories, particularly the propositional theory's promotion of a 'meta' meaning, a 'superordinate gist' as suggested by their qualification of processes as either due to an 'over-'/'underutilisation' of prior knowledge. Also, they provide a criterial definition of reading in the value they assign to 'appropriate' and 'inappropriate' inferences, a dichotomous criterion

²⁹ Akin to Langer's four stances, see footnote²⁸ p83.

of 'correct' versus 'incorrect' interpretation (see p.73). Because they are premised on a 'text-immanent' view, they dismiss the diversity and situatedness of readers' knowledge and different/multiple positionings in the way they account 'erroneous' inferences to an 'overreliance on prior knowledge' and an 'unwise reliance' on background information. What they promote is the view that some common textual strategies and skills must be accessed by all readers in order to make the correct reading, the correct inferences of textual meaning. Further, they suggest that prior knowledge must be appropriate to the text's propositions, implying a textual deference.

I find schematic notions particularly insightful into how certain texts (e.g. expositorys and narratives) and processes (e.g. inferences, recalls and think alouds) are internalised and how certain prior knowledges (textural, content, grammar) influence recall and interpretation. Significantly, they have explanatory power about readers' literacy development in terms of the type of textural, textual, and other knowledges that they have taken up (or denied access to) from their cognitive processes. These knowledges have their origins in the discursive practices and signification experiences and background of readers. Different readers may interpret texts differently as Steffenson *et al* (1979) have found, given their different schematic repertoires. The view suggests that focus on certain text types may limit the range of knowledges in the reader's repertoire. There are texts and discourses which are ephemeral and transient (e.g. news items, fashion reports, sports) and they require culturally-specific schemata to make sense. This implies that a L2 reader needs to be familiar with the discourses of such texts, and to be furnished with formal schemata in order to understand how texts mean.

The reading-writing model's notion of textual reconstruction is potentially useful in

understanding the L2 reading process where cultural differences between reader and text may lead to an interpretation that differs from that intended by the writer. I also find this model's assignment of an active monitoring role to the reader potentially significant for my empowerment aims where this editorial role can be utilised productively to critique textual construction, and to encourage 'misreadings'.

Summative Commentary - Bottom-Up, Top-Down, Interactive Models

The review has attempted to problematise the theoretical positions and descriptions of the reading process that the three models offer. These models draw heavily on a rationalist view of reading. They essentialise the reading process by viewing it primarily as an universal phenomenon in itself, divorced from the context that frames it. Context is seen as a mere container stripped of any influence in the reading act (Bloome, 1993). All presume that knowledge and skills are privately acquired, a presumption that severs the integral links between knowledge, language and that of the wider discourses which constitute the reading act, the text and the reader. All believe that their respective model ideally describes the reading process. All have attempted to describe how reading takes place by using contrived texts and reading tasks to suit pre-specifiable hypotheses about how reading proceeds (Heap, 1991). As such, these views have served to promote the individualistic and textual focus that informs world-wide reading practice and assessment. These are views that celebrate 'text immanence', of texts as the primary source of meanings, views that dominate Tongan reading practices.

Despite the advances in our understanding of cognitive processes, there is always the labelling, with certain readers always at the receiving end of the 'poor readers' league table. Readers are ordered in the ordering of beings, in a system of differences (cf. Derrida and Foucault).

The conflicting findings in research informed by these theories call to mind Wittgensten's (1958) concept of reading as having elements in the same family but never sharing a common core definition, akin to Tierney's (1994) suggestion that a model *"provides the elements that enter into the equation rather than a single fixed algorithm for all reading"* (p.1176). That is, models are more momentary than ongoing; more segmented than straightforward, an apt description of the discursive, dynamic nature of reading. Studies have been particularistic and varied in terms of both research questions, samples, texts, tasks, and contexts, and such findings should be seen only as situated insights of, or elements in, the reading process.

The Foucauldian concern with what constitutes 'constraints' and 'enablers' on signifying processes suggests that these studies, in many ways, work to stipulate and constrain definitions of reading, thereby constraining what knowledge/views of the world are to be learnt, and in the process, help to sustain their dominance. They have constructed for many readers, reading researchers and teachers, a certain, authorised, albeit limiting view of what/how reading is and should be taught as can be observed from the widespread use of Basals, other Phonics packages across continents. Such constraints are those criterial labels rooted in a text immanent view - such as 'speed', 'accuracy', and 'fluency'. They are shown in practices which focus on word recognition, grammatical items and decontextualised vocabulary studies. These practices in turn, build a definition of reading which eventually becomes given, becomes 'the reading programme', the 'normal' way to read. In this way, learning to read and what is read depend on what is sanctioned, a masked ideology of those whose interests lie beyond the classrooms (Freebody, 1991).

Nevertheless, the insights provided by these theories in terms of 'signifying processes',

particularly Psycholinguistic, Whole Language, and Schematic notions are valuable as they contribute in some ways to our understanding of reading. The interactive view of readers' knowledge interacting with graphic stimuli is an important element in reading, just as inferences, strategies and various background knowledges are essential aspects in interpretation, and crucial from a poststructuralist viewpoint if they are juxtaposed with target textual knowledge to demonstrate multiple meanings/positions that texts construct. Similarly, the value of psycholinguistic predictions using various cuing systems can be fruitfully utilised to interrogate through certain textual strategies, how wider discourses, via language, construct subjects and meanings.

As Heap (1991) suggests, a situated view is concerned with the particular, constitutive properties of reading; with how one learns from, and with others. I find his post-structuralist explication quite a useful guide to scrutinise how power/knowledge relations are inscribed in reading-related discursive practices. For instance, he differentiates learning (how) to read procedurally from learning what counts as reading criterially. What counts as the former is what is accepted in a particular situation as the right 'procedures' to read (e.g. left to right orientation, using strategies, etc.) The latter is concerned with when reading can be said to have been done well or poorly. Analogous to Vygotsky's (1978) social scaffolding notion, learning what counts as reading criterially has socio-cultural dimensions because it is experiencing one's own reading efforts in social interactions. Readers thus learn how reading is done (procedures) and what reading is (criteria) by focusing on what counts as reading procedurally in these interactions. Procedural definitions, in a Foucauldian view, embody dominant truths and are crucial because they can influence a reader's view of what are culturally correct or incorrect versions of reading. As described, procedural definitions are

that prescribed by Bottom-up models as 'word by word, line by line progressive decoding' and criterial ones are that of 'accuracy' and 'speed'.

2.3. Theories of Response

(i) New Criticism/Structuralist Theory

The reign of textual meanings, the view of text immanence, and the primacy of textual knowledge are further reproduced in reading research and literary studies that focus on the analysis of language features of textual forms (structures), in order to seek commonality, a definitive textual meaning. Structuralists for instance, focus on disparate textual, structural elements in the search for an unifying meaning (Barthes, 1977; Levi-Strauss, 1967). In other words, they look for a common interpretation in the midst of incoherent ones. Similarly for New Criticism and those taking the 'cultural heritage' position, they see texts as autonomous, (hegemonic) cultural artefacts divorced from their authors, readers, social circumstances, reading contexts. Emphasis on structural/linguistic aspects was the criteria for studying texts (Arnold, Leavis, Ransom, Richards - cited in Corcoran & Evans, 1989). Readers are assumed to be cultural *tabula rasa* and passive recipients of teachers' expert knowledge and teachers are the custodian critics and transmitters of literary culture (Corcoran, 1989a). Both views in general postulate a universal reader who must shed personal/social alignments and view the text critically and objectively.

(ii) Roland Barthes - Cultural/Ideological Codes

Barthes' (1970) notion of cultural codes however, draws attention both to the poststructuralist 'readerly-writerly' (constructed) nature and socio-cultural embeddedness of texts and response.

His 'codes'³⁰ (1970), especially the symbolic and the cultural suggest an "*organised repository of common-sense wisdom*" (Montgomery *et al*, 1992, p.215) which hail readers (cf. naturalisation notions in p.47-48). His work on advertisements suggests that textual language works to project a polysemous set of signs inviting a range of interpretations, but often signalling a seeming 'realness' to readers. The use of realist operators such as stereotypes, authentic descriptions, and ideas that seem self-evident are part of the operation of these codes to construct a certain impression of 'reality'. Some of them are inscribed in closed texts, typified by a redundant formula³¹, and constrain interpretation through a process of 'ideological overcoding', or on a univocal message as suggested by Althusser (see p.48). They construct textually deferential readers in the process³². Though Barthes gives a degree of freedom for the reader's response, as evident in his (1977) proclamation of "*the birth of the reader is in the death of the author*" (p.148), the reader is still constrained by textual signifiers suggesting that texts, may not be '*open*' (Eco, 1979) and cannot be read in any way by readers. Eco recognises that open texts are sites for competing meanings and that textual ideology that is agreeable to readers would disallow them to probe into its constructedness.

Commentary

Formalist/Structuralist notions of response, are like Interactive, Top-Down and Bottom-up

³⁰ These five codes evident in many realist texts were used largely for narrative analyses: 1. hermeneutic (element of mystery and surprise); 2. proairetic (patterns of action and behaviour); 3. semic (characterisation); 4. symbolic (theme and representation); 5. cultural (code of reference or culture).

³¹ Mills and Boons, TV soap, comic, story series like Hardy Boys, Famous Five, Superman, legal texts as opposed to more open texts such as literary works (poetry, fiction).

³² Williamson (1978) finds that certain advertisements seem to invite readers to make inferential links between juxtaposed images in order to achieve the text's target reading. This is linked to Kuhn's (1982) notion of "suture" (p.53, cited in Boardman, 1994), a gap that is invisible so that readers become wedged in the text's meanings through their inferences, thereby producing dominant readings.

theories in their emphasis on, hence champion of, textual meanings. In particular, they highlight the notion of a text as having an authorial/textual coherent message of literary uniformity which can be unearthed by making logical links of diverse, structural, linguistic forms - a view that prescribes a practice of making a single, 'coherent' reading. This is again a modernist view of a perceivable meaning, out there, to be uncovered by the reader. It gives no importance to the multiple positionings of readers, relegating them to that of mere "*invisible eavesdroppers*" (Rosenblatt, 1978, p.2). Barthes' concession to readers' meanings does not automatically guarantee the demise of the author as the reader may still choose to take the textual position offered by texts as may be constrained by 'closed texts'. However, his attempt to shift the locus of meaning from the author to the reader carves spaces for readers to make alternative meanings. Such links can be productively used in a poststructuralist mode of analysis to gauge how they are, in Foucauldian terms, 'discursively produced' (cf. also Derridan 'trace' and Bakhtin's 'polyphony of voices' already discussed).

Further insights into the nature of responses, and how textual ideologies construct such responses and reading positions, have been advanced by Reception/Reader Response theories. In particular, they have attempted to decentre, like Barthes, the role of the author in the signification process, moving their focus instead to the reader and the transaction that occurs.

(iii). Reception Theory/Reader Response

Reception Theory/Reader Response rejects authorial/normative meanings espoused by previous theories and prioritises personal response. To them, readers are active co-creators of meanings, not passive subjects. Prominent among them are Fish's (1980), Bleich's (1975) and Holland's (1975) 'interpretive communities', Iser's (1980) and Rosenblatt's (1978) transactive

'stances'.

Subjective Responses and Interpretive communities - Bleich, Fish & Holland

These theorists see texts as stimuli inviting a range of idiosyncratic responses chosen from a range of possible meanings. They are potential templates for readers' self-actualisations or what Corcoran (1989b) calls "*existential predicament*" (p.133) with the teacher as facilitator encouraging the actualisation of these unique responses. Fish goes further to suggest the social nature of reading in that certain readers may produce similar interpretations, an 'interpretive community', due to certain alignments (cf. Street's, 1983 'community of readers' - cited in Wallace, 1992 and Wallace's "*club of readers*", p.19).

Transactional theory - Iser's Ideal Reader and Rosenblatt's Model

This theory sees texts as blueprints for aesthetic recreations and that such recreations depend on the 'lived-through' experience between readers and texts (Iser, 1978; Rosenblatt, 1978). Those who are thwarted by textual gaps need to be helped by the teacher to have a range of textual experiences. Iser's (1978) 'implied reader', akin to Culler's (1975) 'ideal reader' and to Fish's (1980) 'informed reader', refers to one who has the knowledge and competence targeted by the author and use these to interpret a text's target meaning. Iser, like Bleich, Fish and Holland, also suggests that readers produce unique responses due to a range of differences (e.g strategies, experience, etc.) Even though all (Fish, Iser, Rosenblatt etc) suggest that responses differ with time, place, type of text and are affected by prior knowledge and experience, interpretations differ on the issue of either an idiosyncratic reading or shared readings (community of readers), and on what constitutes 'constraints' on interpretation in terms of a text's intelligibility (Culler, 1981; Iser, 1978). They differ also in terms of a (open) text's indeterminacy (giving plurality of readings, Eco, 1979), and in terms of a 'free

assertive reader as opposed to a compliant reader' (Scholes, 1985). Some, like Fish, and Kress (1985) believe that readers generally have a common response to a text in the sense that text content imposes limitations on interpretation, thereby restraining any total relativism. Others like Widdowson (1984, cited in Wallace, 1992), for instance, argues that reading 'purpose' determines the position readers take so the reader is free to choose between submitting to the text's ideas or resisting them (similar views by Iser, Rosenblatt, Tierney & Enrico). On the other hand, Kress, like Fish, believes that some readers, for social rather than personal reasons may not be in an assertive position to read against prevailing discourses especially those of teachers, and of a passive L2 learning environment.

Rosenblatt (1978) however, suggests that focus should be on the transaction process rather than on the reader alone. She argues that the lived-through reader-text transaction results in the creation of a "*poem*" (p.11) with both the text and the reader playing a crucial role in creating the poem. During the construction of the 'poem', a reader adopts two stances shaped by reader purpose: an efferent (reading for information) and an aesthetic stance (response to literature where a lived-through experience is primary). Both lie in a continuum, can always be evoked in a single text, and are always present during reading. Reading of either kind is influenced by readers' prior knowledges, experiences, images, and aesthetic responses, and stances transact as a totality rather than separately. It is a process which involves separate but multiple transactions:

"we may generalise about similarities among such events, but we cannot evade the realisation that there are actually only innumerable separate transactions between readers and texts" (1994, p.1057)³³.

³³ See also Goodman's (1992) revised transactive model, Tierney & Pearson's (1984) four reader roles (see p.75); and Langer's (1992) transactional view. The latter delineates four ways of responses: 1. Being out and stepping into an envisionment; 2. Being in and moving through an envisionment 3. Stepping back and rethinking what one knows 4. Stepping out of and objectifying the experience.

Commentary

Despite apparent polarities on aspects of response, there are divergencies in their views which undermine their significant contribution to reader-text interaction and response.

Firstly, some notion's assumption of the autonomy of readers - that they are the source and origins of their own meanings is undermined by studies that show readers producing personal responses not so much from their individual experiences as from particular values and beliefs on behalf of affiliation to particular groups - gender, race, religion, etc. (Fish, 1980; Gilbert, 1989; Patterson, 1990). Fish's interpretive communities therefore may explain why certain feminists, for instance, produce readings which challenge male or dominant meanings and why certain Tongan males may produce interpretations that support patriarchal views echoing those of the dominant ones in the society. From a feminist viewpoint, Wright (1992) argues that these are theoretically and politically problematic for those concerned with analysing sexist distortions in language. This is because they mask the operation of ideology by seeing reading as a hermeneutic act, focusing on what texts 'do', on the personal nature of response, rather than on how they mean. They are therefore 'gender-neutral'.

Secondly, Fish's interpretive community despite an assumed acknowledgement of the social context does not specify the relationship between readers, texts, and discursive practices that frames the reading context. Neither does it explain and locate the Foucauldian/Derridan notion of 'discursively-located' subjects/voices, of multiple subject positions. O'Neill (1989), like Kress, argues that some texts are "*tough*" or "*closed*" (p.91) as opposed to Eco's 'open' ones. That is, as earlier referenced (see p.81), they are formulaic constructs so that their constructedness and source of meanings are culturally specific that even readers are unaware that they are subtly (deliberately) led to a particular position. Advertisements for instance,

belong to certain discourses and may seem closed if they target a select group and/or they require certain literary/other knowledge. By implication, their constructions would be difficult to be analysed, particularly by an L2 reader unfamiliar with their rules.

Thirdly, the model assumes that texts are neutral and that readers only make 'personal' meanings from them. But these meanings are not their own meanings but are traces of, or 'voices' borrowed from, other meanings, other texts, other voices (cf. Bakhtin; Derrida; and Kamberelis & Scott's, 1992, "*quasi-personal voices*", p.369)

Fourthly, though Iser and Rosenblatt's transactional theory and Tierney & Enrico's continuum of stances may contribute to readers' experiential growth and to their self-esteem due to their acknowledgement of reader uniqueness, they suggest a separation of the 'cognitive' and 'affect'. Through experience and maturity, these readers would construct their own 'poem' as their primary spontaneous response gains maturity. But that is again, all theory. The notion of an experiential reading based on using one's experiences to view the ideas in texts suggest that the ideas/worlds that texts offer are real especially if they are in accord with the readers' own 'cultural codes'. Further, this text-experience matching suggests textual superiority - the text dictating the type of experiences teachers need to offer students and may confine studies to texts that would match those of the students.

Despite these possible lacunae, this theory has made a landmark contribution to the signifying process and the role of the reader/author, and is a clear departure from text immanent views. It has established a niche in what has been strictly Formalist/New Criticism's territory in the study of literature, and is enjoying relative popularity in literature classrooms world-wide,

even in Tonga. Its contribution has productive implications for a poststructuralist pedagogical approach. It has projected readers as 'active', unique meaning-makers with unique intertextual histories which are brought to bear upon a text. It encourages students to experience life through literature and literature through life - an experiential approach (Patterson, 1991), providing some kind of equitable chance to all as to the ownership of meaning³⁴. It has empowered readers in a personal, individualised way, and have increased the range of meaning options they can take recourse to. In allowing for a multitude of meanings to be expressed, this theory has widened the possibilities for a poststructuralist framework to be developed, and another step forward for my empowerment aims to be realised. For instance, students' experiential meanings can be juxtaposed to demonstrate their various textual positionings in terms of the ideologies texts construct for them, and responses can be used as a basis for the development of a questioning dialectic on how such responses have emerged. The inevitable tensions as such alternative readings impact on ingrained views of reading/knowledge (e.g. text immanence: formalist demands by examinations versus personal response; personal knowledge vs authorial/textual knowledge) need to be reflected over and discussed during transactions as part of the empowerment process.

In the following section, I focus on certain studies looking at reading practices informed by a multidisciplinary view of reading. This, as already discussed, is a Foucauldian concern to analyse practices for they can be insightful into how certain knowledges and readers are constituted discursively. That is, how these practices influence who, how, what could be taken

³⁴ Morgan (1991) however, problematises the notion of literature as offering life-like experiences by suggesting that if this is to be tenable, it must be assumed that classrooms are monocultural; that differences of race, gender, religion, etc. are not important, and that cultural uniformity is unproblematic.

to count as readers, reading and knowledge (to coin Heap's, 1991 terms), 'procedurally' and 'criterially' (see p.78).

2.4 Multidisciplinary Views

(i) Social Constructivism

The need to look at reading as part of a process of the wider discourses is a concern that is manifest in social constructivist research (see Ruddel & Unrau, 1994 for a review of the literature). Social constructivists argue that: knowledge and knowing have their origins in social interaction (Bruffee, 1984; Mead, 1934, Wittgenstein, 1958); learning proceeds from the inter-psychological plane (between individuals) to the intra-psychological (within individuals) with the assistance of knowledgeable members of the culture (Langer, 1987; Rogoff, 1986; Tharp & Gallimore, 1988; Vygotsky, 1978); and that language mediates experience, transforming mental functions through a process of reconstructions into individual, psychological processes (Vygotsky, 1986; Wertsch, 1985)³⁵.

Vygotsky's (1978) "*zone of proximal development*" is seminal in this transformative process:

"the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem-solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem-solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers"(p.86).

This notion is rooted in: Vygotsky's insistence that education should be aimed at achieving 'self-regulation, the stage where one can work independently; his belief in the socio-cognitive, interactive nature of the 'change' process; the notion of learner development as a shift in control or responsibility from teacher to learner; and in the process of schemata acquisition

³⁵ See similar proponents: Bernhardt (1991), Carraher (1987), Cook-Gumperz (1986a), Kaestle (1985), Purves (1987), Street (1987), Wagner (1987).

via internalisation. Schemata, in a socio-cognitive view, are "*scripts*" (Nelson, 1981, p.106) built up from recurrent events in social contexts³⁶. Teachers and more capable peers act as facilitators priming students' knowledge scripts first through guidance, then through collaborative work on problem-solving tasks involving questions, discussions, modellings. With repeated practice, children 'gradually' increase their understanding and responsibility (and schematic repertoire) and then the adult cedes control to them - a progression from 'other' (present level) to 'self-regulation' (higher level) (Wertch, 1985).

Equally influential in classroom practice and particularly relevant for my empowerment aims is Freire's (1971) notion of 'conscientization' in terms of oppressive processes. As discussed in Chapter 1, it is a 'dialogic', liberating process of developing consciousness, but consciousness that has the power to transform reality. Freire sees education as a site either for the domestication/domination of people or for their liberation. Individuals who are oppressed are 'Objects'. To him even the oppressed literates are 'Objects' in a culture of silence as their lack of awareness that their actions are different is oppressive. They differ from the 'Subjects' who are critically aware of the myth/ideology behind a seeming reality. For Freire then, a counter-liberating education dissolves differentiation and hierarchy and involves an authentic, critical 'Dialogue' between the learners and teachers as equally knowing subjects and rooted in an awareness of social reality. An essential ingredient in this 'Dialogue' is 'critical thinking' via a contextualised 'problem-posing', or the: "*problematizing of human beings and the world, not the problematization of human beings isolated from the world, nor the world isolated from human beings*" (1976, p.152). This problem-posing approach involves

³⁶ Similar to earlier definition of 'schemata' - see p.71.

a 'naming' stage where one asks after the problem. Then there is a 'reflection stage', asking why it happens and how to explain it; and then an 'action' stage: querying what can be done about it and what options are there (Freire, Ibid). In this view, it is the locating of knowledge within history rather than the articulation or denunciation of knowledge-power, which creates the possibility of 'praxis', the action and reflection of people upon their world in order to transform it - a process of "*active reflection and reflective action*", Ibid, p.110; see also chap.1).

Wallace (1992), from a similar socio-cognitive view is concerned with reader positioning. She argues that the social context influences the stances readers take on during reading. Her 'club of readers' suggests that readers belong to a number of these depending on their various social identities (e.g. tennis fans, Tongan Catholics, Business men). She argues that even when reading individually, there is a sense in which the reader remains a member of the community of a text's target audience (e.g. sports page/science fiction readers etc.) As such, reading entails not merely the interpretation of a text in its physical environment but the interpretation of the whole situation in which it is being encountered. Wallace describes this social context at three levels: the immediate, the institutional, and the wider social context, which is akin to Fairclough's (1989) social organisational levels - that of the immediate social environment in which the discourse occurs (purposes, tasks, texts, organisation); the level of the social institution which supports and legitimises particular discourses (policies, programmes), and the cultural codes in the wider society³⁷.

³⁷ Cf. Halliday's (1978) ideational, interpersonal and textual functions of language in p.53.

Commentary

This model has made a cornerstone contribution to educational practice in its acknowledgment of the importance of the socio-cultural context, language, and collaboration in the learning process. Most influential is Vygotsky's zone of proximal development, and Freire's problem-posing approach which have provided many classroom teachers with a rich instructional legacy. I find these notions particularly valuable for my empowerment aims. However, I should bear in mind possible ruptures they may effect when analysed from a poststructuralist framework particularly given my concerns with hegemony and the marginalisation of knowledge.

For instance, the politicality of the signifying process especially covert power relations in the classroom and the possibility that the more capable peer may dictate what is learned, a form of hegemony itself, is peripherally treated in a Vygotskian view. Despite the Foucauldian understanding that knowledge is inscribed in power relations, caution must be made to ensure that certain meanings are not subjugated. If the dialogical nature of the Vygotskian concept is not fully understood by a teacher, the notion of a 'less capable peer' may suggest to a teacher that the knowledge that the 'less capable' one brings is inconsequential. S/he may ignore/dismiss the possibility that this peer may have alternative ideas worth cultivating. Further, according to Engestrom (1987), the idea of a Vygotskian 'zone' suggests a one way form of interaction from the 'capable' to the 'less capable', and that what has been internalised are culturally established knowledge/skills, not new ones, an assimilation of established, dominant knowledge. He suggests that the zone be bidirectional. Even this would create tension, caused from the need to learn existing cultural tools offered by the other, versus the need to recreate one's own, a tension aptly voiced by Lave & Wagner (1991):

2/- In Search of Meanings

"The different ways in which old-timers and newcomers establish and maintain identities conflict and generate competing viewpoints on the practice and its development. Newcomers are caught in a dilemma. On the one hand, they need to engage in the existing practice, which as developed over time: to understand it, to participate in it, and to become full members of the community in which it exists. On the other hand, they have a stake in its development as they begin to establish their own identity in its future." (p.115)

This is a tension which should be noted. Teachers'/Able readers' views of learning/ reading may foster the hegemony of certain views and may not allow room for the recreation of new knowledge/cultural tools. The 'teacher'/'better readers' probably share the same views of reading and would prime 'poor readers' to accept and conform to their views whilst excluding theirs. Because of implicit power relations in classrooms, poor readers may be forced to accept this established view (similar process found in sociolinguistic studies, see p.93-96).

The model aims to scaffold poor readers to become independent readers/ learners - to restructure their thought processes into intra-psychological processes. It implies, as suggested by some Reader Response theorists, that by reaching the independence stage of thinking, ideas rooted in socio-cultural meanings become internalised and privatised. But how can meanings learned from other (social) meanings be deemed 'private'? This is a slippage which needs to be noted to avoid falling into the trap of rendering meanings univocal and asocial.

These cautions taken, Vygotsky's zone nevertheless, has a crucial pedagogical value for my empowerment aims particularly for a Tongan L2 classroom reading context given the top-down, prescriptive way reading is taught in Tonga. A poststructuralist framework can heed these cautions noting that classrooms and texts are sites for power relations, and for contestation of meanings; and to adopt a reflexive approach that also allows teachers and students to examine their own meanings and positionings. In other words, what is at issue is the kind of views of reading and knowledge that may be promoted by a teacher/peer; not the

approach - and the value of latching this Vygotskian approach to a poststructuralist framework can work towards alleviating my concerns on hegemony. Tongan students can be proximated to become self-reflexive, critical readers via a demonstration of the ways their various voices are constructed and positioned by texts/discourses.

An added dimension to this interactive proximation is first, to view the tutelage interaction not as 'bi-directional' as Engestr me proposes but in terms of Koestler's (1969) open system of 'holons', as a 'holarchy'. This holarchy is not hierarchical but a continuous, multi-directional, and flexible system of feedback loops and strategies. This will reduce chances of hegemony and allow for an open collaborative process. Second, to incorporate some of Freire's problem-posing approach to raise critical consciousness given the model's focus on problem-solving tasks. Freire's conscientization notion which aims to liberate the oppressed 'Object' via critical dialogue as constructed by social forces, echoes my empowerment aims, and shares poststructuralist notions of the divisive operation of structural social forces with regard to knowledge construction.

Further evidence of the social nature of reading is theoretically grounded in sociolinguistics and cultural studies.

(ii) Sociolinguistics and Anthropology

The importance of language socialisation, particularly social interactions in constituting certain readers has been extended by Heath's (1983) classic study of the language practice of two US communities. She found that children vary in their perception of texts as shaped by

different socialisation methods into literacy³⁸. Moreover, that strategies are cultural (Hatano, 1986; Parry, 1992; Pritchard, 1990), as well as context and functionally dependent (Street, 1984; Hill & Parry, 1992).

Affective factors such as positive attitudes to the target language culture in terms of successful language learning is also fairly well-established (Cummins, 1986; Fransson, 1984; Gardner & Lambert, 1954, 1972; Lukmani, 1972; Matthewson, 1994; Trueba, 1989). The same notion applies to attitudes in and motivations for reading.

(iii). School Culture and Classroom Sociolinguistics

Schools are generally seen to offer opportunities for social mobility. Green *et al* echo earlier concerns by Freebody & Luke and Henderson about how students' total experiences in schooling determine the extent of their literacy repertoires and what they count as appropriate literate actions in school contexts (similar concerns are made by Baker, 1991b; Freebody, 1991; Heath, 1983). As discussed in Chapter 1, schooling fosters cultural reproduction of hierarchies and social divisions through the kinds of knowledge that are sanctioned in curriculum policies, materials and practice under the guise of an official literacy programme (Freebody & Luke, 1990; Heap, 1991). Relatedly, Weis's (1990) concept of "*nested identities*" (p.55) describes how gender/class/race values are nestled in the social structures of society and how schools, as social structures, are instrumental in forming and nurturing particular 'nests' of values along gender/social class/race/religious lines (see also Davies, 1989; Walkerdine, 1986).

³⁸ Similar findings by Brown, 1973; Gallimore et al, 1974; Labov, 1968; Rogoff & Wertch, 1986; Vygotsky, 1978; Ward, 1971 - cited in Street, 1993; Michaels, 1986; Wallace, 1992.

A school's reading policy often determines the reading classroom organisation, programme, and assessment procedures. The choice of programme, texts, and type of interactions all work to construct readers and certain views of reading. To Freebody & Luke (1990), such choices are political/ideological constructs which highlight the various power relations in the rites of reading, and may differentiate readers as found by Henderson (1993) in her 'anabronch' and 'billabong' literacy programmes (see p.28).

Classroom transactions are very influential in constituting how reading is learned and perceived. For instance, Green, *et al*'s (1994) study of the classroom interaction of a group of students shows that literate actions such as meaning-negotiations, reflections, questions and discussions before, during, and after reading/writing are being constructed and reconstructed by students as they interact in a variety of ways, with different groups, in different settings. In doing so, they form their own conceptions of literacy, perceiving reading as meaning-making, joint negotiation, purpose-driven, varied to purpose, inquiry and reflection (see also Cochran-Smith, 1984; Green *et al*, 1994; McMahon, 1992).

Classroom/school organisation of learning (individualistic, competitive, cooperative) also impacts on students' academic and social development (Green & Meyer, 1991; Olson, 1986; Vygotsky, 1978; Wertsch, 1985). For instance, the ways reading activities are organised define parameters for meaning negotiation to take place and will influence the nature and quality of interaction (Hiebert & Fisher, 1990). 'Classroom talk' for instance, can be prohibitive in developing literacy repertoires. For example, Freebody's (1990) work with slow learners shows how certain talks foster and structure social interactions that produce

"procedural show" (Bernhardt, 1991, p.100)³⁹, a kind of text/sociolinguistic wiseness where students know how to answer the right questions without fully understanding a text's underlying meanings. McMahon (1992) also found that the 'instructional focus' strongly influenced students' interaction patterns which varied depending on the required response mode (see also Alvermann *et al*, 1990, Green *et al*, 1994). Many studies show that some talks elicit parrot-fashion responses as is common in audiolingual programmes through which many Tongan children learned to read, and some teacher questions structure responses so that they privilege certain meanings over others (Alvermann *et al*, 1990; Jones, 1991; among others). Open-ended questions and responses foster greater students' interactions than those that are text-based and peer-led discussion groups also facilitate reflective, critical responses (Coles, 1995; Eeds & Evans, 1993; Wells, 1989). The type of group composition/streaming (a whole class, groups, mixed/similar ability or interests) also elicits different responses (Brown, 1992; Cazden, 1984; Parry, 1993).

Teachers' own theories of reading, priorities, and personal agendas (e.g. examination-driven, genuine interest, etc.) also affect how reading tasks are structured, how texts are chosen, and how students' meanings are constructed. Luke (1993, cited in Bull, 1993) coins this teacher influence as a "*teacher's running metatextual commentary*" (p.163), a conscious/unconscious mediation which acts as filters, colouring the transactions delivered or sanctioned, rather than as an interface for meaning explorations. Certain students' meanings may be marginalised and silenced because their meanings are different from the teachers' meanings (see also Baker, 1991a, 1991b; Baker & Freebody, 1989; Golden, 1986, 1988;

³⁹ Coined by Bernhardt as a learned superficial response to show agreement with the teacher.

Wells, 1991). For instance, Luke & Luke's (1990) survey of the text selection criteria of some Australian teachers found that 'student's preference' and 'literary quality' are prioritised, while 'relevance to background' and 'gender portrayal' ranked lowest (see also Fry, 1984). Also, that teachers' priorities in terms of their 'aims of literacy teaching', show that 'personal expression' and 'creativity' were the most important followed by 'skills development'. 'Social/occupational mobility' ranked lowest.

Commentary

Language socialisation studies show that literacy socialisation and strategies vary across settings, suggesting the Foucauldian notion of readers as discursively-located subjects. They show how reading processes are constituted by the practices and models of a particular reading context and provided different knowledge and perspectives which shaped their students' responses. As Street and Parry found, literacy events are shaped by the social roles sanctioned by the social groups to which readers belong. Such sanctions discipline, and are a form of control. What is deemed 'acceptable literacy behaviour and practice' prescribes certain criteria of how reading should be perceived and taught.

These studies suggest that literacy programmes should build on socio-cultural/home literacies/contexts. This was aptly shown in Cochran-Smith's (1984) study of the effect of a Church literacy programme on the Papua New Guinea's Kaluli's where views about literacy both internal and external to classrooms seem to be rooted in power relations. That is, tensions arose due a 'push-pull' imbalance because the specific socio-cultural context was not considered. The 'pull' factors being the individual's utilitarian, internal concerns, versus the 'push' ones - the external ideological forces that attempt to influence people. Resultant

'tensions' that often emerge from conflicting ideologies need careful consideration in planning literacy practices.

Sociolinguistic studies show that attributions to failure and success, to labels such as 'pre-literate' or 'poor/good reader' often arise due to mismatches in literacy background and that of schools, due to a school-prescribed, criterial perspective of reading. This often results in the winnowing out of those who cannot meet these criteria, a differentiation process. The Trackton children in Heath's study for instance, were deemed failures at school because the school's concept of literacy was based on their own criteria, based on certain ideological positions. Her study, among others, suggests that literacy discourses should build on home literacies. The literacy-related discourses of the United States Trackton community in her study were not considered in the school literacy discourses that its children eventually participated in, hence their bleak prospects in this school literacy. These views tie in with the poststructuralist view that readers are constituted 'discursively' in a particular point of time through the practices that they are engaged in. In a similar way, Tongan students would have certain views of reading learned through certain situated perspectives of literacy encountered in their socio-cultural background.

The socio-cultural base of learning is a useful Foucauldian reminder to look at how certain knowledges are constructed, disseminated, or subverted via the signifying processes of Tongan students and via their interactions with others. Teacher-centred pedagogy and the passivity of reading practices in most classrooms may work to reproduce their inherent dependence and passivity. Such a situation presents a challenge and a dilemma for a poststructuralist reading pedagogy in Tonga - how to shift such dependence and/or how to appropriate that dependence

(and any positive perception of reading), and use it to scrutinise as well as transform existing hierarchical/logocentric views of reading and system of differences to ensure a more equitable access to knowledge.

The importance of affective factors, particularly purpose, interest and attitude should not be underplayed as is done by Bottom-up and Top-Down Theories. These personal elements are value-laden, socio-culturally based, and shaped by ideas about reading/texts/personal alignments that have constituted readers' literacy development. In Tonga, English is a high stake language, and students have the general understanding that reading can improve their English proficiency, an understanding that may predispose them to work hard in schools (but not read). However, as discussed in Chapter 1, the reading programmes, practice, texts, and home literacy support received by many Tongan students may not provide appropriate motivation for reading. Their 'reading purposes' are not often self-prompted but prescribed either from assessment requirements or school programmes. Such limited purposes do not encourage critical transactions with texts, and are often for extrinsic goals such as examination success rather than pleasure, thereby precluding meaning explorations.

The studies show that the choice of reading programmes, classroom organisation, tasks, types of transactions, and a teacher's own theory and agenda play a crucial role in shaping reading selves and views about reading. As found by Green *et al*, the quality and content of classroom reading interactions influence the construction of a literacy model as a meaning-making, socially-conditioned phenomena (cf. socio-constructivist view). They show how a carefully-planned reading programme liberates rather than prescribes, offering means of breaking down the walls of 'given' teacher-directed, procedural practice found in most Tongan classrooms

today, and transforming students' own perceptions of reading.

Peer-led, especially Alvermann (1995) 'talk-alike' groups where readers of similar calibre (e.g. outspoken ones or less voluble ones in the same group) are grouped together to avoid hegemony, may allow for meaning explorations beyond the boundaries of the teacher's interpretations. They suggest a Vygotskian learning space that allows for all readers to make their own meanings with the help of peers, particularly those normally dubbed 'weak' to flourish as readers. However, as earlier cautioned, the hegemonic effects of classroom interactions should not be ignored. Classroom talk can be a form of control. As earlier discussed, teacher talk or a more competent peer-led talk suggests a kind of social hierarchy that is problematic when faced with issues to do with 'peer acceptance', 'peer approval' and 'teacher approval'⁴⁰. This is a concern that I raised in Chapter 1, regarding the embodied subjectivities of teachers in terms of any empowerment aims. Teacher priorities as shown in Luke & Luke's study dictate the teaching focus and exclude/limit the exploration of socio-cultural knowledges vital for a critical understanding of the world. As such, teachers should be wary that personal agendas and discussions, be they peer-led or teacher-led, should not unwittingly foster the rites of a certain dominant discourse, as this would nurture inequitable access to knowledge, and make classrooms 'risky' places for critical dialogue.

The choice of reading programmes in terms of tasks/transactions that teachers prescribe is crucial. Pre-specifiabls in Basals and Whole Language packages have had a great impact in deciding what is taught, what is learnt and what is perceived as 'reading'. These packages

⁴⁰ See 'procedural show', p.95, footnote 39.

come complete with texts, tasks and teaching methods which become 'the reading', 'the tasks', 'the methods' to be used in schools. This is authorised knowledge or what Williams (1978, cited in Luke, 1991) terms the 'selective tradition' where what counts as legitimate knowledge and competence is the selection by, and in the interests of, particular groups. Texts/Readers do not represent all class, gender or ethnic groups. Exclusive use of 'authorised school texts' in these packages may give a biased/limited view of the world through an exclusion/distortion of social reality as depicted in their contents, and can be reinforced by a pre-specified teaching methodology. As shown in an evaluation of gender representations in Basal readers (even in reading research, see Patterson's review, 1995), binary representations of males and females in storylines help to construct gender dichotomies, particularly a strong patriarchal view (Barnett, 1986; Davies, 1989; Gilbert, 1989). Further, exclusive use of these programmes gives no space for explorations of a potentially rich source of other texts/tasks. Any pre-specified packaged programme shows a kind of elitism which excludes many of those who do not already possess a high degree of cultural and linguistic knowledge. That is, they may be reproducing class dispositions and values which children differentially bring to the classroom, thereby sanctioning extant cultural capital, or the dominant ideologies of that particular culture (Bourdieu, 1990; Luke, 1991). However, this should not undermine the value of the approach which has made an effort to address issues to do with gender/race/class representations in its reading texts.

2.5. Summative Commentary

In recapitulation, the various reading models differ significantly not in terms of what they take reading to be, but in terms of how they formulate the way reading is done, and aspects of reading they value. Bottom-up theories see reading as continuous, serial decoding of all

graphic information. They value accuracy over speed. Top-down theories see it as a hypothetical selection of graphic information to be decoded. They value a speedy and accurate rendition of meaning. Interactive theories value both where text stimuli are selectively decoded, in line with the type of hypotheses represented in Top-down models. Though they show differences in how persons can read, do read and should read, they share commonalities which, when problematised, reveal gaps.

Most of the models describing the reading process are driven by rationalist, modernist conceptions of reading. They treat reading, readers and texts as fixed, autonomous, asocial, apolitical objects. They are more concerned with how reading is done, and measuring comprehension of textual meanings, than with what reading is, and how it constructs readers. The dominance of these cognitive and social psychological views of reading in the past two decades had led to a 'metadiscourse' for reading pedagogy that is familiar in Tongan classrooms and elsewhere - as an individual, cognitive skill applied during reader text-interaction. Reading policies, instructions, assessment and text production then have been focused on the psycholinguistic processes and factors that constitute/mediate this interaction. They force readers to produce a unitary and consistent interpretation, on the assumption that texts themselves produce unitary meanings. They discipline through the regulation and promotion of standardised forms of literate activity in schools (e.g. English textbooks) and in literacy assessment such as an emphasis on skills and strategies which assume a shared commonality across a range of readers irrespective of cultural context. As the dominant view, they become given (that is, they are taken up by educational systems as the normal way to read) to the extent that the tyrannical, hegemonic impact of their ideology of cognition and skills (Psychology, and possibly personal autonomy - Reader Response) remain hidden. These

ideologies which work on a hierarchical system of differentiation constitute readers. Readers take up these views/practices and experience them as their own, masking their ideological positioning in the process, and in turn, sustaining this hierarchical system.

A poststructuralist perspective sees reading as a discursively/historically-located discourse, where meanings and readers are constituted through the social-cultural frames within which reading is practised. A text can produce different readings just as a reader is a multiple subjectivity depending on the available knowledge, historical context, text, purpose and socio-cultural stances s/he brings to the reading. Readers are thus discursively located subjects who produce readings in terms of the discursive practices available to them at particular places and times, positioned by particular sets of values and beliefs. Such a view acts as a subversive 'chora' for given notions of reader autonomy, ownership of meanings (Reader Response), and a common set of skills/cognition (Interactive Theories). This poststructuralist view is concerned with power-language/con-'text' relations as they relate to knowledge about reading, and views of the world gained through reading.

We have seen from the review how various patterns of authority, power, and identity are constituted in meaning-related discourses (e.g classrooms, reading policies) and events. Particularly, how certain classroom discourses prescribe through acculturation (Heap, 1991) what counts as a valid literacy event by relaying to students a certain dominant way of reading⁴¹. Participation in classroom reading events entails acquainting oneself with the social organisation of knowledge, power and authority in the classroom. Not only that, the

⁴¹ To Heap, reading is acculturation because students use literacy in ways that reflect the environments in which they learn, both at home and at school (see also Heath, 1983).

worlds, characters and events in texts that they read further contribute to the textual construction of their reading selves. These texts can position readers through their very availability, their content, the way they are read, teacher mediation, and so on. In such a process, reading subjectivities are constituted and reconstituted, excluded or accepted as they learn how reading is done and what elements of reading should be valued.

The same thing may occur with Whole Language/Reader Response programmes if caution is not taken. While the former's stated philosophy and content seem different, the pre-prepared teacher guides and student tasks in its packages may work to limit teacher/reader creativity and critical reflection. However, they have increased awareness of the role language plays in constituting subjectivity by considering factors such as 'race', 'gender' in addition to 'interest' and 'story structure' in their readers. Further, they have adopted a Vygotskian collaborative approach which is a crucial step towards empowering young readers. Since they are currently being used in Tongan Primary reading classrooms, they are an important departure from the audiolingual programme that has dominated its reading scenes, and can be accommodated within a poststructuralist framework.

The review has documented examples of effective reading practices embracing wider notions of reading as: a continuously evolving and discursively-located discourse to establish, maintain, or change social relationships and social identities (Bloome, 1993); a social process (Vygotsky, Freire and other socio-constructivists); an example of cultural behaviour located within a cultural group or community (Heath, 1983; Street, 1984); a holarchy of intertextual transactions (Koestler, 1969); the ability to understand and construct textual meaning and a

means through which individuals meaningfully relate to their worlds⁴²; or a cultural act/acculturation which has both normative and moralistic aspects (Heap, 1991). That is, it has been formulated from certain ideological concerns that involve moral choices on how reading ought to be done and should be taught.

While psychocognitive views see the social dimension as variables that might mediate reader-text interaction, poststructuralist, interdisciplinary views see it as a complex, multilayered, dynamic semiotic constituting readers and knowledge and which vary across settings, rendering any notion of a fixed meaning untenable. Reading as such should be viewed as 'multiple' and 'situated', as 'readings', constituted and reconstituted by particular socio-cultural discourses⁴³. They highlight the need to consider the political dimension of reading which it believes works to shape interpretations and readers, and dictate who accesses certain knowledge. They do this by enabling readers to understand textual construction and how they themselves are positioned by such constructions. More importantly, they provide a means of looking at reading, readers, texts, and readers' meanings situatedly and alternatively - not as a fixed coherent meaning but as potential sets of meanings, not in the polemics of 'bad' and 'poor' readers but as multiple selves as positioned by the discursive practices that have constituted both them and texts.

Earlier, I discussed the normalising operation of ideology (Althusser, Barthes, Pecheux, Volosinov) particularly Bourdieu's (1977) notion of 'conditioned habitus' and to how certain groups are able to enhance their own authority, to regulate others and to control the social

⁴² Bruner, 1990; Ferdman, 1990; Freire, 1973; Freire & Macedo, 1987; Gee, 1990; Giroux, 1988; Scollon, 1988; Wallace, 1988, 1992).

⁴³ Akin to McHoul's (1991) concept of 'readings' and Street's (1993) 'literacies'.

context. This is linked to Foucault's suggestion of the indissolubility of power in the discourses that frame discursive acts. The embeddedness of power/ideology produce asymmetrical relations of 'subjects/'objects' and 'agents', 'access' and 'exclusion'. The knowledge selected and invested upon by those in power become the 'official knowledge'. This has implications for what readers eventually learn as reading knowledge.

Poststructuralism via a Foucauldian/Kristevan/Derridan mode of analysis is an appropriate intellectual/political framework to adopt for my empowerment aims in its belief that all social and political discourses are saturated with power and that power should be identified and critiqued. This is imperative if it works to constrain one's ability to construct alternative/new knowledge. It argues that identifying the operation of power can be a liberating experience and has potential in providing equitable access to knowledge.

These considerations will form the basis for my choice of methodology explained in the next chapter.

Methodology should be written or read as the perspectival text it is.
Ben Agger (1991, p.122)

3: MY FIELDWORK JOURNEY

3.1. Philosophical Considerations

Generally, different theoretical assumptions about knowledge and reality entail different methodological approaches to data collection and analysis. Educational research tends to rely on two main ones: quantitative and qualitative. Quantitative approaches are rooted in modernist claims about knowledge/truth. They seek generalisable, metatruths by way of empirical evidence using experimental data collection methods. Early reading research was dominated by such 'scientific' approaches. For many, especially those informed by cognitive, psycholinguistic views of reading, this continues to be the preferred paradigm. However, such approaches, as discussed in Chapter 2, are limited despite their continued relevance to reading pedagogy and research. For instance, many of their attendant studies focus only on the micro-context of texts and readers, and view them as functioning autonomously in an asocial vacuum. By controlling reading and objectifying readers/participants, such approaches ignore the rich meanings that can be gathered from the participants' perspectives and from a thick documentation of the inter/extra-textual context which frames interpretation. Given my discussion in Chapter 2 of the complex, intertextual, socio-political nature of signification, I was averse to look at reading in such an insular way.

The poststructuralist framework that undergirds my study necessitate a qualitative approach in its search for "*interpretive understandings*" (Heap, 1992, p.58). As suggested in Chapter 1, it entails a close study of an event in its historical, discursive specificity, using a range of

methods¹, some of which can be quasi-experimental in design but which yield a rich and fuller set of data. Qualitative approaches appeal to me in the way they question the positivist treatment of reading as an asocial act by advocating a need to trace socio-cultural and historical influences and patterns; and to capture the perspectives of those involved (readers/teachers/policy-makers, and so on) and how these constitute readers and knowledge (Chodorow, 1978). They are in concord with the poststructuralist notions of the discursal construction of knowledge and subjectivity that frame my study.

I am mindful however, that a qualitative approach is not without its problems particularly to do with legitimisation concerns in terms of research rigour, subjectivity, and ethics. These concerns, to have any theoretical groundings, have to be linked to my empowerment aims rather than to attempt, as a modernist claim does with 'validity', to invoke authority or to assert my own power over the reader (Denzin, 1994). On legitimisation concerns for instance, I draw upon Lather's (1986) notion of 'catalytic validity' (see footnote 23, p.30) - the degree to which a given research project empowers and emancipates a research community, and Foucault's (1983) injunction that we judge truth by its effects. My legitimisation concerns also invoke Derrida's (1981) view of meaning as constantly deferred, so that my research in terms of legitimisation is for readers and participants involved to evaluate in terms of the latter being empowered. On subjectivity and ethical concerns, I need to be reflexive, instrumental, and upfront about my own subjectivity in all aspects of the research process as this is an essential part of the process of empowerment and a poststructuralist framework.

¹ Examples are open-response questionnaire surveys; interviews, participant observation, participant accounts, historical documents.

As discussed in Chapter 1, my empowerment aims are linked to Freire's (1972) notion of 'praxis', a reciprocal reflection in action and active reflection - the reflexive interface between theory and practice. That is, my empowerment aims need to be reflectively actualised pedagogically and is a conscious effort to alter situations rather than merely researching it, a reflective action which should highlight the constitution of both the repressed and the advantageous (Weiner, 1994). To do this, I need to draw upon the theoretical understandings provided by the theories discussed in the review to inform methodological decisions I need to make towards this pedagogical end. Poststructuralist theory offers a valuable direction for my methodology in its general concern to deconstruct, to render untenable, logocentric ideas that work to relegate subjects into hierarchies (Derrida, 1981, see review), as well as to analyse the operation of power-knowledge relations in discursive regimes of truth in discursive practices, and the way these are taken up by subjects (Foucault, 1983, see p.39). This deconstruction/excavation process offers transformative spaces for the construction of alternative discourses. Poststructuralist notions (see review) offer a mode of analysis that would be particularly insightful for my empowerment aims in view of my research questions.

One of these is Foucault's (1972) *Archaeology of Knowledge* thesis which suggests that each society has its own ordered systems of rules which sanction certain truths and exclude others. Foucault therefore suggests the value of analysing such disciplinary discourses and their ordered rules or 'regime of truth' in institutions. In particular, those forms of institutionalisations such as schooling, traditional and hierarchical structures (e.g. family, workforce) and how such forces through their rules, normalise and rationalise certain 'truths'. I find this particularly valuable as a method as I am interested in the extratextual constitution of students' signifying processes and the locations of their meanings. I also draw on his (1979) *Genealogy*

of Truth thesis where he sees the constitution of subjects and knowledges as inextricably linked in a circular relation to effects of power exercised by the institutional forces which produce and sustain them. That is, the regulation of certain knowledges is driven by power relations, and the exercise of these knowledges legitimates the power of the institutions; thereby in turn, sustaining and extending their dominance within certain discursive practices and contexts. These knowledges become naturalised so that alternative ones are repressed or masked by this normalisation. Foucault therefore suggests that a genealogical analysis, focusing on what is not often looked at, in addition to an archaeological probe, would be insightful into how power-knowledge operates to constitute subjectivities and would bring to the fore subjugated knowledges. By doing so, ruptures and slippages that would destabilise dominant, and seemingly commonsensical knowledges would be revealed. Specifically, this means looking at the system of differentiation inscribed in language, and which is reflective of discursive practices of institutional structures that provide the conditions for power-knowledge to be effected and sustained - such as classroom reading transactions; the reading syllabus and assessment policy; language resources; and textual production. My particular interest is on this genealogical analysis as it relates to how language constructs response.

Since language is a discursal site for the dissemination of knowledges, and since a poststructuralist framework is particularly interested in the politicality of language and how it helps to construct and sustain certain knowledges and readers, I also draw upon the mode of textual analysis provided by the Kristevan notion of the 'semiotic' (see p.40-42) and Derridan notion of 'differance'. Both provide a strategy for a Foucauldian resistance, the former in its criticism of sexism and other forms of repression, and its celebration as well as appropriation of repressed knowledges into alternative ones. One way of doing this is to

foreground the repressed, disruptive semiotic to transgress and destabilise the patriarchally-regulated, dominant Symbolic order which regulates what knowledges are to be learned. The latter is via its notion of radical disseminating force of 'differance' which renders any philosophical centrism about the world untenable. By virtue of this 'differance' is the necessity to deconstruct those logocentric ideas that make dichotomous categories based on a system of 'presence' set against 'absence', and to overwrite those ideas with alternative/absent ones. These notions have important implications for me in terms of designing ways of interrogating how/what particular knowledges are sanctioned in particular discourses/practices in Tonga and how these constitute Tongan student readers. Understanding how these truths are produced and sustained will enable me to design a pedagogical approach that will allow alternative truths to be constructed. They suggest that I adopt a methodology akin to Hartman's (1991) research on 'Intertextuality' which is grounded in a Foucauldian mode of analysis (see p.57-58). Hartman suggests that reading may be located in four locations during research - the: (i) **material circumstances** which are the sites in which response is located - text, reader, writer, context, language; (ii) **production tools** - the space in which transforming mechanisms (cognitive, social, cultural, political, historical, linguistic and semiotic) trigger and create responses; (iii) **discursive habitats** - the discourse communities in which response is positioned: disciplines, professions, institutions and individuals; and (iv) **temporal occurrences** (time, place where/when of transactions - see Bloome & Egan-Robertson, 1993, Hartman, 1991, 1995 for an extended discussion). Because this study is exploratory and given time and other constraints, I cannot look at these contexts in a comprehensive manner. I will only focus on the context of reception as grounded in the genealogical (and to a less extent, archaeological) findings per reader that I will be able to dismantle/excavate. As implied by these sites and as discussed in the review, the poststructuralist notion of texts/

intertextuality suggests the discursal embeddedness of knowledge; how knowledge exists by reference/virtue of other meanings beyond and between texts (Barthes, 1977, Derrida, 1981, Miller, 1987); and how they are relations and manifestations of power (Foucault, 1983). Generally, I am supportive of the eclectic view that both qualitative and quantitative approaches or a range of methods can potentially illuminate one another and can be merged as is fitting for the researcher's questions, adopting whatever works best for such questions (Howe, 1988; Le Compte & Goetz, 1982; Rorty, 1979 - in Alvermann & Dillon, 1991). This suggests that my methodology needs to be multilectic² and interdisciplinary in order to highlight the overlapping, traversory ways the various discourses work in constructing knowledge and readers. Eclecticism or multilectism is part of the poststructuralist framework of reflexivity. It is thus necessary that I align with a range of qualitative methods given my need to look interpretively at the complex contexts of meaning production and reception.

However, this alignment posed an initial dilemma for me. In Chapter 1, I discussed how Tongan society at large and the Tongan education system through its normative assessment procedures treat statistical data as 'the' evidence of academic performance. This is augmented by a modernist, psychological view of reading in reading assessment (and classroom practice in general) where the comprehension section of the national and regional English Language exam papers (TSC & PSSC - a first year A level equivalent paper) is dominated by a MC item format. This format, suggesting a view of reading as textual interrogation for fixed textual meanings using a set of 'quantifiable' cognitions, acted as a discouraging constraint. That is, what seems to count as valid findings in Tonga are quantifiable, statistical results. As such,

² Borrowed from Stanfield (1985), which he refers to as a multitude of opposites and their synthesis as opposed to a Marxist synthesis of binaries.

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I was torn between my qualitative alignment and the need to conform, to produce 'standard' evidence. Also, because of Britain's geographical distance from Tonga, a qualitative approach that requires a lengthy period of fieldwork did not seem practicable and feasible. Against this backdrop however, three factors persuaded me to carry out this qualitative study.

Firstly, I was able to register for the PhD course part-time based in Tonga in 1994, which enabled me to conduct the initial phases of my fieldwork. Secondly, I was persuaded by the insights from scholarship on qualitative literacy research drawing from multiple disciplines (see Green *et al*; Langer, in review) which show that different perspectives provide unique insights which can build a more holistic portrait of readers' reading selves (Wallat & Piazza, 1988). I was also persuaded by the Foucauldian suggestion that a modernist-based approach would not achieve my empowerment aims. Thirdly, my dilemma to produce either normative or qualitative results was dissolved by a subtle growing pressure on the Tongan education system from international educational bodies for more qualitative reporting of students' academic performances. For instance, there is an Unesco-funded literacy project currently operating in Tonga which requires descriptive evaluation of children's literacy performance. There is also the WHO-commissioned study on the general educational performance of Pacific children seeking fuller, descriptive data. Upon my return to Nottingham as a full-time student (Oct, 94), further readings confirmed the necessity of a qualitative study. Then my sponsors granted me the chance to gather more data *in situ* six months after the first field phases.

3.2. The Research Questions Considered:

My initial questions (chap. 1) were continually modified in the course of my readings³.

³ Questions were rephrased even after the fieldwork even though the method and data remained.

Generally, the purpose of these questions is to gain some insights into how/why a group of Tongan students⁴ read texts, that is to discover what meanings they assign to them, the reading perspectives these meanings point to, and the location of these meanings as might be reflected in the stances that they adopt. These questions were categorised into three subsections, each signifying three phases of my fieldwork. Phase 1 looked at reader's 'on-line' processes and 'post-hoc'⁵ interpretations on various reading tasks. Phase 2 was concerned with building up a reading profile of each reader through open-ended questionnaires and a probe into some of their English teachers' concepts of reading. Phase 3 was devised only after data from previous phases was analysed. It probed readers' post-hoc responses to a range of unabridged texts following a scaffolding intervention (see my rationale for the use of the term in p.135). This scaffolding is concerned with whether certain instructional interventions can empower readers to understand textual constructions and their positionings during reading; and whether through such understandings, they can exercise critical meaning choices from a range of meanings rather than only the 'givens'. These questions then are:

Phase 1

1. *What are the meaning-making processes that Tongan student readers make when they are engaged in specific reading tasks?*
2. *What could be the 'possible locations' of these processes?*
3. *What evidence of 'reading perspectives(s)' do these processes reflect?*
4. *How have such perspectives shaped these readers and their views on reading?*

⁴ I will be referring to the students that I use in the study as my 'co-readers' a kind of linguistic empowerment. Where they are referred to as 'students', this may be as a result of a linguistic decision.

⁵ On-line/ad hoc and post hoc processes are "temporal locations" coined by Bloome & Egan-Robertson (1993) to refer to the particular time (before, during or after reading) during which 'intertextuality' is studied as well as the direction in which it is pointed (past, present, future).

Phase 2

5. *What perspective(s) of reading constitutes students as readers in their historical, personal and cultural backgrounds?*
6. *What evidence of 'reading perspective(s)' do other information (school reading policies, reading assessment, texts, programmes, teachers' views) reveal?*

Phase 3

- 7.(i) *What counts as 'knowledge (meaning) links' and 'stance' (reading position) in the responses of Tongan students to other types of reading tasks?*
(ii) *What could be the 'locations' of these links and stances?*
8. *What scaffolding implications in terms of poststructuralist readings can be drawn from evidence from Phase 1, 2, and Phase 3 (7)?*
- 9.(i) *What evidence, in 'knowledge link' and 'stance' AND what counts as 'reading/response' are inferred from post-scaffolding responses?*
(ii) *What could be the 'locations' of these links and stances?.*

3.3. Methodological Implications for Phases 1 & 2

As I have explained earlier, and as suggested by the range of questions that I have posed, my poststructuralist framework allows for a reflexivity of methods and perspectives. For instance, my concern with the meaning-making 'process' (question 1) in Phase 1, is prompted by the Interactive view of reading discussed in the review which describes both reader/sociocultural and text-based factors as impinging on the process of interpretation. In particular, are those posited by some Socio-cognitive (Bernhardt, 1991) and Schema theories (Anderson, 1978; Rumelhart, 1977), and Goodman's (1967; 1992) Psycholinguistic model. These theories are threaded together by a focus on 'meanings' (both of readers and of texts) and an acknowledgement of the social dimension of reading. They have been illuminative on the cognitive operations involved during reading. For instance, the notion of schemata as stored data structures containing all kinds of 'conventional' grammars as in knowledge of 'genres' like narratives, advertisements, fairytales, or as in 'topic/background knowledge' schemata

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which are triggered during reading, is important in understanding the types of 'knowledge' or 'conventions' (both linguistic and other) readers bring into their readings. They are also linked to the psychoanalytic notions of language acquisition as unconscious (Lacan, 1977) and suggest the important role language plays in constituting readers and reproducing regimes of truths. Relatedly, Goodman's psycholinguistic model in postulating the predictive inferential powers of readers when they take recourse to their formal and background knowledges can be informative on the nature of predictions being made and the particular reading-related regime of truths that have produced such predictions. The rest of the questions in Phase 1 (nos. 2-4), and similarly for Phase 2 have their origins in studies in social/cultural anthropology (Street; 1984; Heath, 1983) which link interpretation to socio-cultural/political influences; to 'affective factors' such as views/beliefs (Gardner, 1974; Matthewson, 1994 *inter alia*); and to 'discursive practices' and their 'regimes of truth' (Foucault, 1983) as discussed in the review. These factors were focal points for self-reflection in my search for appropriate research tools for my Phase 1 and 2 questions. These tools are described in section 3.4.

As already mentioned, my provisional understanding of the situation in Tongan classrooms points to the need to explore to some degree of certainty (while acknowledging the paradox that nothing can ever be certain!) how some Tongan students read. It reflects my indeterminate stance in terms of, and contrary to, the 'emic' knowledge I bring into it in my capacity as an 'insider' in the Tongan education system. It is a Foucauldian scepticism of what seems to be 'givens' despite this insider role, an "*as if*" (Konopak, 1993, p.353) stance which acknowledges my, as well as, Tongan readers' indeterminate claims to what textual meaning and 'reading' is in a Tongan context; and to the elusiveness of what constitutes readers and knowledge respectively. This indeterminacy also captures the nature of meaning-

construction espoused by the Derridan notion of meaning deferral where meanings are elusive and open to multiple reconstructions. A multilectic, interdisciplinary, qualitative case study methodology therefore seems the most appropriate for my quest.

3.4. Description of the Methodology for Phase 1 & 2

This multi-tooled approach is, to use Stanfield's (1985) term, a "*multilectic*" (p.411, see also footnote 2, p.111) approach which allows for the multiple theoretical perspectives that I draw upon and which can capture the complexity of interpretation. It involves: (i) looking at readers' meaning making processes in particular reading events taking cognisance of the nature and location of such processes in terms of their pedagogical value; (ii) delving into the readers' life/reading histories and backgrounds and providing detailed descriptions of each; (iii) gathering other data sources - home (interview), readers' (questionnaire), schools (documents), teachers' (questionnaire), taking note of the complexities and nuances of each context; and (iv) reflecting upon and examining my own perspectives and roles in the process (for the latter, see also Alvermann, 1996; Guba & Lincoln, 1985; Tierney, 1994). These multiple measures provide cross-validation through a triangulation of the information they will provide for each reader. Some of these procedures, especially for my data in Phase 1 yield statistical data which may be quantified. This is not a mistake. Rather, it is to suggest that my approach does not totally dismiss statistical evidence but only in so far as it does not override the primacy of the historicity and the discursivity of the reading event; that it does not depict a view of reading as a fixed universal process.

(i). Participants, Schools and Level

I initially focused on 48 F4 students (ages 14 - 17) of mixed abilities and gender (30 girls, 18

boys) from 8 co-ed schools⁶ in 1994. The number was for reasons to do with logistics to safeguard against absenteeism, dropouts and other reasons that may risk my aims of getting an in-depth understanding of my readers; and more importantly, to ensure that I have adequate data about 'reading processes', views on reading, and school practice. I decided on a composition of mixed gender and abilities as part of my attempt to give voices to all, and not to certain classified group of students (e.g. above average students/females) only. Each of these schools represents the eight main systems that run Secondary Education in Tonga⁷. Though the purpose of this task is aimed at understanding rather than generalisability, my selection of the eight schools was driven by aims which I now, upon reflection may have been spurred by covert rationalist concerns. The eight schools provide a representative sampling range and suggest my overt concern to make generalisable findings. This, in addition to the dilemma I faced (see p.111), has been a constant source of tension for me in the early 'undecided' stages when pressures to quantify and generalise barraged me from all directions: from colleagues involved in more positivist methodology; from the bulk of psychology-based studies looking for generalisability that dominated my readings at the time; and from my misguided view that generalisable, 'normalised' findings will have a 'status' impact at home on my reputation as an Education Officer. Quite significantly, this tension heralded the beginning of the tensions and contradictions that I experienced during my research journey. However, I decided that the eight schools would allow me to look at different contexts given the heterogeneity and complexity of positionings. Not only that, since the academic status of

⁶ Tonga High School, St Andrews College, Tailulu College, Takuilau College, Liahona High School, Tupou High School, Beulah College, and Lavengamalie College.

⁷ Most secondary education is dominated by church systems. Tonga High school is one of the only two run by the government on the main island; the rest are run by the Wesleyan, Mormon, Catholic, Free Church of Tonga, Anglican and the Tokaikolo Christian Fellowship. Tongatapu alone where the study was undertaken has 76% of the total secondary population in Tonga (TMOE Report, 1993).

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these schools differs significantly in terms of producing particular abilities of students (as suggested by examination results!), the participation of students from these schools may pave way for their empowerment by allowing me to analyse how their schools sanction certain knowledges about reading.

Official policy statements for language learning in Tonga decrees that English should be the medium of instruction from F3 (ages 13 - 14) onwards even though as has been mentioned, this is not the reality in most Tongan classrooms. English is also a compulsory subject from Primary onwards. Thus, any level could have been chosen given my exploratory aims. My choice of F4 however, was both for practical and theoretical reasons. As I was initially registered part-time and based in Tonga, my full-time job as a Curriculum officer involved the revision of a Form 4 English textbook. This entailed working with key F4 English teachers from different schools and conducting inservice workshops with F4 English teachers in the country. Those important acquaintances were a convenient means of securing assistance for my research, and were instrumental in my focus on F4. Moreover, Form 4 students do not face the pressure of the national examination (TSC) that F5 students face and this made it opportune to solicit their time for this research. The last phase however, was conducted when these students were at F5 (in 1995) and this was unavoidable. Theoretically, Form 4 students are introduced to more complex and cognitively demanding texts. Presumably also, they should be at a reading level to read cognitively-demanding materials - materials that may force them to externalise their interpretation in an informative and proficient manner that would cater for my research aims.

I wanted a range of English language proficiencies and primary school backgrounds so

participant selection was based on the following criteria; two from 'above-average', 'average' and 'below-average' in English language proficiency (see selection details following). Primary school backgrounds range from urban, rural, outer island, government and church primary schools. Some students were initially teacher-recommended. To confirm respective teacher's recommendations - that is to ensure that I get the range I required, all the F4 classes where these students were in, sat a reading comprehension test in April 1994, comprised of a MC, true and false questions as well as a cloze task (see Appendix 5). These were administered by their respective teachers in a normal English language class in their respective schools but marked by myself. The test was taken from an English textbook prepared for Pacific students and was selected based on its familiarity in test format and content to what students normally receive in their English classrooms. I went through the results with each respective teacher as a form of cross-checking and most of the students initially teacher-selected were chosen. Again, my use of a test is a more overt sign of the powerful influence of cognitive-psycholinguistic views on me in the early stage of the research process despite my avowed allegiance to a poststructuralist, interdisciplinary reading perspective. This contributed to the tensions that I experienced during my research journey.

(ii) Text selection

Studies in Critical Linguistics (Fairclough, Fowler, Halliday, Hodge and Kress) and Feminist Stylistics (Mills, among others), Sociolinguistic, and Schema theory (Rumelhart, among others) discussed in the review, suggest that text type and structure construct different types of reading and reader stances in the schematic knowledge of associated conventions readers bring with them to their reading. Moreover, such forms and language become normalised insofar that they trigger certain expectations which construct and position readers. A range of texts, both

literary and non-literary would allow me to: look at a range of textual constructions; record how readers interpret them in situation-specific contexts; and to introduce them to various ways that textual language/forms construct and position them as subjects. These are again, ultimately linked to my empowerment purpose where, texts as discourses and sites both for the contestation and the promotion of certain truths, can be analysed problematically for their effects in positioning readers and constructing certain knowledges. Moreover, texts such as advertisements were chosen because the students' reading profiles suggest that they find advertisements/notices and other type of texts difficult or uninspiring to read. Media texts such as advertisements as already discussed, have a powerful effect on readers in general because of their immediacy and accessibility. Therefore, texts used in this research are types that students might read on a leisurely and/or school-based encounter, ranging from popular, classic, and media. They are also unadapted, naturally occurring ones unlike the manipulated texts often used in psychology-based researches. Some passages for the Phase 1 tasks are typical classroom texts used in Tonga, and are extracted from longer pieces because it was impractical to use longer passages for the amount of tasks I had planned and for the large number of readers I initially started off with. Phase 3 texts are unabridged ones, chosen from a range of contexts and periods, text type and authors⁸. This was also for the purpose of looking at the discursive construction of knowledges in particular historical moments as materialised in text production.

(iii). Research Journey Timeline

A time frame summarising my research journey, particularly the data collection stages is summarised in Table 1.

⁸ See all texts used in my fieldwork in Appendix.

| 1994 | 1995 |
|--|---|
| <u>January - June</u> | <u>October '94 - March '95</u> |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">•Literature Search•Preparation•Visiting Schools•Participant Selection | <ul style="list-style-type: none">•Revision•Perusing Phase 1 & 2 Data•Planning Scaffolding design |
| <u>July - September</u> | <u>April '95 - May '95</u> |
| PHASE 1:* | PHASE 3 |
| Data Item 1: Recall Protocols | Apr 11 -19 Trial |
| Data Item 2: Oral Reading | 22 PRE-SCAFFOLDING TEST Data Item 7 (BT ad & Electric City) |
| Data Item 3: Retellings | 29 PRE-SCAFFOLDING TASK Data Item 8 Eveline Start SCAFFOLDING DEMONSTRATION |
| PHASE 2: | May 1 - 2 Con't SCAFFOLDING DEMO.: Data Item 9: Task 1 - Eveline Con't Task 1 |
| Data Item 4: Reader Questionnaire | 3 Data Item 10 More SCAFFOLDING TASK 2: Singapore Ad Con't Task 2 |
| Data Item 5: Teacher Questionnaire | 4 Data Item 11 POST-SCAFFOLDING TEST 1 (BT ad & Electric City) |
| Data Item 6: Historical documents/school records and information | 5 Retrospection 1* |
| | 6 Data Item 12 More SCAFFOLDING TASK 3: Frim and Frat Cartoon Con't Task 3 |
| | 8 Data Item 13 POST-SCAFFOLDING TEST 2 Sports Education ad Data Item 14 |
| | 10 DELAYED POST-TEST: I Lived Here Once & You the Choice of My Parents. Retrospection 2* |
| | 11 |
| | 13 |
| | 20 |
| * Administered in this order | Key: * to be treated as postscript data |

Table 1

In detailing the steps taken for each phase, it is essential that I explain the theoretical grounds on which the tasks are based. These are discussed in the next section with that of the administrative procedures.

(iv). Task Description and Administration

Phase 1

Phase One attempts to answer my first four research questions (see p.113). It looks at the processes of meaning-makings that students make in three types of reading tasks itemised as:

| | | |
|-----------|----|---------------------|
| Data item | 1: | Recall protocols |
| | 2: | Oral readings |
| | 3: | Written retellings. |

As already discussed, these tasks aim at gauging the students' cognitive processes, linguistic knowledge and the reading perspectives which should be inferred from these processes and knowledge. My aim is to use my understanding of these processes to illuminate my search on how knowledge encoded in linguistic signs are interpreted.

Trial of these Phase 1 tasks

The tasks were piloted in the last two weeks of April 1994, using three F4 above-average students picked from a school⁹ used in the study, though these students were not involved in the main study. It was not so much a test of the text suitability as most of the texts were taken from F4 English textbooks as a trial to see any unforeseen snags in my task demand and administration based on the view that different tasks/reading contexts determine the type of meaning-making processes made. In this pilot, each student was given a different purpose for recalling the task using two texts used later for the main study (see p.124): as a 'pure recall',

⁹ Students were picked from Tonga High School, selected simply for its convenient placement to my office.

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as a 'test', and as a 'means of writing a similar type of text' on a different topic. They were to read several times to their satisfaction and then to recall one at a time. In the oral reading and subsequent retelling trials, two other passages used later for the main study (see p.127) were used. One passage was read quietly once before a reading, one was unseen before the reading. Again, this was with the aim of gauging the processes involved in different reading situations. I did the taping and students were informed prior the reading that they would be asked to retell their understanding of what they had read afterwards. All these Phase 1 tasks were conducted in my workbase.

From the trials, I decided against using the three specified purposes for the recall tasks as I later reflected that a more open recall task would give them more scope for response. Moreover, I was not looking for comparison but for actual processes and this would be achieved by one reading purpose - 'to recall'. Further, the term 'recall' may invite rote memorisation and given the generous time allowance for reading, it had to be clarified as a reconstruction of what they read. From the oral readings, I noted that my presence in taping the readings made readers uncomfortable and may have contributed to the limited retellings they produced.

Implementation of Phase 1 Tasks

The actual sessions were then conducted in my work office mostly on Saturdays and took up to 3 hours on some days between the months of July- September, but some were made at lunchtimes and after schools for nearby schools like Tonga High and St Andrews. We started off with the recall tasks, followed by the oral readings and retellings. The following specifically describes each task.

Data Item 1: Written Recall Protocols

Recalls are common tools in psychology-based research for measuring factual comprehension of a text. They are premised on a view that promotes textual authority through a recall of textual meanings. As is entailed in such tasks, the act of recalling/retelling should reflect online processes as readers read. To Spiro (1975), recalling is not verbatim reporting but a process of extensions, distortions and integrations of the original text as driven by the recall purpose. Distortions and amalgamations are insightful into the signifying links and processes that readers use. My use of this task therefore is driven by this view as this will yield insights into how linguistic signs are interpreted and how these may reflect certain views of reading¹⁰.

Two unedited passages, one semi-expository, "*Whaling in Alaska*" Link (Fiji Ministry of Education, 1985); the other, a news article, "*Science Scholar Studies Suva Reef*" (Fiji Times, 1990) of about 200 words length were used¹¹. My co-readers read each passage several times before recalling, either in Tongan or English. Most L2 studies using recall have asked readers to recall in English. However, Lee (1986), replicating a study by Carrell (1983) questions the validity of these studies given her finding that the English response mode is not a true reflection of comprehension because they are skewed by undeveloped writing abilities (see also Hock & Poh, 1976; Sohamy, 1984) - hence, the choice given to my co-readers.

¹⁰ Focusing on a limited purpose of 'recall' with its text-immanent connotation and potential for rote-memorisation is unrealistic given that most readings are done for a range of purposes. However, I had made it clear to students that 'recall' in this context means a record of their understanding of the passage.

¹¹ See Appendix 3.1.

Data Item 2: Oral Reading - Miscues

Miscues are language/meaning-based errors made by readers when they read aloud. They are premised on Goodman's (1969) psycholinguistic reading model as making predictions via textual cues, and monitoring/confirming meanings through oral corrections (see review, p.66) and are common assessment tools to gauge readers' signifying processes and strategies.

However, miscues' benefit and reliability as an assessment tool are problematic for L2 reading. As discussed in Chapter 2, oral reading may impede signifying processes. For instance, it is possible for a reader due to lack of confidence in reading aloud, to make a lot of miscues but still understand textual meanings and generate alternative meanings. The uncommon nature of the task might constrain L2 readers' interpretation processes who, placed in a research situation, would feel that they are engaged in an oral rendering test with others and might focus exclusively on decoding and neglect to keep stock on meanings.

Why then is this tool used? As is my aim for using the recalls, it is to look at the processes in which linguistic signs are made significant, in order to understand the origins of those meanings for my empowerment aims. For instance, the nature of the miscues will provide some insights into my co-readers' reading backgrounds (e.g. practices that have constructed them) and types of knowledges sanctioned by these practices. The written retelling task that followed not only allows readers to reconstruct their oral-reading in writing, but would provide me with additional information on their signification processes. The passages were selected to avoid any text-type constraints on the reading. The speech passage, *School Uniforms* (Lee, 1983) is a script meant to be read aloud. Since reading is normally a silent act, it is important to provide a text that would reflect the mode of speech. Narratives are often read aloud and

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this is quite a common reading text-type for students in and outside the classrooms, hence the use of "*Disaster at Sea*" (Elliot, 1988). Both texts are unadapted. All my co-readers were informed that their readings would be taped and that they would be required to retell their understanding of what they had read, afterwards. They were asked to read as normally as they could as in normal speech, and were told that they could make corrections, rereadings and so on as they would in a normal reading situation.

The first task was a silent reading of *Disaster at Sea* which I supervised. This was followed by a taped reading which they did without my presence in two separate rooms. Retelling (Data item 3) followed this. Then the passage *School Uniforms* was read without any prior reading and the same procedure followed. I tried to be unobtrusive leaving them to tape their own readings. They were responsible for turning on/off the tape to avoid further external constraints that my presence might impose.

Data Item 3: Written Retelling

This took place immediately after their oral reading and was based on that reading. Readers moved to another room for their retelling. They had the choice to write either in Tongan, English or bilingually with ample time (a maximum of 40 minutes) given for their writing.

Weaknesses in Phase 1: Data Items 1 - 3

A major flaw in my methodological choices for this phase lies in the covert modernist connotations suggested by the tools I employed, particularly my selection procedures and the nature of the tasks. For instance, in my selection of students on ability criteria - 'bottom'/'top'/'average', and in the selection test that I used, I was subscribing to modernist notions of

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'hierarchy' and to the system of the dominant 'order of beings'. Though my purpose is not to predict/assess for comparative purposes and though I clearly position myself within a poststructuralist methodological framework, I used the tools and made the selections of students unproblematically. The intellectual tension that emerged was thus inevitable. Reflectively, this phase is crucial as it marks the strong pull of the predominant modernist view of text-immanent meanings, readers and texts that has positioned me as a student, teacher, and curriculum officer in the past three decades, reflective of the dominant view that structures and regulates reading education in Tonga. More importantly however, such an exercise, by the ruptures/contradictions that it has projected, is fruitful for it not only empowers me to be reflexive and more critical in the process; it allows me to utilise the insight from the tasks regarding interpretive 'processes', into pedagogical means that would fulfil my empowerment aims. This transitional insight is reflected in Phases 2 and 3.

Logistically, there were problems in terms of administration and in terms of passages used. Even though the 48 students were able to attend for all the tasks, some did so at different times as a result of expediency. As most of the sessions took place during Saturdays on 2 to 2 1/2 hours sessions, I had to provide light lunch and busfare as incentives. It was financially and practically demanding for me to cater for, and manage the entire 48 students. I had no assistant and had only two micro-tapes for taping. I therefore had to space those Saturdays so that I only worked with 12 readers (two schools) each Saturday.

Phase 2 reflects my need to contextualise these processes in socio-cultural contexts. The tasks, as articulated in Questions no. 5 and 6, are the next steps of my journey to understand in order to empower these readers. These involve interrogating discourses via practices within which

these students have been/are constituted as readers (archaeological analysis), and a genealogical analysis of views/objectives that such practices prescribe. Again, I am guided as earlier discussed, by Foucault's (1974) view of 'discourses' as practices that systematically constitute subjects and knowledge. The insights informed from the practices and views upon which readers/teachers are constituted will be insightful to an understanding of how certain knowledges are sustained (or suppressed) through signification and discursive practices.

Phase 2:

Investigation of question 5 is via a readers' open-ended two-part questionnaire intended to develop a personal and reading profile of each reader. Investigation of Question 6 entails delving into reading practices, teachers' views and other related data and how they help constitute readers. It involves a teachers' open-ended questionnaire on their theories of reading and what constitutes good reading strategies and instruction, and a set of data collected on each reader's English Language performance and school attendance records, each respective school's reading policies, administration, and each student's primary school's reading programme. Data was collected as far back as 1991 when these readers started secondary school. The socio-cultural ethos that frames schools and readers was also noted.

In sum, Phase 2 involved:

- | | | |
|------------------|-----------|--|
| Data item | 4: | Reader Questionnaire/Unstructured Interviews |
| | 5: | Teacher Questionnaire |
| | 6. | Fieldnotes, some interviews, schools records and documents. |

I did not test the questionnaires though two colleagues commented on them. Questionnaires were adapted from various readings, the reader's in particular from Harste *et al*'s (1984) reader profile portfolio and Wallace's (1992) reader tasks.

Data Item 4: Reader Questionnaire

This two-part, open-ended questionnaire of 26 items (see Appendix 2.1) is to construct a reading profile for each reader in terms of their personal history (biography), reading experiences, and attitudes to texts/reading. Specifically, the 26 items seek information on:

- (i) readers' perception of themselves as readers;
- (ii) perceived causes of reading difficulty and what they do about it (them);
- (iii) their perception of the importance of reading;
- (iv) their views of who and what a good reader is and does;
- (v) their views about what a teacher should do to help reading difficulty;
- (vi) memorable books/authors that they have read;
- (vii) the kinds of reading materials they have at home and the reading preferences of close friends and family members;
- (viii) their perceptions of what is easiest to read in a ranking task of seven types of texts.

Specific information is also sought on:

- (ix) what they perceived to be reading purposes and target readers for twelve text types;
- (x) what/why they actually choose to read if they were given the local Tongan paper.

Each question is translated to ensure full comprehension of what each task item is after. Given its bulk, all the 48 students were given this as a take-home task right in the beginning of the Phase 1 field session. They were emphatically asked to be as honest as possible and not to attempt to impress me by giving false responses. I went through with them what each of the questions required and they were allowed to respond in Tongan if they wished. All 48 questionnaires were collected before I returned to Nottingham in 1994.

Data Item 5: Teacher's Questionnaire

As discussed in the review, teachers' personal beliefs and views of reading as constituted by reigning discoursal knowledges influence the way reading is approached in their classrooms (Luke, 1993). An open-ended, semi-structured questionnaire (see Appendix 2.1) was given to 64% of the English teachers from F1 (1991) to F4 (1994) who have taught these readers

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in their respective schools¹² during the period of August - Sept, 1994. It seeks to solicit:

- (i) what they perceive reading comprehension involves;
- (ii) perceived reading problems faced by students and their causes;
- (iii) approaches to be adopted for such problems; and
- (iv) worthwhile strategies.

Most teachers were traced to the schools where these readers are. I visited each school and went through the questionnaire with the teachers concerned. Because I was not able to get all, I included two Heads of Departments and two other experienced English teachers in the understanding that they also play a key role in deciding what/how reading is taught in schools. Questionnaires were collected at a set date some days later.

Data Item 6: Other Data Sources

Not satisfied with soliciting the views of students/teachers, I needed to provide myself with information on the specific administrative and academic structures framing these students' school experiences. My role in school inspection, the relative small size of the island, as well as my access to existing documents such as educational reports made these data fairly accessible. These data focused on:

- (i) school administration;
- (ii) reading/English language policies/syllabi;
- (iii) classroom organisation; and
- (iv) each student's attendance/English records as shown in school reports.

The data collected dates from the 1991 records to the present. I also interviewed key people involved in the Primary Curriculum on the types of reading packages used in the primary schools attended by my students (Maka:Cocker, Fonua - Personal Communication, 1994).

¹² Identity (names) of teachers were provided by the students in the study.

Weaknesses in Phase 2

I encountered several problems in this phase. I had to add to the reader's questionnaire when I found out that more information was needed after the initial distribution. This addition (items 18-26) questions the effectiveness of my research preparation given that I did not trial this. More questions still could have been asked. However, I felt that the number and open-ended nature of the questions were demanding enough and I did not want to diminish the readers' interest in the sessions if I gave them more. In the actual feedback, it was obvious that a few readers¹³ wanted to impress me despite my repeated calls for honesty in their responses. They were asked to redo the questionnaires. With regard to the teacher's questionnaires, I could not get all of those who had taught these readers as some had quit teaching or had moved to another island. Retrospectively, follow-up interviews and classroom observations could have given me additional data in terms of these teachers' actual practice and in terms of readers' specific reading routines, etc. I have evaluation documents on some of these teachers' classroom practice and have been personally involved in observing some of them in my past role as an inspector, but these are not sufficient in terms of their providing specific data about specific reading practice. Also, some personal students' records from two schools (Lavengamalie & Tailulu Colleges) were missing¹⁴.

Phase 3

Methodological Considerations

Having gone through 96 recalls, 94 oral readings, 92 retellings, and the documents/

¹³ Four students were asked to do this. None in the six profiles chosen was involved.

¹⁴ Transfer cases which happened to some of the students also showed no records of previous attendance and performance. These missing records however, do not affect those I eventually chose for profiling.

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questionnaires from Phase 2, what was clear in terms of processes was not surprising given the predominantly phonics background and text-immanent view that I had contextualised in Chapter 1. From the Phase 1 tasks, there was a prevalence of rote-memorisation, little evidence of recourse to background/topic knowledge or other extratextual links in recalls; and the retellings were mostly fragmented reconstructions. Miscues and corrections were predominantly of a phonics nature rather than on meaning, though text knowledge in miscues was evident. In general, there was little evidence of other cognitive processing strategies or extratextual links, and the students' writing proficiency was clearly a hindrance to their reconstruction processes. The data gained from school records; reading programmes; teachers' views and suggestions about reading practice; and readers' own reading profiles (Phase 2 tasks) complement readers' responses and suggest to some degree how their meaning-making processes are constituted by text-immanent views and by their teachers' views and schools' reading programmes, and by the paucity of their reading experiences.

These insights have informative implications for my journey to empower these readers. The Phase 3 questions and attendant instructional intervention as such emerge from these insights. As discussed in Chapter 1, my research aims are spurred on by the idea of 'empowerment'. They are guided by Freire's (1971) 'conscientization' thesis and Foucault's (1980) notion of power as "*exercised, and..only exists in action*" (p.89). That is, I need to enable students to see 'power' as a productive capacity, as a potential - creative and generative if exercised instrumentally with agency and self-reflexivity (Freire, 1972; Gore, 1992; Weedon, 1987; Weiner, 1994). It is not an embodiment of domination. Raising a critical awareness to perceive/transform what is often repressed as 'powerful', via a problematisation toolkit is a means of giving spaces for their meanings to be consciously exercised.

Rather than take a voyeuristic kind of empowerment based only on theoretical analysis and assumptions, and given my concern with praxis (see p.10); I needed, as Gore (1992) suggests, some form of contextualised, pedagogical empowerment that acknowledges the discursive and socio-cultural embeddedness of meanings, especially if the institutional contexts of reading practice earlier reconstructed in Chapter 1 in Tonga, and suggested by my Phase 2 data militate against it. Such empowerment needs to consider: this Tongan context and the specific 'nature of reading processes' and 'knowledge' that my co-readers have from the findings in the first two phases. It also needs to be geared towards destabilising and transforming the type of reading-related practice/knowledge that have promulgated quite apparent, dominant, text-immanent normalised views on reading in Tongan schools - such as that of: an autonomous text/reader; naturalised binary oppositions (e.g. classic: popular texts; good:poor readers; correct:wrong meanings); and of a text having a stable, unitary meaning. To achieve this, as well as to deal with questions of legitimacy and conceptual rigour; an epistemic contextualisation of this empowerment and the pedagogical form it needs to take warrant a discussion.

To start the process for this stage, I reflect on the processes/systems/practices in Tonga (cf. my contextualisation in chap. 1) that work to constrain the articulation of alternative meanings and relegate certain readers into a position of marginality. I think of the school systems/classrooms and how they work on a system of 'indoctrination'. That is, how they, as sites for the maintenance of consensual readings and text immanent views highlight the Foucauldian notion of students as both the 'effects' of disciplinary and normalising judgement and as the 'objects' of power-knowledge relations in education (cf. also Freire's 'repressed objects', p.88). Then there are those language and assessment policies which discipline, normalise,

individualise students via ranking into dichotomies of good vs poor readers; speedy vs slow readers; basal vs real books; classics versus popular. The L2 reading context and the scarcity of reading materials and resources also spring to mind, and so does the traditional set up framing these practices. A set up which structures its own system of differences depicted in its clear delineation of gender-defined roles, hierarchical language and system - a hierarchical structure that is also reflected in public services, and so on.

Bearing all these in mind, my first empowerment move starts with a linguistic alteration of the term 'training' to 'scaffolding' to avoid the indoctrinational connotation and suggestion of power asymmetry that the term 'training' evokes. Moreover, to transform its usually attendant top-down hegemonic function in existing practice, I draw on approaches suggested from Freire's (1972) liberal, problematising dialogue, Whole Language's risk-free, peer collaboration, and Vygotsky's (1978) collaborative problem-solving. These all see the classroom as a site for teachers and learners to work collaboratively to prime their peers into higher cognitive development. 'Scaffolding' suggests a more equitable and nurturing learning environment. It should involve dialogic, and collaborative problem-posing, problem-solving tasks, with teachers or more able peers modelling, guiding and then handing over responsibilities to students when they appear to show some form of independence. This approach I believe, is necessary in any L2 English learning context and moreso in the Tongan context given their prescriptive, top-down teaching approaches and the apparent lack of a conversational transaction in their classrooms. Scaffolding them to reach Vygotsky's higher intrapsychologised plane and Freire's critical consciousness or 'active literacy' is part of my empowerment aims.

To contextualise this linguistic empowerment pedagogically, as well as to design how this scaffolding can be approached, it is essential that I secure the help of a practising English language teacher¹⁵. I see this as another means of empowerment via her own awareness which she can translate in her own classroom practice. It is also for practical purposes as I need to observe the scaffolding transactions as part of my role as a 'student researcher'. By implication, my next step of empowerment, via scaffolding has to focus on 'awareness-raising' both for teachers and students. This is necessary as the predominant modernist grounds on which their view of reading is premised and on which practice is made needs to be destabilised to provide spaces for a reconstruction of alternative views, and an alternation of practice. Three modes of empowerment via scaffolding were designed. These are (i) awareness raising, (ii) interrogation/linking strategies, and (iii) a process of reflective action/active reflection and agency. To develop these, I again, draw upon poststructuralist notions already discussed of discoursal knowledge-power relations, multiple subjectivities/meanings, and intertextuality as they relate to reader positioning and textual signification. These are described in stages in the following section.

3.5a. Empowerment via Scaffolding

Awareness-raising

Adopting primarily a Foucauldian archaeological and genealogical mode of search, my first step in this stage is to remind them of the 'purpose' of this exercise - to empower them to look at texts/practices critically, and to see how these construct certain given meanings and positions for them. This can be done by raising their awareness of how certain ideologies are

¹⁵ Ofu was chosen for logistical reasons - I know her personally (the majority of teachers in Tonga are female).

inscribed in particular discourses (e.g in teaching practice/assessment practice in Tonga; in texts; in their traditional and religious practices; in their views of things) as part of a legitimisation process of certain truths against others. To do this, I use a contextualised approach, that is, I build on the knowledge of my co-readers. Their views on different topics for instance, can be listed on the board to gauge existing dominant 'regimes of truths' via the technique of 'juxtaposition'. Juxtaposition is the combined placement of two or more (often disparate) elements in a way to create or foreground a certain effect (shock/surprise) on the reader. A discussion can be made on what might be the views of students, parents, teachers, pastors, elderly, etc. on certain topics such as: reading; good/poor readers; different textural forms; social concerns such as gender, social class/roles (e.g. a teacher's/daughter's/son's role), race, religion etc.; purposes for reading; and so on. Juxtaposing their given views with alternative ones can give rise to a discussion of what may be dominant views in the list (e.g. what appears to be most common), the origins of these views, and of the normalising process inhered in some of these views, particularly the operation of '*stereotyping*' and other forms of differentiation/exclusion strategies (e.g. binary usage on gender/race etc.)

My second step in 'awareness-raising' is to discuss how they (we) are being constructed as the teachers/readers/that we are and given their leaning towards textual deference; to encourage them not to accept whatever they read unproblematically. Again, my concern is grounded on poststructuralist notion of the discursal constitution of subjectivity, positionings, and meanings via language (Barthes, Bakhtin, Derrida, Foucault, Kristeva, Miller *inter alia* in review). For instance, meaning construction and its elusiveness are succinctly explained by Derrida's (1981) suggestion that signs not only differ from each other in their generation of meaning but also defer meaning because they are inscribed in a chain of other concepts of

'differences' and are dependent upon these (absent/different) concepts for their signification. This suggests that texts do not represent nor reflect identities in the world but create them contextually, and that meanings are caught up in an endless interplay of 'presence' and 'absence' (of positive terms/identities being established only by being set negatively against what they are not). Texts therefore, are not unified and are possibilities of meanings, and interpretation involves readers assigning meanings/identities from this system of 'differences' - meanings which depend on their positions in the ordering of things (e.g. syntax/genre of a text), within the constraints of specific social/cultural contexts and practices.

This concern is also rooted in Kristeva's (1984) (and Lacan's, 1977) psychoanalytic argument that language constructs and positions identities as well as confers meanings via normalising strategies such as stereotypes, conventions. This process works to sustain certain dominant 'regimes of truth' embedded in discourses and inscribed in language. As discussed, Kristeva's semiotic, and notion of the 'chora', a heterogeneous element seen by the Symbolic order as a negativity that destabilises a 'given regime of truth' (see review, p.40-42) is a powerful notion to utilise in interrogating 'given' truths. Kristeva suggests that this source of negativity be articulated as a positivity. That is, that the repressed or what is not in the text be the focus of positive signification. In making significant the repressed, alternative meanings are generated, paving the way for a change in practice. Part of this empowerment therefore, is to scaffold students to identify the 'repressed' (esp. sexist/racist/class-based distortions) via their linguistic/textural portrayals and to read them as 'power'-full, thus liberating/celebrating the marginalised identities/meanings discursual structures via language confer on them.

Because these Tongan readers hold a text immanent view and that their formal knowledge of language as L2 users are limited, it is likely that this view has constructed and positioned them

as acquiescent to the 'positive' (dominant) symbolism of beings (as against their negativities), and that their limited linguistic repertoire as shown in their Phase 1 meaning-making processes, may mask from them the divisive operation of certain dominant truths. To translate all these notions practically requires a demonstration of how these notions operate - notions such as the multiplicity of meanings of texts, how this multiplicity is achieved through taking recourse to intertextual meanings that are produced on a system of difference (Hartman, 1991, Bloome, 1993 in review); the operation of normalising processes in terms of systems of differences: of binaries as presence is set against absence, dominant against repressed; of stereotypes. These demonstrations to sharpen their awareness, can focus on the following via group/class discussion:

Demonstrations/Modellings of:

(a) The construction of meanings via Stereotyping

First, how the notion of stereotypes (which should have already been introduced) operates through the play of difference/binaries needs to be demonstrated. Students' given views on a particular topic (e.g. their knowledge of fairy tales in terms of identities, events, narrative structure - openings and beginnings) can be put in a structure box (see Peim, 1993). This can be followed by a discussion of what is not told in the text, what is assumed, other ideas, the origins of these ideas and how they begin to settle as given; why a fairy tale should look as it is, the meaning associations conjured up by certain usage such as 'mother'/'stepmother', 'princess'/'prince', 'black'/'white'; 'good'/'evil', etc. Discussion can be made on their views of certain identities and values and why they privilege certain ones (e.g. idea of a princess as sweet-natured and kind as opposed to a wicked stepmother). Other forms of stereotypes can be referred to - on reading for instance - who is a good/poor reader and so on. Again, using

a juxtaposition strategy, negative and positive values/identities can be used to demonstrate how the meaning of one depends on reference to the other, and how they are taking recourse on established (absent) meanings 'outside' the text to interpret signs 'in' the text. This can lead to a discussion of intertextuality, linking this to how texts help to construct, reproduce certain views of what a princess/mother/girl etc. and so on, and how their interpretations are drawn from ones already available and dominant in their culture. Other local examples of stereotyping can be referred to.

(b) Multiple meanings and Intertextuality

Second, a discussion of how different reading positions and ways of readings produce different meanings can follow. This can be demonstrated by asking them to provide alternative openings/closure (Cinderella thanked the prince and left or she dies), roles/identities (wicked stepfather/loving stepmother; the prince takes the role of Cinderella), and assigning them different traits/values and putting them in a different form or narrative development.

The notion of how texts produce multiple meanings (and again, the process of intertextuality) can be demonstrated through their interpretation of a specific text (e.g. a short story). A contextualisation of authorship and readership can start off the reading based on gauging their expectations (schematic knowledge) of its form, title, purpose (cf. Wallace, 1992 & Fairclough levels of contexts in review). For example, students can be asked to discuss their purposes for reading short stories, what short stories look like, who they are intended for, and why they are read; their understanding of character deployment, events, beginnings and endings in short stories, and so on. They can compare their responses and discuss the reasons for such responses. A reading of the text can follow. Their interpretations as well as their focus of, and reasons for, their interpretations can be listed on a structure box. The meanings that are

elicited can be used to discuss how different readers, depending on aspects of the text they focus on (cf. Pecheux's study, p.57) and the intertextual knowledge taken recourse to from outside the reading, can interpret textual signs differently thereby showing how a text can elicit a multiplicity of readings, none more correct than others. Alternatively, students can be asked to focus on selected parts and interpret from specific viewpoints, and the notion of stereotypes can be brought in again into the discussion by looking at the values, social roles, identities that texts seem to privilege, assume or marginalise; and any deviation - the ones which do not fit their expectations. These exercises can lead on to an evaluation of how meanings are constituted in their classrooms, in family settings, and in the Tongan culture.

Interrogation and Linking Strategies

Bearing in mind the information provided by the Phase 1 and 2 data sets such as their reliance on decoding rather than meaning; their lack of strategies for linguistic interrogation and schematic, intertextual associations, their limited vocabulary repertoire, and also their L2 status and the text immanent view, my second step of empowerment is to provide them with strategies to allow them to look at how language operates in constructing meanings/positions, to understand how signs are structured linguistically and loaded with cultural meanings to deploy meaning; and how certain meanings are promoted over others. These strategies can be framed in pre-, during- and post-reading stages. Again, the value of juxtaposition for demonstration should be noted.

An important strategy both for interrogation and linking is 'contextualisation', valuable in reinforcing the socio-cultural embeddedness of meaning as encoded in a string of linguistic signs which are present, or as encoded in a 'deferred' or 'absent' symbolic way. I draw on

the value of Goodman's psycholinguistic model of 'prediction', Interactive theories' 'schematic operations', Critical Linguistic and Feminist Stylistics analysis, and on Freire's and Vygotsky's 'problem-posing' questions and 'problem-solving' tasks discussed in the review. Freire's problem-posing questions (see p.88) and predictions can be used to guide students to ask questions as a basis for the critical analysis of linguistic items via peer/teacher collaborative problem-solving tasks. They can also be used to extend typical questions such as 'what might be the theme or author's meaning of this text?' to questions that can contextualise the text in terms of its silences. These can be accompanied during reading by text marking techniques such as annotations (comments on points of understanding or queries on certain areas that readers find difficult), highlightings, and more questions. To interrogate the said and the silences in texts, a stylistics analysis can focus for instance, on a list of words, phrases etc. that suggests oppositional ideas either directly or indirectly by assumption. A good follow-up is the use of 'role-play' (e.g. interviews, see Mellor *et al*, 1991). This can allow for alternative readings where groups can be assigned different roles and use what is in the story to produce explicit and hidden actions/feelings, that the text does not provide. Contextualisation can be made at all stages using the above strategies (prediction, stylistics analysis, intertextual schematic associations and problem-posing/solving). The same questions can be used for the self-evaluation/reflection stage. A pre-reading contextualisation approach using questions can be formulated like this for the following aim:

- (a) To reconstruct immediate, institutional and discoursal contexts - textual status/identity, readership and authorship (Fairclough, 1989; Wallace, 1992 - see p.90 in review)**
- (i) What type of text is this?**
- (ii) What reading status does it have? Where might I find it?**
- (iii) Who could have written it? Is it a male/female?**
- (iv) Where, when (including social context) might it be written?**
- (v) Why might it be written? Is it written in the usual form or in a way that defeats my**

- expectations? What effect does this have on the meanings it suggests?
- (vi) For whom?

Such questions will give readers a sense of the embeddedness of meanings in social practices and can invite them to make cognitive leaps (Williamson, 1978 - see footnote 32, p.80), and draw intertextually upon extratextual meanings (e.g. as linked to generic forms using predictions and schematic associations).

In terms of poststructuralist notions of the construction of textual identities (characters) and particular ideologies, via a perusal of text content, the following questions can be made during reading and re-readings:

(b) To reconstruct the content or encoded symbolic codes:

- (i) What kind of background/cultural knowledge does the text assume the reader to know? Are there any intertextual references or allusions that I need to know?
- (ii) What particular areas does it focus on?
- (iii) What characters are there? What are their roles? What roles/identities are being emphasised? Who is being under-represented or misrepresented or not represented? Does the text represent characters differently according to certain social categories such as gender, race/ethnicity, religion, social class and so on?
- (iv) What particular values are being promoted and against which values?

Reconstructions of these questions can be extended by a focus on specific writing styles that work to deploy certain identities/oppositional values (e.g. gender, race). For example:

(c) To evaluate representation/construction style:

- (i) What language/graphic choices (e.g. vocabulary, phrases) are used to deploy: characters such as women, men, people of colour, social class, a certain generation (old/young), educational level, language, values and so on?
- (ii) Are these choices the usual way to describe these people? That is, are there words that are gender, race or class specific? Do they evoke certain kinds of connotations (e.g. discriminatory, sexual, moral etc.) Are there any words/phrases/sentences that you find different from what you are used to? What effects do they have on your interpretation?
- (iii) Why would the writer use this particular way of presentation (e.g. choice of beginning, ending), vocabulary, phrase, pictures, etc.?
-Is the writer's voice in the text? How do you know? Is there any connection between

the writer's gender and what is being presented in the text?

From these, readers can consider alternative ways the text might be read. Questions like the ones below to encourage these can be formulated:

(d) To generate alternative reconstructions and to encourage self-reflection:

- (i) What are other ways of writing or describing these identities? What alternative perspectives or contexts can I present these identities and roles (role reversals, different plot, context, beginning/ending)?**
- (ii) What alternative ways can this text or particular concerns be interpreted? What schematic knowledge or concerns can I draw upon? What specific language need I use?**
- (iii) What particular concerns in the text have I not focused on? Need I to?**
- (iv) What are the values/concerns that have shaped my interpretations of this text? Why do I sympathise with this particular identity? and so on.**

In asking these questions, readers can be reminded to juxtapose their responses against possible alternatives and to take up the reader, writer, editor role suggested in Tierney & Pearson (1984) reader-writer model (see p.73) or the 'envisionment stance' proposed by Langer (1992, see p.83, footnote, 33). Such positions serve to evaluate how meanings are constructed, promoted, repressed, and as well as to evaluate their own interpretation process - a kind of self-reflexivity that is empowering in itself. Because of these students' limited L2 repertoire and world knowledge given their limited reading background and exposure to a range of literacies as suggested in their questionnaires, the demonstration needs to include a pre-reading contextualisation by the teacher of the forms of texts such as advertisements and cartoons; the conventions often associated with such forms, and the 'immediate contexts' of such texts. Other conceptual difficulties may arise because of new vocabulary. The symbolic associations certain vocabulary may assume which can prove difficult for Tongan readers also need to be placed in a different textual context (e.g. context of a sentence) to demonstrate their possible meanings before reading.

3.5b. Scaffolding Design

My next step is to consider how these interrogation/linking strategies can be carried out in a 'pedagogical moment'. I consider how, from the review, classrooms are sites for hegemonic, normalising processes to take place and for consensual readings (see others in the review), particularly with regard to participant structures and learning organisation. As I want to gauge how these might affect interpretations, I again, draw upon the various theoretical contributions discussed earlier, of collaborative interaction and problem-posing/solving approaches particularly posited by Freire and Vygotsky. Such a collaborative approach involving Eeds & Wells' (1989) 'grand conversations', can free teachers from top-down teaching and the constraining force of hegemony. They can also provide for higher cognitive processings by encouraging and guiding meaning links beyond textual ones. In the process, they can work to reconstruct the classroom as a site of 'active' knowledge building rather than of 'passive' reproduction of readers and power asymmetries.

My scaffolding design had to use appropriate teacher modelling, mediation, problem-posing/solving tasks and peer/teacher transactions in a risk-free environment (encouraging everyone to speak, guiding and acknowledging their responses) in order to nurture knowledge construction and reader, critical independence. In general, the scaffolding should aim to raise students' critical awareness: of how one is constructed as a reader; of the operation of dominant truths through a normalising process (e.g. via generic conventions, culturally-coded stereotypical language); of the multiplicity of meanings a text can elicit; of meanings as not singularly the property of a text nor in the sole preserve of an author, but inscribed in discourses, in language; and of the possibilities of generating alternative meanings.

(i) Description of Design

I thus made a semi-structured design of the scaffolding demonstration to allow for modifications. It included a mixed-gender grouping with teacher-scaffolded/no-teacher scaffolded transactions. In sum, it involves:

(i) Awareness Raising

- explaining the purpose of the scaffolding
- demonstration/discussion of normalising processes and regimes of truth and strategies used to sustain these such as 'stereotyping', generic conventions (e.g. sexism', 'racism').
- demonstration/discussion of how identities/ideas are constructed/positioned
- demonstration/discussion of the notion of multiple meanings and intertextuality and alternative meanings

(ii) Strategies for textual Interrogation using stages a - d (see p.141-143)

- demonstration of contextualisation/Interrogation strategies of prediction; schematic association; problem-posing via role plays using the fairy tale *Cinderella*, the short story *Butterflies* by Patricia Grace, a Liver and Bacon BT advertisement, and a poem, *The Hero*, by Siegfried Sassoon.

(iii) Reading and interpretation of texts

- based on two open tasks using interrogation strategies: 'Write your interpretation of the text. Then write your response to it'.
- Evaluation/Self-reflection

As part of my empowerment process, Phase 3 therefore is an 'evaluative'¹⁶ design involving scaffolding sessions, tasks/tests¹⁷, meaning transactions via discussion and response; and self-reflections. In sum, Phase 3 involves:

| | | |
|------------------|-----------|--|
| | | Trial |
| Data Item | 7: | Pre-Scaffolding Test: <i>BT ad, Electric City</i> |
| | 8: | Pre-Scaffolding Task: <i>Eveline</i> |

¹⁶ I do not use the term 'quasi-experimental' as this phase may be called because the design is not an asocial, modernist experiment. The social nature of the meanings generated from this session, the reflexivity of the procedure, as well as the transactions are taken into account.

¹⁷ 'Tasks' and 'tests' are differentiated to denote the different nature and contexts within which interpretation took place. 'Tasks' involved teacher-mediated/no-teacher mediated scaffoldings within groups. 'Tests' were individual interpretations with no group/teacher involvement/scaffolding. I am aware however that the term 'test' is problematic given its modernist connotations. 'Probe would have been a better substitute'.

- 9: During-Scaffolding Task 1: *Eveline*
- 10: During-Scaffolding Task 2: *Singapore Airlines* ad
- 11: Post-Scaffolding Test 1: *BT* ad, *Electric City*
Retrospection 1
- 12: During-Scaffolding Task 3: *Frim and Frat* Cartoon
- 13: Post-Scaffolding Test 2: *Sports Education* ad
- 14: Delayed Post-Scaffolding Test: *I Lived Here Once*
Retrospection 2

(ii) Trialling of Scaffolding Design and Results

I trialled this design for a week and a half at lunch times, six months after preliminary analyses of Phase 1 and 2 data sets. I used 6 above-average and average F5 students (3 girls, 3 boys) not involved in the previous phases from three schools¹⁸ chosen for their proximity to my work base. We worked at one of the schools, following the 3-part design and a set of sample questions I prepared as guidelines. My co-teacher was only present in one trial phase as she had tutorials. I did not use all the texts (only three: *Eveline*, The *BT* advertisement and *Electric City*), nor go through all the phases in this trial because I only had seven weeks left in Tonga. For part iii (see p.143), I grouped the six students into two mixed pairs and the remaining two, a boy and girl worked on their own.

Real and potential problems emerged during this trial. For instance, initial barriers to a multilectic peer-transaction occurred through a kind of institutional competitiveness and gender tensions that is common when students from different schools and gender get together for the first time in a learning situation. This was evident in the transactions among the small group and may have prevented them from responding freely. However, as my co-readers has had the opportunity to work together before, I did not foresee this as a problem.

¹⁸ Tonga High School, Queen Salote College and Tonga College. Students are in the same age bracket as my co-readers (15- 17 yrs).

Secondly, it was difficult trying to get across how the normalising process works especially the notion of stereotyping. I focused too much on 'description' and explanation' rather than on scaffolding via demonstration using explicit examples and collaboration. It was also difficult to get them to shed inhibition and discuss their views, the boys in particular. So, rather than use their own views as a base for my explanations, and getting them to ask questions about the text as illustrations of textual interrogation, I did most of the questionings myself. Given my aim to encourage peer talk, the lack of familiarity between the students, my top-down approach as well as their reluctance to talk did not allow this to happen.

Thirdly, responses were brief and showed confusions over the sample guideline questions that I had drafted for their focus. Moreover, some could not differentiate between what was demanded from the 'interpretation' and 'response' questions. Their responses reflected some alternative readings of the questions (i.e. not reading what I had intended)¹⁹ and a preoccupation with storylines/summaries and personal empathy. There was little evidence of alternative readings and questioning of textual representation and ideas. The only significant difference in response was from the pair whom I worked with, with their responses moreless a reechoing of my ideas rather than from questions that they had generated.

Several implications emerged from this trial. Because I did most of the trial myself, I needed to make explicit the designs to my co-teacher and to maintain regular dialogue with her during the entire scaffolding process. Second, I realised that rather than follow what I had mapped out to do in terms of 'contextualised' scaffolding, I had adopted a top-down approach that did

¹⁹ This alternative reading again provides explanatory power to the multiplicity of meanings that a text can elicit.

not build on what the students knew. Rather than the 'grand conversations' I had idealised, I silenced their voices with my own 'readings' thereby limiting and inhibiting discussions. Third, I was presumptuous in assuming that my guideline questions and explanations would suffice and can lead them to look at texts in alternative ways.

From these considerations, there was a need to simplify and make the guideline questions (and in original list, see p.141-143) more open-ended to encourage students' own questions, and to clarify questioning techniques with more explicit demonstration and examples from other texts. The essentiality of building from the students' knowledge base as suggested in Heath's (1983) study (see review, p.93) needs to be considered so that the summaries and personal responses given by students in the trial be used as bases to identify 'dominant readings' and dominant kinds of response as these are the types that are common in Tongan literature classrooms. Similarly, typical questions from their classrooms such as 'what is the theme/meaning of the story/advertisement?', 'Who do you sympathise with?', 'Do you like the ending or not?', can be used as a basis for gauging dominant readings and to pave the way for alternative readings. Given my co-readers' unfamiliarity with a range of texts, every new genre not used in demonstrations has to be contextualised by the teacher. Discussions on previous texts already read and revision on ones already used for previous demonstrations can be utilised. I also felt that 'interpretation' and 'response' needed to be left separate as I needed to know through readers' 'interpretations' what their literal grasp of the text was and to use these as the basis for their 'response'. This does not presume, nor suggest that what I required of readers are separate acts as both are counter-interpretive. Mixed gender group work also need to be used to evaluate hegemonic effects and the effect of the scaffolding process. Moreover, my co-teacher has to understand that her Vygotskian/Freirean role is

facilitative and collaborative, to prime predictions, trigger schematic associations and to encourage questions rather than 'teach' as I had done. Also, the 'With' and 'Without teacher' component in the design is necessary to gauge effects of teacher mediation (apart from the general scaffolding) on individual/ group discussions and responses for effects of hegemony. Administratively, there was a need to capture on tape all the 3 groups' discussions which would have been impossible with my two micro-cassette tapes.

Key questions as guidelines were thus prepared and plans to model more examples using more texts were made. Also, to guarantee that my co-readers fully understood the process of critical interrogation, the guidelines were translated into Tongan (see Appendix 3.7).

(iii) Selection of Co-readers, Co-teacher, Texts

Out of the original Phase 1, 48 readers, I selected 24 (7 boys, 17 girls), 3 from the original six of the eight schools I am using. These 24, presumably the top and average ability students from the group were chosen with the hope that they would be able to cope with my research demands. The gender ratio was more on logistical necessity than a deliberate attempt to exclude boys²⁰, and some of the boys from the original 18 had shown disinterest. This number allowed manageability (48 was too many for one class), and capability in terms of the readers' ability to meet the demands of their personal life, their schools, and that of my research. When this phase was undertaken (early 1995), these readers had moved up to F5, an external examination year. Also, some of the original 48 had left school or couldn't meet

²⁰ Interestingly, there are more girls (ration 2:1) than boys across schools in Tonga.

the rigorous demands of both school and my research, so I had to seek replacements²¹.

The choice of texts was deliberate. As referenced in Chapter 1, I wanted to introduce students to other texts other than the narratives and expositives that they are used to in their classrooms to show how various knowledges encoded in various text types can position these readers. Advertisements and cartoons are influential texts in constructing readers and provide excellent examples of the use of both stereotypical and non-conventional ideas not to mention being a useful medium to sabotage stereotypical meanings²². The choice is to destabilise the notion that only certain canonical texts can be used in the classroom. *I Lived Here Once* (henceforth *I Lived Here*) and the *Sports Education* advertisement (henceforth *Sports* advertisement) were chosen to be consistent, genre-wise with the short story and advertisements used for the pre-test and post-test texts. Despite the range of subject matter, styles and authors, all other texts shared commonalities. They are of almost similar lengths; feature aspects of gender/race/class/authority and certain social views even though they differ on subject matter and textural forms. In addition to the *BT* advertisement, *Eveline*, and *Electric City* used for the pre- and post-tasks and test 1 (Data item 7, 8, 9, 11) are: a *Singapore Airlines* (henceforth *Singapore*) advertisement (1989) and a frog cartoon, *Frim and Frat* by Campbell (1982). The post-test texts include the *Sports* advertisement from *Times International* (1995), a poem, *You the Choice of my parents*, (henceforth *You the Choice..*) by Konai Thaman (1977) and the short story, *I Used to Live Here Once* (henceforth *I Lived Here*)

²¹ From St Andrews, a new boy replaced a former boy. From Lavengamalie, another boy replaced a girl who needed to focus on her school work while a boy in Beulah replaced one who had left the school. A girl was chosen to replace a boy from Tupou High because he had a problem with truancy (and missed several Phase 1 sessions).

²² As shown in many commercial advertisements (in papers/on TV) where household products are promoted by men portrayed in traditionally-defined housekeeping women's roles.

by Jean Rhys (1976)²³.

(iv) Data Item 7 & 8: Pre-Scaffolding Task and Tests

To validate my preliminary data from the Phase 1 tasks given their limitation in soliciting an open, non-prescriptive kind of response, as well as to gauge the effects of the scaffoldings, readers were first given two open-response tests and a task involving three texts. The *BT* advertisement (1995) and the short story, "*Electric City*" by Patricia Grace (1987) were used for the test (Data item 7). The task (Data item 8) used the short story, *Eveline* by James Joyce. This pre-scaffolding task/test followed the trial phase and made prior to the scaffolding sessions at my workbase in Tongatapu²⁴ on two Saturdays (see timeline, p.123). Readers worked on their own.

(v) Description of the Scaffolding Demonstration

Before the sessions started, I thoroughly went through the scaffolding steps with Ofu, my co-teacher, having previously discussed with her the theoretical rationale for the approach. Passages, tape recorder(2), micro cassettes, video recorder (provisional), writing paper/pens were prepared. We started off with four, mixed gender groups each comprising six readers.

We included two more texts: *Telephone Conversation* (Wole Soyinka, 1989) and The Cold War advertisement (taken from Wallace, 1992)²⁵ for the demonstrations in addition to *The*

²³ See full texts in Appendix 3.6.

²⁴ I went back to Tonga mid-March, 1995 after the analyses and spent two and half months on Phase 3.

²⁵ See Appendix 3.4.

Butterfly, the *BT* advertisement and *The Hero*. The addition of the advertisement and the poem was aimed at increasing the range of context, subject matter, and textual representation to be demonstrated. We did not design a specific, tight procedure planning to adhere with the three main stages: (i) Awareness raising (ii) Interrogative Strategies (iii) Individual/Peer/teacher transaction and response. With the evaluation/self-reflection stage in (iii), we decided that getting the students to externalise their reflections through written retrospections - on what they have learnt and on their perception of the actual scaffolding process would also be informative for me. My co-teacher would do the scaffolding and my role was predominantly administrative but it was understood that I could contribute in areas that I might need further guidance or demonstration. The scaffolding would be continuous, following from the first two demonstration sessions. This means that a general all-class scaffolding starts off every session allowing for further modellings and clarifications, to be followed by the group-teacher scaffolding as they are engaged in their specific reading tasks.

The Sessions:

Day 1 (almost a 3-hour session following the pre-scaffolding task on *Eveline*):

1. Awareness Raising

- **Explaining the purpose of the scaffolding**

This was to allow them to look at texts alternatively, i.e. that texts can be read in alternative ways other than what the writer aims at, ways that are equally valid; that texts may be saying certain things and suppressing others, that their interpretations are those already available in their society, and so on, and to provide means for them to read texts critically and not to accept what is given unproblematically.

- **Demonstration/discussion of normalising processes and regimes of truth - introducing oppositional operations such as 'stereotyping', 'sexism', 'racism'.**

My co-teacher used a structure box (see below) to elicit students' (and others') views on certain topics. This, as earlier explained was to discuss how certain ideas become dominant:

VIEWS AND STEREOTYPES

| <i>What is a:</i> | Student A | Student B | Student C | Teacher, etc. |
|-------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|---------------|
| fairy tale | | | | |
| princess like | | | | |
| stepmother like | | | | |
| daughter's role | | | | |
| good/poor reader | | | | |
| hero/coward etc. | | | | |

Table 2

Ideas generated were compared for their similarities and differences, and for their commonalities of which certain dominant views were identified. These were then linked to the normalising process. The use of stereotypes to refer to certain identities/qualities/social roles for females/males; princesses/prince/ hero/heroine, stepmothers/sisters, Maoris/Chinese, village/city dweller; labourers/professionals; nurses/doctors etc. was discussed using local examples they have given.

- **Demonstration/discussion of how identities/roles/generic conventions are constructed**

Building on from the previous exercise, the link to how some of the views that they have given, determined how they see themselves and others was discussed. To clarify this, they were asked to focus on fairy tales (*Cinderella* was recommended as all agreed to have read it or know about it). A discussion of the elements that make up a fairytale ensued and responses were put into another structure box. Views were elicited on characters and how they might

be deployed. The stepmother was used and associations related to her character were elicited:

CHARACTER STEREOTYPES

| | |
|--|---|
| Beginning Characters Plot/Events Ending | Cinderella Prince Stepmother Father Stepsisters Godfairy |
|--|---|

Table 3

Discussion ensued linking how they associate certain characteristics and values with certain characters, how texts through the language they assign to describe characters constitute meanings/roles. For instance, the stepmother is linked with evil, Cinderella with goodness; and how textural structures such as beginning/ending and narrative in a fairytale give readers certain expectations that position them in certain ways.

● Demonstration/discussion of the notion of multiple meanings and intertextuality

This was introduced by a reading of the short story, *Butterflies* (handouts given) without any prior discussion. Students' interpretations were listed in another structure box:

READINGS AND POSITIONS

| | | | | |
|--------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|---------------|
| | Student D | Student F | Student C | Student A etc |
| Interpretation | | | | |
| Point of focus/Why | | | | |

Table 4

Ofu used the range of interpretations and differing points of focus given by some of the students in the box to demonstrate how this text offered different readings, and how this comes about due to different areas of focus and to the different knowledge or association that each used to interpret the text. Moreover, how the ideas available to them are from their other

readings, ideas which are mostly sanctioned by society. They were introduced to the notion of schematic association and intertextual references by using the links that they made to discuss these. It was emphasised that all readings were valid, none more correct than the others. The session ended with the students being given the rest of the demonstration texts to take home.

The importance of acknowledging everyone's meaning, of talking through with peers/teachers views, asking questions was repeated throughout the sessions.

Day 2 (about 3 1/2 hours):

2. Strategy Building

Students were informed that they would be now shown ways of reading texts critically, and alternatively. Ofu went through stage by stage the strategies for textual interrogation using stages a - c (see specific questions in p.141-143) focusing on these sets of aims:

- (a) To reconstruct immediate, institutional and discoursal contexts - textual status/identity, readership and authorship.
- (b) To reconstruct the content or encoded symbolic codes.
- (c) To evaluate representation/construction style.

Using *Butterflies* again, Ofu demonstrated contextualisation strategies of predictions, problem-posing questions, schematic associations by taking them through pre-reading, during-reading and post-reading steps. Using an overhead projector, she modelled predictions, questions and got them to do the same focusing on the title, words, phrases, which she highlighted through annotations and underlinings. Students were asked to reconsider again the identity/status of the short story, what it often looks like, or focuses on possible authorship, readership, purpose. They discussed the portrayal of the grandparents and granddaughter via the language used to describe them.

3/- Fieldwork Journey

A discussion of alternative readings of *Butterflies* followed. This was done by role reversals, making the grandparents educated Maories and the little girl becoming a little boy. Other roles were suggested and the implication of these reversals on the promotion of certain interests/values was discussed. The same procedure was applied to the Bacon and Liver advertisement, with the session starting off with a discussion of the generic features of advertisements, stylistic features often employed, the use of stereotypes, and so on. The teacher allowed the students to apply what they have understood (of the procedures) to the text. Many had not read or worked with advertisements so they could not contextualise its contents. I intervened in this juncture and provided information about authorship and its immediate and socio-cultural context (e.g. what BT stands for, its British context). A discussion of representation of social roles - e.g. housewife/working husband or househusband/working wife) who could have left the message, for whom; where could s/he be and why leave a message; the signification of the message to those roles etc. Students still seemed to find the Liver and Bacon BT advertisement difficult to digest.

Day 3 (Scaffolding time of about 1 1/2 hours before reading of *Eveline*)

The process continued using The Cold War advertisement, *The Hero* and *Telephone Conversation*. The importance of contextualisation and schematic associations/prediction was again stressed. Time was short as the first post-scaffolding task was scheduled for that day. Reading was therefore hurried and only specific areas were focused upon such as the representation of gender and race in the *Telephone Conversation*, and the depiction of war, heroes, cowards, and mothers in *The Hero* using references to specific descriptions/vocabularies. This was followed immediately by the first of the post-scaffolding reading sessions. Students were divided into groups, given a copy each of *Eveline*, guideline questions

(see Appendix 3.7), and the instructions of what the sessions entail. Again, they were reminded to pose their own questions, to value peer dialogue and the viability of multiple meanings; that all meanings are valid, and to look at certain uses of vocabulary, phrases, sentences, visuals, unspoken assumptions that privilege certain meanings.

Readers read the texts, asked questions about it, discussed those questions (those in groups) and then made individual responses on the two open tasks: 'Write your interpretation of the text. Then write your response to it'.

Day 4 Onwards

The same procedures were repeated - scaffolding, transactions, followed by response. Most tasks were undertaken on two-days sessions while tests were written in one session. The Data items as implemented are as follows:

(vi) Administration: Data Items 9, 10, 12: Tasks

Three tasks were carried out and involved scaffoldings. They were Data item 9 (*Eveline*), followed by Data item 10 (*Singapore* advertisement). Data item 12 (*Frim and Frat* cartoon) followed Data item 11, which was the first test (see below).

(vii) Data Item 11, 13, 14: Post-Tests 1 & 2 and Delayed Post-Test

Three post-tests (Data items 11, 13, 14) were made with no scaffolding. They were individual readings of the texts. The first (Data item 11) followed the first two tasks, and used the same two passages in the pre-test (Data item 7 - *BT* advertisement & *Electric City* short story). Post-test Two (Data item 13) used the *Sports* advertisement following the cartoon (Data item

12 - see above). This was the last session before the delayed post-test (Data item 14) which took place in one session a week after the *Sports* advertisement test.

These sessions lasted two and a half weeks of continuous work - six working days for two weeks and three days²⁶ during the May two-weeks break. Saturday sessions went as long as 4 hours (10am-3.00pm) in some occasions, with a 1 hour lunch break. Weekday sessions lasted two hours on average (3.40-5.30pm).

(viii) Written Retrospections

Written retrospections²⁷ based on prompts: "*How do you see yourself as a reader now? What have you gained from this session?*" were written by my co-readers after their Post-task 1 (Data item 9) and then at the end of the sessions, after the delayed Post-test (Data item 14). Students had ample time to do these and were asked to be honest, with the choice to write in Tongan if they thought that would clarify their meanings.

Weaknesses in Phase 3:

A problematic aspect in this phase is to do with my selection criteria for participants given my target for empowerment is for those whose voices tend to be marginalised. As I picked those who were presumably the most able students from the 48, this is a major slippage as my empowerment aims conflict with research/logistic demands. As already discussed, my aim right from the outset is exploratory and the case study approach that I adopted meant focusing

²⁶ See Summary in Table 1.

²⁷ See Appendix 4 for samples.

only on a few for space reasons. However, as raised in Chapter 1 as part of the rationale for this study, empowering students using this poststructuralist approach to reading practice can be usefully applied to reading approaches in Tongan language studies, as well as for readings in other subject areas.

The scaffolding sessions in general, given the novelty and depth of scaffolding required, were far too short timewise for them to be delivered comprehensively and reflectively. The design was ambitious but it ended up taking the form of a crash course particularly in the strategy demonstration phase which was rushed towards the end. Only the first session of awareness raising paid detailed attention to the concerns laid out in the design. In the first demonstration sessions, group discussion was not utilised (except for the tasks sessions) - an oversight that could have contributed to how my co-readers coped with discussions amongst peers. The self-evaluation phase was not included, and neither did we continually evaluate the clarity of the demonstrations by querying whether students fully understood what had transpired. We merely assumed so.

The demonstration texts themselves, particularly the poems and the advertisements, proved too difficult for the students and despite attempts to scaffold them through a contextualisation of authorship/genre and vocabulary, students commented on their difficulty. Some of these areas of difficulties were followed in further scaffoldings preceding the tasks but I feel that looking at linguistic items in detail for their effects was limited. Nevertheless, the extra scaffoldings allowed Ofu and the students to revise and go over strategies. They were also valuable in thawing the tense and rather 'silent' atmosphere of the first sessions with students asking questions, and discussing their views.

3/- Fieldwork Journey

Most sessions were held during most schools' two weeks break and every Saturday. Three schools however (Liahona, Beulah & Tailulu) were still running. I had to make compromises and so sessions were held daily after school (3.30pm - 5.30pm, sometimes a trifle longer) to ensure that the nine students in those three schools could attend. Other problems arose due again to differing agendas. Since the sessions were on Saturdays and during the school holidays, the students, who were then at F5 had holiday classes which they had to attend. Some also felt that they would miss their holidays if they attended my sessions. Others had other obligations such as band practice, field trips, and home chores.

As the sessions progressed, some students dropped out, some attended infrequently. Out of the 24 we started off with, only 16 were able to attend regularly. This irregularity of turn-outs meant the disruption of group discussion and limited the potential for a dialogic negotiation of meanings and for insights on the effects of such interactions in meaning transactions (esp. hegemonic effects). In some sessions, groups comprised one, or two or three readers. Those who were absent were asked to respond to texts already discussed by their group without the benefit of group discussion. It meant that I had to help provide the scaffolding that they had missed while my co-teacher was engaged with others. This problem also meant that our sessions ran late according to plans, a factor that points to the complexity of the research process and the foolhardiness of trying to impose a strictly watertight research plan. As earlier mentioned, the disruption also had adverse implications for my analysis of group meaning interaction, something which would affect my choice of which readers to be portrayed.

The timing for the week-day sessions was late and inappropriate, but was made out of logistic necessity. The readers who were still at schools had to be collected straight after class (3-

3.30pm) and were tired²⁸. I and my husband had to take most of them home because of our late finish. This proved exhausting and expensive because some lived at opposite ends of the country. My co-teacher was particularly helpful in persuading readers to attend.

Some problems which had cropped up during the trial phase arose in the substantive phase but did not last. Despite our attempts to convince my co-readers that it was their meanings which are the most important and that we were not looking for comparison but only to understand how and why they respond as they do (my agenda), a feeling of competitiveness underlay our initial tasks. Even though some of them had worked together previously in earlier tasks and knew each other by face, the guardedness that comes from inter-school, inter-sex, interpersonal competitiveness was there. This was obvious in their initial wariness of each other and their tendency to make 'snide' side-comments surreptitiously or exchange conspiratorial looks among themselves when those from other schools made comments both during the scaffoldings and the initial tasks. This problem gradually dissolved as initial tensions wore off. However, the tensions are suggestive of how knowledge acquisition is inscribed in power-relations of the social context of their transactions, something which I had unproblematically assumed would not occur despite the Foucauldian notion of knowledge as inscribed in power relations that I had taken on board.

During the task/test sessions, two groups were given the micro-tapes to record their discussions for which they were solely responsible, while I focused on the group that had no tapes using the video. I had noted the possibility of responses being constrained by the

²⁸ This late start made some parents suspicious. They feared that their children could be lying about where they were going.

presence of the video and the use of tapes. This was clear in the start but my co-readers soon got used to it. The video couldn't capture all discussions as groups were not strategically placed and also it was only available for two sessions.

3.6. Reflections on my Fieldwork Journey

I started off in a contradictory way, as a contradictory self. I was heavily influenced by psychologically-based research methods even though my ideas were shaped by my leanings towards an interdisciplinary perspective. Further readings of the literature; extended reflection, ongoing dialogue with my supervisor and a fellow researcher led to the development of a problematising attitude and a growing scepticism of many ideas I had harboured as self-evident truths. As such, I redefined my research position, hence my tools, especially evident in Phase 2 and 3 of my research. This paradigm shift is, I believe, a fundamental flaw in my methodology especially in terms of epistemological rigour. However, as already discussed in p.127, my eclectic methods in both Phase 1 and 2 allowed for a reflexivity which reflects the mobile view of subjectivity/meanings that undergird a poststructuralist research framework. Moreover, the tensions that have projected from the modernist grounds of my Phase 1 tasks also became the decisive ground for me to change course, to transform my modernist leanings (and the data that it yielded) productively for my empowerment causes. It should be appropriated then as part of a search process towards actualising the empowerment aims I planned for the students.

The open-endedness of my methods allowed me to refine them: to add on tasks, and to accommodate the agendas of my readers as well as their respective schools. Ideas as well as legitimisation issues emerged in the process. For instance, I was reluctant to impose my

agenda and my hope was that I shouldn't be seen as an authoritative, manipulative figure. However, various factors rendered futile some of these wishes. My insider role in the TMOE; the geographical small size of the country, the high esteem surrounding teachers'/educators' status and roles, as well as the fact that I was researching for a Phd, made it difficult for my co-readers, as well as teachers, to see me as other than an authority figure. Most of the teachers and the readers I worked with knew who I was before I started working with them. This aspect helped to expedite administrative matters to do with my research but created problems in terms of the information that I sought. For instance, in my first attempt at getting my co-readers to complete their questionnaires, some of them manufactured answers in order to impress me. There were also indications that some teachers went out of their ways to provide written information that may be contrary to their practice in an attempt to impress despite my request for honesty and anonymity²⁹. There were also issues to do with time - time allowed for my fieldwork, as well as my co-readers' time. These necessitated changes and caused some sessions to be rushed as was the case in the first scaffolding demonstrations. However, this open-ended agenda enabled me to reformulate my own research tools/agendas and to renegotiate with the relevant parties in the course of the fieldwork.

I made clear the purpose and procedures of my research agenda to my co-readers and teacher right from the outset. I did this with the view that this is the only way I could secure their full co-operation, part of the reflexivity of my research stance. This gesture, in some ways, helped to foster my empowerment aims as the research involved them and is 'for' them rather than 'on' them (see Cameron *et al*, 1992; Freire, 1972; Street, 1993). As Harvey (1992)

²⁹ There were two instances where I felt that some responses were not the complete picture given some gaps/inconsistencies in the information given.

experienced in her study of Bilingualism in the Peruvian Andes, the relationship between the researcher and researched is not a simple hierarchical one with the researcher imposing her agenda. It is a negotiated one where all involved had to make compromises. I tried to do the same right from the beginning. However, my co-readers had different agendas. Some saw their participation as status bearing; being recognised by an authority figure to be used for her research; some saw it as a way out of doing school and home chores (Phase 1 and Phase 2 sessions were held at lunch times for Tonga High School students, after schools for St Andrews students and on Saturdays for the rest)³⁰. Some saw it as a means to have nice snacks (refreshment was always provided) and some as a chance to improve their English.

The exploratory nature of this study made it conversational and reflexive between myself, my co-readers, and others involved (teachers, co-teacher, parents). This reflexivity allowed me to constantly problematise my methodology, refine it, and to reflect on the implications for shifts in stances - a robust stance that is central for the poststructuralist framework of my study. This, I believe, is reflective of what transpires in typical social transactions. This self-reflexivity also allows me to be upfront about, and account for my own subjectivity and to be alert and open-minded to real and potential biases and how they might affect my research (Alvermann & Dillon, 1991). As Ball (1989) points out, subjectivity is inevitable:

Data are a social construct of the research process itself, not just of the 'natives' under study. They are a product of the skills and imagination of the researcher and of the interface between researcher and researched. The choices, omissions, problems, and successes of the researcher will shape the process of the research in particular ways...What counts as data, that which is seen and that which is unnoticed, that which is recorded and that which is not, will depend on the interests, questions and relationships that are brought to bear in a particular scene.

³⁰ Classroom duty is a normal after school task in Tongan schools where students stay behind for at least half an hour to do general cleaning around the school. They normally have home chores in the weekends.

To Davidow (1985), bias can enter methodology at any point, in the theoretical base, design, data gathering, or interpretation and presentation of findings, because decisions involved are always value-laden. In fact, the objective stance that dominates scientific, modernist research is characterised by control over subjects, methods and knowledge, a stance which hides their and others' 'agency' as knowers. It calls attention to our power as knowers whether we are aware of it or not. Such control typifies hierarchy and power through nonreciprocity, and is, according to Davidow, the epitome of paternalism. Moreover, objectivity masks the origins and constructedness of readers' knowledge, and may not account for an accurate description of what, how and why readers interpret. I find Ball's and Davidow's arguments in concord with my methodology, which is a preemptive, subjective choice designed to support my empowerment aims and my indeterminate views about reading. The methods are to be seen as a means to gather information on how students as readers are constituted, as part of my journey to achieve these aims.

In Phase 3, I realised that my aims to empower could only be realised through a successful implementation of my research agenda. These entailed several negotiations which necessitated changes in my original agenda. Some of them have already been discussed. One other negotiation was in response to the irregular turnout of my co-readers and to a subtle agenda that they had brought with them. Somehow, they had learned that I had played a key role in the TSC English Examination paper³¹. This came to me through questions posed to me by them after or outside the sessions. As an incentive for their attendance, my co-teacher and I agreed to spend one hour working with the group on any queries they made concerning their

³¹ I have been involved with the TSC English exam paper since 1989, first as an assistant Examiner/Marker and then subsequently Chief Examiner/Marker until 1994.

preparation for the TSC English paper on Saturdays. This meant that an extra hour was added to our normal working hours. Attendance thus increased. By this negotiation, I was able to fulfil most of my field agenda, those of my co-readers (hopefully) and that of my co-teacher who was also interested in the diversion because she teaches English at that level. However, what my co-readers were after was a point of tension for me. Literature response and the comprehension section in TSC examination papers, as already discussed, are based on a text immanent view of reading and demand a disproportionate demonstration of textual knowledge. The very view I was trying to dispel was thrown back at me like a douche of icy water. Again, rather than see this as a setback, I used this tension instrumentally as a chance to further my empowerment aims. This, I did by encouraging them to criticise textual constructions and generate their own meanings in literature responses because they would still earn good grades for the critical and personal/political dimension of their responses. Because they understood that the MC comprehension questions required an answer based on the text itself, what we did was to use this to demonstrate how such an approach limits the meaning links they can generate compared to what they were learning in the scaffolding sessions.

I had a conversational, informal relationship both with my co-readers and co-teacher belying my earlier impression of being seen as an authority figure, though at times this still appeared to be so. My long association with them (for more than a year) could have been contributive to this intimacy. In the refreshment breaks we had, and even during the scaffolding sessions, both myself and my co-teacher assumed the role of co-students and threw jokes around to show that we share/understand their own language. This created a shared sense of camaraderie and empathy among us. The initial strained atmosphere that we started off with was significantly absent as we progressed. By the end of the sessions, the group were just like

a typical Tongan class who have been together for a long period in the way they came to be very familiar with each other, and were openly vocal in discussing their views³². This is a powerful example of the liberating effects of a Vygotskian scaffolding when students are nurtured in a non-threatening, environment. I kept a continual dialogue with my co-teacher during/after sessions and at nights over the phone, discussing some of the responses that I had skimmed through, as well as plans for the next sessions. What was a major weakness however, was the inadequacy of our feedback to my co-readers in terms of their responses³³. This was partly due to the lack of time I spent on reading all their responses carefully instead of merely skimming over them; as well as the difficulty of discussing some of them in front of some readers who had yet to read the text because they were absent on the previous session.

In general, it is the gaps that emerged during the fieldwork process, and the reflexivity both in my stance and methodology that led to my own empowerment, and to the change of course in my methods. As already suggested, reflexivity is a necessary poststructuralist strategy for questions on research ethics. The 'power' to reflect, to question one's own action is liberating in its transformative power and it is a vital part of the empowerment process, just as the 'power' to be open, as made possible by a Vygotskian/Freirean scaffolding allowed for an open transactions among the students. The effects of the process as a whole contributed to the development of my ideas and signify how negotiation at any level (research, reading, group

³² This does not imply that 'silence' is something that should be totally discouraged, and my call to give voices to students embraces this. As Shor (1980) suggests, 'silence' can be a form of defense, of resistance to dominant voices.

³³ This was reflected in the last retrospections written by the students where one (Sione) commented on his frustration because the texts they worked on were not discussed as he wanted to know whether he was correct or not. This frustration further suggests that this person seems to still operate on the single, definitive correct answer paradigm.

discussion, etc.) is a social process that is dynamic, complex and constantly reconstructed by multitudinous factors beyond actual reader-text interactions.

3.7. Data Analysis Procedure

I started the analyses by reading the responses and transcripts several times looking for particular patterns in order to identify categories or units as bases to develop a coding scheme. Then for each task, codings were devised (see below for specific details) and the analyses completed in phases. Analysis steps are detailed below, by phase, by task.

3.7a Phase 1:

Data items 1 & 3: Recall/Retelling Analyses

The analyses of both the recall and retelling protocols were based on an adaptation of Meyer's (1985) and Bernhardt's (1991) scoring systems. Meyer's system is the most common but because it is time-consuming, and more importantly because the psychological data that would evolve is only part of a data set that will be triangulated, I have modified it, incorporating some of Bernhardt's simpler system. This involves two steps: reducing the text into its basic number of propositions (simplest ideas and points) and making an interpretative analysis. The steps are as follows:

(i) *Tallying propositions*

Each passage was parsed into its simplest proposition. Then each recall was checked against these propositions. Each correct proposition was credited in terms of three levels described

in Table 2³⁴. Redundant ideas in the preliminary analyses were deleted in the final propositional breakdown. For instance, concepts related to 'reef' and the 'fish collected' are repeated in the news article and so are considered understood if referred to once³⁵.

CODING LEVELS

| Level | Description |
|-------------------------|--|
| 3 (three noughts - ooo) | Full meaning is retained |
| 2 (two noughts - oo) | Main meaning is retained, missed detail(s) |
| 1 (one nought) - o | Some meaning is retained, missed details |
| 0 (none) - x | No decipherable meaning |

Table 5

(ii). *Detailed Qualitative Probing*

An adaptation of Bernhardt's text and reader-based heuristics for analysing recalls was used to fine-analyse the types of recalls made. These are under two categorical rubrics: Text and Reader-based. The categories are adapted from Johnson's (1970) and Bernhardt's (1991) recall strategy categories (text and reader/knowledge-based) which assess the text-/reader-based strategies used. Under these two are seven sub-categories. Each recall/retelling was analysed in terms of the above categories. See Table 6.

Data item 2: Oral Reading - Miscue Analysis

This analysis involved two steps:

(i). *Tallying Miscues*

Each reading was checked using an adaptation of Goodman, Watson & Burke's (1987) miscue

³⁴ I used the noughts as they are differentially easier to tally (and to make an overall total) than their equivalent numbers when there are cases where only a partial meaning was identified.

³⁵ See Appendix 6.ii. Items marked 'R' are the redundancies. Spaces between lines indicate a new paragraph.

criteria and tallying sheet. It involved:

- (i) marking the miscues by transferring them from tape to a double-spaced copy of the passage;
- (ii) identifying the miscues and recording them per passage, per student on the tally sheet, while
- (iii) making specific descriptive comments on each using Goodman *et al*'s (1987) coding taxonomy (see Appendix 6.v).

The tallying sheet focuses on six criteria which range from the degree of syntax (language) and meaning retained or lost, to any metacognitive strategy employed (see tallying sheet used in Lote's profile), that is, whether the miscue was corrected and done so successfully. Miscues were marked according to the code. Where a word was miscued more than once in the same way, it was recorded only for the first occurrence (see example in Appendix 6.ii). To help clarify my analytic interpretation, and not for normative purposes, miscues were totalled and converted into percentages in terms of syntax and meaning retained, before, and after self-correction had been taken into account.

CATEGORICAL RUBRICS

| <u>TEXT-DRIVEN</u> | <u>READER/KNOWLEDGE-DRIVEN</u> |
|--|--|
| 1.Word Recognition/Vocabulary Knowledge (Attachment of semantic value to a word by translation or guess. Errors fall into the category when word meanings are misinterpreted) | 4. Intratextual Perception (Organisational aspects - clarity of ideas, unity between parts and whole; sequence, quality of leads, nature of paragraphs and text, title, relevance to form, style, genre.) |
| 2.Phonemic/Graphemic Decoding (Misidentification of words based on the visual or aural similarities) | 5. Meaning (How ideas are recalled, quality and clarity of ideas). |
| 3.Syntactic Feature Recognition (Relationship between and among words and degree of control of punctuation and usage (tense, case, etc.) | 6. Metacognition (The extent to which reader is thinking about or reflecting on what is being read - monitoring such as question marks, parenthetical comments, blanks, highlighting, deletions and self-corrections, etc.) |
| | 7. Prior Knowledge (Reader's existing knowledge about other texts, styles, topic, structure, etc.) |

Table 6

(ii) Qualitative probing

This involved analysis of each type of miscue based on the categories used for the Recalls/Retellings. It looked at the nature of the miscues, as well as data from the correspondent retellings in terms of the kinds of reading strategies/meanings evident from those categories per reader, per passage.

3.7b Phase 2

Data item 4: Reader Questionnaire

The findings were all translated into summary statements relating to my co-readers' reading profile under three categories of 'reading experiences', 'views' and 'attitude'.

Data item 5: Teacher Questionnaire

Teacher's responses were integrated and translated into summary statements per school based on their 'definitions', 'views' and 'practice'.

Data item 6: Other Data Sources

Data from each record was translated into summary statements per reader in relation to school, teacher, and other personal information. These were then incorporated into the general background data of each reader.

3.7c Phase 3

As the aim of these tasks is to gather evidence about how readers interpret varied types of texts, what counts as 'meaning links', the 'location' of these links, 'reader stance', and the 'views of reading' that these responses reflect, I had to look for some means of categorisation, particularly something that would gauge the discoursal and temporal nature of their responses.

The term 'temporal' suggests the transiency, situatedness, and historicity of knowledge and has implications for assessment categories that are not *a priori* pre-determined, but to evolve from responses *in situ*.

I made preliminary readings of the responses to look for specific patterns to determine coding categories. From this, I devised a coding scheme of four overlapping stances or perspectives: (1) Textual, (2) Personal, (3) Socio-Cultural, and (4) Political, the overlappedness inevitable due to the fluid, transient nature of knowledge/meanings. Each stance overlaps in the sense that each counter-impacts upon another and they are to be seen as a continuum rather than separate, akin to Rosenblatt's (1978) stance continuum (see p.84). I also used descriptions of other categories used for reading response research (e.g. Beach & Hynd's, 1990 level of stances, the English National Curriculum Assessment Authority Reading Assessment rubric, 1995; and Davidow's, 1985 level of perspectives) to refine my descriptions of the stances.

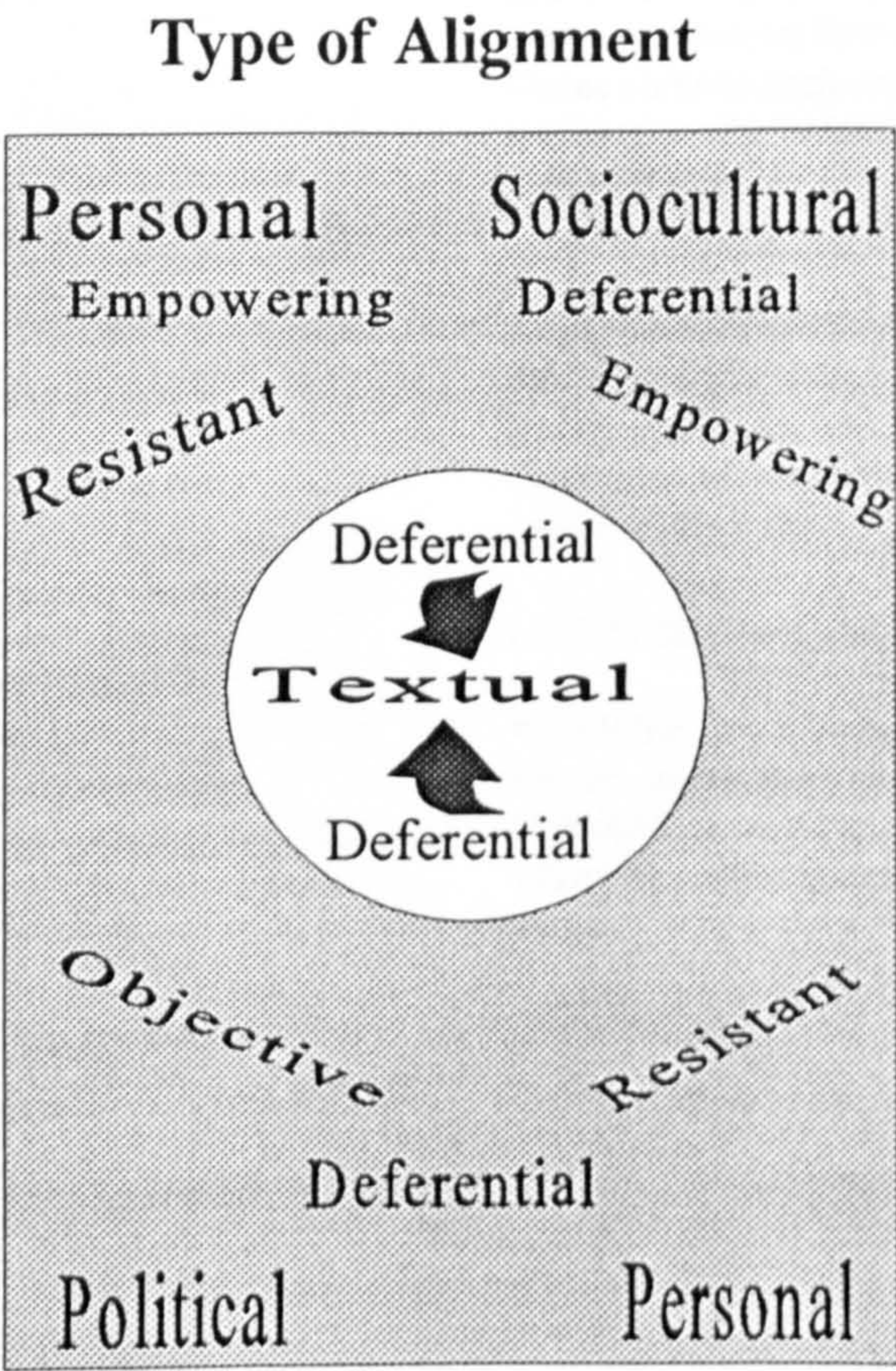
A 'stance' denotes a particular interpretive position a reader adopts towards what seems to be a text's dominant meaning. In my readings of my co-readers' responses, this dominant meaning would be my own subjective perception of the dominant reading (as perceived by obvious textual signs) if it is not already explicitly stated by the reader. For instance, a textual stance will show a reliance on textual cues and textual meanings, and usually shows a deference to a text's dominant reading; a personal stance would rely more on the reader's personal alignments, but will not necessarily be textually deferential. A socio-cultural stance will utilise meanings valued in the wider socio-cultural context and a political stance will adopt a questioning critique of the dominant reading. Any of these stances may take recourse to meaning links located in, and outside texts. Table 7 describes these stances.

All responses were thus analysed in terms of these stances. The stances were then rated in terms of degree of 'connections' and type of 'alignment'. The 'references'/'connections' as suggested in a reader's meaning links, were assessed on the degree of *response completeness*, *depth* and *complexity*. A response that produces a range of readings, is thorough in its assessment, and makes complex and wide-ranging references to meanings in texts (as signalled by linguistic and visual signs), and meanings outside texts (intertextuality), can be deemed a response that has depth and complexity. A limited, fragmented response focuses on a particular set of meanings (e.g. textual), does not have recourse to other intertextual links, and does not discuss/note a range of vantage points.

Alignment is the nature of the response's ideological affiliation. Responses were gauged in terms of reader stance with regard to their perceived meanings/ideas as weighed against a text's dominant reading. Because there is a multiplicity of stances a reader can adopt; and that even males/females produce heterogeneous responses traversed by other alignments (Mills, 1995); these alignments are not to be seen as hierarchical as this would defeat both the crux of my empowerment as an 'exercised' choice, and also my empowerment's aim of offering multiple ways of exercising these meaning choices. They are to be seen as a 'range' to avoid privileging one reading over others. Alignments can thus be either deferential or non deferential. A *deferential* response for instance is one which agrees with the perceived textual ideologies. With being non-deferential, one can be *objective* where one is aware of the workings of textual ideology but does not question such constructions, nor adopt a definitive stance as a response at the resistant level would. This does not suggest a neutral reading as all stances are ideological. A *resistant* response would question such constructions though it does not necessarily offer any empowering reading(s). An *empowering* response would not

only resist, it would spur the reader to make alternative readings (see Figure 1). Some of these alternative readings may not be empowering along particular lines, but can still be treated as empowering in the sense that alternative meanings have been generated. On occasions of gendered readings, the response stance would, crudely put, clearly show an unquestioned advocacy of one's gender, as in a female, responding from a (pro-)feminist stance, or as in a male, reading from a patriarchal one:

Figure 1:



DISCOURSE STANCES AND LINKS

| STANCE | DESCRIPTION |
|--------------------------|---|
| 1. TEXTUAL(or TECHNICAL) | Strictly textual (written) connections. Knowledge of discourse (genre) types, structure and conventions unique to the field; text linguistics; topics; intratextual links. A focus on the literary elements or on the writing style. Buried in the text and deferential to dominant textual ideology. |
| 2. PERSONAL: | Personal connections and involvement - purposes, beliefs, motives, roles, relationships, involvement, context. Also aesthetic response which focuses on relating lived through experience, emotions, images, ideas. Concerned with one's personal alignments above all else. |
| 3. SOCIO-CULTURAL: | Links in terms of cultural attitudes, values, roles, purposes, context; how they are culturally constituted. Connections to socio-cultural experience, concepts or tradition). Deferential to socio-cultural meanings above all else. |
| 4. POLITICAL | Engagement, speculation and evaluation of ideological dimensions and making alternative/multiple readings. Posing questions, challenging the author. Critical awareness of text construction. Resists a text's dominant ideology. |
| | LINKS/CONNECTIONS |
| | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Complex, critical connections. •Some connections and extensions •Limited connections •Sketchy, and fragmented. Provides little to evaluate stances. |

-Table 7

3.7. Limitation in Overall Analysis Procedure

Traditionally, researchers usually invoke the practice of using raters to ensure that codings and categorisations are reliable. I have relied heavily on triangulation of my several data sources and the use of 'tried' analytical categories in my Phase 1 data, even though I have modified/extended these to cater for my own research aims. However, a major flaw in this analysis is my subjection of the recalls/retellings and miscue analysis into text-immanent criteria. I have analysed the data against a textual reading and therefore the data that is elicited on processes are limited as they are shaped by a text-immanent textual reading.

My reading of 'dominant readings' is problematic and subjective especially when there are occasions when students' responses do not explicitly refer to a dominant reading and where there may be arguably more than one dominant reading.

In the following chapter, I sketch the reading vignettes of my six co-readers, considering in depth two core ones, Meli and Lote - the meaning links, reading positions and alignments, as well as the reading perspective(s) that their responses reflect.

There are readings of the same text - that are dutiful, readings that map and dissect, readings that hear a rustling of unheard sounds, that count grey little pronouns for pleasure or instructions..There are personal readings that snatch for personal meanings..There are impersonal readings....

A.S.Byatt (1990, p.471)

4: READER PROFILES - THEIR STORIES UNFOLD

Before we look at individual reader profiles, it is useful to recap some common elements related to my co-readers and shared by the eight schools in the study in terms of their age, period of study, language syllabus, instructional medium and content, resources and staff qualifications. This is to avoid repetition as I move from profile to profile.

All of my co-readers had started primary school in 1985, and secondary in 1991. All the primary schools that they had attended used an audiolingual, structural approach to learning to read in both the Tongan and English languages, and most of their locally-trained teachers have had no specialist training in reading/literacy. Except for Meli, all did not have any formal pre-school education. All were also in F4 when the field sessions started. All are from co-ed schools of which the majority use the government CDU's Draft English syllabus, prescription and English texts for their classroom practice. These schools prepare students for end-of-the-year examinations at Forms 5 (TSC) & 6 (PSSC) which everyone must sit. English is officially the medium of instruction at F3 upwards but most teachers with the exception of Liahona and Tonga High School use a bilingual approach. Extreme shortages in qualified English and library staff, library resources and other ancillary supports are common across schools. Typical classroom reading events involve MC and short, single answers tasks based on single-passages. Meaning interrogation entails a search for coherent textual/literary links.

The detail of my data suggests that I focus only on six profiles, two as my central case studies with the remaining four as attendant illustrations. The stories behind each profile are based on an integration of all pertinent information derived from the data sets, information which is located in the various sites discussed earlier that position students at certain points of time (material circumstances - text, reader, writer, context, language; production apparatus - cognitive, social, cultural, political, historical, linguistic; discursive habitats - schools, churches, home, other institutions, see p.112).

The profiles begin with information on discursive habitats that constitute the personal, socio-cultural, and textual development of each student (home, schooling, reading habits/ interests, and their teacher's views on reading). This background helps foreground students' meaning-making through the insights they provide on the types of meanings valued by these discursive habitats. This is followed by an *interpretive analysis* on how such data yield useful information on historical reading perspectives and reader positionings. Moreover, how such data are located in the 'production tools' and 'material circumstances' related to each student. Tables and graphs are used wherever possible to clarify my interpretations.

The two central profiles are a sixteen year old male, Lote and 15 year-old female, Meli. The others, Sione, Tai, Vai and Melia follow in that order. All names used in this study are pseudonyms, while the schools used are identified by their actual names.

Reader 1: LOTE:**4.1a Historical Data/Discursive Habitats****(i) Personal/Literacy Background (Data items 5, 6)**

At the start of my fieldwork, Lote was just turning sixteen¹. He is the sixth in a family of seven boys. His parents migrated to the main island from another island for educational reasons and are devout followers of the Tokaikolo Christian Fellowship Church (TCFE) which runs the schools that Lote has attended and is attending. Neither of his parents hold formal educational qualifications nor in paid employment. The mother is a full-time housewife, the father grows subsistence crops for the family's use, while the elder sons help with the family's upkeep through blue-collar/wage employment. Lote usually helps his father at their bush allotment on weekends though he claims to have no fixed domestic chores.

According to his teachers and school reports, Lote is a conscientious, well-behaved student, is biddable, and has a very pleasant character. From my observations, he seems remarkably unperturbed by the clamour for modern fads (rap, pop and trendy fashions) that his peers have preferring to be on his own and dressing nondescriptly and conservatively. At school, he enjoys group work because, as he explains in the questionnaire, he learns from others. His favourite subjects are Science and Maths though he thinks that being good in English improves his chances of passing exams. He rarely speaks English, except when he is required otherwise by his English teacher and is in the top 10 percent ranking of his level².

¹ All ages given are based on the samples' ages when the fieldwork sessions started in mid-1994.

² This is the aggregate total of assessment in five core subjects plus two optionals. English is a core subject.

Lote attended the TCFE's own primary school. Not only is this education system still very much in its infancy compared to the other seven systems in Tonga, it has not fully prepared itself in terms of trained teachers, and necessary literacy resources to guarantee that its children are given the appropriate literacy orientation aimed at by the CDU's syllabus that they are using. The reading programme that is used is the same audio-lingual, structural approach used by government primary schools. Most teachers who taught Lote are church volunteers, some holding local teaching certificates.

As with most other church schools in Tonga, Lavengamalie college, Lote's current secondary school, was established with the dual purpose of inculcating the church's particular christian doctrines, and developing academic competence. The school has staffing and resourcing problems. The staff generally do more than the average hours of teaching and qualified staff are scarce³. The classes are large as the school has not enough classrooms to accommodate its large number of students. The school uses the CDU's Draft English Syllabus and has no reading programmes apart from a termly English promotional week. Its library resources are inadequate and filled with old donated books. English is officially the medium of instruction but this policy is not strictly observed with some English classes being run bilingually. The school is streamed to English competence. This means that Lote, being in the top ten percent in the level, is in the top stream, supposedly getting the best teacher⁴.

Of the four female English teachers who taught Lote in his first four years at Lavengamalie,

³ For instance, out of its 37 teaching staff in 1993, 10 were graduates and two of this ten teach English.

⁴ Due to examinations pressure, this streaming exercise often leads to students being given selective tasks aimed at 'exam preparation'. These tasks are different from that given to their other less able peers - cf. Henderson's 'billabong' and 'anabranh' programmes, see p.27.

three were able to fill in the questionnaire. Only one of them has had professional teacher training. One also has been, to date, the Head of English (thenceforth HOD) since the school was established. Letters are used to denote each teacher⁵. These are their views:

Teacher A, Lote's F3 teacher, is a non-graduate who has 11 years of teaching experience at F1-F4. She sees the reading process as an ability to understand, learn new words, and use appropriate pronunciation. To her, comprehension is achieved through the ability to retell, answer questions, and do exercises on a passage. Teacher B, Lote's F4 teacher, had attended the reading workshops I had coordinated. She is a Master's graduate in English with five years of teaching experience at F4-6 levels. The reading processes to her involve "*listening, thinking/wandering, prediction, response, reaction, emotion and attentiveness including 'seeing'*". Comprehension, she believes, is the logical response to questions using evidence; when there is a "*logical*" response to a story; and when a summary, retell and an analysis can be made. Teacher C, an English graduate with 15 years of teaching experience as well as being head of department, sees the process as "*several words being read and its meanings are understood*". To her, the manner of reading affects comprehension speed. Quiet reading is fast but reading aloud may be slow because every word is uttered.

Teacher A sees the inability to understand a passage and pronounce words as due to lack of reading skills, limited vocabulary, and poor command of English. Teacher B sees poor vocabulary knowledge and poor attitude to reading as the major problems. Poor listening skills/hearing problems are also problems. She lays the problem on "*not being exposed to*

⁵ Using letters to denote teachers avoids clustering of Tongan names which may prove confusing to non-Tongan readers.

books and reading materials"; the narrow scope of syllabus which forces the *"teacher not to go beyond the scope of the syllabus to enrich kids' vocabularies"*; and the fact that *"reading is just not a priority with most kids"*. Teacher C thinks that reading problems are caused by too advanced textual ideas which may have not been experienced by readers.

On worthwhile 'reading strategies', Teacher A suggests vocabulary study, providing books of interest to read; *"exercises"* such as oral reading, sentence formation, and shared reading followed by teacher explanation. Teacher B is more specific. She suggests reading for pleasure; skim reading when searching for ideas for an essay; annotation when analysing poetry or a story; silent reading when reading a *"good story"* and reading aloud when reading poetry. C suggests prediction; knowledge and experience to understand what is being read; and reading at *"a fairly good speed"* to help comprehension.

When asked on teacher/student actions to improve reading, Teacher A suggests skimming; questioning the title; retelling and pre-reading activities. Teacher B suggests that students be exposed to reading materials through library sessions and sustained silent reading periods; shared reading, reading aloud while students follow along silently. Moreover, that students borrow/buy books and get *"good"* magazines and newspapers. Teacher C suggests a discussion of the *"title"* to understand and predict the contents; reading/asking questions to ensure that students follow and discussing passages either in class or in groups. Moreover, that regular reading tasks must be practised for contextualisation to take place.

(ii) Interpretation of the Personal/Literacy Data

What does this data say about the kind of reading pedagogy that Lote would have received in

his English classrooms? The teacher's views show the prevailing influence of the Phonics and Psychocognitive views of reading in the emphasis on textual skills and knowledge. It is a reproduction of Lote's phonics orientation to reading at Primary school. The survey also reveals conflicting views and understandings about reading amongst the three teachers. Two teachers (A & C) are vague about the process and link comprehension predominantly with the ability to utilise lexical and graphophonics skills through speedy reading, correct pronunciation and exercises. Teacher B's more interactive views acknowledge interactive/ reader-based factors such as personal and aesthetic responses.

All the teachers value the importance of reading though they differ in the suggested actions to be taken. A & C have more graphophonics concerns. The influence of psycholinguistic views of reading, with a stronger leaning towards Bottom-up aspects are reflected in these teachers' accounting of reading problems to poor listening skills and vocabulary knowledge. Critical reading is unacknowledged. B perceives extra-textual effects such as reader factors (poor attitude/low motivation); insufficient exposure to books; a confined pedagogy and a narrow syllabus as causes of reading difficulties. Being a graduate as well as her recent involvement in CDU reading workshops could have contributed to her more interactive views. This data is premised on the view that one's beliefs/views/background often determine one's actions. It may be possible that these beliefs about reading may not have been/be actually translated in classroom practice. For instance, contrary to the interactive range of tasks suggested by B, I found a prevalence of MC- comprehension tasks in my samples' English exercise books⁶, and few evidence of other reading tasks.

⁶ Recent inspectorate visits also made similar observations which apply to most schools in this study. This is not a new trend. It has been the standard reading task to date in Tonga.

4.1b Other Reader-based Data (Data items 1,2,3,4)

In his questionnaire response, Lote is of the view that he is not a good reader because he skips words he does not understand, and does not read often, except for the Tongan Bible which he does everyday both for his religious enlightenment and for his Sunday School course. He thinks his current F4 English teacher (Teacher B) is a good reader because she uses the dictionary to know difficult words; and that good readers like her would know everything they read. His idea of helping someone with reading difficulty is to provide meanings of words not understood. His favourite readings are "*old story*" or legends/fairy tales and he hates to read books without illustrations (like novels). Texts with difficult words discourage him from reading and are by far his most difficult readings. The Bible is the easiest in the seven texts given to him to rank; followed in order by stories, instructions, plays and poems. He finds editorials and history texts the most difficult in the list.

Lote was able to identify the purposes and target readers for some other 12 texts given but some of his suggested target audience are quite restricted. For instance, a science textbook is intended only for "*students who took science*"; a weather report for "*captains of ships which sail in the sea*"; adventure stories for "*a teacher to its class*"; poetry for "*students*" in "*English classes*"; advertisements for "*people who wanted that role(job)*"; and encyclopaedia for "*teachers and students*". Significantly, he did not know what a recipe is. Lote cannot recall when he first learned to read but he remembers that his first story was the old testament story, *Samuel*. The most important book/author he has read so far is *Treasure Island* by R. L. Stevenson. This is the novel they read at F4 and the first studied in his English class so far. He also finds this book most memorable because he watched a video film of it in class. Reading to him is important because it would improve his reading and writing and he thinks

that if he improves his reading, he would be "*a good English speaker*".

The family have limited reading materials at home - only the Tongan Bible, and the local and church papers which his parents read. Lote's two closest friends and brothers are not readers themselves and only occasionally read the local paper. He does not often read everything in the local paper and will always go first to the sports section because he likes sports, followed by the children's cartoons because of their funny pictures. Occasionally, he reads editorials and weather reports but does not bother with notices and advertisements.

In his recall tasks, Lote recalled 99 (32.4%) of the 306 propositions in *Whaling in Alaska*⁷. The news article, *Science Scholar Studies Suva Reef* has a total of 225. Lote recalled 138 (54.1%). Tables 1 & 2 detail his performance. Thirty-two percent of his miscues in *Disaster at Sea* retained the syntax of the text and 28% retained the meaning, but there was no self-correction. In *School Uniforms*, 53% of the miscues retained the syntax. Twenty-seven percent retained the meaning and there was no self-correction. Tables 5 and 6 show his miscues. Of the 249 propositions in *Disaster at Sea*, Lote retold 47 propositions (18.9%). For *School Uniforms*, he retold 26 propositions (0.8%) of the total 252. See Tables 3 & 4 for a breakdown of his ideas⁸.

⁷ See Appendix 3.3 for a sample breakdown of the passage's propositions.

⁸ As has been noted elsewhere and bears reiteration here, the statistical data is not for comparative purposes across these readers. Rather, it is a point of reference within which reading processes and meaning links of individual readers can be understood.

(i) Categorisation' of Response Per Passage/Task

Data Item 1 : Whaling in Alaska Recall

| WORD RECOGNITION/ VOCABULARY KNOWLEDGE | PHONEMIC/ GRAPHEMIC DECODING | INTRATEXTUAL PERCEPTION (STRUCTURE) | SYNTACTIC FEATURE RECOGNITIONS: CONVENTIONS | MEANING | META- COGNITION | PRIOR KNOWLEDGE |
|---|------------------------------|--|--|--|-----------------|-----------------|
| RECALL 1 <u>Uses original words of text:</u> 'vital part'; 'Eskimo culture'; captains', 'patience 'skill'; 'leadershi p'; 'reward'; 'skin'; 'blubber'; 'angered 'needlessly'; 'fata lly'; 'permitted'. | Not evident. | <u>Attempts to stick to original structure and sequence.</u> All ideas in one paragraph. | <u>Signs of direct translation</u> in awkward usage: 'The I.W.C. looked that many whales.. 'Inappropriate usage: agreement /possession/preposition/ omission problems: 'the captain's who angered.'; '..took them in court..'; '..the captain's who is patience, skill' ' ..they will only killed..' | Short paraphrase. <u>Evidence of rote memorisation.</u> Some ideas but key ideas are missing or vague. <u>Distortions:</u> took them to court' (threatened to take them to court). Lacks specific details. | Not evident. | Not evident. |

⁹ See details of categories in Table 6, Chap. 3, p.119

| | | | | | | |
|--|--------------|---|---|---|---|--|
| RETELLING 2 <u>Used words as in original text:</u> (greetings and ending); uniform, fashion, style. | Not evident. | Has <u>clear sense of the genre format but misses the main ideas of the speech. Ideas lack development.</u> | <u>Inappropriate usage:</u> Pronoun- 'students should be proud of its..' Past tense: 'wearing'; 'won't knew'; 'liked a wind came and passed'. Agreement: 'Student who don't..(sign of direct translation) <u>Awkward expression:</u> 'like a wind came and passed'; 'appreciate for having'. | <u>Very short. Grasped a few ideas. Verbatim recall on greeting and ending. Distortions:</u> 'I really appreciate for having this prevision (privilege) to speak on this topic' (not in text); 'Every students who weared uniforms should be proud of its uniform' (would n't you be proud to be identified as a student of the school..by wearing the uniform..) <u>Paraphrase:</u> wearing uniform is also liked a wind come and passed'. | <u>Deletions:</u> spelling - 'previous' (signs of correction); ..it is good for them to be proud..'' attention; (signs of correction). <u>Insertions:</u> '..and went to school ^and wanted..' | Distortions and misinformation are evident of <u>importation of general knowledge about uniforms:</u> 'proud of having the period of schooling...to be leaving school'. |
|--|--------------|---|---|---|---|--|

Table 4
Data Item 2a: *DISASTER AT SEA* Miscues

| MISCUE (Disaster at Sea) | READER (Lote) | TEXT | LR | LL | MR | ML | SC | UC | COMMENTS |
|-----------------------------|-------------------|--------------|----|----|----|----|----|----|--|
| 1. | blanket in | blanket, in | * | | | * | | | Intonation: no pause (repeated many times later) |
| 2. | robby | lobby | | * | | * | | | Pronunciation (repeated): 'r'/'l'. see others |
| 3. | con/fi/dense | confidence | * | | * | | | | Pronunciation: syllabic: 's'/'c' sound |
| 4. | went | were on | | * | | * | | | Substitution: syntactically correct |
| 5. | corr/courageously | courageously | * | | * | | | | Pronunciation: 'ou' combination |
| 6. | Look | Look | * | | * | | | | Repetition |
| 7. | it is | it's | * | | * | | | | Substitution: full correct form |

| | | | | | |
|---|--|--|--|---|---|
| <p>RECALL 2 <u>Can't</u> contextualise new words: 'fury'; 'dread'; 'monitoring'; 'ideally'; 'proposals'; 'sediment'. <u>Uses some original words:</u> 'fury', 'fiery', 'situated', 'sample', 'local', 'effect', 'sand-dredge', 'put forward', etc.</p> | <p>'were' (where); 'caught' (got)</p> | <p><u>Clear recall in the beginning</u> in terms of sequence but changes order of information in the middle and then recalls the original ending in the last part. <u>No understanding of genre format</u> - no direct quote. <u>No direct translation.</u></p> | <p><u>Omission:</u> 'Two of his..had done in..'. <u>Inconsistent tense:</u> dwell/catched/will make; by the helped). <u>Inappropriate usage:</u> 'by buried'; Possession: 'doctor degrees', 'that how..'; Preposition: '..out on Suva's reef.'</p> | <p>Ideas in first part <u>recalled almost verbatim</u>: 'Facing the fury of the wind..'. <u>Missed main ideas</u> in the middle and last part of text. <u>Missed details:</u> 'studentship' (Leverhulme studentship); 'long' (how long); 'hut' (lone room). <u>Some distortions:</u> 'proposals of sand-dredge' (proposals on how to conduct dredging).</p> | <p><u>Deletion:</u> sea/see; probosal/proposal. <u>Insertion:</u> Title - 'Science Scholar' studies in Suva..; scholarship 'had done in Fiji..'. Not evident.</p> |
| <p>RETELLING 1 <u>Uses words as in original text like greetings and proper names</u> (military investigator, W. Germany, etc.): 'How are you'; 'I am fine', the child replied courageously'.</p> | <p>'least' (last).</p> | <p>Tried to keep to original structure but <u>missed ideas</u> along the way, <u>basic storyline is there</u>. <u>Maintains genre format</u> - using direct quotation whenever he can.</p> | <p><u>Awkward expressions</u> (signs of <u>direct translation</u>): 'very nervously, during her thinking'; 'When the news came and no one was find alive'; 'with a sad hope'. <u>Inconsistent tense</u> (present/past). <u>Tense problems:</u> 'was find', 'thinked, leaved, couldn't got inside.</p> | <p><u>Paraphrased main ideas.</u> <u>Distortions:</u> 'and than Claire and her mother leaved' (not stated); 'full of water' ('it was under 10 metres of water'). <u>Elaboration:</u> 'I'm fine' (Fine); 'during her nervous thing she saw Claire and her mother' (nervous state is not stated). <u>Inferences:</u> 'a ship that sank'; 'and Susan knew that Rob was inside this room' (inferred from the last part). <u>Missed some details.</u></p> | <p><u>Deletion:</u> ship ship; courageously (correction of the letter 'a') Not evident.</p> |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|-----------------|--------------|--|-----|-----|-----|-------|---|---|--|--|------------------------------|
| 8. | neverless | nevertheless | | | * | | * | | | | | Substitution |
| 9. | evvening | evening | | * | | | * | | | | | Pronunciation |
| 10. | mortually | mortuary | | * | | | * | | | | | Pronunciation: 'r'/'l' sound |
| 11. | breek | bleak | | * | | | * | | | | | " |
| 12. | fiftys | 50 | | | * | | * | | | | | Substitution |
| 13. | hart | hurt | | | * | | * | | | | | Substitution/Omission |
| 14. | could | could n't | | | * | | * | | | | | Substitution/Omission |
| 15. | did, it at last | did, at last | | | * | | * | | | | | Insertion |
| TOTAL | | | | 8 | 7 | 4 | 11 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| % OF TOTAL | | | | 53% | 77% | 27% | 73.3% | 0 | 0 | | | |

Table 5

Key: * represents a tally mark ^ Intonation
LR Language Retained LL Language Lost
MR Meaning Retained ML Meaning Lost
SC Successfully Corrected UC Unsuccessfully Corrected

Data Item 2b - SCHOOL UNIFORMS Miscues

| MISCUE (Uniforms) | READER (Lote) | TEXT | LR | LL | MR | ML | SC | UC | COMMENTS |
|-------------------|---------------|--------------|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| 1. | be / abolsed | be abolished | * | | * | | | | Hesitation before a new word |
| 2. | abolsed | abolished | | * | | * | | | Pronunciation(repeated later) |
| 3. | here today | here today! | * | | | * | | | Intonation. No exclamation |
| 4. | from | of | | * | | * | | | Substitution:Preposition |
| 5. | Imagine if | Imagine, if | * | | | * | | | Intonation. No pause to indicate emphasis(repeated later) |
| 6. | what/what | what | * | | * | | | | Repetition |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-----|--|
| 7. | a/an | an | * | * | * | * | * | * | | Substitution: article, corrected |
| 8. | compressing | comprising | * | * | * | * | * | * | | Substitution: new word? |
| 9. | student | students | * | * | * | * | * | * | | Substitution/Omission(plural) |
| 10. | scruff | scruffy | * | * | * | * | * | * | | Omission/Substitution |
| 11. | pupil | pupils | * | * | * | * | * | * | | Substitution(see 9) |
| 12. | 'no-school' person | 'no-school person | * | * | * | * | * | * | | Intonation after school |
| 13. | peson | person | * | * | * | * | * | * | | Pronunciation: 'r'(see Tai's) |
| 14. | to be iden/to be identified | to be identified | * | * | * | * | * | * | | Repetition: hesitation before 'identified' |
| 15. | uniform | uniforms | * | * | * | * | * | * | | Substitution/Omission(see 9,11,15) |
| 16. | snoubiry | snobbery | * | * | * | * | * | * | | Pronunciation |
| 17. | ashame | ashamed | * | * | * | * | * | * | | Substitution(as above) |
| 18. | style | styles | * | * | * | * | * | * | | " |
| 19. | whim | whims | * | * | * | * | * | * | | " |
| 20. | lef | left | * | * | * | * | * | * | | Pronunciation: omit 't' |
| 21. | not to be | not be | * | * | * | * | * | * | | Omission: infinitive |
| 22. | casually | casual | * | * | * | * | * | * | | Substitution |
| 23. | initial(pron. 't') | initial(pron. ' ') | * | * | * | * | * | * | | Pronunciation: 't'(see Sione's) |
| 24. | expenses | expense | * | * | * | * | * | * | | Substitution(see above: 9,11,15,17) |
| 25. | -/in | of | * | * | * | * | * | * | * | Missed first then substituted wrongly. |
| TOTAL | | | 8 | 18 | 7 | 18 | 28 | 72 | 1 | |
| % OF TOTAL | | | 32 % | 72 % | 28 % | 72 % | 28 % | 72 % | 4 % | |

Table 6

(ii) Interpretation of Lote as a Reader (from Data items 1, 2, 3, 4)

Clearly, Lote has not been engaged in many reading acts either at school or at home. His readings in English seem to be severely restricted to textbook exercises in the classroom and vernacular news and biblical texts. This limited reading background is reflected in his inability to identify what and for whom a 'recipe' is, and to know the range of purposes and functions of other texts. Significantly, his ignorance of 'recipe' foregrounds his unfamiliarity with the domestic realm, something that traces back to the fact that his home chores are male-categorised ones such as helping his father in their bush allotment.

The lack of reading materials both at home and at school, and the lack of model literacy behaviours in his surroundings have not helped him. It is probable that ranking the Bible, followed by stories as the easiest readings he has come across may also be based on text familiarity - the two being the most common texts he has been exposed to so far. His view that a good reader has a good repertoire of vocabulary and that improving his reading would make him a "*good English speaker*" (my emphasis) show that his view of reading is 'textual' and 'phonic' with vocabulary knowledge and correct pronunciation essential parts of the process. These reflect some of his teachers' views of reading.

His reliance on pictures as stimulants to his reading; his declared aversion for non-visual texts, his memorable recall of *Treasure Island* just because he had watched the film version (see p.184); and the fact that his favourite readings are legends, texts normally dubbed as first readings a typical English or emergent reader is exposed to, can be interpreted variously: he probably reads like an emergent reader; either texts he has read have been difficult or the texts

to him is a 'chore', more or less a school/church obligation. All these have led to limited reading experiences. Significantly, his clear recall of the first text he has read, *Samuel* which is about a boy's strong sense of obedience and duty to God, as well as the type of texts he has been exposed to (Bible stories/local news/textbooks) has potential explanatory power for his responses to the texts he will be reading.

In both recalls (and his retellings), lengthy rote memorisations dominate, probably due to the generous time spent on reading prior the writing. However, they suggest that meaning-making to Lote entails verbatim recall. His focus on rote memorisation means that meaning was sidelined and not attended to. There are signs of distortions but they are vague. His self-correction attempts are clear signs of his struggle to make meaning. These attempts however, are focused, as in his retellings, at word level - on spelling. His struggle may have been compounded by his weak command of the language (evidenced in his writing) as well as first language interference which shows through attempts at direct translation (see discussion of this in review, p.74). He also lacks contextual strategies to identify words he claims as new¹⁰.

Lote's miscues in both passages are of a textual nature - mostly graphophonic and syntactically-related rather than meaning-based. This may be due to the nature of the task which hinges on a text-oriented reading. Reader-based factors such as self-corrections, and being able to monitor his reading (see miscue categories in Table 5) were virtually absent. Clearly, his miscues show that reading is, to a great extent, a phonic rendition involving

¹⁰ After the recalls were written, readers were asked to identify words that were new and to guess their meanings. This was an impromptu afterthought and was not part of the original design.

decoding words. It is an approach involving syllabic pronunciation with focus on initial syllables, repetition, and hesitation at word level due to unfamiliar words. By focusing on these, Lote missed the flow of the sentences, as well as misused many punctuation/intonation signals particularly commas and pauses. This focus is also shown in the predominance of word repetitions. Meaning is therefore most unlikely to have been grasped and/or maintained. Some of his pronunciation problems to do with the letters 'r'[r] as in 'person' and 't'[t] as in 'initial' maybe due to Tongan language interference which has no such sounds. Most likely also, he is not used to reading aloud.

Lote grasped the basic storyline of *Disaster at Sea* (a boat sank, Susan looking for Rob) but misses specific details which inevitably resulted in distortions, elaborations and much inference. These suggest an attempt at rote memorisation which made him focus on words rather than on the global meaning of the text. Evidence of rote memorisation may be his verbatim recall of the greetings involved and the use of appropriate speech marks and proper names. It can be argued however, that this recall is not so much rote as a stored schematic 'grammar' based on his knowledge of language signs, or a case of Spiro's (1975) amalgamations and extensions of meanings (see p.124) but whose links are tenuous and fragmented. His attempts to make meaning are focused explicitly at word level. For instance, he uses a 'deletion' technique to correct his spelling of 'courageously', suggesting his earlier concern with graphophonic aspects of reading in his miscues. His distortions and elaborations are also confined to textual knowledge. Further signs of L1 interference is in many 'direct-translated' expressions: "*very nervously during her thinking*", and his weak command of English is reflected in inappropriate usage.

Lote attempts to paraphrase, translate, and utilise various textual aspects (structure, context, vocabulary) to retell *School Uniforms*, which significantly, unlike *Disaster at Sea* he had not seen prior to the reading. He also may have had recourse to his background knowledge of speech genre as shown in his verbatim recall of the greeting and ending. He self-corrected spellings and made 'insertions' but these do not contribute to the semantics of the text, again, reflecting his concern with the graphophonics aspects of reading. Signs of his struggles to make meaning are evident in his distortions, importations and self-corrections. Despite these signs, these attempts are vague and show no signs of other kinds of knowledge links.

Clearly, Lote's view of reading and his meaning-making are heavily biased towards the traditional views of reading (phonics) that constituted his literacy development and which typify many reading practices in Tonga. He has learned to value textual knowledge and skills, has participated in tasks that promote this textual focus, and has thus been positioned as well as positioned himself along this textual dimension. With his limited literacy background and limited material support both at home and at school, his textual stance (albeit limited) and self are continually reaffirmed.

Lote's miscues, recalls and retellings demonstrate that he is more concerned with graphophonic accuracy and rote memorisation than with meaning. Even his attempts at self-corrections and importations are predominantly graphophonic and syntactical in nature. These reflect the views of: the phonics programme that initiated him to reading at primary level; his past and current teachers and; his Sunday school literacy experience where rote memorisation and choral 'chanting' of Bible verses are reminiscent of the structural drills in his classroom. His

parents' limited educational and economic status may have also played a role in promoting this view given that they may not have both the money and the appreciation (of the importance of reading) to instil a habit of home reading through the purchase of books. This graphophonics, textual concern is reflected in his responses to the three texts before the scaffoldings.

4.1c Open-task/tests Responses BEFORE Scaffolding Sessions (Data items 7, 8)

In these responses, Lote's textual positionings dominate. He is passive in his alignment with the textual/authorial meanings¹¹, and vague in his connections. He focuses on literal summaries, and aligns himself in a vague way with what seems to be the authorial purpose. This focus is possibly a reflection of the extent and depth of responses required and practised in his classrooms¹². The lack of personal, socio-cultural linkages highlights his limited reading experiences. He tries to retell the texts in his own words and struggles to interpret from the writer's viewpoint but even that is fragmented and indecipherable. In *Eveline* for instance, he states that the "*writer presented the story in a clearly way..*" and that "*the writer described the character of the father..*" and nothing else. The only hint of a personal response is found in his vague approval of Eveline's choice to stay behind, but which he does not develop. On the two texts used as a pre-test, he displays the same vagueness and textual concerns. In *Electric City* for instance, he is unclear about what the story is about and again, the ideas are fragmented and incoherent. With the *BT* advertisement, he merely attempts a

¹¹ I will be using these two terms in combination since the authorial aims may be deflected by textual signs (linguistic and visual). Such signs may signal different links/meanings to readers. I will use 'authorial' only when it is explicitly stated as a term by readers.

¹² As reported in Inspectoral Reports (TMOE, 1989-1992), most literature studies do not go beyond plot summaries, character study and themes. Literary craftsmanship is rarely dealt with and if it is, is referred to simplistically as the use of 'simple words', 'real life characters' as is the case here.

summary¹³, again pointing to what might be a typical classroom reading response to literature even though this text is not 'classified' as literature.

Lote's responses to these three texts suggest that he is a 'textual' reader who sees literal recall and getting what he thinks is the author's meaning as the way to interpret texts. This echoes his rote memorisation in the recall/retelling tasks. Even though he does not elaborate or give examples, some of his statements suggest his concern to understand the writer's meanings: *"the writer clearly shows this"* and *"the writer show his idea by putting a clear example"*, and can be read as authorial deference. All the three texts can be read in various ways. However, Lote seems to have positioned himself in the texts in one way: alongside the dominant view of reading that has constituted his reading subjectivity, as reflected in his alignment with what he believes is the authorial view (shown in his approval of both Eveline's choice to stay and the utility of the *BT* text: *"My feelings for this I feel happy"*). Approving Eveline's decision may also hint both at his own gendered and socio-cultural identities where patriarchal affiliation and obedience are paramount. However, he does not develop this perhaps because he was unaware that he could use intertextual discoursal links to interpret, rather than consider only textual ones. This is likely given his own classroom preoccupation with textual summaries, single meanings, intratextual links and authored viewpoints.

Overall, his concerns with graphophonics, rote recall, plot summary and textual meanings are the tell-tale marks of the dominant discursive literacy practices he has been brought up in.

¹³ Mills (1995) makes an interesting point about how summary writing is an act of looking for a coherent meaning in the sense that various plots are pieced together to make a coherent whole.

In attempting to interpret the implications of all of Lote's responses to the process of his constitution and reconstitution as a reader, I will traverse the various data sources from Phases 1, 2 and 3 we have looked at so far and draw out the competing meanings that underlie the texts/practices he has been exposed to and those of the socio-cultural/historical discursive practices related to his literacy development. I will then gauge these against his responses in order to shed light on how he has been, and is being, positioned¹⁴.

4.1d Open-tasks/tests Response During/Post¹⁵ Scaffolding Sessions

(Lote was in a group of five students¹⁶ where he was the only male. They each generated their own questions about the text and then discussed these questions with the teacher. Responses follow discussion.

(i) Data items 9 & 10 (Post-task 1, Post-Tests 1) *Eveline, BT, Electric City*

Common in these responses were lengthier responses, shifting stances, and change in response depth (level). From being sketchy and incoherent in his pre-scaffolding response to *Eveline*, Lote, this time, produces a high degree of literal response with some connections. His textual focus also shifts to a personal stance, a stance which might be seen as contradictory since he is angry with the father's treatment of Eveline, and at the same time, approves Eveline's sense of obedience:

"I feel angry with Eveline's father..treat Eveline badly..it is not good because Eveline getting mature..I feel happy with Eveline..her father treat her badly but still love him very much because her mother was dead.."

The same stance is mirrored in his empathy with Frank: *"I also feel sorry with Frank of how*

¹⁴ The same procedure will be adopted for the analysis of the other five profiles.

¹⁵ The 'tasks' responses in this phase can either be referred to as 'During' or 'Post' as scaffolding was continuous. The 'tests' however are referred to as 'post-scaffolding' because no scaffolding nor group/teacher transactions was involved.

¹⁶ One girl dropped out after the first two sessions and one made infrequent attendance.

Eveline's father hate him..". Lote also tries to move beyond the textual using his world knowledge and experience to explain for instance, why Eveline's father may have threatened Eveline: *"..because he knew Eveline courtly"* (that is, she is courted by Frank) and why he may have hated Frank: *"maybe Frank was a poor person.."* His contradictory selves emerge in his attempts to justify the father's actions.

There is a further contradiction in this personal stance regarding his views on women's roles in terms of obedience and personal choice. On the one hand, he implies that it is women's role to stay at home with the parents until they have died. Only then they are free. On the other, he approves of allowing them to choose someone they love and who would also *"love his/her parent"* when they are old enough. However, he does not question the way gender or social roles are being presented in the text. He agrees with the presentation of Eveline's father and Eveline because according to him, *"father's role is to show his children what's the right thing to do...."* *"women role is to stay at home and serve the parents until they died."* This contradiction could have been provoked by his attempts to bring his socio-cultural and gendered identities to bear upon his interpretation. These are complementary identities given the strong patriarchal elements in the wider Tongan context. For instance, as earlier mentioned, despite his sympathy with the plight of Eveline and Frank, he approves of how they are presented. As explained in Chapter 1, kin solidarity has a pervasive influence in most social relations in Tonga and is often the driving rationale and directive for personal, educational, and economic decisions. Filial piety and duty as well as the concept of *'ofa'* (love) be it filial, neighbourly, compassionate or romantic are means of socio-political control and kin solidarity maintenance (Marcus, 1981, Thaman, 1990). Moreover, formal conformity

and concepts of rank and authority are entrenched 'warps and wefts' in the social fabric of Tongan society. These prescribe how Tongans should act and may explain cases of restrained, unquestioning deference to authoritative and senior, venerable figures such as parents, males, and teachers in Tonga. Such kinship/rank notions may explain Lote's contradictory positions and his subsequent approval of the contrasting depiction of Eveline and her father.

Lote's alignment with Eveline's father may also have been influenced by having been raised in a background of patriarchal dominance: a patriarchal society and a male dominated home of six brothers (no sister); memorable reading experiences about male heroes such as that of *Moses* and *Samuel* in the Bible (Moses and Samuel are renowned for their strong sense of duty and obedience to God's calling), the male-dominated characters in *Treasure Island*; and probably from having read gender-stereotyped basal readers in the phonics programme he was taught in, as well as in traditional legends he claims are his favourite readings.

The contradiction could also be due both to the effects of the scaffolding and an inadequate literary knowledge. Here again is evidence of the invisible workings of the dominant ideology - giving certain readers access through textual, literary knowledge and locking others out. For instance, Lote may not have textually understood the story in terms of certain vocabulary given his preoccupation with componential meanings. The contradiction could also have been prompted by tensions between his personal, emotional stance and that of his more dominant socio-cultural stance as they compete for a dominant place in his interpretation. Overall however, his socio-cultural stance presides, a stance that is deferential in its alignment with what seems to be a delineation of patriarchal ideology in *Eveline*.

In the *BT* advertisement, his response is longer, it has a summary, and it identifies a target audience, "*Business people*". He interprets the use of a male model as a gender conflict portrayal. The support he gives is sketchy and vague, but telling nevertheless in terms of his perception of female's roles: "*..it shows the male can do the female's opportunity for example they can live at home and do the female's task..*" Lote has a definite view of female and male roles and he uses this to transform what should have been a dominant commonsensical reading of the text (that is, as a suggestion of male reticence or the promotion of the BT service) into his personal:socio-cultural¹⁷ meanings, meanings which may be located in either/both his gendered and socio-cultural identities. For instance, he seems to be suggesting that the home is the female's domain (so is the task of answering phones). Other links relate to his concern that Tonga does not have such services and that people who don't have a telephone would be unable to use the 'Call Return' service. Such a concern suggests an implicit approval of the ad's purpose - to sell the service, though he does not read it as its 'target (male) reader'. A fused personal and socio-cultural stance seems to be in operation in his response here.

Lote is less analytical in *Electric City* than in his previous response. His textual response (a fuller summary than his pre-scaffolding one), personal, and socio-cultural meanings transact as he tries to make sense of events in the story using his 'general knowledge', like that of Harry's decision to quit school: "*maybe..he is too old for studying*", and socio-'cultural experience' when Ani tells Pania to clean the dishes before their mother came back: "*perhaps Pania was the youngest child thats why Ani treat him badly*". Here, he takes recourse to his

¹⁷ I will be referring to this fused stance quite frequently given the overlapping nature of the stances. The personal and socio-cultural mutually 'act' and are 'acted upon' each other since the 'personal' has been and is constituted in practices of the wider socio-cultural context. Such overlappings hint at the heterogeneity of response.

cultural meanings to account for Pania doing the dishes. In Tonga, the youngest child normally does all the menial/manual tasks. The eldest is normally given preferential treatment and has a directive role in allocating domestic chores. Lote also uses his personal and culturally-constituted meanings to empathise with the children because they *"try to work in order to help their parents in paying their school fees and keeping them..."* and he interprets the parents' absence as not doing *"their job of looking after the children"*. As discussed in Chapter 1, education has perceived social purposes in Tonga. It is the means to procure employment in order to fulfil social obligations to family, church, and such like, as well as a way to become upwardly mobile. More significantly perhaps, his parents' lack of paid employment as well as the social significance of education may help explain his empathy with the children's struggle to help their parents. His textual stance however surfaces in his concern to interpret the text from what he thinks is the writer's perspective, again, echoing his classroom concerns:

"the writer believes that older children will help them in working for gaining money like what Ani and Harry did...that older children do all the works at home like cleaning dishes like what Pania did.."

His phrasing *"the writer believes.."* is a kind of alignment with the writer, a tacit approval of Grace's presentation of filial roles, misguided though it may be from the her real intentions¹⁸. Overall, there are no real tensions as the dominant discourses of his background and that of the text are mutually affirming. However, there is a kind of indeterminacy in his meanings foregrounded in his frequent use of *"maybe"*, *"perhaps"*.

¹⁸ As in my reading of the text (see chap. 5), a reading brought about by my other readings of the social context Grace's writings and my own 'Marxist' understandings of working class struggles in the face of capitalism, the writer's real intention, given the way she structures the text linguistically, focuses on the struggle of this working class family to survive.

Due to ill-health, Lote was absent for Data item 11, the *Singapore* advertisement. The following then is an analysis of his response in Data item 12 after further scaffoldings.

(ii) **Data item 12 (Task 3): *Frim and Frat* Cartoon(See Appendix 3.5 for full text)**

There is more depth in Lote's response here compared to previous ones and there are real signs of tensions. There is more of the personal and socio-cultural with attempts at making critical links and extensions between the textual signs and his own personal and socio-cultural meanings. However, this critical level as shown in his understanding of various instances of discrimination (see below) is neither sustained nor developed. To him, the cartoon is about "*human races*" whose major problem is "*discriminating*":

"discrimination is the obvious problem that face with human races in different sexes, different races, different colours, between authority and less authority and between old and young generation".

This is the commonsense, obvious reading - presumably qualified as the dominant reading of the text due to the 'obviousness' of the subject matter. This discrimination issue seems to be dear to Lote's own personal ideas/experiences given his broad understanding of it as well as his agreement that it is a problem. Based on this, he infers about representations. He thinks for instance, that the big frog is the powerful one as he talks the most and the small one "*represents people who are poor and less authority*". The big frog may also represent men while the small one represents women, an inference probably based on his socio-cultural, and personal alignments to do with gender roles and social relations. "*This cartoon shows that men is the head of the family and women's role is to be submissive to the men and do the household working*". He goes on to interpret the small frog's 'green or brown?' question to mean that (my emphasis):

"men or women will rule the family.. the small frogs that represent women shows her face a respectful looking, helpless, small can't do anything...shows that the writer trying that women should stay at home and submissive to the head family is the men (father)."

Why has Lote read the 'small ones' as female and the 'big ones' as 'men'? What has made him read this portrayal in this way? Why does he read 'as a male' only and not merely as a concerned 'general reader'?

Despite the fact that the response can be read as an acquiescence with what he assumes is the authored meaning (see my emphasis above). His personal/socio-cultural stance dominates. He seems to be preoccupied with gender/social roles differentiation and has not pursued his earlier thoughts on other kinds of discrimination. This may be because he has had few experiences with racial/other types of discrimination seeing that Tonga is a homogeneous population, and that he has had few contacts with the outside world through travel, books/mass media. It may, again, point to how his socio-cultural and personal, gendered identities (e.g. his patriarchal meanings in earlier responses) shape his response here. They made him transform and equate the notion of 'smallness' into/with 'femaleness'.

There are, however, obvious contradictions. He feels *"sorry with the people who discriminated by the powerful, older, wiser .. exploited by the people who have authority..."* and yet does not question the fact that women are those who are also discriminated against. Somehow, his personal, sympathetic voice is overwhelmed by his more dominant personal, gendered and socio-cultural voices. Rather than going against the grain, the importance placed on kin solidarity and defined gender roles for the maintenance of social cohesion in Tonga seems to have influenced his alignment with this ideology and makes him read as a patriarchal male, thereby paradoxically, rendering pointless his initial advocacy for non-discrimination. Nevertheless, one significant aspect that is emerging from his responses is the multiple

interpretations he proffers (see also his response to *Electric City*). Clearly, he has shifted from the fixed, single-meaning paradigm to multiple ones, a shift denoting tensions as he grapples with meaning possibilities.

In the ensuing discussion, Lote again, as in his earlier response to the *BT* text, transforms what might be a dominant reading aimed at by advertisers into his own personal meanings.

(iii). Data item 13 (Post-Test 2): *Sports advertisement*

To Lote, this text is to show how people who want to become "*a rugby player gets the goal*" with target readers being "*people who want to be a football player*", specifically blacks because, as he reasons, the writer is trying to make them "*confident in football..*"¹⁹. He interprets the imperative 'develop' as it is used in the text as being "*fit, strong, obeying heart and always concentrate*" one's mind on football adding that "*if we stay in school we will not become a good football player because your mind won't concentrate in football only but..in study also.*" His focus on qualities like 'fit', 'strong', 'obeying', 'concentrate' hints at his conscientious attitude to work and his biddable temperament (see p.179).

In a move verging on being politically empowering both for blacks and whites, Lote indicates that the advertisement is not balanced because "*why can't a white person present its message or old person or women?*". He suggests that the writer is "*racist*" and "*biased*" for this non-

¹⁹ Note that he uses 'rugby' then shifts to 'football'. I believe it is not a linguistic lapse but the effect of socio-cultural meanings taking precedence. For example, in Tonga, the game 'football' is more generally known as 'soccer' while the term itself is thought of as 'rugby'.

representation. He maybe drawing on his personal understandings²⁰ to explain the text's use of a black young man: *"because they are not good playing rugby"* and because:

"black people are confident in sports like atheletic...basketball, etc...maybe the writer knows that football game is the game that black races didn't confident on.."

As a result, he thinks the text is biased because *"white people..the famous people in rugby"* are *"belittled"*. In this case, Lote has transformed a contradictory message and probably the dominant reading, particularly what may be an undermining of black youngsters as school dropouts, into a focal reading that eulogises their sporting feat and to an alternative reading shifting focus to white's rugby prowess. Several factors may explain these readings. Lote is probably ignorant of the issue of black dropouts given his lack of exposure to media and reading and so he draws on the next relevant set of meanings - that of his background knowledge of black sportsmanship (probably due to his personal interest in sports itself, see p.185). They may also be the effect of the scaffoldings where some guiding questions focused on whether the depiction of characters are balanced. Further effects of the scaffoldings can be inferred from his comment that something was missing in the sense that it did not use a *"hero in football"* to represent its idea . This again, may be evidence of his reliance on his background knowledge (that sports heroes are used in advertisements) to interpret.

As in previous responses, Lote makes personal links through a seeming empathy with people not represented, like the elderly and whites:

"I feel sorry for old people..but it is true football didn't need people who are old ..they are weak, unfit, helpless..I feel sorry for white races because the writer tying to belittle them.."

However, this empathy is superseded by his subsequent agreement with the writer, *"..this*

²⁰ In Tonga, the athletic, basketball and boxing prowess of blacks (but not in rugby) is generally well-known.

advertisement teach me a lesson ..if the body and the mind work together in learning to become a football player its will make us famous in rugby". Yet, he reads it alternatively as "...it also tells me studying is not the only way to have a good future.. also shows.. sports can give you good future too.. " This shift is problematic. First, he suggests that one should only concentrate on sports to become famous. Then he shifts to say that development of both mind and body makes one famous in rugby. He then interpolates from this to suggest that sports and studying respectively can offer a good future. In doing so, he shifts back to affirm his previous interpretation that *"..if you stay in school your mind don't concentrate on sports only...also on study"*. These shifts are probably the result of the way he reads - componentially, line by line (again echoing his earlier focus on syntactical decoding) interpreting as he proceeds rather than responding globally. They may also be due to an overreliance on his personal meanings rather than rely on those signalled by textual signs because it is plausible that he may have missed (and/or read lastly) the bottom key phrases which are in smaller typeface: 'Stay in school and there's no telling what you might shape up to be'. It may also be due to the contradictory signals sent by the text. The phrase 'there's no telling what you might shape up to' is also idiomatic²¹ and Lote's textual exclusion could have led to his alternative reading. If this be the case, he could have taken recourse to his much stronger personal:socio-cultural meanings as the location for his alternative construction of the text (as opposed to the dominant one). There is hint of a political advocacy but somehow, as in all his previous responses, his preoccupation with personal:socio-cultural links, fragmented as they are, disallows him from moving to a more political stance. It forces him to rely heavily on his personal:socio-cultural knowledge to interpret. This again shows how

²¹ Carrell (1988) found that idiomatic expressions are problematic for L2 readers.

his reading experiences deny him textual/knowledge access, given the clash of his interpretation and that aimed at by the text. This is the lengthiest of all Lote's responses. As discussed, this may be because he likes sports and has background knowledge to utilise.

In the following delayed tests, Lote's personal:socio-cultural positionings impinge on his interpretation to the exclusion of other readings.

(iv). Data item 14 (Delayed Post Test): Poem and Short story
(Task carried out exactly a week after the Sports text. See Appendix 6.2 for full versions)

In his reading of *You the Choice*, Lote's stance is a fusion of the personal and socio-cultural though his links are limited. He reads against the grain, as a patriarchal male, resisting the plea of the bride and the depiction of parental dominance. His personal and cultural meanings bear upon his interpretation to the extent that alternative readings of the bride persona's voice are ignored. He interprets the poem in terms of his own understanding of filial roles. He sees that of parents as: *"parents really love their children"*. Their love, symbolised by cultural valuables such as 'tapa cloth' and 'fresh perfumed oil'. The role of children is to *"keep the geneology ..and who the parents proud with."* Clearly, Lote sanctions how parental roles are presented because they coincide with his personal and socio-cultural values. As discussed in Chapter 1, Tongan children are expected to perform socio-economic roles. His understanding and endorsement of filial roles may explain why he is reported and observed as a conscientious student given his socio-economic background. This is most apparent in his (my emphasis):

"the important of children in the family..can uplift a family from poorly living to a good standard of living...children the future of the country because children can keep the traditional culture.."

Lote also makes further extensions, spurred on by a religious-cultural stance²²: "*..children very important in the church because they are the future of the church*", and his own personal and socio-cultural positioning: "*I feel proud with the parents...they show their loving way keeping us from the date of my birth until we are mature enough...*" His stance is influenced by a strong family commitment and religious background, and paralleled by an equally stalwart religious commitment on his school's part. He is an empowering reader for patriarchal/ socio-cultural causes, resisting a feminist reading by transforming what may be a repression of female choice into an empowering acclaim of parental virtues.

In this poem, we see again the workings of the prevailing socio-cultural ideologies of family solidarity and christianity in shaping Lote's responses. Their dominance exclude even the pleading voice of the bride persona, a plea which is further masked by the male gendered-identity that he brings into his reading. He seems oblivious to the textual signs directing readers to a sympathetic feminist reading, and focuses only on personal:socio-cultural links, those agreeable to his own interests.

Lote's response is shorter than his previous ones in *I Lived Here*. He uses his personal knowledge to fill gaps in the story, as shown in his summary. In this summary, he suggests two types of conflict based on the events of the story: between races (European and blacks) and between old and young generations. However, he ignores the 'racial' aspect and focuses only on a generational clash. He thinks that this clash is due to "*the older generation treat*

²² As I have mentioned in chap. 1, the cultural and religious facets of life in Tonga are observed as inseparable.

them badly or they dislike the attitude of the old generation". His dominant personal and socio-cultural stances come through clearly in his anger at the children because of their attitude to the woman. It might be suggested from this anger, that Lote responds 'like a woman', as the target sympathetic reader (as opposed to 'as a woman' or 'like a man')²³ but this probably stems from his social-cultural positioning in matters to do with reverence to one's elders, than from a feminist empathy. Overall, he makes limited personal/socio-cultural connections which are not developed. His attempts to fill in gaps are fragmented and his comment on the generation clash is not developed, probably because he does not have any socio-cultural experiences to link it to.

²³ Mills (1994, 1995) makes a distinction - to read as a woman/man is to take up a feminist/male position because of one's femaleness/maleness. To read 'like a female' is to take up a feminist position even though one's sex is not female.

Reader 2: MELI

4.2a Historical Data/Discursive Habitats

(i) Personal/Literacy Background

Fourteen year-old Meli is the eldest in a family of three girls. Her parents are both graduates and involved in the teaching profession. Her father was a Science/Maths secondary school teacher but is now a Methodist pastor. Her mother has been a secondary school teacher of English for more than 15 years.

Meli's favourite subject is History. She finds it fascinating to read about people and events that have happened in the past. English is her second favourite subject because she thinks it is 'easy'. Her least favourite is Tongan Studies, though she does not give any reason for this. Normally, she does her homework on her own but sometimes seeks the help of her parents if she finds something difficult. She enjoys group work and usually leads group discussion. Probably her fluency and a competitive, assertive streak allow her the dominant voice in group work. For instance, she was the only one among my co-readers who insisted on knowing how she fared and who had the highest marks, compared to those in other schools in the selection test that they sat. In fact she displayed a competitive streak even in the way she approached a task, hiding from her fellow students what she was writing as if it was a test. Her school reports describe her as an able, independent and conscientious worker who displays a positive, assertive attitude to all her school tasks.

At home, she is quite independent. She shares general household chores with her younger

sisters as her mother has a busy business schedule apart from her teaching commitments. In discussing the discursive practices related to the constitution of her reading selves, I will focus, as in Lote's case, on her literacy experience at school.

Meli attended an English speaking pre-school in Fiji where her parents were studying at the time. Her first half years at primary were spent back in Tonga in a local primary school, the second half in an Australian primary to where her parents had moved temporarily in order to undertake further studies. Her first year at Junior secondary was back in Tonga at a Methodist 'all-girls' school. Then at Form 2, she got transferred to her present school, Tonga High School. As is the case for all of my readers, my data on her early literacy development is limited, so the focus is on her experiences at secondary level.

Of the two state-run full secondaries in Tongatapu (main island), Tonga High School is the only co-ed institution. Unlike other private schools, it takes in an annual crop of the top 5 percent of the student population in the national Secondary Entrance Examination and usually garners the best results in national and regional external examinations. Most staff members are qualified graduates. A long-standing tradition of the school is its recruitment of expatriate teachers to the posts of HODs for core subject areas of which English is one. The school has an adequately-resourced library compared to other schools. English is the medium of communication as well as instruction. It is actively promoted not only in the enforcement of its use²⁴ but also in the various 'English' promotion weeks run throughout the year. Classes are streamed according to their English ability. Unlike most schools which use the CDU's

²⁴ Speaking in Tongan within the school grounds is prohibited and punishable by after school 'labour'.

draft syllabus, Tonga High has its own integrated language-literature skill-based programme implemented at all levels.

All three female graduate teachers who had taught Meli at Tonga High School were able to fill in the questionnaire including the expatriate Head of English who had been in the post since 1992. One holds a diploma in TESOL and 15 years of teaching English at F1-4 behind her (teacher D). Of the remaining three, two (teacher E) & (teacher F) have formal teaching certificates in addition to their basic English degree, and all are teaching English at F1-7 levels. One, Meli's F4 teacher (G) is new to teaching and has a degree in English but no formal teaching certificate. With the exception of D (TESOL teacher), the three have been closely involved in reading workshops that I coordinated (see footnote 4, p.3)

These are their views:

Teacher D taught Meli at F2. She believes that students adjust their reading styles to *"suit different materials and have different purposes"*. She distinguishes different reading styles to suit different readers. For instance, comprehension is attained through *"selective reading for specific information like skimming and scanning for good readers only"*; focusing on *"meaning rather than word recognition"* as fluent/good readers read. She also identifies reading purposes with some reading to *"enjoy and to learn"*; while some to *"identify inferences and implications"*. Teacher E taught Meli at F3. To her, the reading process is *"complex"* because many processes occur simultaneously and the reader *"incorporates syntactic, graphophonic and semantic cues to aid reading and comprehension"*²⁵. Comprehension is thus

²⁵ This is the exact definition provided in one of the reading workshops earlier mentioned.

attained by the *"effective integration"* of all these cues. She believes that the isolated use of any of these cues *"may or may not aid comprehension"* and *"depends on how good a reader they are"*. Teacher G (Meli's Form 4 teacher) sees the process as *"concentration and focus on what one reads; understanding the main concept and hidden meanings and understanding more of what is being read when criticising the context"*. Comprehension is attained when *"a reader can predict the ending of the story, can draw a vivid picture of the events or the atmosphere of the story in his/her mind, and can also analyse the significance of each chapter when finished reading"*. Teacher F, a native English speaker and HOD since Meli started at THS, sees the process as occurring in stages. Children read *"word by word"* followed by *"sense units ("lines, groups of lines")... Reading aloud, mouthing words in first stages"* also occur in the first stages. They then skim read for meaning and work out new words from context. Comprehension to her is achieved through previous experience, exposure to pictures (for beginning readers), and contextualisation of unfamiliar words.

Teacher D identifies a variety of causes for reading problems: inability to *"concentrate and adjust; stressful/threatening approaches"* such as requiring students to *"read aloud"*; using *"lengthy, difficult or inappropriate materials for their levels"*, *negative feedback* and *"skills deficits"*, *"emotional maladjustment at school or from home; students' negative attitudes to reading; disruptive relationships between readers and parents/adults."* They could lead to *"hostility and loss of love for reading"*. Teacher E sees the inability to utilise knowledge (*"innate and other"*), focusing on isolated words rather than meaning and *"fear, shame, embarrassment and laziness in reading at 2nd/3rd language or unfamiliar materials"* as sources of reading difficulties. Teacher G thinks that her students' difficulties stem from

reading aloud, their lack of interest in what they read, and not focusing on the *"significance"* of what they read. These may be caused by difficult vocabulary; unfamiliarity in using a dictionary and reading on their own, and due to a habitual overreliance on teachers. Head Teacher F sees difficult texts, lack of encouragement and positive role models (like teachers not summarising textbooks into simpler language), limited culturally familiar materials and poor vocabulary due to insufficient experience and exposure to *"English words"* as major causes of reading difficulty. She also suggests that limited funds, resources, incentives for local writers, and Tonga's oral tradition are other likely causes.

Teacher D suggests specific worthwhile reading strategies for different activities: Pre-reading ones using *"students' experiences, providing new information"*; during-reading strategies like *"predicting, sequencing, comparison, cloze, translation"*; and post-reading ones such as *"evaluation acts involving dramatisation/role play"*. Teacher E suggests that *"familiarity with language and content"* would *"enhance reading"* and that the three cues she names should be used appropriately as they are mutually complementary. Strategies that are worth learning are scanning when *"looking for general gist (bare facts) of story such as newspaper articles"*, skimming when seeking more information from longer texts like novels, rereading (close reading) for *"specific information such as looking in textbooks for facts etc."*, and effective use of any cue either in isolation or simultaneously. Teacher G suggests *"students reading aloud"*, teacher-direction for junior levels and students' self-made *"summaries at senior levels for novels and for short stories"*. Moreover, *"students should read by themselves and ask questions when they don't understand"* and should *"focus and read between the lines"* and *"work out if any word/phrases are symbolic"*.

In relation to student/teacher actions, teacher D focuses on teachers *"developing positive attitudes (motivational strategies)"* so that reading is viewed as a source of information and pleasure. Teachers should use non-print initially, provide *"imaginative and interesting reading experiences which foster a love and appreciation of literature"*, ensure the *"application of communication skills"*, select and ensure the *"availability of materials based on interest and ability"*; do *"comprehension follow up activities, asking provocative questions, and reading interesting portions"*. Moreover, the first 5-8 minutes of the English period should be a personal reading time used by the teacher as a means of gauging attitudes to reading, and an integrated programme and a range of tasks and texts should be explored. Teacher E suggests prior *"preparation of reader for the texts through book orientation and appropriate book selection"* related to *"age, language, content, etc."* and *"reading texts on familiar topics" using students' "personal experiences"*. Teacher G suggests encouragement of students to *"read books on their level"* and to *"read for meaning"* and that teachers provide vocabulary exercises twice a week; teach students how to use a dictionary and get them involved in reading acts.

(ii) Interpretation of the Personal/Literacy Data

The preceding data is insightful about the kinds of reading pedagogy and literacy experiences that Meli would have received in her classrooms. Her English speaking background both at home and at pre-school would have created tensions for her when she went to the Tongan speaking primary school. Her move to Australia in her later primary years must have created further tensions in her perceptions of reading and in her reading experiences given the different physical, cultural and material settings of her Tongan and Australian classrooms. In Tonga for instance, as in Lote's case, Meli's beginning reading experience would have been the

audiolingual, structural, linguistic approach that the primary school she attended was using at the time. Her Australian classroom however, as she says in her questionnaire, used a Whole Language programme which focuses on meaning through shared, collaborative reading. Her three years in these Australian classrooms, possibly her young age and the emergent stage of her reading, gave her Whole Language experience the chance to transform any previous held 'phonic' notions to one that focuses on meaning.

When Meli entered Tonga High School, her Australian literacy experiences would have given her easy access to the dominant view of literacy that underlies much of this school's pedagogy. Her teachers' views are overwhelmingly a view of reading as the acquisition of meaning. The view resembles interactive, cognitive support for the reign of textual meaning and acknowledges the importance of reading. It is premised on the acquisition of textual/reader strategies (skimming, scanning, vocabulary knowledge, contextualisation, prediction, imaging).

The importance of reading as a pleasure source in the school is seen in the way it is stressed in the many English promotional weeks that the school runs. The school also acknowledges the importance of affective, material and socio-cultural factors in meaning-making suggested by her teachers' views. However, its pedagogical observance of this aspect is more in its neglect than its implementation. From my own insider experience²⁶, this neglect is mirrored in their classroom reading tasks. As in Lote's classrooms, these are predominantly MC/short answers exercises which focus on single meanings. Literary studies focus on intratextual links

²⁶ Being an ex-student, having taught there for 3 years and as Acting Deputy Principal as well as teaching F3 & F6 English respectively at the same time in 1991.

based on literary and linguistic knowledge to locate, fill gaps and give support to a unified meaning, normally the authorial/textual one. The powerful effect of the examination prescription in limiting task focus to these types of activities work to promote the prevailing notion of reading as utilising reader/text knowledge, and of texts as having a single unifying meaning. This dominant notion in turn masks both for teachers and readers like Meli the tensions as well as the prescriptive effects of the dominant ideology. Also, despite the teachers' consensual view of reading as a 'meaning-focused' act, none of their remedial suggestions is tied to the kind of reading that can allow for multiple readings and for an interruption of habitual normative readings. The potential of linking socio-cultural/personal knowledges to generate alternative meanings is hinted at in their views but is not addressed.

The integrated language programme the school adopts suggests some kinds of 'intertextual' connection. In practice however, it is an integration of language skills/processes (listening, speaking, reading, writing) based on linking intratextual signs and stimuli. In such a practice, meaning as perceived, is confined to what is prescribed by the text.

4.2b Other Reader-based Data

Meli thinks that she reads fairly well: "*do okay*" because she reads a lot, claiming to read more than five books a week and just for the pleasure books give her. She reads frequently, every night in bed; during lunchtime and in her free time in class. She thinks her Form 3 teacher (teacher E) is a good reader because she reads fluently, emphasises punctuation marks and realistically imitates the voice speaking in a passage. To Meli, good readers would not necessarily know all that they read and they would need recourse to a dictionary to look up

word meanings. She herself would normally keep on reading if she encounters difficulty and would only use the dictionary occasionally. A personal experience in Australia where she experienced reading difficulties leads her to suggest that she would encourage a person with reading difficulties to read a lot of books and to use the dictionary. She further suggests that a teacher would ask people with reading difficulties to read aloud in class or at home and would help correct mistakes made.

Meli's favourite books are romances followed by mystery stories. She hates to read books about animals and to read about topics related to the *"earth being polluted and destroyed"*. Her easiest readings in the seven text items given are instructions, followed by plays, the Bible and then poems. History texts²⁷ and editorials are ranked the most difficult with encyclopedias proving to be her most difficult reading so far.

Her earliest memories of reading trace to Australia where in class three, she read an easy book (she can't recall its title) with the help of her teacher. She also recollects reading *Winnie the Pooh* series. The most important books she has read to date include 'Nancy Drews' and 'Hardy Boys' mysteries, *The Prince and the Pauper* (Mark Twain), *I love you Stupid*, and *The Prodigal Daughter* whose authors she cannot recall. *The Prodigal's Daughter* is her most memorable book because to her, it is a *"combination of sadness, love, adventures and ambitions"*. She also reads the Tongan Bible for her Sunday school course where she is required to memorise particular verses in the same way that Lote does.

²⁷ This seems quite contradictory to her earlier claim of loving to read 'things about the past' (see p. 210). Could this be due to the different contexts in which she encounters historical texts as opposed to historical novels (e.g. historical novels for pleasure as opposed to historical documents for study)?

Meli has a good understanding of the range and specificity of purposes and audience in the 12 texts given. She sees the aesthetic importance of reading: *"I read only for pleasure"* and thinks that if her reading is improved, it would help her to understand and read faster.

There is a wide range of reading materials at her home. There are reference books (encyclopedia, junior classics, and science library sets; dictionary, thesaurus), the Bible, textbooks, novels, christian books, and other books on a range of topics; magazines, local and church papers. Her parents read widely. Her mother, her closest friends, like herself, particularly like romances. Her younger sisters prefer adventures and textbooks. Meli does not read everything in the local paper and would normally look at the pictures first (particularly those of people) and their captions. These are followed by cartoons because she thinks they are funny, then local and sports news. Sometimes she reads the weather report, notices, and advertisements. She never reads editorial and Letters to the editors because she claims to have no interest in what they say.

In her recalls, Meli recalled 215 propositions (70.3%) in *Whaling in Alaska* and 192 propositions (85%) in *Science Students Studies Suva Reef*. Table 7 is a breakdown of her recalls. In *Disaster At Sea*, 38% of her 8 miscues retained meaning before self-correction and 63% retained their meaning after self-correction. Without taking self-correction into account, 67% of her three miscues retain the syntax of the *School Uniforms* and all of them retained their meaning and all successfully corrected. Meli retold 20 (8%) propositions in *Disaster at Sea*. However, she missed retelling *School Uniforms* because a sudden personal matter made her leave immediately after the oral reading. See Table 9 for a breakdown of her retelling.

(i). Categorisation of Response Per Passage/Task

Data Item 1 - Whaling in Alaska Recall

| WORD RECOGNITION/ VOCABULARY KNOWLEDGE | PHONEMIC/ GRAPHEMIC DECODING | INTRATEXTUAL PERCEPTION(STRUCTURE) | SYNTACTIC FEATURE RECOGNITION/ CONVENTIONS | MEANING - | METACOGNITION | PRIOR KNOWLEDGE |
|---|---|--|--|--|--|-----------------|
| RECALL 1: Contextualises <u>new words</u> : 'slaughter', 'excessive', 'relented'; 'quota', 'blubber'; 'bestowed'. <u>Uses own words at word, phrase and sentence level</u> : 'very angry' (angered); 'the Eskimos were very angry when the IWC decided to stop whaling in Alaska'. | Slight problem with spelling: 'recieve' (receive) | Starts with <u>main idea</u> but <u>does not follow original structure of paragraphs</u> . <u>Ideas in list form and paraphrased</u> . <u>Unity and development of ideas</u> . <u>Missed minor details</u> mostly <u>qualifiers</u> : 'whalers' (Eskimo whalers); 'early' (early white settlers); 'bowhead' (bowhead whales); 'every' (every part of it). <u>Elaborations</u> : 'people of the community' (the community) 'very angry' (angry). <u>Global summary skills</u> : 'share of the whale' (share of skin and blubber). | Appropriate vocab: 'made the Eskimos very angry' (enraged the Eskimos); 'very important' (vital); 'fixed amount' (quota); 'stop' (ban); 'killed' (slaughter). <u>Use reported speech</u> (Indirect reporting). <u>Good use of reference</u> (cohesive markers- pronouns: 'he'; 'this'; 'this process'. <u>Incorrect usage</u> : 'much whales'; Possession: 'whalers time'; 'whales spirit'; 'whales body'. | <u>Clear development of ideas</u> . <u>Inappropriate form(list)</u> - <u>no use of direct quotation</u> marks as essential for news writing. | <u>Deletions and corrections</u> using white liquid fluid: cent (spelling for 'centuries'. | Not evident. |

| | | | | | | |
|--|---|--|--|---|---|---|
| <p>RECALL 2 <u>Uses own words:</u> 'experiences' (facing the fury.); 'hot sunny weather' (fiery sun); 'experiment' (implied in 'research'). <u>Uses words in text:</u> 'sand-dredged', 'photographed', 'preserved', 'different', 'dredging', other common/proper nouns.</p> | <p><u>Problems with spelling:</u> 'quiet' (quiet) 'sentiments' (sediments) but used in right context.</p> | <p><u>Starts with main ideas but does not strictly follow original structure and sequence.</u> <u>List form.</u> <u>Logical sequence and unity of ideas between lists except for two ideas in the start of original text which appear in the latter part of her list.</u></p> | <p><u>Appropriate usage.</u> <u>Uses own words:</u> 'quiet and lonely' (undisturbed).</p> | <p><u>Paraphrases main ideas.</u> <u>Missed some details:</u> 'experience' (facing the fury); 'sea' (reef). <u>Combines several ideas into one paragraph:</u> <u>Uses own words.</u> <u>Slight distortions and vagueness:</u> 'these things (fish); 'a little hut' (one room hut).</p> | <p><u>Self-corrections -</u> <u>Deletions:</u> '...happen in out...'; 'how it long it will...'; 'he dived dives...'; '...effects of dred dreg dredging on these the...' <u>Insertion:</u> 'places ^on the reefs to be...'; '...spend two ^years of his...'</p> | <p><u>Use of 'experiment' to refer to research due to the technique used (burying bottle..)</u></p> |
| <p>RETELLING 1 <u>Used words in text:</u> all proper names, 'military investigator', 'bodies', 'restaurant', 'baby', 'news'.</p> | <p>Not evident.</p> | <p><u>Some ideas grasped-elaborations & inferences:</u> 'Rob was her husband' (possible but not stated); 'there was bodies of dead people' (some 50 bodies); 'Rob was stuck and couldn't be rescued' (the diver's couldn't get to it).</p> | <p><u>Generally appropriate usage - tense, grammar and vocabulary.</u></p> | <p><u>Missed details.</u> <u>Distortions:</u> 'her mother is Claire' (not true/not in text); 'Claire was carrying baby Christopher' (Claire's mother was carrying baby Christopher)</p> | <p><u>Use of asterix to highlight:</u> * Her - Susan (refer to 'Rob was her husband'. <u>Deletions:</u> 'Her ,mother is Che Claire.'; Rob was...rescued. He was Someone..'</p> | <p>Not evident but probably referring to Rob as the husband (due to Susan's concern?)</p> |

Tables 8 and 9

Data Item 2: *DISASTER AT SEA* Miscues

| MISCUE (Disaster...) | READER (Meli) | TEXT | LR | LL | MR | ML | SC | UC | COMMENTS |
|-------------------------|---|-----------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|---|
| 1. | became | become | | * | * | | | | Substitution(In fact this is the correct version) |
| 2. | news/without news | without news | | * | | * | * | | Omission, corrected. |
| 3. | the child replied/the child replied | the child replied | * | | * | | * | | Repetition, clause. |
| 4. | where some 50 bodies/where some 50 bodies | where some 50 bodies | * | | * | | * | | Repetition, phrase. |
| 5. | that Bob/that Rob | that Rob | | * | | * | * | | Substitution, Name. Variation of same name? |
| 6. | thirst | thrust | | * | | * | | | Substitution, structurally meaningful. |
| 7. | he is just hurt/Maybe he is just hurt | Maybe he is just hurt | | * | | * | * | | Omission. |
| 8. | But he is just hurt/Maybe he is just hurt | he is just hurt | | * | | * | | | Insertion, corrected. |
| TOTAL | | | 2 | 6 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 0 | |
| % OF TOTAL | | | 25% | 75% | 38% | 63% | 63% | 0% | |

Table 10

Data Item 2b - School Uniforms Miscues

| MISCUE (Uniforms) | READER (Meli) | TEXT | LR | LL | MR | ML | SC | UC | COMMENTS |
|----------------------|----------------------|-----------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|---------------------------------|
| 1. | and would | and would | * | | * | | | | Repetition |
| 2. | non-school/no-school | no-school | * | | * | | * | | Substitution:synonym,corrected. |
| 3. | this/the | the | | * | | * | * | | Substitution, corrected. |
| TOTAL | | | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 0 | |
| % OF TOTAL | | | 67% | 33% | 67% | 33% | 67% | 0 | |

Table 11

(ii) Interpretation of Reader-based Data (Data items 1, 2, 3, 4)

Meli's view of reading should have been (partly) constructed by the reading-related discursive practices of her classrooms. The contradiction/tension created in the 'work' and 'pleasure' messages about reading that her present school sends out is not clearly reflected in how she views reading. She seems to deal with any tensions by transforming these work and pleasure notions into mutually complementary acts as in her private enjoyment of the reading act both at home and at school after completing her school 'works'.

Meli shows global summary skills in the way she uses her own words to recall in list form, *Whaling in Alaska*. The ample time given to my co-readers to read this passage could have been an invitation for her to rote memorise the passage. However, there is no evidence of this and she does not follow the original structure and sequence but uses her own. She starts with the main idea (the ban) and then develops the rest in a unitary and clear manner. She contextualises new words and there is no evidence of any graphophonics difficulty. She shows a good grasp of grammar, vocabulary and structure even though she has problems with spelling words with double vowels (like 'ie') combination as in her "*recieve*" and the use of the possessive marker as in her "*whales spirit*", "*whalers time*". This grammatical deficiency is noticeable in her written responses in the Phase 3 tasks, probably because the meaning-focused interactive view of reading she has been brought up in places less emphasis on grammatical accuracy.

Meli does not follow the original structure and sequence of *Science Scholar*. As in her previous recall, she starts with the main idea and develops the rest logically in list form. Her global synthesis skills are evident in her synthesis of several ideas into one paragraph using

her own words. Again, she shows a good command of grammar and structure though spelling problems with double vowels crop up again in her "queit" for 'quiet'. Her self-corrections are spelling and meaning-based ones. It is possible that her world knowledge influences her use of the word "experiment" to refer to Mr Penn's research probably due to the technique described in the article (burying/measuring a bottle in the reef).

She is the only person in the group who is able to correct the 'typing error' in *Disaster at Sea* changing what should have been 'became' to "become". Most of her miscues are 'repetitions', and are successfully corrected. One case each of 'substitution' and 'insertion' remain structurally meaningful though the original meanings are changed. In her retelling of *Disaster At Sea*, she starts off with the main idea (some ship had sunk) but unlike her previous recalls, does not develop this. Despite her having seen the article first (one reading only), she misses key facts in the story and generates many inferences and distortions in her attempt to recall what she has read. These distortions remain text-bound. Overall, Meli shows a good grasp of textual knowledge and does not rely on rote recall to make meaning. Her textual access seems to have allowed her to reconstruct her own version of what she has read, versions that are still confined to intratextual meanings.

What counts as reading for Meli? How has she been constituted by the discursive practices she has participated in and in the tasks she has been engaged in so far? We have seen how her literacy development at home and at school has accessed her to what counts as reading in the academic milieu of her school. What counts is the primacy of meaning, a textual, unitary meaning. This is suggested by her ideas about using the dictionary to help a person with

reading difficulties know word meanings, and for a teacher to "*correct mistakes*" (teacher's meaning), and in her view that one of her teachers epitomises a good reader in her fluent and realistic oral rendition of a passage. That is, rendering a passage meaningful through accurate and realistic gestures/pronunciation. Meli's textual stance is also reflected in her belief that reading difficulties stem from limited vocabulary knowledge due to limited reading experiences.

Meli's literacy experiences have furnished her with textual knowledge reflected in her ability to self-correct her mistakes as shown in her ability to correct the 'typographical error' (see p...); in her literal understanding of the main ideas; and in her oral proficiency depicted in the almost flawless way she read the passages. As shown in Tables 7-11, her textual knowledge enables her to capture main ideas in grammatically and syntactically appropriate paraphrases, and her vocabulary knowledge enables her to use her own words and make inferences (of elaborations and distortions) which reflect her wide exposure to the printed word and to other kinds of knowledge.

Meli's positionings have relayed to her that reading is an asset. Being engaged in reading acts from an early age given the supportive home environment she grew up in, as well as the importance given to English in her school environment enable her to experience the pleasure of reading. Her Australian experience with its meaning-focused, Whole Language programme; the educational and possibly socio-economic level of her parents who act both as resources (in purchasing power of books and by being teachers themselves) and role models in terms of demonstrating literate behaviours through reading themselves; her school's interactive views

on reading; and her teachers' meaning-focused views, all play a part in constituting Meli's views and reading selves.

Her experiences and responses to the oral reading and recall/retelling tasks highlight her school's dominant view on reading as 'meaning-focused', but a meaning buried intratextually. Her ability to paraphrase the main ideas in textually appropriate ways, her apparent global approach to gaining meaning, her good grasp of grammar, vocabulary and syntax, her successful self-corrections in the recall/retelling/oral reading tasks, and her fluent, almost miscueless readings (see Tables 10-11), point to a good grasp of textual knowledge, a reflection of her textual access. Such abilities are constitutive of her Australian literacy experience, her own personal reading acts, and being schooled in an English-speaking school which prioritises reading and provides structural/resourcing support. However, it is clear from her recall/retellings that she confines her interpretation to textual meanings, as there is little trace of her general or socio-cultural knowledges in force.

Her pre-scaffolding responses will tell us more about her positionings as a reader.

4.2c Task/Tests Responses BEFORE Scaffolding Sessions (Data items 7 & 8)

Meli's responses to these three texts encapsulate not only her textual stance but also confirm the dominant view she brings to her reading, that of a singular, unitary reading buried in texts. In fact, she reads and interprets the text like Hartman's (1995) "*logocentric reader*" (p.548, see p.56). Borrowed from Derrida's (1976) notion of 'logocentric discourse' (see review), this notion is about using logical/rationalist arguments built around the author's textual

construction, and suggests an attempt to align with, and defer to, the authorial/textual meaning. Read in another way, it is a way of looking for the 'obvious' coherent, dominant meaning.

Meli adopts a textual stance to *Eveline*, critical in dimension despite its brevity as shown in her use of questions to understand events in the story: "*Why didn't Eveline go with Frank? Was it because she was afraid of her father?*" Her brief summary further shows this critical level in her assessment of what she takes as the story's main idea:

"This story shows how submissive women were in their society, shows that women had to stay home and not to be breadwinners.. This story talks about women in particular, that their only role is to stay home and do household chores."

Meli's observation of women's submissiveness and domestic role suggests that she is aware of the fate/circumstances many women face though there is no definitive alignment. Her questions are potential markers for a political stance but they are never pursued. The criticality of her response shows no real signs of alignment, transformation or resistance to this depiction of Eveline as she seems to refer to these 'women' as if they are a distant, third party. Her textual stance forces her to focus only on what she's been led to believe: to look for the main authorial/textual idea as suggested by her summary.

In the *BT* advertisement, Meli's response is longer. She summarises the text and shows signs of both textual and personal stances even though they are clearly situated logocentrically. For instance, she locates her response both in textual and personal perspectives. Both of these however, despite their critical levels, assume a passivity in their conformity to the text's main purpose. For instance, she probably draws intertextually from some general knowledge of

how advertisements work, to rationalise about the advertisement's purpose: *"...inorder for them to get more customers...they must therefore put you in a situation, whereby it makes you realise that you certainly do need their service.."* However, this logical criticality is neutral, and not a form of resistance to the authored idea of selling such a service despite her critical awareness of the construction of advertisements. This criticality becomes textually deferential to the text's primary message, a deference probably persuaded by a process of textual hailing. This is highlighted in her self-placement as a target reader:

"The ideas of this advertisement makes me feel that I need their service; and so therefore, I think the ideas of this advertisement is laid out pretty well and is well-structured. I like the way the writer has presented the idea of this advertisement and the reason for this is because the writer gives you a clear picture of how you desperately need "BT's Call Return Service."

This personal link establishes Meli's deference to what she believes is the advertiser's purpose for using the advertisement. It endorses her approval of a commonsensical/dominant reading and reendorses her prevailing textual concerns, that is, her logocentric stance: *"ideas..laid out pretty well and well-structured..clear picture"*. She ignores the implications of the use of the male model, reading as a 'general reader' and transforming (thereby oblivious to) what seems to be an obvious, male-targeted reading of male reticence, into an alternative construction that points to an approval, located textually, of the primary purpose of the text. That is, Meli reads not as the specific male target reader but as the other (approving) reader aimed at indirectly by the ultimate selling purpose of the text.

Meli makes the lengthiest response in *Electric City*. Her detailed summary and inferences mark both a textual and personal stance, with the textual positioning echoed in her attempts to understand the significance of the title, a typical classroom concern that is premised on the

single, unified meaning paradigm²⁸. She pursues her conjectures about the title via (possibly) an intertextual link located at her personal general knowledge of electricity: *"I think that the electric city, controls the power supply or electricity, so without them..you will find it hard to survive"*. She reads as a general target audience what seems to be the main ideology in the story. This is shown in her collective use of 'us':

"I feel as if this story is trying to warn us, the generation of today. The writer is trying to say that the future can end up like this, with technology being a great influence in our lives. For instance, some people of today are content if they have no T.V or phone, but in the future, people need them as if they are essential to us. This shows how technology influences our lives and how they can slowly take control of the world...the writer wants us to face reality, and that in order to prevent this from occurring, we, the people of today must act now, to stop this thus preventing the future generation from suffering such problems."

An example of this technology is 'electricity' and her personal views on this "reality" (though vague), is in concord with her presumed authorial message. Despite the critical level of her inferences, Meli is still textually deferential in her preoccupation with the view that authors write to send a message that is 'worthy of learning' (see my emphasis in the quote). Had she been given the benefit of the viability of generating alternative meanings, Meli could have read the story alternatively, given the critical level of her response. For instance, there is a suggestion of an indeterminate stance marked by her frequent use of conjectures using "perhaps", "probably", "as if". This indetermination hints at the multiple meanings that can be elicited from a text.

Meli's personal stance is revealed in her shared identification with those she thinks are the intended readers, marked by her use of the collective pronoun "we". That is, she reads as the text's target reader. Her personal and textual concerns are welded in her approval of the

²⁸ Many students are taught that a title is logically linked, or is usually significant to the main message/ideas of a text. 'Title prediction' is a popular feature in newly revised English texts in Tonga - cf. Lote's teacher's views.

authorial style and in her concerns to unearth the hidden textual meaning (my emphasis):

"I feel that the writer wrote this story using simple language that is easy for everyone to read, but it also holds an important message.. "TECHNOLOGY WILL RULE THE WORLD SOMEDAY". Even though this story may look easy to read and seems like just any other story, but it has inner meanings, waiting for us readers to interpret. So therefore, I like the ways the writer has presented this message."

The legacy of the commonsensical, textual view of reading that has constituted Meli's literacy development is nowhere as blatant as in her words above (see my emphasis) which suggests that reading is the act of unearthing pre-existing meanings. Implied in such a view is the notion that whatever comes out is 'real', 'the reality' and not a 'construct of realness'.

Overall, Meli's interpretative positionings seem to vacillate from the textual to the personal, and are centred on her concerns to locate authorial/textual meanings. Her stances are critically evaluative, though deferential in their alignment with the textual dominant meanings. This deference works to reaffirm and sustain the reign of the dominant view of reading that constituted and reconstitute her literacy development: a view that is rooted in the primacy of a unitary authorial/textual meaning.

As for Lote's analysis, I will traverse all the data sources from Phases 1, 2 and the Pre-scaffolding tasks and use them as a backdrop for interpreting how she has been positioned, and positions herself in her responses to the texts during the scaffoldings.

4.2d Tasks/Tests Responses During/Post Scaffolding (Data items 9,10, 11, 12,13,14)
Meli was in a group of six; two boys and three other girls. They read, raised questions and discussed the texts throughout the session. They then wrote their individual responses. The teacher was not involved in any of their discussions. Four regularly attended the sessions.

Meli wrote two responses²⁹ for *Eveline*. Compared to her pre-scaffolding response, this one is longer, detailed, and a development of her interweaving textual and personal perspectives. However, despite their critical pitch, they still maintain and reaffirm her subscription to what she takes to be the authorial/textual meaning. Her textual stance is evident in her detailed summary of the story. She then shifts to a personal one, which shows her struggling with contradictory feelings for Eveline, moving from sympathy:

"I have pity for Eveline at first, for...seems...she does not enjoy her life with her father. Her mother has died and also her favourite brother Ernest. She is left with another brother Harry and her ill tempered father".

to disapproval, hinting at a resisting reading:

"...greatly disagreed with her choice to stay home and not to go with Frank...she...would have gone with Frank..and enjoy life to its fullest."

This sympathy and disapproval add to a rejection of Eveline's decision in the story. However, personal sympathy and disapproval do not necessarily mean rejection of the construction of Eveline's character. They assume a kind of resistance by their negative connotation but they are not resistance. Moreover, this personal stance is still situated intratextually, and is overwhelmed by her dominant textual concerns, witnessed in earlier responses. This deferential stance to authorial/ textual meanings is clearly highlighted in this approval:

"I think that the writer has presented this story quite well, by using simple language, that is easy for everyone to read. But though it seems simple, it has a deeper meaning".

This 'deeper meaning' to her is: *"..to make the right decision in life for the benefit of one's future"*, again a reflection of how she perceives texts as repositories of pre-determined meanings and how 'response' entails unearthing these meanings, probably based on some

²⁹ When she handed in her first response, she informed me that she did not feel satisfied with what she had first written and asked if she could write another one at home. This request may be due to her 'competitive streak' hinted at earlier, or it may be a case of the 'diligent' student, as she is reported to be in her school reports.

schooled expectations that such meanings are worthy to be learnt. Her links are overly intratextual and are signs of her search for an unifying meaning. There are no signs of the socio-cultural positionings that Lote frequently has recourse to in his interpretations.

In her second draft submitted the next day³⁰, there is clearly a shift of stance which is evident in her immediate and lengthy onslaught on the authorial construction of Eveline, more so in the questions which intersperse her commentary (my emphasis):

"I think this author is a sexist. He is a male and from reading this story, it seems to me that female have no freedom. They are expected to stay home and not go to work. Eveline, for instance, was treated without respect at work. Why? Was it because, women were expected to stay home and serve males? Eveline's mother was also not treated with respect but why? Why did she do, that made her not receive respect like any other women. Also at the end, why didn't Eveline leave with Frank? Was she afraid of gaining freedom? Was she scared of what she might have to face? But why was she afraid?..I think that Eveline is faced to do things she hated, she has no freedom to do what she wants, and probably its main cause, is the type of surrounding she lives in. This story must be directed towards women, that they have no freedom".

Evidently, Meli has taken up a political stance pitched at resisting authorial gender role constructions. Unlike her previous deferential, textual stance, she now reads as a feminist, resisting the construction of Eveline and criticising the constricting environment that Eveline lives in, which she hints at as giving her "no freedom" (see my emphasis above). Her conjectural reference to the author's sex (James being obviously a male name) may explain her accusation of his "sexist" construction, and her firing questions are evident of both the critical and resistant levels of her stance. They are concerned with why women like Eveline and her mother were not treated with due respect and why the possible 'threats' had Eveline left with Frank (see her "But why was she afraid.."?). Her political stance however, is not sustained nor allow her to generate alternative readings.

³⁰ Meli did this extra response voluntarily, overnight without any further group discussion apart from that before her first response. Because it was the students' holiday break, I did not pressurise them by giving homework. The day sessions were already demanding enough though in some cases, some like Meli completed their responses voluntarily overnight.

A personal stance marks Meli's initial response to the BT text. Here, she uses textual images to make evaluative conjectures, ones that lead to her identification of a specific group of target readers, mainly "business men". She may have drawn this from her personal world knowledge, which is revealing in her understanding of men's dominance in prestigious posts:

"I think that the BT..uses a picture of a man..instead of a woman because men are likely to be very busy for they might be businessmen or they might hold very important posts in the society. So because of this, the phone calls are mostly for them, and that is probably why they used the picture of a man."

Then adopting a feminist stance, she reads the implications of this target readership as a feminist, reading her perceived 'gap' of the text:

"This advertisement actually puts women down...the BT thinks that women are not as busy and active as men in business and other important affairs.(this idea is repeated)..so inorder for them to sell their service and make it more popular, they use men and it shows how busy they are.."

She then transforms this gap into a reading that empowers females. It bespeaks a strong, personal, adamant resistance to what she believes is a gender-constructed bias against women, a resistance locatable in her own background of having a busy Mother both as a teacher and a business woman. This resistance is further highlighted in an emotive tirade where her personal and political stances interweave in complementary resistance:

"I most absolutely disagree with the person who made up the advertisement. How dare he make women look so low! Women have the same right as men do. There is no difference between them. I think that they are being sexist...they think women have no other roles but cook and stay home..they..think that women won't need their service."

and generating empowering readings:

"But then women needs freedom. The freedom to work, the freedom to do whatever they want. The ad is directed towards men and that they need the BT service and not women. This makes me angry and I am very frustrated with whoever wrote this advertisement. He doesn't have to make women look incapable of working inorder for them to sell their service, for women are capable of becoming businesswomen just like how men are."

It is interesting that she assumes the advertiser as male (see emphasis above), which may account for her fixation on this gender role division, where she reiterates the same argument using a barrage of more questions:

"Why make women look so hopeless? Look so incapable?..Do they believe that the women's role is to stay home, cook and do household chores while men are breadwinners they go and work thus be of importance to businesses and other affairs?"

She proffers an alternative reading, that if the wife is not at home to answer the phone, then she *"probably goes to work and therefore has the freedom to do what she wants..besides cooking and staying home."* In this adversarial, political stance, Meli becomes preoccupied with this gender role notion to the extent that it excludes other possible readings that the text may invite, such as my presumed dominant reading of the use of the BT service to encourage males to be more communicative (see Chap. 5). Or, the text may be seen to exploit males, busy males, single males and so on as marketable means to sell BT's services.

In her equally lengthy response to *Electric City*, Meli adopts a range of stances, her meanings located in overlapping textual, personal and socio-cultural alignments. First, she reverts to her textual concerns to uncover authorial meanings. She does this using a critical appraisal of textual and personal links in search of this authored message (my emphasis):

"This story..shows how important money and technology is to the people's lives, who are in the story. These two factors greatly dominates their lives and without them, they won't be able to survive. A message that I have learnt, is that, if the people of today won't act to stop such problems from happening, then technology will rule the world someday."

Her textual links refer to how Ani and Harry work after school to augment their parents' income. She uses this textual information to generate a personal-political resistance to how Harry and her sister have been constructed:

"I greatly disapprove of Harry and Ani, going to work,..I don't like school students having to go to school, at the same time, work..because they go to work at night, then they hardly have time to sit down and study, at home...then the school work might not be of satisfaction.."

This disapproval may be located in her own perceived value of school, a posture which has traces of socio-cultural meanings as detected in her swerve to empathise with Harry. These personal and socio-cultural alignments are reminiscent of Lote's dominant position:

"I also admire Harry for wanting to skip school, so that he can work, thus let his sister study properly and let his dad rest. This shows how much he loves and cares for his family.."

But unlike Lote, Meli links this back to what transpires in the text: *"..Harry admits that if he gets a job, he is prepared to work as hard as he can, for his family's benefit and welfare."* suggesting that she interprets this story through a network of overlapping links and stances. She then generates further questions, some which she has already proffered answers for: *"Why did Harry and Ani have to go to work?..Why did they have to pay the electric city.."* and so on. In doing so, she reverts to her 'message' concern showing traces of her usual authorial/textual concerns:

"I think that Harry and Ani represent children of the future and that they must work inorder for their families to survive in such a sorrounding, and that is probably why Harry and Ani had to go to work".

However, she also offers other interpretations fuelled perhaps by her constant questionings:

"But one thing I can't understand, is why does the father has everything counted out? Or in other words, why does he wisely budget their income? Probably its because they hardly have much money and so he wants every cent to be worthy. Also from the way the story is written, the author is overemphasizing the roles of the kids. But why? Is it a threat? Probably its because they are the ones who will suffer, in the future, if their society is so technologicalised."

Meli seems to have adopted multiple stances, at various levels. At one end, concerned with an embedded message and critical in its textual interrogation, and at the other, personal, socio-cultural, and political in her awareness and evaluation of the inscribed ideologies (children/parental roles, technology, budgeting) in the story. Yet, she teeters on being fully resistant. This might be because of the lack of any explicit perceived 'gender' role issue or it could be that the text itself does not necessitate a resistant reading, as seems to be this case for her. Despite signs of resistance to how Pania and Harry and the entire family have been positioned, this stance is not sustained. Her questions and recourse to those indeterminate terms *"probably"* and *"if"* in the last part of this response somehow suggest that she is grappling with several meanings which she has not come fully to terms with.

Meli's response to the *Singapore* advertisement is the briefest of all the tasks in this phase. A brief text summary shows her textual understanding of the general purposes of advertisements (may also be the result of the scaffolding and group discussion): *"This ad of Singapore Airlines uses a picture of a girl to advertise their service."* Then, as common, she resorts to her usual rhetorical questions as a lead for her interpretations: *"Why use a picture of a girl and not anything other? Is it because the beauty of the girl will attract attention or what?"* She then assumes two stances that seem to traverse and intersect comfortably. First, she adopts a critical, political stance resisting what she views is a gender bias in the text:

"I think that this picture puts women down. It shows what women do is that, they serve men and give them pleasure. Women here are like servants, and that they do nothing but do what pleases men" .

Then welding her personal and political stances, Meli shows her shared identification (her use of the collective "we") and empathy with her sex: *"This ad is directed against us, women, that we serve men and we are under their power. We are like dolls that satisfy needs and wants of males."* (my emphasis). Despite what seems to be a male-directed text, Meli reads as a feminist, placing herself as the image as a means to fuel her resistance to the text's idea of a beautiful hostess as a success story for the airline. Her political stance seems to have been whetted by the personal gendered identity that dominates most of her analysis. However, although it is resistant, she does not offer any alternative readings.

Meli's response to the *Frim and Frat* cartoon is lengthier. This time, her textual, personal, and some aspects of her socio-cultural and political perspectives traverse and weave together in her attempt to reconstruct the cartoon. She launches immediately into a critical evaluation of the construction of the cartoon in a stance that seems to be textual due to her usual concern to start off with the authorial purpose: *"I think that this cartoon is plainly a mockery. It is*

mocking at the way we humans live, and I believe that, was the whole purpose of this cartoon". Then, in response to her now characteristic string of critical questions, she uses the graphics to take a multipositioned stance as she grapples with multiple interpretations using stereotypical images to infer about graphics:

"Why..use frogs? Is it to put humans down? Why does the big frog always talk?"..Its obvious that it is bigger and being like that suggests that you have more power and authority. But why does the small frog not talk that much? Is it because its small in size and that makes it weak and submissive?..What does the small frog represent? A weaker race? A submissive sex? An unable and weak generation? Why does the small frog ask, "Green or brown"? Does he refer to men or women? Black or white. Rich or poor people?"

Her meanings become indeterminant as she wavers between her conflicting knowledge of the dynamics of race, sex, and class (power). At one stage, she places herself in the text in her personal alignment with her fellow sex (see underlined in quote):

"..cartoon shows how women are submissive to men. Probably the big frog represents men, showing how dominating and very influencial they are on women, and probably the small frog represents women, making us aware of how submissive and weak they are to men."

Then, in an about-turn though still maintaining a personal stance, she imports her general world knowledge about race relations to make alternate speculative inferences:

"..probably the big frog represents white people, since it talks alot. This shows that white people always get their say and always wins whereas with the black people which I believe is represented by the small frog, are weak and don't have the courage to stand up and fight for their own rights. The black people are too afraid of the white people and so just follows the orders and commands of the white".

Her world knowledge may also have constituted her next conjecture:

"..could also be talking about old and young people, with the old people as the big frog and the young people as the smaller one. It shows how the old people influence the lives of the young ones, and the young ones, not standing up for their own rights."

At the end however, she transforms these meanings into an umbrella notion of discrimination:

"the cartoonist is mainly trying to convey the idea of discrimination and that it can destroy us humans, so we must act now to stop this type of discrimination whereby black and white fight against others...young and old..disagree on certain things and..how men and women are opposing each others...big frog presents how some people are very powerful and has the authority to always have his/her say. While those who are not powerful, not educated are weak and don't have any other choice but to follow orders thus become hopeless and submissive."

There are hints of a political perspective in her resistance of what she thinks is a

discrimination against women, blacks and any minority groups. But because she transforms her various perspectives into one umbrella notion of discrimination, she becomes paradoxically non-resistant. That is, she ends up making the dominant reading aimed at by the text possibly because the subject matter is in concord with her own personal and socio-cultural alignments. She could have read these views in ways that question what may be the authorial/textual meaning - that not all men are guilty of discrimination or, in another way, that 'everyone' she had earlier hinted at as being discriminated against (minorities - women, blacks and elderly or youth), is also potentially guilty of discrimination.

Meli here is decidedly multiply-positioned. Her textual and personal meanings (gained from the various discursive practices of her literacy development as well as that of the scaffolding and her group discussion) position her in multiple stances, some critical and empowering along minorities' dynamics. But her final response seems to be the preferred reading of the cartoon. Not only does her earlier discernment of types of potential discrimination show this, her suggestion, "*..so we must act now to stop this type of discrimination..*" might be deemed evangelically empowering for women particularly in her self-placement in the text, and in her alignment with a group of fellow female readers.

Meli's lengthy response to the *Sports* advertisement shows her multi-positionality as she wrestles with the competing knowledge of the various discourses of her literacy (and other) development. In her first draft³¹, she starts as usual by identifying her perceived 'target

³¹ Meli is the only one among the students who explicitly jotted ideas in drafts and then rewrote a second draft. Others may have done so but show no evidence.

readers': " *young men who are interested in becoming a football player..* " and 'purpose', a purpose which is resistant and critical to what seems to be the dominant reading of the text (that education is better than sports/that black kids are dropouts)³²:

"This ad is saying that most kids who dump school are black kids, which make this ad to be unbalanced for their emphasis falls on the black people. What is being said here about black people is that they are not as intelligent as the white people and that the majority of the blacks are not educated or are but they don't finish their education properly. Whereas with the white people, they don't dump school, they are well-educated thus much more intelligent than the blacks..."

In her second draft, she reiterates what seems to be the text's target purpose in a rephrase: "*..to show how important school is to your future ambition.* " Meli resists what she believes is the dominant authorial/textual idea that school offers young black men successful futures. As in her previous responses, she uses textual signs to link, make inferences and question the ideological construction of the text along the usual dichotomous dynamics of gender, generation, and race, the latter in particular:

"The language used is simple and easy to understand. The picture is a young black football player..Why use a picture of the black man and not have a picture of a white man? Is this saying that white people are more intelligent and well-educated than the black people thus can get better jobs than just becoming a football player.."

These rhetorical questions if seen in the affirmative summarise Meli's views on those questions. That is, her "*probably yes*" that follows is indicative of her awareness of the authored/textual ideology working in the construction of the text, and of the different kinds of meanings that can be garnered from different reading positionings. Her critical discernment is encapsulated in both the string of questions she keeps asking, and at her reading of explicit and implicit graphic and textual meanings:

"The ad is saying that most kids who dump school are likely to be the black kids. Because of this, the ad..is not balanced, for this ad stresses too much of the black people, thus makes the writer..be a racist..Something here is missing. Where do the white people come in?..Are they just by-standers?"

³² But it can be argued that the text may have several dominant readings.

Then she reiterates her initial opinions of them in her first draft, affirming her resistance to what she believes is the dominant ideology. She continues to maintain her political stance but shifts from merely going against the grain, to argue an empowering case for the people she believes are the underdogs in this advertisement (the blacks):

"I disagree with the advertiser. Black people are not dumb and are just as intelligent as the whites. The writer makes the black people look incapable of getting better jobs, and also this shows that the black people do not have important roles like those of the white people."

As in her previous responses, she continually utilises textual links as sites to situate her other stances, this time a political one, probably located in her understandings of blacks. That is, she questions textual techniques as a *piece de resistance* of her empathy with them:

"Why is the headings in bold letters? And why is the sayings at the bottom are smaller in size? Is it to show its a threat or a warning? I think it is both a threat and a warning".

and questions the use and the subliminality in certain phrases:

"Why do they say, "develop your mind and you could own the team"? This probably means that if your well-educated, you can easily own a football team. Does this suggest that black people are incapable of owning a football team whereas the white are? I think that they are saying that black people are too poor. Why does the writer say what he/she did at the bottom of the page? I think this means that education can buy you everything and without it your future is hopeless".

This is a political stance with empowering readings which bare open multiple 'silences', the 'subliminals' in the text. Her continual questions, though repetitive, empower certain readerships (e.g. blacks, women): *"But why have the black man in it?..Whose view is being presented? Is it a point of view of a black person, a white person, a male or a female?"* She also asserts that the writer is sexist: *"There is something that is said about men and that is football is a sport for them only and not for women. This makes the advertiser, a sexist"* and concludes that *"..it is a white man's point of view that is being presented and that he is both a sexist and a racist."* Meli is distinctly political, both resisting and empowering in her subversion of the authorial/textual dominant meaning into her own meanings, thus

foregrounding the text's suppressed meanings. In her responses to the following delayed post-tests (Data items 14), Meli continues to use textual signs and her personal knowledge, to situate and weave together her multiple voices.

You the Choice elicited the lengthiest response from Meli. She seems to have had exceptional enthusiasm for this task evidenced in the several pages of drafts she wrote. As is characteristic of her other responses, she intersperses questions with explanations and uses textual signs, literary and world knowledge to make intertextual, discoursal links and situate her overlapping personal, socio-cultural and political perspectives in levels that continuously shift from deferential, to others (e.g. resistant and empowering). Prompted by a self-posed question on why the poet wrote the poem, she starts as usual with 'purpose':

"..comments on traditional marriage and how parents arrange the marriage of their children..to criticise the people or parents who still arrange the marriage of their children for them."

Using further questions akin to the guideline's in terms of authorial representation (see Appendix 3.7), she adds that *"the poem seems to be emphasising on how obedient women are to their parents about arranged marriage"* with an intended readership of *"women who have parents that arrange their marriage for them."* In responding to her next question: *"What is missing? Where is the groom's say?"*, she projects a resistance to the ideology of parental dominance by personally asserting that: *"I dislike the way the parents arrange their children's marriage because it won't be for love but for wealth and fame."*

Meli reads as a feminist, as the intended target reader of the poem. In doing so, she becomes deferential to what seems to be the dominant textual reading. She uses her sophisticated literary knowledge to situate her personal empathy with the bride persona's plight. For

instance, she discusses how the use of literary tools such as "sarcasm", "repetition", "contrast", and powerful vocabulary highlight the bride's "protests" about her arranged marriage. She illustrates this by drawing examples from the poem: *"The poem uses sarcasm especially when the bride talks about the groom..."your brown skin bursting with fresh perfumed oil.."*. She sees a contrast in *"..the dancing has began I see myself dying slowly to family and tradition.."* by suggesting that "Dance" and "dying" as contrasts show:

"..how hopeless the brides situation is..and to stress out that even though happiness has started because of their marriage, her spirit has withered and no longer alive, "stripped of its wills and carefree spirit."

She queries the repetition of the phrase "You the choice of my parents" and offers an explanation that it is *"Probably to emphasise..to the readers, and also to the groom that he is the choice of her parents.."*. She raises the use of "emotive words" like "dying", "stripped", "naked" which she supposes could be an attempt to emphasise her dead spirit and "her protest in marrying the groom". She adds that the "poet uses simple language to accuse her parents and groom: *"You cannot see the real me..I have no other choice"* and makes several intratextual analogies to symbolic meanings: *"..the tree probably represents her homeland, where she grew up in.."* The "weeping willows" to her represent the shore of the bride's homeland and that *"her life was full of sadness like the weeping willows"*.

Meli's deferential textual:personal stances are located in her textual and socio-cultural meanings. For example, her explanation to account for her query about "western type education" and "second-hand car":

"..education and vehicles are important in our society today, for it brings fame to the family. It makes the family..popular, for this meant that your family is rich..this is why the parents wanted the groom become popular and will be considered by others as a rich family for the groom was educated and he has a car".

Moreover, she adds that:

"tradition here contributes to her marriage because probably the society that she lives in, have a tradition of parents arranging the marriage of their children and that is why she has no other choice to marry the groom".

Her personal knowledge meshes with her textual understandings in her response to her query as to why the bride loves as an act of duty: *"Because when you are married, you must love your husband or wife.."* Her stance is political for feminist concerns, but is deferentially textual in her approval of what seems to be the dominant reading of the poem. Her strong gendered identity is epitomised by her sympathy for the bride persona's plight: *"I feel sorry for the bride, for she is being used to give the groom a son"* and echoes her underlying resistance to her being represented in this manner. Her final paragraph affirms this alignment, as well as her resistance to the ideology of conformity to tradition:

"women are being represented as weak, submissive, obedient and are used by men to fulfill their needs, whereas men here, are strong and very dominating for they are the ones that make the rules, while women obey them...I don't like the way women here are being treated. They are used to fulfill needs and wants of men."

Within this deferential stance (though political for feminist cause), Meli continues to generate alternative meanings by traversing her knowledge bases in her critical reiteration of how the ideology of conformity to tradition operates:

"It also shows how important education is to her reputation. It makes you become popular and be stated as rich. Also, tradition here greatly contributes to the way they live and plays an important role in the society, for they are the laws and must be obeyed."

In doing so, she offers an empowering reading finale for women:

"..women are represented this way so that parents who arrange marriage of their children can be aware of the fact that they are spiritually destroying the love of their children."

This finale establishes Meli's alignment with the bride. Earlier, she had hinted at an alternative resistant reading in her query about the lack of portrayal of the male and parental voices. However, she does not pursue this and it is probable that her dominant gendered identity, political in its advocacy of women precludes any other alternative readings.

Clearly, Meli's interpretations are shaped by the questions she continually posed and by her

alignment along certain minority categories (e.g. race, gender). These questions resemble those of the guideline questions and she uses them to guide her responses. Unlike Lote, she has not amply utilised her socio-cultural knowledge to position her in a resistant way to the feminist reading she gives.

Again, Meli's interpretations of *I Lived Here* continue to be spurred by characteristic questions. Firstly, she launches into what she believes to be the main idea of the story: "*racism..How the white children hate those of the black*", then to 'purpose', an explanation which could have been informed by her personal understandings:

"..to make the white people or parents..aware of what they are doing. They are probably the ones who teach their children to hate the black children but if they don't teach the kids, then, probably their children have watched them react towards black people and therefore they also follow, what their parents have done."

She contextualises these ideas through intratextual reference to the main storyline: "*..when two white kids did not want to talk to the black girl even though they heard her perfectly well.*"

Then using conjectures and inferences via intratextual and probably intertextual links (general knowledge perhaps), she suggests the operation of 'racism' as inscribed in the text:

"The main character..is the young black girl, is very friendly and shy. She is naive and innocent yet does not know anything about racism, but the two white children on the other hand are experienced kids who have been taught probably by their parents, guidance or teachers not to be friendly to the black children."

As she elaborates on this idea of racism, Meli continues to probe in her attempts to construct meaning. Her questions not only reveal her thought processes but work to position her definitively on a textually deferential position, in her interrogation of what she thinks is the authorial ideology of racism masked by narratorial commentaries and events:

"Why was the black girl extraordinarily happy?..Why did she think of Glassy, and not any other word like beautiful?..Why was it strange for her to see a car parked in front of the house?..Why didn't the two European kids not turn around when she repeatedly called out to them?..what were these Europeans doing in the West Indies?..What did it mean by "as if the white blood is asserting itself against all odds"?..Why did the boy make up an excuse to go inside the house?..But why were her arms out with longing to touch them?..What did it mean by, "That was the first time she knew"? Knew what? What did she find out?"

One after the other, Meli offers expositions that are located in her various textual and personal knowledge base. For instance, the one she offers for her query on what Europeans were doing in the West Indies might have been drawn from her general knowledge repertoire: *"They are probably there for business matters, since West Indies is a great place for traders of raw materials."* It is interesting how Meli's textual access to literary knowledge enables her to pick out the *"West Indies"* setting which is never explicitly stated in the text, but which she tries to situate interpretively from her world knowledge. It is only by dint of a single sentence that it is implied: *"Very fair children as Europeans born in the West Indies so often are: as if the white blood is asserting itself against all odds."* Further, her explanation for her *"..was the first time she knew. Knew what?"* query is linked to her *"the young black girl facing reality"* comments in her first draft. It seems that she utilises both intra/inter-textual meanings linked to racial issues to answer her questions: *"I think that she finally knows that the white children hate the people of her race."*

Meli sums up her response by reverting to her deferential stance. It can be deemed political in the way she raises the ideology of racism she perceives to be inherent in the text. Yet, it is read as deference to the text's preferred reading as she responds like the 'ideal reader'. For instance, her empowering opposition to black people being ill-treated seems to confirm what she herself believes to be the dominant authorial/textual reading (see my emphasis):

" These children represent the black and white race and how they live. They don't like each others, and this makes the young black girl look weak..I also think that the black girl is probably uneducated while the white children are. But why are the black people represented like this? Weak and hopeless. Because the author wants to stress out that the white people are not treating the black people properly and not in a civilised way, I oppose to the idea of black people being ill-treated and the author has used a very effective way of showing this., the black people here, are extending a hand to settle peace between the two races but the white people will not except it, which makes the white people be racists for they are cold towards the black people."

Given my own understanding of the socio-historical contexts of Rhys's writings³³, Meli's response as in her response to *You the Choice*, seems paradoxical in the sense that it is deferential to authorial/textual presentation and yet political in its advocacy of minorities. However, this is a result of (my) methodological logistics given that 'stance' is defined in relation to what seems to be a perceived dominant reading. She could have resisted such a presentation by arguing that it may be an exaggerated presentation of the racial issue. Race relations may not be as bad as they seem. Moreover, the children may be depicted unfairly here given that many relate to others of different races in an unprejudiced manner and with no preconceived notions. However, her inferences seem to be drawn from her world knowledge of blacks. Her hint that they may be "*uneducated*" echoes her earlier judgment on blacks in the *Sports* advertisement and in *Frim and Frat*, signs of her constitutive readings (knowledge) about blacks and racism in general, signs of her dominant alignment with minority dynamics.

³³ Rhys was very concerned with any forms of oppression, particularly various forms of female oppression. She has also been concerned with the aftermath of British colonial rule in the West Indies where she grew up as a child.

Having profiled Lote's and Meli's responses in detail, the limits of a PhD thesis preclude me offering the same level of analysis for the rest of my co-readers even though I applied the same interrogating procedure on information pertaining to them. The profiles for the remaining four are thus presented as summarised sketches only.

Reader 3: SIONE

4.3a Historical Data & Discursive Habitats

(i) Personal and Literacy Background

Sione is an identical twin and the fifth child in a family of seven comprising five boys and two girls. He had just turned 15 when the session started. His British mother is a full-time housewife. His father, holds a graduate degree from England and is the President Head of the Free Church of Tonga which runs the school that Sione currently attends. English and Tongan are both used at home and Sione uses both languages quite easily. He speaks in English with his parents but talks in Tongan with his Tongan friends at school and with the number of Tongan cousins who live together with him at home. Sione's daily chores include cleaning-up duties (e.g. window cleaning) and he normally goes to work on their bush allotment on Saturdays with his brothers, male cousins and father.

Sione is the top English student in the class and the level. Music is his favourite subject and Tongan Studies his least with English ranking third though he did not give any reasons for his choices. He shows a liking for pair and group work because he claims that they make him feel like competing and keep him from falling asleep. Sione is reported to be a responsible,

independent and diligent student. He has a serious disposition but mixes well with the group. He showed a sense of sustained loyalty to the sessions³⁵ and proved to be quite conscientious, competitive and articulate in his group sessions as he aired his views.

Sione attended Tonga Sides School, a prestigious, fee-paying, English speaking primary school which normally takes the crop of students passing to its elite sister school, *Tonga High School* (Meli's current school). Two reading programmes were used by the school: a structural, phonics-oriented one for the early levels and a Whole Language series introduced in Sione's later years of junior primary. Its teachers are mostly locally trained with no special training in teaching English³⁶. Reading is actively encouraged. The school has a well-stocked library, modern facilities and is a very competitive academic milieu. It runs its own book week and termly literacy-related activities and competitions.

Sione entered Tailulu in 1990 to show his family commitment to the church even though he was qualified to enter Tonga High School (Meli's current school). Tailulu has had a struggling history, beset by financial and serious staff shortage. Facilities and resources are abysmally scarce. The physical setting is deemed most unsuitable as a studying environment by most developed countries' standards, and is even so in Tonga. The 1993 TMOE report shows that of its 26 teachers, only three had bachelor's degrees. The rest hold local

³⁵ His twin brother pulled out early in the session and despite church obligations in the second week of the sessions, Sione managed to attend.

³⁶ Sione had a competent graduate Australian teacher who taught him in his last three years at the school. She was known to have instigated the Whole Language approach not to mention a remedial reading programme involving parents.

diploma/secondary leaving certificates³⁷. The medium of instruction in Tailulu is Tongan and English is taught bilingually³⁸. Because Tailulu has had no qualified English HOD for a while, and like most secondary schools in Tonga, it uses the CDU's draft English Language syllabus. Like most other schools, typical reading tasks are based on textbooks littered with MC and short-answer questions that ask questions on author's purpose, style, and textual aspects (vocabulary, grammar). These are aimed at producing a unified textual meaning. Group work is a rarity and tasks are either performed alone or with the teacher as a whole class activity. There has been no real effort to promote reading either through a supply of books or through promotional activities like English weeks. There is no proper library, with reading texts mostly New Zealand school journals designed for upper primary and lower secondary. As in most other schools, literature study is only introduced at F4 and when it does, a few local and regional works, mostly short stories are used. The non-literary texts used are confined to adapted/abridged extracts.

4.3b Other Reader-based Data (Items 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6)

Sione's historical constitution as a reader seemed to have relayed conflicting views about reading. At Primary, he was exposed to two contrasting views - one that stresses decoding textual skills, the other personal enjoyment, and collaborative meaning-making. In adopting two different programmes grounded on distinctively contrasting views about reading, tension is inevitable, a tension that could have filtered down to Sione and formed for him divergent

³⁷ As earlier mentioned as a common practice in schools, the lack of qualified teachers in the first place make it quite common for other subject teachers to teach English by virtue of their holding a basic degree or their ability to speak English like a native speaker.

³⁸ Most students who enter Tailulu are normally the lowest in total aggregate in the National Secondary Entrance Exam (SEE) and are in need of remedial work to cope with F1 work.

views about reading. One is a view that prioritises graphophonics skills and oral proficiency using structural readers carefully written in progressive levels of structure and language difficulty³⁹. The other, Top-down/Interactive Whole Language programme gives primacy to meaning, collaborative meaning-transactions, and reader independence.

In his present school, the dominant view reflected in classroom tasks and in his teachers' views is one where graphophonics skills gain supremacy. Meaning is tokenly acknowledged but practice however promotes a predominant phonics-based, textual view. None of the teachers who taught him hold any formal qualification to teach English, let alone reading. His F2 and F4 English teachers who were able to fill in the questionnaire share the view that reading is a textual, graphophonics process entailing oral skills and vocabulary knowledge. This textual view is again reflected in their equation of reading difficulty with oral proficiency and vocabulary knowledge, and in their practice where tasks are of a nature that they transmit a view of reading as a search for a single definitive meaning (cf. Lote's and Meli's). The school operates a teacher-centred pedagogy given the perceived remedial status of the students and the lack of material and support structures for reading cultivates a passive learning ethos amongst its students as a whole.

Sione could have not discovered the pleasures of reading in this school given its lack of reading materials, a contrast to the pleasures he could have discovered from reading Whole Language stories in his junior primary years. Any such enjoyment could have been dampened by his reading encounters in this school's classrooms. As seen by their English Head, the low

³⁹ Different in content and level from the Audiolingual programme in other primary schools but informed by the same Bottom-up view.

status of the college itself in the social and educational ladder of the society in general generates low self-esteem, a situation in which the authority/status of teachers as custodians of knowledge are elevated, furthering in the process the view of an authoritative meaning and reading - that of teachers', that of the author's/ text's. This too, could have created tensions for Sione given the English speaking ethos and importance placed on reading in his primary school in contrast to its neglect in, and Tongan speaking ethos of, his present school.

A personal documentation of Sione's reading views, experiences and performance in some reading tasks shows the influence of his graphophonics, textual background. For instance, he does not think that he qualifies as a good reader because he judges it in terms of oral proficiency, *"only a little bit. I can read really fast and good to myself but when I read aloud it is not very good"*. He thinks his mother is a good reader because she reads slowly and pronounces the words correctly and clearly. He also thinks that good readers do not need to know every word meaning they encounter and they would normally resort to the dictionary to find out new word meanings. He learns from one of his teachers that struggling readers should start with easy books and progress to difficult ones, and that a teacher's role is to be attentive to, and correct mistakes of, the reading. He claims to read on a daily basis. He loves adventure books, particularly animal adventures. He hates poetry, books with difficult names and words, and *"books that talk about places on the earth that I don't know about"*. The most difficult texts he has read to date, are science texts, Tongan books, and a book of instruction on how to drive a Land Rover. In the same way, he ranks stories as the easiest readings, followed by the Bible, plays, history texts, then instructions. His first memory of reading traces back to class 4 when he read many books to his mother for his school's reading competitions which awarded prizes to the reader who read the most books. His clearest

memory of readings dates back to when he was 10 years old where he read adventure and animal books. Adventure stories are the most important books he has read so far, particularly, *Safari Adventure* by Willard Price which talks of different kinds of animals in Africa, and a physical training book, *Road Running* by Cliff Temple. His most memorable reading to date is an adventure story, *Antarctic Adventure* by W. Price which he claims is very exciting. He believes that reading occupies his time, improves his English and teaches him things he "*never ever knew of*". He also thinks that if his reading improves, so too will his English and learning ability.

A range of newspapers, magazines, fiction/non-fiction books can be found at his home. His parents read widely and so do his brothers (newspapers and adventure books) and sisters (romance). His two closest friends rarely read. He also reads Tongan and English bible stories for Sunday school.

Sione was specific and knowledgeable about 'purposes' and 'audience' for the range of texts in the questionnaire. He shows quite an informed understanding of these in poetry texts: "*to learn about life*" or as "*an example for anyone who wants to write poetry*" and aimed at "*poetry writers*" and "*anybody*", and in recipes, the purpose is to: "*learn how to cook*" and intended for "*chefs, manager of a restaurant*". He does not read everything in the local paper, looking first at pictures, than cartoons, sports news, with the local and weather news last on the list. Photographs to him explain the story and cartoons make him "*always wants to laugh*". He reads the sports⁴⁰ and local news because he likes sports and wants to know local

⁴⁰ Cf. one of his favourite books ("*Road Running*") which is about sports, previous page.

events. He does not know what 'editorial' means and its purpose and dubs it and poetry as his most difficult readings. He said the same about 'Letters to the Editor' which he rarely reads. Occasionally, he reads notices/advertisements *"just for the sake of reading"*.

In the recall tasks, Sione was the most obvious in his attempts to rote memorise. He read the passages aloud several times and tried to memorise, looking at the passage, then away to memorise, then back to the passage, and so on⁴¹, which are reflected in his almost verbatim recall at word/phrase/sentence levels of both passages though some distortions are evident. He showed a good understanding of vocabulary (e.g. *"outraged"* for 'anger'), and good grasp of grammar, syntax and paragraphing though spelling problems⁴² were obvious. He attempted to self-edit his interpretation, focusing on meaning, spelling, and structure (in terms of paragraphing) in *Whaling*, whilst on grammar and spelling in *Science Scholar*. There is evidence of resorting to his general knowledge when he used 'Suva' and 'Fiji' interchangeably rather than 'Suva' as in the original. His miscues in both readings show a dominant textual, graphophonics orientation with most errors to do with word 'repetition' and 'pronunciation'/intonation. The latter is syllabic in nature and mostly in terms of polysyllabic and/or new vocabulary (e.g. *"po/ver/ty"*). His other, and more frequent type of error is syntactical. These involve 'insertions' which he added for difficult or unfamiliar syntax like his *"what jean"* for 'jean clad' and his *"need not be"* for the text's more awkward 'need not to be'. He used 'substitution' where he made many changes on 'prepositions'. In *School Uniforms*, his substitution, *"keep up to"* is the grammatically correct version for the 'keep up with' in the

⁴¹ Some from his schools and others did likewise.

⁴² "decession" for 'decision'; "commette" for 'committee'; "furey" for 'fury'; "preposal" for 'proposal'; "monctoring" for 'monitoring', "Nicholar" for 'Nicholas'.

original version. Where difficult/unfamiliar structure occurs, Sione used 'insertion', inserting "had" between 'who' and 'showed' to become "who had showed" in *Disaster at Sea*. In fact, this insertion is the most grammatically correct version. He made two 'omissions' related to unfamiliar structure : 'And it was..' which is the start of a sentence. He read it as "It was.." without the 'And' probably because it is not generally, grammatically acceptable to start a sentence with this conjunction. An 'inversion' miscue occurred where he read 'a bleak little house' as "a little bleak house". Again, it may be a question of syntactical familiarity. He also self-edited in ways that are acceptable syntactically though the original meanings change (e.g. 'it's' as "it was"; 'cry nevertheless' as "cry nervously" ; 'said' as "answered").

Despite few meaning-based miscues in his oral reading, Sione's retelling of *School Uniforms* is vague. He missed the key ideas with elaborations and distortions evident of his attempts to fill in gaps. Again, spelling and possessive markers errors occur. For instance, his pronunciation of certain words suggests that either he is unfamiliar with them, or that he draws on his phonics background to help spell them (e.g. 'fashion' as "fashines", 'scruffy' as "scrubby", 'abolished' as "obolished", and 'does' as "dose").

Given the one reading allowance everyone was given before the reading, Sione captures the ideas in *Disaster at Sea* almost verbatim though he uses his own synonyms (e.g. "darkness" for 'night'; "cry" for 'wept', "came to" for 'turned to', "and" for 'also', "locked in" for 'sealed', "I'm telling you" for 'I'm saying?' and "finally" for the text's 'at last'). He also used speech marks correctly though his spelling problems cropped up again ("were" for 'where', "reginition" for 'recognition', "Mayby" for 'Maybe', "cairlier" for 'earlier', "luying"

for 'lying', *"restrunt"* for 'restaurant'. Both retellings show no evidence of other knowledge and his self-editions are predominantly grammatical (spelling/syntax).

We have seen how Sione's reading experiences at home, in schools, and personally, have sent various messages about reading, some conflicting and some mutually affirmative. His reading inventory for instance is particularly insightful about his constitution as a reader and about the view of reading that informs his own perceptions about reading. For example, he views reading, or a good reader like his mother on the basis of 'oral proficiency' and 'vocabulary knowledge': *"She reads clearly and pronounces words correctly and slowly"* which again emerges in the rather modest way he discounts himself as a good reader in terms of oral reading. His claim about his mother being a good reader recalls his early experiences of listening to her reading to them at home and this is also evident in his later claim that his mother helps them a lot with their school work. He also believes in the use of the dictionary for difficult vocabulary. This concern with pronunciation, accuracy, and vocabulary reflects a phonics-based view of reading, a view that must have been reinforced by the structural reading programme in his early primary years, and further reproduced in his transition to his present school, as evident in the views of his teachers, and in the kinds of reading tasks he has been engaged in. His recalling, oral reading, and retellings tasks further show the reign of this phonics-based, textual view. For instance, his miscues and rote recalls are characterised by graphophonics and structural errors and his attempts to self-correct shows his concern with phonics (his syllabic approach to pronounce polysyllables) and grammatical accuracy. This is a preoccupation that precludes his recouring to his prior knowledge as evident in the lack

of any such links⁴³. However, his ability to come up with the grammatically correct versions in cases where that of the text's is wrong, and his good grasp of vocabulary, signify either/and his textual access to spoken/written structures given his English speaking background, and given the reading acts he has been engaged in at his own leisure and at the second half of his Primary years. It is interesting that he contextualises words he claims as new, and reads *School Uniforms* fluently (almost miscueless) and yet, cannot develop its main ideas. Such a case is suggestive of what happens when oral fluency gains primacy - the neglect of meaning. Possibly, he may have orally used the words he cannot spell in exchanges with his mother/others and may have not encountered them regularly in print given the limited aesthetic reading acts he is engaged in nowadays. His spelling attempts suggest three causes: that he draws on graphophonics (letter-sound correspondence) to spell words; or that he may not have read widely to enable him to recognise these words; or that he is more concerned with meaning as evident in the structural/ meaning substitutions, insertions and elaborations he frequently showed in these tasks.

The adventure stories Sione claims to love seem more like children's literature than books for his own high school level. He may have read them quite a while ago in his latter years at Primary. It is possible that since entering his present school, he has not been able to read as much as he could given the lack of reading materials in his school's library and given the lack of available reading books for his level provided in the two bookshops in the kingdom. It is also possible that his motivation to read is further discouraged by his best friends' non-engagement in any personal reading acts.

⁴³ As already mentioned, the nature of the task may have prevented him from making extratextual links.

It is quite baffling thus, to find that Sione understands the purposes and target readers of the texts given in the questionnaire. A contradiction that is reflective of his overall reading experiences: from his phonics orientation at home and in early primary; to the meaning-based, collaborative experiences in the second half of his primary years at an English-speaking school; to the Tongan speaking ethos of his present school which prioritises textual accuracy, textual meanings. It is in this transition to secondary school that Sione could have experienced tensions given the dramatic contrast in the academic, physical and material environment of his present school and that of his primary school. He no longer has access to a well-stocked library; no longer speaks nor listens to spoken English in the school environment; no longer feels the competitive ethos that characterised his previous school; and he no longer sits in comfortable classrooms with access to modern resources.

His recalls, miscues and retellings show that he is concerned both with graphophonics and semantic aspects of reading, a concern that is overwhelmingly textual. This concern seems to be corroborated by his own reading experiences and views as well as that of his teachers. Such a textual position is evident in his responses to the texts before the scaffolding sessions.

4.3c Task/Tests Responses BEFORE scaffolding sessions

In *Eveline*, Sione begins by packing what he thinks is the main idea into a somewhat rationalised didactic, based on what happens to Eveline:

"..concerned with the frustrations in the lives of ordinary people facing up to important decisions. Life is full of frustration and ordinary people who face important decisions may sometimes take the wrong or right solution. In some cases you can change your decision right up till the last moment and then you have to standby what you thought was right."

Though he voices an understanding of the plight of girls, this does not persuade him to resist the way Eveline has been constructed, opting instead to align with the stereotypical chimes of the authorial voice:

"I like all of the story. The way the writer makes it clear that this is an ordinary girl trying to cope with the frustrations of life...I think he uses a girl as the main character because girls are more likely to meet these kinds of frustrations in life(getting harder and harder to make a living). People pick on them."

Then he draws analogies probably from his own experience: *"Fathers like sons more than daughters.."*, but his response, though empathetic with Eveline's experience, does not make him resist her depiction: *"The way the writer tells the story so real, its like I'm the girl living this life."* His response echoes Reader Response views of experiencing life/literature through life/literature. Such a view is worrying because it doesn't encourage readers to go beyond personal transactions and adopt a stance that would allow them to come to terms with their own ideological positioning. By placing himself as Eveline (*"I'm the girl.."*) and referring to the realistic aspect (*"so real"*), Sione further discounts psychocognitive, modernist's claim of the separation of the reader and the text, showing a clash of his meanings with that of the story, meanings already in place before he read the story.

His didactic voice emerges again in the BT advertisement, where he seems to draw from his general knowledge to make analogous rationalisations about this BT invention:

"Its about one of those little but annoying little problems in life...You put your keys down but don't remember where. So they invented the key beeper so when you whistle it makes a sound and you can find it. Or the alarm clock for heavy sleepers.."

He understands how the text tries to persuade readers via textual analysis and imagining himself as the target reader:

"The first two sentences on the poster tell me that these people have come up with something new for when I can't get to the phone. The writer starts by telling me the problem and then 2 solutions I don't want to take. Then the writer tells me "Is a fine new service available to most BT customers" which means to me that only people who are BT customers may get it."

But he discounts the usefulness of such devices by refusing what BT offers (see my emphasis). He seems to situate his response from his general knowledge base and understanding of textual linguistic signs. His resistance has traces of a political stance but this is not pursued.

His one sentence summary of *Electric City*, is what he thinks is the main idea:

"It's a story about a family struggling to make a living. About a boy's sense of duty to his family to leave school and work so as to provide from the family's needs."

This summary is resonant of Mills' (1995) earlier suggestion of summarising as a search for a coherent reading (see footnote 13, p.48). However, it is a critical discernment of the family's struggle. His focus on *"a boy's sense of duty.."* is interesting because it has traces of his personal (gendered), socio-cultural, and political alignments.

4.3d. Task Responses DURING/POST Scaffolding Sessions (Sione was one of two boys in the group where Meli was)

Sione adopts the same critical, personal stance in his first response to *Eveline* in this second one. He repeats what he believes is the main idea showing a clear alignment with the authorial voice in his attempt to extol the writer's privileged knowledge, drawing probably from his general knowledge bank:

"..the writer knows what he's writing about..writer meets these kinds of problems in life..showing his concern for ordinary people facing up to important decisions."

As in his earlier response, he understands the plight of women and draws on various examples of their experiences from his own personal stereotypical understandings:

"I think that the reason for a girl being the main character is girls are more likely to meet such frustrations and important decisions in there lives than men. Women usually get fed up living alone in their home so the first chance they get to get away from there they usually take. Women are more likely to have a boring life and struggle to make a living...more likely to be picked on like Eveline".

He also understands the writer's bias: *"I think the writer is on the mens side because the only man in the story that would have saved Eveline and was willing to was Frank."* Yet, he does not question this nor make any definitive commitment even when he perceives a gap in the story: *"The writer may be saying(I guessed) that women aren't smart enough to make the right decision when they face important ones and will maybe always panic."*

His personal, critical stance still dominates his second interpretation of the BT text. However, he shifts from a focus on a fixed meaning as in his first response, to generate alternative readings which are preposed by repetitive uses of the indeterminant marker, *"maybe"*. He starts off in his usual critical mode, on the text's 'purpose' and the benefit of being already a BT customer: *"I think the purpose of the text is to sell a service but not this call return service, but BT."* Though he offers other readings for the use of a male in the text, he maintains his usual indeterminant stance:

"I don't know why the writer used a man..instead of a woman. Maybe more men live alone in Britain than women, or maybe its just done to catch the readers attention...Maybe the writer is criticising men who live alone and who have girlfriends that may call at the wrong times."

Then extending his problematisation from his first response, he has recourse to his personal general knowledge of life in Britain, to question and rationalise the utility of the text:

"I am quite sure its helpful but a problem is that in Britain people usually shower for a long time and the phone may ring more than once during that time. The..service may only tell you who the last person who rung you up was. So you still meet the same problem."

However, his concern with the content confines his reading to a criticism of the service rather than allow him to pursue the alternative readings he had initially generated about gender portrayal. Overall however, Sione has used his personal knowledge to generate political readings but the textual discourses of his literacy development and perhaps a personal disinclination to take sides do not allow him to sustain these readings.

In *Electric City*, his critical readings are located in his own personal knowledge. He reads as the target reader what seems to be the dominant reading of the story: *"The writers concern for middle class family struggling to make a living. Working and dividing up their results..to live a normal life."* However, he shows his respect for the authorial voice:

"..showing his concern for the children by telling us that they go to school at daytime and work at night. They hardly have enough time to study because straight after school they get to work and try to finish it early".

Then from a personal stance, he sympathises with Harry: *"I feel sorry for Harry for having to leave schools"* but he reasons that *"at least they are getting a lesson on life while they are still young. So they might learn and not make the same mistakes."* This rationalisation is further personalised in his sympathetic self-placement in the text as an analogy: *"I have learnt to always try to take more responsibility":*

"..this son is fed up with this kind of life and thinks he can improve their way of living by giving up school and working. To earn money to pay for things that we may take for granted."

Hints of socio-cultural meanings to do with filial duties (cf. Lote's responses) also emerge:

"..the writer is pointing out that Harry may feel like its his duty to provide for the family. That he can work and let Ani stay home and carry on with her studies."

as well as alternative inferences based in a textual interrogation of the narrative:

"I think that the writer is also trying to tell us that the children are independent. He hardly mentions their parents except that the father works at night and is probably asleep when the children are home. The daughter has to go and pay their power bill and the son can cook for himself"

some of which are political and empowering in his empathy with the plight of these people:

"..the writer may be criticising some government or other rich people. That maybe the government maybe wasting too much money on things that are not really needed eg.(street lights on streets where people don't walk but maybe I am wrong)".

This may be the dominant reading and his seeming concern with the authorial voice may be based on his empathy with these people's plight, and on his insight as to why they may be living as they do. However, this empathy does not shift into a resistance. He has begun to shift positions evident in his multiple meanings, yet is still undecided, *"maybe I am wrong"*.

This hesitancy may again points to his difficulty to extricate himself from the hold of the single unified meaning discourse that he has been schooled in.

As usual, Sione starts off with the purpose of the *Singapore* advertisement: *"to sell a service"* followed by *"The writer has a good view of how people want to be treated"*. This is a critical textual understanding of how advertisements work and the use of the *"the writer"* which is now commonplace in his responses is more probably a habit than a case of alignment. Again, he situates the text from a personal perspective in his usual rationalising way: *"When I first read it I thought that if you use this airline you are more likely to meet a girl."* This time however, he probes into the textual construction: *"But when I think more about this the different idea that comes to me. Does the airline only want men?"* implying perhaps that he thinks they are the target audience though he believes that the airline *"wants all kinds of people to use this service"*. Then with more probes: *"Why does the writer use a picture of a girl in the ad? Why the words 'This girls in love with you - or so it seems'?"*. Such probes work paradoxically to position him deferentially to the text's ideology, thereby affirming the supremacy of authorial/textual meaning implied in his given 'purpose' of the text. He transforms a potentially feminine reading (given his beginning questions) to an ambivalent reading which is fuelled by more questions:

"When I think of the first question then I think of this question: 'Why do they use women instead of men in beauty questions? Why is there a Miss Heilala(Name of local beauty pageant)'. ..only answer..is that women are better looking than men and people would rather look at women than men. So the writer has a picture of a woman on the ad to catch my attention. When I think about the second question it goes, how would a person who loves me treat me, with the greatest respect and kindness"(my brackets)

This response can be read as an elevation of women if seen in light of his justified comparison of their presentation by the text (because they are better looking than men). At the same time paradoxically, such a justification downgrades women because of the suggestive implication

the text implies particularly if read from a feminist vantage point. There is no definitive stance, an indeterminacy that is now characteristic of his responses. His meanings are political because they highlight gaps and raise questions but they fall short on resistance because of his logical neutrality and indeterminacy. Even his group conversation did not convince him enough to be resistant/empowering (see Meli's contrasting reading).

Again, Sione starts with what he thinks is a two-fold 'authorial purpose' of *Frim and Frat*: "*to let us be aware of racism as well as to make us laugh*", a reflection of his textual inference of the "*green or brown?*" question in the cartoon. As usual, he uses his personal knowledge of cartoons to rationalise: "*This cartoon you have to read the words only to know what is about.*" He reads as the cartoon's target reader, reading its dominant meaning and being fixated with the author's aims:

*"..the writer uses animals because they are different from us...also because he's criticising the human race, but they(animals) will also be the same as humans." (my bracket) and
 "..people as well as animals fight over power. Some people will destroy other races just because they are more powerful..the writer would be writing about this is maybe to let us know what we are heading for at this rate and it may be true."*

Sione seems to take up the authorial voice in his didactic voice: to "*beware of not only destroying ourselves as well as other species.*" Conjectures triggered by the graphics also emerge: "*The reason the big frog always talk is probably because he's the dominate in them. He maybe the know it all kind, because there are people like that.*" Alternatively, he reads the "*Green or black?*" query as the big frog's uncaring view if both the human and frog race are destroyed, an attitude which he thinks is typical in some people. It seems that Sione generates both the dominant reading and alternative ones. He is both deferential to the authorial voice, and politically empowering - a multi-positioned, ambivalent stance.

The *Sports* advertisement is the first text where Sione clearly shows a resistance to its authorial ideas. He starts with his usual concern with the writer's purpose using probes: *"What is the writer trying to tell us?..Why he got a..black boy on his ad? Why is he a boy instead of a girl?"*. In response, he criticises the author, seeming to draw from his general knowledge about blacks and sports:

"I think that the writer may be racist..the reason why the writer is using a male teenager..is because they have a higher rate at dropping out of schools and joining gangs and other things."

Further evidence of the personal location of his rationalisations are reflected in his:

"..the writer uses males..because there are those that get a scholarship just to go to a school to play basketball or football usually don't have any time to study, a lot of pressure is put on them until they start taking drugs and then drop out of school".

Indecision sways him back and forth - to a deferential stance to the authorial/textual voice, *"I think the ad is alright"*, then to an empowering resistance:

"but I think its criticising male black teenagers..it would have been a better idea if the writer had a picture of a football field and a team on it,..team must consist of blacks and white teenagers."

and then back to authorial alignment: *"The good message that I can see in this ad is the writer ..telling us its not all bad to develop your body but it may be better to develop your mind."*

This alignment may be located in his personal belief about the value of education over sport. Clearly, he is contradictorily postured as the ingrained discourse of authorial deference competes with the questioning dialectic he has recently adopted.

In the delayed post-tests, Sione continues to shift positions, this time welding his personal stance with that of his socio-cultural ones in *You the Choice*, probably due to the local context and the poem's subject matter. He starts with a critical evaluation of his own reading process: *"You the choice of my parents' is quite a good meaningful title after you've read the poem and understand it."*, a personal stance perhaps echoing his classroom's practice of a coherent

reading given his link of the title to the rest of the poem (see also footnote 13, p...). His ensuing summary of the poem is used as a basis to generate his other meanings⁴⁴. For instance, *"It tells us how a girl has no say in tradition and her parents decision making."* Thenceon, he ponders over the writer's use of a female, situating his explanation from Reader Response 'self-actualisation' notions recently promoted in his classrooms and from his socio-cultural knowledge of the Tongan context, *"because this is a true poem. This happened in the past and it is still happening now in places in Tonga. Although the same problem faces some men but it is not as common as in women."* In saying this, he reveals his understanding of women's oppression but does not account this to patriarchal dominance in the Tongan society but to tradition probably because he is not aware that patriarchy is constituted by traditions: *"Its known that men are dominant but in this case tradition is dominant and then parents."* Despite his empathy for women's plight as that experienced by the bride persona, Sione still accounts this to tradition and not men (see my emphasis):

"This tells me how women are being mistreated in Tongan families. Parents would give away their first-born daughter for wealth and fame. Even though she may smile but the girl sees herself, her freedom, her joy..all leave with the priest. Her freedom to love someone, to belong to someone has been cut off. She loves as a mere act of duty. Even though she is unhappy she does not really put all of the blame on her husband."

He then adopts a textual stance, reading like a, and for, feminists, in an empowering way in his advice: *"I think that one idea for women in this passage is tell them not to take that kind of treatment. Stand up for yourselves..."* However, possibly because of his own male identity, and from his usual inclination to remain objective, he does not place himself as the bride leading him to shift in the next instant from being empowering to females, to one that is deferential to the dominant socio-cultural dictates of his Tongan context: *"Stand up for yourselves but try not to hurt tradition."* (my emphasis). Further alternative readings show

⁴⁴ Sione's (as well as others') concerns with summarising is the result of my task demands where an 'interpretation' and a 'response' dimension was involved.

him paradoxically self-placing himself as the target reader (see my emphasis below) and at the same time, distancing himself from a male reading in his disclosure of some of the gaps in the poem *"..writer..criticising males by giving us the idea of the man showing up with its fine mats...destroying the females life."* He shifts however and criticises the writer's biased construction of males, in not telling the whole truth about them:

"Also of the parents choosing his and we all know who is the boss in the parents...the writer is criticising men by writing things about them and not the whole truth, by not telling all of his thoughts and how he got to marry her. The thing I think is not shown is the people and the mans parents, thoughts."

Like Meli, he recognises this gap, but distances himself from a definitive, gendered identification leaving us to read his indeterminacy as ambivalent - sympathetic to the bride's plight yet, at the end, deferential to tradition and patriarchy. A contradictory self continually shifting in allegiance and perspective as his meanings compete for hegemony.

Sione gives a contrasting reading to that of Meli's and Lote's in *I Lived Here*. With his usual beginning focus on the purpose :*"..to entertain"*, he moves to his now familiar questions: *"Why is the writer using a female in this story? Who does she represent?"* As usual, he situates his responses from his personal world knowledge to make inferences about textual signs. For instance, in response to his first query, he gives what seems to be an apt, textual understanding of the story:

"I think the female may represent the native people of that country. She remembers her country as being beautiful and the home she once lived in...She may have been away and the only way ..to see her home was through her memory. The car may represent new technology that is strange and new to people who have and always known the old ways."

He then becomes political, resisting what he views is a biased construction of whites:

"..the writer is biased and is criticising white Europeans living in foreign countries..how Europeans ruin lots of things as well as are racists by telling us of how things have changed from what the character remembers."

However, he does not develop this. He shifts to representation, which now seems to be a recurrent concern for him, this time of the children: *"The children..may represent the next generation of people..the writer may be against white Europeans a little."* Then he reverts to his earlier political stance. However, he is undecided about the phrase *"she knew for the first time"* and conjectures from his general knowledge and textual signs in the story:

"I can't really make up my mind on what the female know at the end. At first I think it's her ghost after she's dead going back to the place she loved the most. That would explain why the children didn't speak to her, but there are children who know not to speak to strangers."

He ends in this ambivalent personal stance not pursuing his earlier political conjectures.

Reader 4: TAI

4.4a Historical Data/Discursive Habitats

(i) Personal/Literacy Background

Fifteen year old Tai is the youngest in a family of three. Her parents have no formal academic qualification with the mother, a full-time housewife and the father, a subsistence farmer. At home, Tai, being the youngest helps out with domestic chores after school and during weekends. Tongan is spoken at home and like most students in Tonga, Tai uses the occasional English word when she talks with friends. As shown in her school reports, Tai is among the top ten percent of her level and also in English. English is her favourite subject. She is also reported (and as I myself had observed), to be a serious, reserved student and kept to her own peers during the sessions. She also faithfully attended all the research sessions and worked conscientiously on her tasks.

Tai's early primary years were spent in a small island school, Ha'ano Primary where students of different levels are clumped as composite/multiple classes (see p.18). Due to the islands' relative isolation, they feel the dearth of reading resources as well as staffing problems more acutely than those in mainland schools⁴⁵. Tai spent her last years of Primary at the Seventh Day Church's Primary school in the mainland. The school uses similar audiolingual and structural readers in teaching reading and its teachers, like those in government primaries hold local teaching certificates.

⁴⁵ Like Lote, her family migrated to the mainland to seek better prospects.

Tai moved on to a co-ed Seventh Day Adventist Secondary School, Beulah College in 1991. Beulah runs on a strict routine of work and study with boarding students having to work on a daily basis in the school's vegetable gardens to earn their keep⁴⁶. A lack of qualified staff, material and financial constraints seem to perennially plague the college. Beulah follows the Government CDU's Draft English Syllabus and has no special reading programme. Reading is generally viewed as part of the general English course, via textbook tasks and literary study in senior secondary. Like most other schools, it has an English speaking policy both inside and outside the classroom except for Tongan studies. This however, is not strictly observed. The classroom approach is teacher-centred and individualistic. The library is very small and has limited books/references and interesting reading materials.

4.4b Other Reader-based Data (Items 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6)

Tai's reading profile and her views on reading do not exactly match those of her teachers. Both her F3 and F4 teachers who answered the questionnaire had been involved in the reading workshops that I had conducted. They hold an interactive view of reading and see the reading process as the use of *"phonetic, structural and contextual clauses to attack new words and comprehend the text"*. Both see lack of textual skills, lack of interest in reading due to poor motivation, natural difficulties in learning a second language, teaching methods that focus on content not skills, as well as unsuitable texts as reading problems faced by students. Both suggest the value of pair/group work, pre-reading tasks to facilitate knowledge, modelling and linking of texts to real life experiences. However, a perusal of typical English tasks in Tai's

⁴⁶ Of its teaching staff, only 1 teacher was a graduate in 1993, and this number increased to 3 in 1994 (TMOE Report, 1994). The college is a boarding school with the majority of its students boarders. Tai is not a boarder because of the school's proximity to her home.

exercise books show them to be predominantly textual. This suggests that either these teacher's views remain, at best, theoretical, or they have been recently learned (e.g. from the workshop) but so far, have not been pursued.

Tai's reading profile reflects her graphophonics background in learning to read; her lack of reading experiences herself; the lack of reading opportunities and encouragement at her present school and at home; and the dominance of textual meanings in interpretation as perpetuated by her classroom's textual practice. Various examples from her questionnaire demonstrate this. For instance, she thinks that she is not a good reader because as she claims, she *"can't read every book"* and *"does not know some of the words"*. Despite her view that reading is a means of improving her English and would enable her to learn about other languages, she rarely reads - maybe the odd story *"once a week or two weeks"*, her reading confined to school texts and notes. Her graphophonics background are also reflected in: the way she deems her F4 English teacher a good reader because she *"pronounced the word correctly and she read slow"*; her view that using dictionaries is necessary to know word meanings; and in the progressive reading steps she believes a teacher would use to help someone with reading difficulty - to start with a simple book then followed by a more difficult one (cf. a similar suggestion by Sione).

Her favourite readings are romances though she does not read regularly. She hates 'boring' stories and finds science texts, reference books and stories with difficult words her most difficult readings. Of the seven texts given, she finds the Bible the easiest to read, it being probably the most familiar text she has been exposed to given it being a necessary item in all

Tongan homes. Poetry, plays and stories follow the Bible in the easy rank while editorials and history texts, are to her, the most difficult to understand.

Tai's exclusion from a range of textual/topical knowledge can be deduced from her limited textual experiences. Her earliest memory of reading goes back to class 1 at the island government school that she attended where she claims to have learned to read on her own, the first readings being a Tongan local legend and Bible stories. Her first English one is a story about two witches and her most memorable reading is a tale about "*the cat and the mouse in partnership*", a reading that is reflective of the paucity of her reading experiences given that the title itself is a children's book and may not be a recent reading⁴⁷. Her most important readings to date are school-related: two Pacific-set stories as they concern friendship and leaving home.

There is scarcely any reading materials at her home except for some old magazines, the local papers in Tongan, the bible, and a few church bedtime stories which she claims are read by her family. She does not know what her closest friends read, probably because reading is not an important activity in her, as well as their, personal agendas. Tai admits that the 'flotsam and jetsam' section is her favourite reading in the local paper; followed by the local, weather, sports news and photographs. She hates reading editorials and ranks Letters to the editor as the second last section she may look at preceded by cartoons, notices and advertisements.

Tai's limited reading experiences are also reflected in her inability to explain what a recipe is, and who it might be written for (like Lote). Neither did she know the purpose and

⁴⁷ This 'memorable' factor was clarified to students to refer to 'any book' - early or recent that they have read. Tai might have focused only on her early readings.

audience for 'encyclopaedias', an indication that she may have neither used nor seen one. Her understanding of advertisements and poetry is also limited in terms of purpose. 'Purpose' for the former is *"to know about things that happened during the week"* with 'audience' being *"students, people"*. The latter's purpose is *"to know about the poem"* and audience is a *"poet"*. Her limited reading experience may have led to her view that adventure stories are read in order to *"know about things that happened in the olden days"*, a view that is probably the legacy of reading mostly legends.

Tai's recalls and retellings further reflect her exclusion from a range of textual and other knowledge. Her writings suggest, on a linguistic level, a certain deficiency which reflects her her limited exposure to spoken and/or written language⁴⁸. This exclusion is evident in the prevalence of incomplete sentences, awkward usage and inconsistent tense in her recalls. As in Lote's case, there is clear evidence of L2 interference through her attempts at direct translation. Her response also shows a strictly textual interpretation, with signs that the text has a deterministic role in her interpretation. In her recall of *Whaling* for instance, she starts off with the main idea and tries to follow the text's original sequence (text structure), but this lacks clarity and development - perhaps a case of memorisation. Her paraphrasing ends in distortions and misinformation which do not reflect any inter-/extratextual references. However, she is able to guess some new word meanings successfully from context and uses many words as used in the original text. She also shows some knowledge of cohesive markers (e.g. *"after a while"*, *"although"*), a common focus in classrooms. Tai shows the same processes in *Science Scholar*. However, there are clear signs of memorisation and repetition

⁴⁸ See similar situations for Lote and Melia as opposed to that for Meli, Sione and Val.

and her lack of recourse to 'news story grammar' (i.e. using reported speech/direct quote) seems to highlight her limited reading experiences.

Her retelling of *Disaster At Sea* is short and vague, despite having read it silently. As in her recalls, her textual exclusion is reflected in inappropriate usage, spelling errors, and awkward constructions, the latter pointing to direct translation. Though there are signs of editing, this is again textual as she focuses only on spelling corrections. Her use of "Bob" to refer to 'Rob' may be caused by an understanding of the links amongst Robert/Rob/Bob (her world knowledge) or it may be a memory effect. Her retelling of *Schools Uniforms*, again shows similar processes with distortions showing traces of her prior knowledge of 'school uniforms'. Such traces are also seen in her appropriate capture of the beginning: a common speech structure (e.g. 'Ladies and gentleman, it is my opinion') and in her attempt to maintain the original text structure in an expository way. Again, her editing attempts are on spelling and echo the dominant graphophonics concerns of her literacy experiences.

4.4c Task/Tests Responses BEFORE Scaffolding Sessions

Tai seems to draw heavily upon her personal-cultural meanings, (meanings which also echo her secondary classroom literary experiences) to interpret the three texts. In *Eveline* for instance, she focuses on "girls behaviour" especially what she rather sanctimoniously infers is Eveline's disobedience⁴⁹ given her promise to her mother, as she puts it, to "keep the home together". Cultural importance placed on the preservation of an unmarried girl's honour is sacrosanct and still widely observed in Tonga, especially the restriction of girls' contacts with

⁴⁹ Can be read alternatively as an accusation of Eveline's promiscuity as suggested in other intra/intertextual references that Tai makes in other responses.

males beyond the prying eyes of parents or guardians. Tai's inferences seem to be based on the link she makes between this notion and Eveline's outing with Frank. For instance, she hypothesises that a girl's reputation will be disreputable if she goes out with a man. Being married is the honourable thing to do: *"..if Eveline get married probably the people will treat her with respect.."* With her classroom focus on 'lessons', 'life' and 'literary/ textual' elements, Tai endorses the patriarchal ideology of the text's main reading, reading as its ideal, deferential reader and reaffirming her own parallel personal-cultural meanings in the process:

"got a lesson from the story, to obey your mother and don't do the things that Eveline do i.e. she went out with a guy. People will treat you with respect if you do the right thing especially girls even boys"..."The way the writer wrote is good enough. He use mixture words...He did not mentioned the setting of the story." (my emphasis)

Clearly, Tai, due to her strong personal-cultural leanings and the dominance of authorial wisdom viewed in her classroom, promotes the passive role of women, the perception of life representations texts offer, and the view that response entails focusing on literary elements (see my emphasis).

Because there may be little relevant socio-cultural or personal knowledge for Tai to draw upon given that most phone services in Tonga are very basic⁵⁰ and as she has had no experience of such services herself, her reading of the *BT* text is very much a repetitive rendition of the textual message followed by the textual stance she adopted for *Eveline*. This is possibly the text's ideal reader position given her approval of its aim:

"I enjoy reading more about the text. It is a good idea..The way that the writer has presented the ideas is fairly good. He uses mixture words..He does not mentioned the figurative language.eg.simile in the passage."

This textual focus despite her apparent approval, is tokenist and like her previous response, can be traceable to her classroom concerns. Her designation of the text as a vacancy.

⁵⁰ No extra services like memory recall, diversions, last caller redial etc. in private residences.

"VACANCY...This is a vacancies from a company called BT Customers" points to her lack of exposure to advertisements in the literacy discourses she has partaken in.

Tai's personal:socio-cultural meanings are evident in her summary of *Electric City* and view of 'school'. To her, the story is "*all about expenses*". Possibly, the importance of education for Tai and her parents, quite necessary from a financial point of view given her parents' lack of paid employment, position Tai to disapprove of Harry quitting school:

*"I'm not happy with this idea. School is important it doesn't matter whether you are kids or not...school is not only for kids but for all of us(some)..it helps us preparing for our future career."*⁵¹

However, she makes no direct link between Harry's decision to quit and the 'expenses' concern of the story and her tokenist approval of the author's stylistic craft is again repeated. It seems that Tai vacillates from a textual stance in her deference to authorial craft, to a personal:socio-cultural stance due to her alignment with education.

4.4d Tasks/Tests Responses DURING/AFTER Scaffolding Sessions (Tai worked on her own without teacher assistance right throughout this phase).

Despite the scaffolding, Tai does not sway from her textual deferential position, which seems to be rooted in her personal:socio-cultural meanings. Her response this time is extended with an analogy to real life. She continues to read Eveline's outing with Frank and her plans to elope with him as flaunting disregard on her promise to her mother. Her strong cultural leanings to do with filial loyalty impinge on her reading to the extent that she approves not only what happens to Eveline (her sympathy is for the father and deceased mother), but also what she believes is the authorial/textual message: a lesson that "*in order for us to get a better future we should obey our parents*" because as she reasoned earlier:

⁵¹ See Lote's and Melia's as well.

Relate to us nowadays that sometimes we do a lot of things to displease our parents..She(Eveline) ends up unhappy because of what she was doing..We should all know that our mother loves us and she's trying to make us good.."

Moreover, *"to obey your mother even your father all the time for they tried to do their best. Our mother loves us more than anything"* (my emphasis). She ends with the usual tokenist appreciation of authorial craft, perhaps, as in Sione's case, more a habit than a conscious deferential response.

There are a few significant changes in her reading of the *BT* text compared to her previous pre-test one. Traces of textual deference as well as her personal:socio-cultural voices can be detected. For instance, she refers now to the text as an *"advertisement"* instead of 'vacancies' and identifies its specific purpose: *"to sell a service"* and specific readers: *"male and female"* though in her view, it is specifically for female: *"in my thoughts...for female because of the picture's a male and the writer try to get all the women's attention"*. Moreover, despite her continued approval of the idea being sold, she generates questions this time, probably guided by the given guidelines but the answers are brief and undeveloped:

"Why did the writer use this..male picture. Maybe he wants to attract female's attention..he try to increase male's standard of living as a helper of female. According to the story, 'can't get to the phone we'll get it for you'. It means that if the female can't get it the male will get it."

Though she may not be the ideal target reader intended by the text, and though she agrees with its selling aim, she transforms the means of this selling (i.e. the scripto-image) into an alternative reading, based, simplistic it may be, on her socio-cultural and her strong notions of family solidarity.

In *Electric City*, Tai's socio-cultural meanings continue to dominate the way she positions herself along the text's meanings. This time, she identifies the target audience as *"teenagers"*

or "children"⁵² and that the purpose is *"To live happily..to be good in your way of life"*, an aim probably linked to a good education and her high regard for education. For instance, she continues to maintain her initial focus on the importance of school as in her disapproval of Harry discontinuing school. Like her previous response, she uses some guideline questions in a rather disconnected, arbitrary way that shows her attempts to interrogate the text. Her strong personal:socio-cultural frame (ie. strong sense of family solidarity) continues to fuel her textual approval, an approval probably based on an inherited view passed down from her classroom - that texts teach lessons and that they reproduce reality: *"I feel happy as I read the story because I like the way a brother & sister talk. I feel this story could be real."*

In the *Singapore* advertisement, Tai shifts dramatically from a passive approving position of textual meanings to one that is political and critically resistant. She starts immediately with a question on authorial presentation: *"..why did the writer use woman's as the picture of this advertisement...why not use men's?"* In her response, she reads as a feminist, self-placing herself in the image (see my emphasis) and seeing the reason as *"..to attract men's attention or he is looking down at us."* She queries the repetition of the phrase, *"this girl's in love with you"* and accounts for it as *"Probably..the main theme.."* She resists this depiction by disapproving the text's use of female pictures and by querying the non-inclusion of a male picture, but does not give alternative readings that can be empowering for females:

"I'm not happy with this ideas of using female's as the pictures of this advertisement...the writer try to sell the girl and as I read I found out that this advertisement is to sell the service of Singapore Airlines and if the reason why the writer mentioned woman in this advertisement is just to sell the service, why he did not use male instead of female?"

⁵² In the Tongan language, 'children' in direct translation and as is probably used by Tai here, is a general collective term meaning 'brethren' or 'humans' and may not specifically mean young children.

Tai's reading of *Frim and Frat* is possibly that of the ideal reader's for it shows her insights into some of the ideas inscribed in the scripto-image:

"..the writer...tried to expressed the way of life in human beings... We are all in the big family of humanity and we are equal whether you are black or white etc.."

She thinks that target readers are *"all of us human beings"* because *"the writer try to emphase the way of human discrimination."* Her strong personal meanings are evident in her concern with what she thinks is the authorial message and in her disapproval of any form of discrimination:

"I know that this is not a good standard. If they keep on doing this I think it will come to a time that they will fight against each other..we should do well to everyone and count everyone as equal."

Later, she reiterates her earlier concerns: *"He(writer) wants us to love each other and be good in our way of life."* but these are never developed.

Tai's string of questions in the *Sports* advertisement makes her shift stances and allegiance. However, there is a circularity and lack of development in her ideas just like her previous responses. Ideas are repetitive phrases extracted from the text itself. In doing so, she reads what seems to be the dominant idea of the text, an idea which is echoed in the last sentence in the text, 'develop your body and develop your mind': *"..I think the writer means that if the men stay in school it will develop his body and mind.."* She also thinks that *"Maybe the writer wants to expressed the way of becoming a good player"* and that the target readers are males. Though she queries the non-depiction of women suggesting the possibility that the writer *"Maybe he was in a sort of racist"*, the importance placed by her personal and socio-cultural alignments on education positions her in a way that she continues to approve this presentation: *"..the way the writer presented the ideas is pretty good.."*, that is, to be textually deferential. She then becomes political, querying the use of a black man and transforming what might be

a dominant reading of racism into a reading that elevates the presentation of black males: *"Maybe he thinks that the black man is a good player"*. However, none of her possible readings are developed to any significant degree to allow her to establish some definite positions. Her readings emerge in a disjointed way in response to the continuous and repetitive strings of questions she asks.

Tai takes up a feminist position in *You the Choice*, in fact the ideal reader position though she identifies the target audience as human beings, specifically *"parents and children"*. But this is not a resisting position as the poem invites a pro-feminist reading. Her sympathy with the persona, unlike the non-sympathetic stance she had for Eveline, is evident in her summary of what she thinks is the poem's purpose:

"The poem is about a tragic story of a young girl who was given to a strangers to marry..the persona feels trapped and sees no way up...she feels sad and lonely not only that she married to a strangers but she does not even know a new husband and family...I feel anguish when I read the poem. I feel sorry for the bride.."

This response is probably mediated by Tai's own personal romantic stance (see her favourite reading) and by a deictic positioning through the use of the 'I' persona technique which is more personally evocative than the impersonal third person narrator of *Eveline*. Perhaps it is a gendered response, but this is doubtful because she tries to justify 'arranged marriages' as *"justified by culture"*. Tai is contradictory postured as she also questions the parents' patriarchal dominance, reading as a feminist in her empowering suggestion:

"in our society today parents should give their children the right to choose their own partners. Today young people should be allowed to choose for themselves so that the marriage should be based on something solid i.e.love..Parents are very dominant, strict."

It seems that a personal stance presides over a socio-cultural one, a stance that can be deemed empowering from a feminist perspective.

Tai places herself in *I Lived Here* as a kind of ideal reader, reading as a feminist. This is contradictory to her usual elevated view of the didactic, moralistic value of authors:

"How are ideas presented? In a good way..To give a message. To love each other and be friends to everyone and don't ignore them like what the boy do."

However, she thinks the writer *"belittle women, because the boys don't want to talk to her"*, and infers from this that men have *"bad attitude"*. She reads the presentation as an elevated approval of women's life *"the writer is not looking down at us...but he tried to express the women's way of life and how they behave to other people. Women behave well."* Tai thinks the story is for children (see footnote 52, p.278) as it is about how children from different countries treat children from other countries: *"..about a girl who walked around enjoying herself then she saw two children under the mango tree but they walked away."* However, as in most of her responses, her ideas are not developed to any significant degree.

Reader 5: VAI

4.5a Historical Data/Discursive Habitats

(i) Personal and Literacy Background

Vai is fifteen and the sixth of a family of five girls and three boys. Her New Zealander mother holds an English teaching degree. She had taught English at Vai's present school for several years and is now, the school's Head Librarian. Her Tongan father is also a graduate and was the Director of the High School at the time of my fieldwork. Because English is her mother's native tongue, English is mostly used at home. Vai uses both languages comfortably, with her friends and relatives. As both parents work, all the children help with household chores and are quite independent.

Vai excels in all subjects as shown in her school reports, being in the top 5 percent of the level. Her favourite subject is English, her least is Typing. She loves to write and has written short stories and poems, with some poems already published. She is described in her school reports as conscientious and friendly, an attitude which has been similarly observed during the field sessions. She also has a quiet, reserved personality though she can still voice her views when necessary⁵³. This was observed during her group sessions where her reservedness was overruled by her need to argue against one of the more articulate males in her group. Vai attended Tonga Sides School, the English speaking primary school that Sione attended. She would have received the same kinds of reading instructions as he had having been in the same class with him right through to class 6.

⁵³ This is a personal claim. I know Vai personally as her mother is an acquaintance.

From Tonga Sides School, Vai went to a Mormon-run co-ed school, Liahona High School even though like Sione, she qualified to enter Tonga High School, the elite government school (Meli's present school) for church commitment reasons. Liahona has an adequate number of qualified graduate teachers and classes are streamed according to students' English ability. It also, comparatively, has an enviable well-stocked library, modern classroom facilities and amenities. English is an enforced medium inside and outside the classroom at Liahona. This policy is strictly observed as in Tonga High School (Meli's school). Liahona boasts what it deems an innovative reading programme, the HBJ progressive reading series and a reading enrichment programme which involves for instance, writing book reports. The HBJ reading programme is a language-literature USA-based programme that is incorporated into their own school-designed syllabus. My scrutiny of its reading tasks reveals an overwhelming focus on textual interrogation and skills, and probably premised on formalist theories of reading which give primacy to textual analysis and knowledge of formal grammar. English is a popular subject and generates a lot of support from both students and staff. For instance, they run various English language clubs (Debating, Drama, Creative Writing) and usually win many inter-collegiate English language competitions.

Many of Liahona's English teachers are used by the CDU as well as the English Teaching Association forum to demonstrate reading approaches. Classroom tasks in Liahona differ from most other secondary schools, in their more student-centred, approaches. These involve group/pair, oral/listening/reading/writing/drama activities and a wide range of texts rather than the CDU-produced English texts that most schools use. However, the structural/textual approach offered by their American reading programme, not to mention the F5 exam

prescription means that they are still primarily concerned with a coherent reading of texts, and inculcating textual skills/knowledge.

4.5b Other Reader-based Data

The discursive reading-related practices that have constituted Vai's literacy development in the educational context show a view that values the importance of reading and the centrality of meaning via the acquisition of textual skills and strategies. This is a predominantly textual view laid down in the phonics readers that Vai could have been exposed to in early primary and continued in the Whole Language view that she received at her later years in primary (Tonga Sides School). As often reiterated, this view celebrates a 'text immanent' view where meanings are solely located in the text. Various factors provided textual access for Vai, access which could have introduced to her the pleasures of reading as well as reproducing this view. Her Whole Language experience at Primary; readings she could have enjoyed through shared readings with her elder sisters who read widely; readings she did for her Sunday School Course; general readings she could have been engaged in given the range of texts at home and at her present school's comprehensive library; and having a family and close friends who habitually engage in reading acts themselves⁵⁴. These discursive practices not only would have constructed a definite view of reading for Vai (in this case textual), but also furnished her with a range of knowledge - textual/world.

Vai's self-assessment of herself as a reader is that of *"pretty-much a good reader"*, a view she puts down to her ability to read everything that she lays hands on. The priority her present

⁵⁴ As shown in her questionnaire, her parents read widely, mother - romances and magazines; father - a range, and her friends - romances and adventures.

school accords to reading and its English speaking ethos continue to reproduce the importance of reading to Vai. This is reflected in her view that reading *"would improve her English"* making her command of it *"first class"*, and in her view that her F3-5 English teacher is a good reader because she *"really acts and expresses what she reads not boring but exciting"* (cf. similar view by Meli of her F3 teacher). As earlier described, Liahona provides an important scaffolding network to attest the importance of reading for Vai, such as: having the best comprehensive school library nationwide; an ongoing range of reading-related school-based inservice and competitions; and its own reading programme (the only school that has a specific one). Such importance is reflected in Vai's good understanding of specific purposes and audience for the 12 texts item in the questionnaire.

However, all these support work to promote the textual view that informs two of her teachers' views of reading (her F3/4/5 teachers including the HOD). These teachers are experienced as well as formally qualified to teach English. Their views are reflective of psychocognitive schema views of reading as an activation of appropriate content and background schema to understand textual meanings. That is, looking for intra- and extratextual links (through the reader's knowledge schemata) to establish and support a unified textual meaning. In fact, most of their definitions of the reading process, their identified reading problems, and suggested teaching focus are on the acquisition of meanings through textual competence (e.g. acquisitions of certain textual knowledge e.g. structural, grammatical, and vocabulary; skills and strategies in addition to one's background knowledge; and the ability to synthesise, make inferences and questions). Although they show a good understanding of the cognitive basis of the process, and some popular reading strategies such as SQ3R (Survey, Question, Read, Recite, Review);

their use of a range of participant structures and tasks (group/pairs, drama, debates); as well as their pro-remedial suggestions are overwhelmingly text-bound.

This textual focus is reflected in the way Vai copes with her own reading demands and in her recall and retelling tasks. For instance, she contextualised the meaning of unknown words if she comes across them and believes that good readers do likewise. In her recalls/ retellings, Vai shows a tendency to give brief, concise summaries, with some elaborations and distortions. She missed or ignored details focusing only on main ideas and used her own words and structure. She also self-edited most of her recalls/retellings using meaning-based insertions and deletions. She clearly paraphrased the main ideas of *Whaling* and *Science Scholar* with ideas logically sequenced and linked. There is also no evidence of rote memorisation. The only evidence of any operation of her general knowledge is based on her knowledge of place as in her use of "Fiji" instead of 'Suva' (see Sione's) in *Science Scholar*, in her inference that 'Rob' is Susan's "husband", and in her suggestion that the sunken ship event happened during a "war" in *Disaster at Sea*. Her few oral miscues are mostly meaning-based to do with omission, substitution and insertion, some corrected and most retaining partial meanings of the original. Her few graphophonics miscues are to do with repetition and intonation.

Her brief retelling of *Disaster at Sea* which she had looked at first before the reading could only capture the main ideas in the beginning and end. She grasped the main ideas in her retelling of *School Uniforms* but missed important details even though she maintained its argumentative voice by elaborations and distortions.

Vai's family are devout Mormons, a faith which prioritises family unity, manifested in the close family circle that she comes from herself. It is not surprising then that her most memorable readings and other enjoyable books she has read are church novels. The former, *The work and Glory* by Gerald Lund, is a Church adventure novel, and is, according to Vai, "*packed with action*".

4.5c Task/Tests Responses BEFORE Scaffolding Sessions

Vai's readings of the three texts pre-scaffolding are further signs of her textual access and her text-bound responses. After a brief summary of *Eveline*, Vai's textual, personal, and socio-cultural stances interweave as she situates her response from her personal:socio-cultural alignments with, and understandings of, filial roles, demonstrating in the process her subscription to the dominant patriarchal reading of filial obedience aimed at by the story, and of the authoritative knowledge of the writer (see my emphasis):

"I think it was wise of her to say. She promised her mom..I think if he(Frank) really loved her he would of stayed with her no matter what but he chose to ..I think the writer was very thorough in getting his ideas across..He writes from experience I guess because you can really feel what the character is feeling."

Despite her voiced empathy, Vai's deferential stance to the ideology of obedience posed by the text probably appeals to, and is parallel with, her own sense of family unity which is prioritised at home, by her Mormon church, and in the larger Tongan context. In stating the purpose of the *BT* advertisement, she maintains the same textual, deferential stance, approving the aim and writing style: *"I think it's great because its free for who would give up an opportunity like that! I think the writer did an excellent job. Well explained and expressed."* Her response to *Electric City*, amounts only to a terse summary, again reflective of typical 'interpretations' in most Tongan classrooms.

4.5d Tasks/Tests Response DURING/AFTER Scaffolding Sessions

(Vai was in a group of two boys and three girls. One boy dropped out early in the start. The other boy and two girls missed some sessions in the latter part. At one stage, Vai worked on her own. Everybody was present for this session. With the teacher acting as facilitator, they discussed the story using a collective set of questions as a basis).

Probably swayed by the scaffolding demonstration and group-teacher discussion, Vai shifts stances dramatically. She adopts a fused personal:political stance that is contradictory and no longer fully deferential to the authorial presentation as in her first response, and yet still subscribing to some aspects of it. That is, rather than take up a feminist position and see the portrayal of Eveline's father as a demonstration of patriarchy, Vai reads as a passive female, as an obedient daughter resisting such a portrayal. This may be rooted in her identity as a daughter with a doting father at home. She resists the depiction of Eveline's father as dour and overbearing which she thinks gives a false representation of all fathers:

"I didn't really like the way they described the father and how he is overbearing and domineering..the description gave what you call an overdose description making fathers look all mean and too powerful but not all fathers are like that. A lot of daughters will feel the same that the author really put down the fathers when there are millions of fathers that are opposite."

Then in an empowering move, fuelled this time perhaps by her own personal, gendered identity, she takes up an alternative female reading position, maintaining her political stance but this time, resisting the authorial presentation of Eveline. At the same time however, she seems to be still under the spell of her old authorial deference (see my emphasis):

"..I didn't like the way the writer ended it. His purpose for writing and the message I get is that family is first that's very true but to a limit. We all have our lives to live and if we let people rule our lives all the time we'll end up nowhere. You got to stand up for what you believe. The writer showed that Eveline was kind of chickening out of marriage and saying that women don't know how to choose but they do now-a-days they really do!"

Her emphatic alternative *"..but they really do"* in advocacy for women can be deemed empowering and is probably based on her own general knowledge of women's feat as shown in her *"but they do now-a-days."* But even in this political stance, she still acknowledges the importance of family solidarity: *"that family come first true but to a limit"*. These dual

stances, being political yet deferential to the textual ideology of patriarchy as a daughter; and being politically empowering as a female, show the contradictory choices Vai faces when her own subjectivity is forced to show some kinds of alignment to do with the competing categories of her social/personal/kinship roles as a daughter, and as a female.

Vai shows no definitive stance in her post-test response to the *BT* advertisement. Her critical summary of what she thinks is the text's purpose is followed by questions and rationalisations regarding readership probably drawing from her personal knowledge of advertisements:

"Who is this man supposed to attract?..if the main target audience were business men I don't think they'd be attracted to the advertisement. Because like all people we just look at the pictures and those we find interesting we'll read...If the picture isn't interesting than what's the use of reading the rest of the information. It may attract women's attention is this what this service wants only women using their lines."

Here, she dismisses what seems to be the text's ideal reader ("*business men*") probably because they are 'males'. This may be explained perhaps by her knowledge of, and experience with, some advertisements which may have focused only on the use of gender stereotypes and the opposite sex to lure a target readership from the opposite sex. Vai wonders whether the text's target readers may be women but she casts doubts upon this too: *"..is this what this service want only women using their lines?"* On this note, she reverts to her textual stance, her subscription hailed by authorial/textual deixising, authorial craft:

"I like the way the writer displayed his ideas..catching heading especially the word "free"..will turn all eyes on it...He had a unique way of explaining the condition you've always in like in the shower...it gives a very good reason to use this BT service line.."

Further signs of her endorsement of the authorial/textual meanings and her own textual:socio-cultural positionings are in her rereading of *Electric City*. She criticises the stylistic denseness of the story, probably prompted by her own literary interests:

"I didn't really like the way he wrote his writing because he wrote it in a way that it was hard to understand. If he wanted people so much to get his message wouldn't he have written it in simple text? Didn't he know that only smart people would get his meaning?"

However, this criticism reveals her preoccupation with the authorial message ("*his message*") and her own prevailing textual concerns⁵⁵. A personal stance rooted in her real life role as a daughter is also shown in her overt attempt to justify the father's constant use of 'electric city' to refer to 'electricity' and his preoccupation with paying bills on time. This filial empathy echoes her earlier justification of family solidarity. It seems that, like Tai, her personal, socio-cultural alignments work to position her as textually deferential.

Vai's group's discussion of the *Singapore* advertisement was a kind of muted debate on gender portrayal, the two boys (in the group) enjoying the attraction of the female image while the girls questioned its portrayal. Vai's response is contradictory. Though she realises that men would be the main target audience because of the use of women, she takes on initially, a political stance, reading as a feminist and resisting how women are being presented: "*I didn't really like the way they used women in advertising its probably a message saying women are users sort of like things.*" However, her dominant textual-personal, deferential position overrules her political stance probably due to her personal love for creative writing and poetry⁵⁶ and also because of authorial/textual deixising. It forces her into her usual deferential focus on stylistics, now a habitual concern in her responses:

"I like the way they displayed the rest of the text and how the writer wrote it is sort of written in a poem like way that adds a sparkle to this advertisement."

Her personal interest in literary craftsmanship supersedes her gendered identity or any gendered affiliation as summed up in her: "*To give my honest response the writer must of been*

⁵⁵ It is interesting to note that Vai identifies the writer as 'male' given that 'Patricia' the writer is obviously a female's name. This may be an oversight caused probably by having read James Joyce's *Eveline* in the same session.

⁵⁶ As already mentioned, Vai has written several stories and poems - some already published in a Pacific teen poetry anthology, or could it be from a habit of reading mostly male-authored works?

really smart this advertisement is perfect." She is aware of the authorial construction but chooses not to subvert it.

Only two people in Vai's group were in the *Frim and Frat* session. The discussion that ensued (with the teacher) was dominated by Vai. The other girl only spoke when prompted by the teacher. Again, Vai finds herself in similar contradictory positions as her political stance clashes with what now seems to be a dominant, deferential, textual-personal stance. She adopts a political stance, resisting what she thinks is an authorial view of discrimination. She reads it alternatively and empoweringly:

"I didn't like the way the writer said that we were discriminating against each other. We're not always discriminating against each other in fact leaders today are trying to make amends.."

She suggests that the author is *"biased or hates leaders of today."* But, as usual, she swerves back to her more dominant, deferential, textual-personal stances located in her own personal appreciation of literary craftsmanship. This is a stance which continues to endorse her approval of textual authority/literariness and shows her contradictory positionings:

"But I think that the author did a great job in drawing the cartoons and making frogs criticize humans because we understand it more when other characters are put in besides ourselves. The question at the end was really good it gave meaning to the whole text...it meant a lot of things could have been racism, dominating men and weak women..."

Despite her reference to racism, gender relation and dominance as they pertain to discrimination, it remains a fragmented connection given her lack of elaboration. Towards the end, her dominant personal-textual stances take precedence in her self-placement in the text, seeing herself as one of a collective group of target readers in her use of "we" and in her admission that *"..it has a lot of lesson in this text"* probably referring to the various undeveloped meanings she has earlier proffered.

The *Sports* advertisement elicited Vai's lengthiest response. Hailed by textual signs like the heading and the picture, her summary is her reading of what she believes is the authorial/textual purpose and target readers: *"..to encourage you to go to school...text mainly goes to teenagers that are schooling."* Then moving to a personal-political stance, probably situated from a shared race identity with blacks, Vai also reads as the text's sub-target reader, that is as a general reader regardless of the male's picture. That is, she questions the racist ideology inherent in the text's use of a black person and gives a lengthy justification for her resistance. This is probably rooted in her own identity as a black as shown in her self-placement in the text (see my emphasis):

"..do you think black people will be offended? Yes!..advertising a black person is like..scolding him that being a football player is good but if you gone to school you could have owned the team..It's sort of telling everyone he's a dropout and that because he never went to school he never achieved anything. It's like telling me if I don't watch out I'll end up like him"⁵⁷.

Her advocacy of blacks does not stop at being resistant. She makes an empowering reading in her continued resistance to their authorial construction and earlier gendered assumption of 'male' authorship (see earlier response to *Electric City*) again surfaces:

"To all black people it must hurt because not all blacks are dropouts. The author was very biased in choosing who to advertise it. Ue really was against blacks."

Then, as is now a consistent pattern in her stances, she reverts to her usual stylistic appreciation (textual-personal), probably positioned, as earlier suggested, by deictic hailing, her own personal attempts at authoring, and her world knowledge:

"I must say that the heading was really excellent because the majority of kids think sports or other jobs and activities as number one thing in life..His example of football was really good because that's what kids are really into now-a-days."

Then switching back to her political stance, Vai makes a further empowering suggestion to support her earlier claim to a biased portrayal of blacks:

⁵⁷ Note again that she assumes that the author is 'male'.

"..to make this advertisement more becoming and influencing they should have put a white guy in to balance racial criticism...To blacks seeing a black person in an advertisement presented that way wouldn't really be influenced..more offended.."

Then she's back to textual deference because she thinks that *"the words fitted it perfect..a lot of young men are drop-outs because they don't give enough attention into school."* This deference, rooted in her stylistic concerns and probably in a personal knowledge of male dropouts can be read as a biased comment on 'young men'. In doing so, Vai shifts from her earlier self-placement to insert males in place, objectively rationalising about readership:

"If you put a girl in there it would ruin it..you'd have to change the heading because girls don't play football and are not really into sports. Then it wouldn't make an impact on the boys because they'll just look at it as a thing for entertaining whereas the advertisement now a lot of boys will take it seriously because they will think not of the boy but of what if it was I the drop-out?"

Vai's reasons (football/sports is a male domain) reflect the discrepant views of gender dynamics between her personal and socio-cultural meanings. However, it is also clear that she is grappling with various contradictory positionings, due to the clash in her personal stances situated along gender and racial alignments, and that of her textual stance, positioned from her own personal experience of authoring and stylistic admiration.

Vai's multiple voices transact as she offers two main readings of *You the Choice*. Personal voices of her gendered identity and family experiences, and some traces of her socio-cultural context can be detected in the readings she offers. However, her personal:socio-cultural alignments take precedence in their explicit approval of what she thinks is the main authorial ideology, rendering her critical though deferential in her awareness of how the writer depicts this bride's lament:

"relates women as very obedient and submissive and humble and the parents overbearing and powerful..young girls are helpless and stripped of their freedom and ..have no other choice".

She believes the poem is addressing all girls and she shares and understands the loss the bride is feeling. Yet, like her response to Eveline's plight, she resists what the bride persona experiences by situating her views from her dominant personal notion of family solidarity, and probably by similar socio-cultural notions of kin and filial roles:

"Yes all or most girls in that condition would be obedient because after all your parents did and sacrificed for you the least you can do is owe them some respect."

Her personal:socio-cultural stances on family solidarity make her read against the grain of the dominant feminist reading offered by the poem, a political stance also and empowering for cultural notions of kin. That is, she appropriates the bride's perceived submission and reconstructs it as the authorial message, thereby ignoring the alternative way the bride's voice can be read as a plea:

"I think it was fair that she related girls like this because it is true that the girls have no other choice because if they rebelled it would hurt their parents. So the way the author..presented women in this poem was very fair and true."

As in her response in *Eveline*, she reads as an obedient daughter, reading against the grain of what the female poet was trying to suggest. In other words, she transforms the target feminist reading into an alternative political one. This transformation is shown in her denial of any authorial bias because *"..the author was just trying to relate how things are done in her way."*

In doing so, she also defends her dominant socio-cultural and personal (literary-textual) stance:

"The way the author has used our customs and traditions has given this poem an interesting flare." She also gives an alternative reading of the poem, verging this time on a political stance not for her fellow sex but for the groom, criticising what she thinks is a biased presentation because his view was not represented. Speaking for the groom by reading against the grain ('unlike a woman'), she suggests that *"I'm sure he was feeling like the girl why didn't the author mention the guy..maybe sometimes the guy has no choice and has to marry*

a rich girl or royalty etc." Vai's allegiance/positionings are clearly to endorse her own personal and socio-cultural alignments.

In *I Live Here*, Vai adopts a political stance after identifying what she thinks is the authorial purpose: *"to inform people about how some people are treated unfairly because of their colour."* Like Sione, she resists in favour of whites, what she thinks is a biased presentation of the story, a resistance that may be located in her own personal experiences and probably from the fact that racism is not so much an issue in Tonga given the homogeneous nature of the population:

"..the way the writer has presented non-white people is fine for the non-white people. But how about the white won't some of them feel unjustly judged. The author has no right to degrade the white people because in the story they'd think of all whites being rude."

She further criticises the authorial style of presentation being *"too hard to understand. She would have made it simpler"*.

Reader 6: MELIA

4.6a Historical Data/Discursive Habitats

(i) Personal and Literacy Background

Melia, is the second child in a family of four and was just a few months away from her 15th birthday when the sessions started. Her mother teaches in a Catholic Church's vocational college while her father is a subsistence farmer. Tongan is spoken at home and at school though Melia uses the occasional English phrase with friends.

Melia is determined, outspoken and assertive. Despite having a reputation of a renegade at school, she has a competitive streak which makes her work hard in general. This is evident in her regular attendance and positive attitude to my research where she has conscientiously and a little competitively attended to her reading tasks right through to the end. As shown in her present school reports, she has always been in the top five percent of the level as well as in English. Her favourite subject is Maths because she likes the teacher and his way of teaching. English is her next favourite and Home Economics her least because she does not like the teacher and the way she teaches the subject. She likes sports and is in the school's athletic team.

Melia attended her local Government primary school which used the same Audiolingual programme used by all other Primary schools. She went from there to her present school, Takuilau College, a full co-ed institution run by the Catholic Church. Classes were not streamed during her first three years at the school but are now streamed based on combined ability in Maths and English. The school, like others, suffers from staffing and financial

constraints with the majority of their staff either untrained, hold local subject certificates or are overseas volunteers who do not have formal teaching qualifications⁵⁸. As for most schools in syllabus and reading tasks, Takuilau follows CDU's Draft English syllabus with tasks comprising MC and short answer items, and reading texts dominated by expository and narrative extracts. It has no reading programme and its small library holds a stock of old American readers with nothing of immediate interest and readability to students.

4.6b Other Reader-based Data and Interpretation (Items 1 - 6)

Melia's historical and personal literacy development has not afforded her the chance to engage in many reading acts even though she acknowledges its importance given her view that reading makes one a good reader, and that improving one's reading would make one know better about reading. She claims to read only during the holidays and weekends probably because she concentrates on her school work during the week. Her limited reading experience is reflected in the lack of reading materials at her home (books limited to library ones, school texts and the local and church papers) and her vague recall of her earliest readings to that of a basal reader, *Goat and its friend*. Such a limited experience would not have furnished her with appropriate textual knowledge. This is somewhat reflected in the limited range of 'purposes' and 'target readers' she identified for the 12 texts given in the questionnaire. Though she could identify the target readers and general purposes of most of these texts, she could not identify either for 'poetry' and 'encyclopaedias'. For instance, 'poetry' is aimed at students in order to "*learn how to write a poem*" and that 'weather reports' are intended for "*parents*".

⁵⁸ Melia's F1 English teacher for instance was the Australian principal whose teaching subject is Maths. See earlier reference to this convenience teaching, p.28.

Her limited textual access may also be the reason for her doubts about rating herself a good reader as she claims she has to *"read several times"* before her reading *"would become good"*.

Melia's phonics initiation to reading at Primary was duplicated at her present school via her teachers' views which transmit to Melia a view of reading as the acquisition of graphophonics skills and textual knowledge. For instance, the two graduate teachers (her F2, F3, F4) who answered the questionnaire hold a predominantly textual view of reading, a view which emphasises correct pronunciation, vocabulary knowledge and contextualising skills though they acknowledge reading problems related to affective factors such as lack of interest in reading. Their suggestions on prereading tasks and pair/group may have been drawn from knowledge that they had gained from reading workshops I had coordinated. However, this is contradicted by their own concerns for *"drilling students in areas they are weak in"* such as *"vocabulary knowledge"*, *"contextual cues"*, *"pronunciation"* (F4 teacher) among others.

This textual view is somewhat reflected in the way Melia claims to being *"so shy"* to read orally and to her linking of a good reader (a female classmate) to oral competence *"reads very well and pronounces the words well too"*. It is further reflected in her view that this good reader would normally resort to a dictionary to look up word meanings though she herself normally moves on to the next sentence even if she encounters something difficult. Even though there is concern with meaning, it is a meaning derived from graphophonics decoding as shown in her suggestion (which she claims she learned from one of her teachers) to help a struggling reader by identifying meanings and in her view that a teacher should aid a struggling reader with *"pronunciation"*.

Melia's classroom reading experiences may have given her a view of reading as a chore, and not so much an enjoyable activity. Her lukewarm interest in reading could have been caused by the way these activities are approached, particularly where literary study is concerned⁵⁹. For instance, she claims to hate reading "*drama*" books and finds discussion of "*atmosphere*" the most difficult part about reading⁶⁰. She ranks stories as the easiest reading in the seven-text items given, understandable given it being the most common form of text read in most Tongan English classrooms. The Bible is the second easiest, being an essential part of her Sunday school reading; followed by poems, plays and instructions. Editorials and history texts are the most difficult, them being also the least encountered in classrooms and in her normal reading events. Her most important readings so far are linked, like Tai, to her favourite readings, romances - concerning "*man and woman*".

Further signs of Melia's disinterest in reading are in her selective reading of local papers. Like Tai, she would head first for the 'flotsam and jetsam' (*Kai Lalo Hakalo*) section (see Tai's, p.272), followed in receding order of interest by photos, local and sports news, cartoons, notices/advertisements, Letters to the editor, editorials, and weather reports. She admits to having no interest in editorials, and neither the patience nor inclination to read weather reports. Her textual exclusion and positioning, particularly her graphophonics concern are shown in her attempts to recall. Despite her attempts to use her own words in both *Whaling* and *Science Scholar*, her brief paraphrases are peppered with distortions, elaborations resulting in vague and undeveloped ideas, a reflection of her lack of textual proficiency. Her

⁵⁹ As already discussed for others, typical tasks are individually focused and teacher-centred involving textual aspects (vocabulary, author's purpose, tone, theme, author's style, etc.)

⁶⁰ This may also suggests that she links 'reading' only to 'literature' study/texts.

distortions also show signs of rote memorisations evident in repetitions and verbatim recall of words such as "wounded", "needlessly", "preserved". Her limited textual experience seems to be reflected in her unfamiliarity with the news article's structure, whereas, she uses the appropriate structural markers to develop her ideas in the expository passage ("In 1976..", "After some few years..")

Melia's graphophonics concerns are also reflected in her oral miscues in *Disaster at Sea* where the majority are pronunciation-related. She made syllabic attempts to pronounce long or new words and substituted words into similar versions which changed the meanings (e.g. "nervouslessly" for 'nevertheless'; "recognising" for 'recognition'). She was able to self-correct some graphophonics errors to do with repetition in *School Uniforms* and none with her substitution in *Disaster at Sea*. Further signs of her focus on graphophonics aspects and her textual exclusion are reflected in her brief retellings of these readings. She missed the main ideas producing distortions, and repetitions in her attempts to reconstruct the text. Some traces of her knowledge of school uniforms are in her inferences and elaboration of *School Uniforms*.

4.6c Task/Tests Responses BEFORE Scaffolding Sessions

After a brief summary on *Eveline*, Melia adopts a gendered, personal stance in her shared identification with, and sympathetic empathy for, Eveline:

"She was so helpless..I feel sorry and sad of Eveline..because of how she met so many problems in life. If we compare her life to us(girls) we are poor, and we may feel lonely. I also feel sorry for her..about the decision she made; to marry Frank. I like her choice but I was sorry of the thinking of her about the father. Poor her, if it was me, I would kill myself." (my emphasis)

Melia reads as a feminist, usurping the collusive, ideal reader position aimed at by the patriarchal depiction of Eveline, to read Eveline's plight sympathetically. Like Meli, she is

Fetterly's (1978) resisting reader, resisting the kind of man Eveline's father is: *"I don't like any father like Eveline's father"*. However, her sympathy for Eveline is on what happened to her but it is not a criticism of the way her father has been constructed, thereby precluding an alternative reading from her. She slips into the authorial approval mode like Sione, Tai and Vai, probably the cumulative results of a long term practice of authorial approval, of the view that texts capture real life experiences. Moreover, her self-analogy (see my emphasis) is a kind of self-actualisation process which is part and parcel of emerging Reader Response teachings in Tongan classrooms:

"I like the ideas and especially the decisions and Eveline's life. I feel I like to read the whole text. I like the ways the writer has presented these ideas. The writer used so many explanations about the main character(Eveline)...I love to read the explanations about the main character's life. When she grew up. How the parents treated her and the changes after her mother died. I like this to compare it to myself."

Such self-actualisations highlight the limitation of Reader Response notions (see review) in its inability to reveal gaps due to the camouflage of real life analogies. In Melia's case, long-held responses to do with expressions of approval and disapproval in terms of authorial constructs and characterisations such as 'I like...', 'I felt sorry for..', 'I am angry...' are linked only to plot/actions and do not allow her to delve into their constructions. Her approval is the heritage of the long-held belief among many Tongan teachers/ students that texts give authoritative interpretations/versions of life and reading these make you learn about life.

Melia shows a good understanding of the content of the *BT* text and takes a deferential, textual stance in her approval of its message and presentation: *"I feel comfortable and like it when I read this text.."* She thinks that knowing the number of the last caller is *"a good idea for us all"* and she voices similar sentiments for the other option of remaining anonymous:

"This is a very nice idea..The writer gives us clear informations and uses simple words and its easy for us readers to understand..a nice picture. The writer wants us readers to know that the BT's solution may help you when you can't get to the phone. I love these ideas very much and I want it to be happen in this country."

Obviously, Melia doesn't think that the text necessitates a resistant reading. The textual cues and images direct her to respond to what seems to be the dominant reading position aimed at by the advertiser. She is obviously persuaded on what is being sold even though she may not be the specific target reader. She reads as if the text is addressing a general readership. Her approval and her lack of critical evaluation is again, probably the result of the approval mode of response prescribed in her classroom. The context of this text's production, a modern liberal Britain sensitive to issues to do with sexism in the advertising media is transported by Melia to a Tongan context where she prioritises language cues over the image - the result of her limited exposure to advertisements at school and beyond. Whatever meanings intended by the advertiser(s) are transformed by her in terms of what she personally finds available and practically appealing.

After a lengthy summary for *Electric City*, Melia adopts a personal and socio-cultural, critical stance in her critical disapproval of Harry's decision to quit school. It is a disapproval that may be rooted in her own commitment to schooling herself, and in her cultural affiliation of kin, particularly that of filial-parental responsibility:

"I feel ridiculous about Harry. He thought that school is for kids. I don't think this idea is right. Maybe Harry didn't like being in school..Harry didn't worry about the parents..he didn't worry about them, especially the mother. I don't feel I like his idea. He was a lary young man."

Melia is also critical of what she believes is a dense way of presenting the story; a kind of resistance that is more a critique than an alternative reading of textual construction. Her interpretation is probably constrained by her limited textual knowledge as a result of her limited exposure to texts and this may also be the cause of her criticism:

"I feel I don't want to read the whole text...The writer didn't use pictures to let me want to read but he wrote too many notes. It's too long but there wasn't any ideas which is good. I mean he/she didn't write more details and more reasons for electric city."

It is clear here that she expects a story to provide something worthwhile to take away, and that she interprets and evaluates stories on the basis of relevance, interest and comprehensibility to her own personal range of alignments. Her need for pictures (see my emphasis in quote) and her suggestion that the writer should make his ideas clearer: *"The writer must write the first(old man) idea, everything about it must write at first then go to the next idea. Step by step"* echoes her earlier suggestion in the questionnaire to give progressive (simple to difficult) tasks to help a poor reader. It is reflective of her reading level and the type of reading materials/instructions she has received in the classroom as suggested by her earlier need for pictorial support and precise, simplified texts (cf. Lote).

4.6d Tasks/Tests Responses DURING/AFTER Scaffolding Sessions

(Melia was in the same group as Lote. Two people attended infrequently. As earlier discussed, they worked individually (no group discussion) but had recourse to teacher's help for discussions of their individual questions. Melia wrote two drafts for Eveline)

There are evident contradictions in Melia's responses to *Eveline* as her gendered meanings compete with other emphatic alignments. Unlike her initial political resistance in her first reading, she is, this time, differentially textual because of personal and socio-cultural alignments. For instance, she takes up the dominant patriarchal reading position in her approval of what she believes is the authorial message:

"..I think the author knows that this problem is the same thing happen to us youths in these century. The writer writes about Eveline as an example for us especially female to follow. He wants to tell us about being obedient. This is a very important behaviour for us all to have. We have to obey our father no matter what. If he had threaten us badly or unfair, we have to obey."

This approval may be located in her personal and socio-cultural alignments with kin solidarity and filial obedience. Further approval is in her evaluation of the story's usefulness:

"The story is useful for us all, especially the students. We have to obey the father and do what he says. No matter if he's a strict man but try to be more friendship with him."

Falling back on this 'useful' pointer does not allow Melia to go beyond a token sympathy with Eveline to make alternative readings. She also declares sympathy for Frank because *"Eveline's father hates him"* and also 'anger' at Eveline's father for his disapproval of Frank and his mistreatment of Eveline. Yet, in her second draft, she shows a critical resistance of gender portrayal, though is not sustained as she does not question the authorial construction even though ironically, she is aware of this:

"I can see here..how the author presents his idea. He wants to promote male; to show how powerful they are..he tries to put down our values, female...At the end..the daughter stays at home with the father and not marry Frank. This shows of how powerful male are. But, us female we have to obey male."

Melia seems to have taken up contradictory positions which compete for precedence. She initially positions herself as a female and empathised with Eveline and with Frank. Though she is aware of the ideological construct of female inferiority and the discriminatory treatment that they often receive, she chooses to salute the preferred reading position by shifting from her gendered position. That is, she reads as a passive female, like a male, as her socio-cultural:personal meanings supersede that of any politically-gendered leanings. This shift is also illuminative of the strong patriarchal elements of Tongan society.

Melia gives a similar summary as her pre-test one to the *BT* advertisement, and suggests a general target audience but especially aimed at *"old people"* because *"they have to walk down the stairs very slowly so that they might not fall.."* She adopts a critical questioning mode where she questions the choices/means of presentation (*"why did the writer writes about this...why..used a photo of a male but not a female...why used the shower..?"*). However, her struggles to make inferences are fragmented. Probably a limited knowledge base, limited exposure to the discourses of advertisements, and ignorance of the ideology of sexism that pervades advertisements in general, work to preclude her access to relevant meanings so that

she can make inferential links as that signalled by the text. Her tentative reason proffered for the text's use of a male picture and that of a shower is simplistic and reflects her limited grasp of the relevant discourses: *"maybe the male has good appearances than the female.. and ..because that is the main area that we are during the phone rings"* (shower). She also alternatively reads the pictures simplistically as:

maybe the writer used male in the shower because us female we are not in the shower. This shows that the writer thought that us female are passive. Only male are bathing but not us female."

Despite her apparent identification with her own sex, Melia does not develop this, nor question male portrayal, a sign of her indeterminacies as she grapples to make sense from her limited set of available, relevant meanings.

Melia gives an extended interpretation of *Electric City* and locates her readings this time in her personal:socio-cultural meanings. She gives an alternative critical reading to her previous pre-test response suggesting that the old man's use of 'electric city' for 'electricity' is due to his lack of education, something she sympathises with:

"Maybe this man didn't educated at all..Maybe he(the writer) wants to tell us how important to educate is..this is a very important part for us all. We have to know how to treat others. We have to do not make fun of the uneducated people."

She offers no other readings probably because what she has proffered are ones she personally espouses and approves of. Her socio-cultural and personal positionings in relation to the importance of school continue to influence her disapproval of Harry quitting, disguised in her sympathetic line: *"I feel sorry for Harry's idea of leaving from school. He must go to school to prepare his target for the future"* because she reasons, *"Harry was a poor boy. He must go to school in order for him to know more. Not like his father."* She links this to what she thinks is the authorial concern: *"The writer writes about the misunderstanding of old people."*

But mostly it's about the un-educated people", a concern which she echoes, probably influenced by personal experience: "Old people can't understand things, this is true." With this view, she suggests that "the writer writes about these things because there are so many problems like that happen in these days."

Melia also interprets the authorial aim as to *"promote female"* shown in the presentation of Ani, a presentation which she approves of, either due to her gendered identity (that is, reading as a female taking up a feminist position) or from her own personal experience: *"This is very true. Female are the most educated kind of people."* From this, she makes a simplistic inference that *"the writer seems to like the young(female) and hates the old people (especially male)"*. Her simplistic response may be a reflection of her lack of access to literary and textual knowledge, reading authorial voice as something to be always reflected in the characterisation and vice-versa. That is, though she reads as the ideal reader with hints of her gendered self surfacing in her extolling of female's supposedly superior education, her limited literary/other knowledge precludes a critical liberatory reading.

Two members (Lote and a girl) of her group were absent in the *Singapore* advertisement session. Melia launches immediately into a resisting, personal-political stance, probably fuelled by her gendered identity in her resistance to the presentation of females in the text: *"..how the writer presented these ideas is not good or it is unfair."* She is convinced it is to a male audience and offers explanations on why the writer used a female, showing an understanding of female's passivity:

".. maybe the writer thinks that us female are passive. Also we are mainly the attracted kind of people. It's caused by our appearance and our clothes or whatever. These things attract the life of male."

Moreover, that *"..us female is the most servant in every business. We are the one who do the serving. So the writer put down our values; female."* Her gendered identity, shown by her shared, collective identification with other female readers ("us") is probably the reason for her sympathy for, and questioning the deployment of, a female in the text:

"I felt sorry for us female. Why? Because I can see here in this advertisement on how male make fun of us..Us is like servants..Our body or the appearance is like some food to attract the mind of the others(especially male) to come and use the Singapore Airlines."

Hints of a textual stance is in her appreciation of graphic/language signs:

"the writer used big, block letters and repetition to tell us readers about their main message...also used simple words so it's so clear and easy for us readers to understand...",

but this is not really authorial/textual deference as she is cognisant of the text's ideological constructs and underlying purpose:

"So the more male will use this Airline the more the service will advise the female. Then the Singapore Airlines will get more money".

However, her critical resistance does not seek to empower through a transformative, alternative reading.

Everyone was present in the *Frim and Frat* session and though each seemed to identify 'discrimination' as the subject matter, each offered slightly differing viewpoints. Melia thinks the authorial purpose is:

"..to tell us humans about what we did...to reveal a problem...sometimes to make fun of people who had a problem..The writer here wants to tell us humans that we did things to destroy us. The writer wants to make fun of us humans. This is show when the frog said that they would rule the earth."

She finds the text's idea that frogs might rule the earth strange, probably because she reads it literally (a case of literal translation) and probably because she is bound by Reader Response's 'real life' notion supposedly depicted in texts:

"..I feel funny..because the frogs couldn't rule the earth....If humans will like servants of all frogs. They will change; frogs can do what people do and then human will do what frogs usually did..."

She suspects that the cartoon may have been prompted by the writer's anger about people or a group of people and praises it as a smart move on the cartoonist's part: "*..the writer is angry at humans of group of people...writers of cartoon are very smart...*" Somehow, Melia has some critical understanding of the working of cartoons though her limited exposure to various textual discourses does not allow her to develop her meanings. Her stance is one of authorial/textual deference probably because her old authorial leanings about the expert knowledge of authorship do not allow her any other readings, and also perhaps the idea presented (discrimination) appeals, and is agreeable to her. However, she does not develop this idea of discrimination in depth or specificity.

For the *Sports* advertisement, Melia made a draft in the form of a plan akin to the TSC English examination marking guideline which must have been given to them by their teacher⁶¹. In this response, she adopts a political stance, resisting and empowering. She reads the text in a way that may not be what the advertiser intended. For instance, she believes that the authorial purpose is "*to promote the black football players*" as "*They are the main people who did good in football games*" and targeting "*young black people*" because of the "*photo of a black student sitting on a chair in a sport's room.*" She argues that using a black young man would be encouraging to young black people: "*..they will continue on doing their best*". To her, the text promotes and highlights the strength of black people, a depiction which she thinks is unbalanced because it suggests that "*only black young people can do better in football*" compared to white youngsters. But she thinks that this portrayal will force white young people to "*try hard...try their best*". This reading may have been prompted by many

⁶¹ This guideline has response criteria such as 'focus', 'knowledge', 'understanding' and 'appreciation'.

factors. First, as earlier suggested, she may not be the ideal target reader given that a black male youngster is depicted. Second, her own personal knowledge about blacks' successful involvement in sports and her limited experience of how advertising discourse constructs binary categories to do with race, gender, etc. (by inscribing them in scripto-image relations) may have positioned her in a way that she transforms whatever the dominant authorial reading into an alternative reading. Third, she does not link textual signs in a way that would produce the text's dominant reading.

Melia continues to advocate for blacks by criticising authorial construction on the grounds that the writer did not use words to suggest the sportsmanship of blacks, only a picture:

"There is something missing here...the writer must used words that tell them(blacks) they are the best but it wasn't - it was just a photo of a black young football player."

Then moving to a gendered, personal stance drawing from her personal knowledge, she questions the non-depiction of females arguing that:

"females can do better than male if they will participate. In this country male are the most kind of people involve in football. We hardly find a female involve in the team. But I think female can do better."

Reading as a female, she accuses the advertiser(s) of looking down *"on us female and we can't do anything(NO WAY)."* It is only in the end that she refers to the 'school' link of the advertisement, not linking it to her earlier discussion but merely echoing the text's claim on schools:

"When we stay in school there's no one knows what might happen to us in the future...So the writer wants to tell us about the important of staying in school".

It is likely in this case that Melia reads sentence by sentence rather than read globally given that her reference to school appears only in the latter part of her response, a reference that corresponds with where it stands in the text (cf. similar one for Lote). It may also be possible that she may have considered its bottom placement and its much smaller size in degrees of

relative (decreasing) importance - the school part being the least important. Overall, Melia reads as if the text addresses her directly. She, however, transforms what might be a dominant reading of young blacks as educational failures, into an alternative reading which elevates their social positions. Other meanings from her own personal and gendered identities also traverse her reading and this results in some shifts/alternate readings, an elevation of female's potential superiority over males in sports.

Melia offers several readings of *You the Choice*. She identifies what she believes are several authorial purposes for the poem, first one being *"to promote the powerful of parents"* who are the *"target audience"*. She suggests that:

"the writer likes to tell the parents of today that they chose but their daughter/son might be in danger and sad..They have to make their daughter choose her a husband who she will find peace."

She reads as an ideal reader in this context, as a feminist, in her sympathy with the bride persona. She understands the presentation of females:

"It seems that female have weak and have to do what the parents told them no matter if they don't like or want to. This tells us how weak the children are, especially the daughters.."

She resists this presentation by an empowering suggestion that *"they (daughters) have to fight with the parents that they don't want to marry him or they don't want to do that and that.."*

She further resists the portrayal of parents as powerful:

"I don't like the way the writer has presented the ideas about parents. I could see here of how powerful they are. They do what they want no matter their daughter will be sad or whatever.."

She understands the social context of the text and why it is being written, and she relates its event to similar ones in Tonga, an example of how she draws upon relevant discourses, this time, a discourse that is locatable in her socio-cultural knowledge base:

"This kind of problem happened in Tonga today. Today the parents looked for beauty and wealthy but I think its better to look for the behaviour no matter if poor or not beauty."

She refers to the non-representation of a male's voice though she stands firm in her position as a woman, not sympathising with the male because: *"..the male have to do what they want and the parents can't control them what to do."* Clearly, Melia adopts the ideal reader position, a textual deference, giving what may be a dominant feminist reading positioned by textual construction and by her own personal, socio-cultural, and political alignments.

In *I Live Here*, a textual, personal stance dominates Melia's fragmented interpretation. Her textual concerns are shown in her concerns with the significance of the title to the rest of the story: *"When I first looked at the title I can understand what might the story about."* then at the end: *"I compare the story and the title. They are linked. Why? Because of the last part. 'I used to live here once'".* She thinks that the story is about *"the misunderstood of female"*, the female being *"the main character"* and targeted at *"adults"* because she thinks this female character *"have to do something better so that she might become friends with the younger ones...we have to do something which they will like and enjoy."* However, she expresses sympathy for this character as her personal stance takes over: *"I felt sorry for the girl who says hello because she called 3 times but no one answer."* This prompts her suggestion that *"The boy must welcome her because she lived there once.."* and an inference that the children's parents are not represented because *"the parents didn't want to see the older girl (main character) but I think it's more wisely for them to be outside the house so they ...welcome her to their house."* Her textual stance is manifest in her alternative reading of the main idea: *"about living somewhere and go to other place where you were there once"*, but this is fragmented that even her more personal meanings are not developed in depth.

A synthesis of the profiles is made in the next chapter. In particular, I identify common and contrasting elements in their responses as well as their implications for research, curriculum and pedagogy. Figures are used to summarise key findings.

The truth of a text must always be aligned with the verisimilitude it establishes, but this verisimilitude will always be deferred for the text's grounding in the 'real' can always be contested."
Denzin (1994, p.299)

5: RETELLING STORIES

In retelling my readers' stories, I will keep in mind the questions that have propelled this inquiry in the first place. In particular, I will focus on how and why my co-readers interpret various kinds of texts; the kinds of knowledge links that position them; and the views/aspects of reading that constitute their responses. I start with a synthesis of all responses with particular emphasis on those in Phase 3. This is followed by a recap of my central profiles, Meli and Lote, in relation to the other four.

5.1. Re-reading my Co-Readers' Texts - A Summary

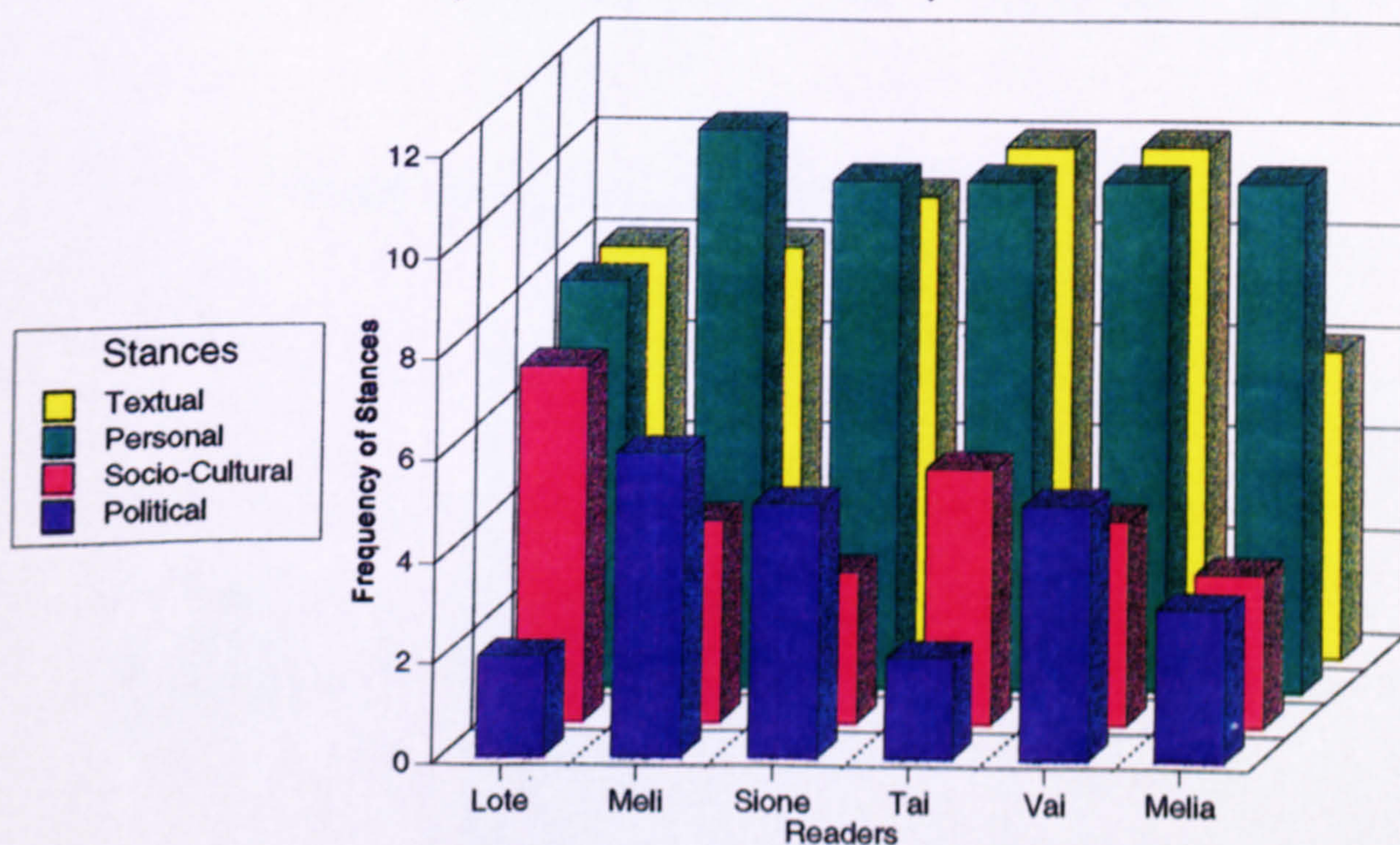
As has already surfaced in the analysis, certain markers constituting my readers are revealed in their Phase 1 and 2 data sets, and more apparently in their responses in Phase 3. In particular, are ideologies which seem to trigger certain elements of response. To highlight their effects, I will recap on their Phase 3 responses bearing in mind other data sets as points of reference.

Common to all pre-scaffolding responses as shown in Figure 1 is the dominance of textual-personal stances, some of which are undeveloped and fragmented. All show a preoccupation with, and deference to, the authority of the author to create worthwhile meanings. Some like Sione, Meli and Melia understand the plight of women like Eveline, though they distance themselves from questioning her depiction. Tai and Vai show personal and socio-cultural concerns in their deference, Tai on the sanctity of feminine chastity, Vai on the importance

of family unity. Likewise in response to *Electric City*, Melia shows similar concerns to do with the importance of education prompted by Harry's decision to quit school. In their responses post-scaffoldings, multiple stances emerge. To demonstrate how these readers utilise meaning links, position and are positioned, I will identify the dominant/obvious reading of each texts and use them to gauge the responses in terms of the four discourse stances¹ used for my analysis of their responses. Figure 1, gives an overall summary of each reader's discourse stances for all texts. Figures 2a, 2b, 3a and 3b give an overall summary of their discourse stances per text in pre- and post-scaffolding tasks and tests.

Figure 1

Summary of Discourse Stances per Reader



¹ As already stressed in chap. 3, the type of alignment used for analysis: deferential and non-deferential with the latter comprising resistant, objective and empowering elements are dependent on how a reader reads a text given her/his dominant ideological position as gauged against a text's dominant reading.

Fig.2 Discourse Stances for Pre Test Responses

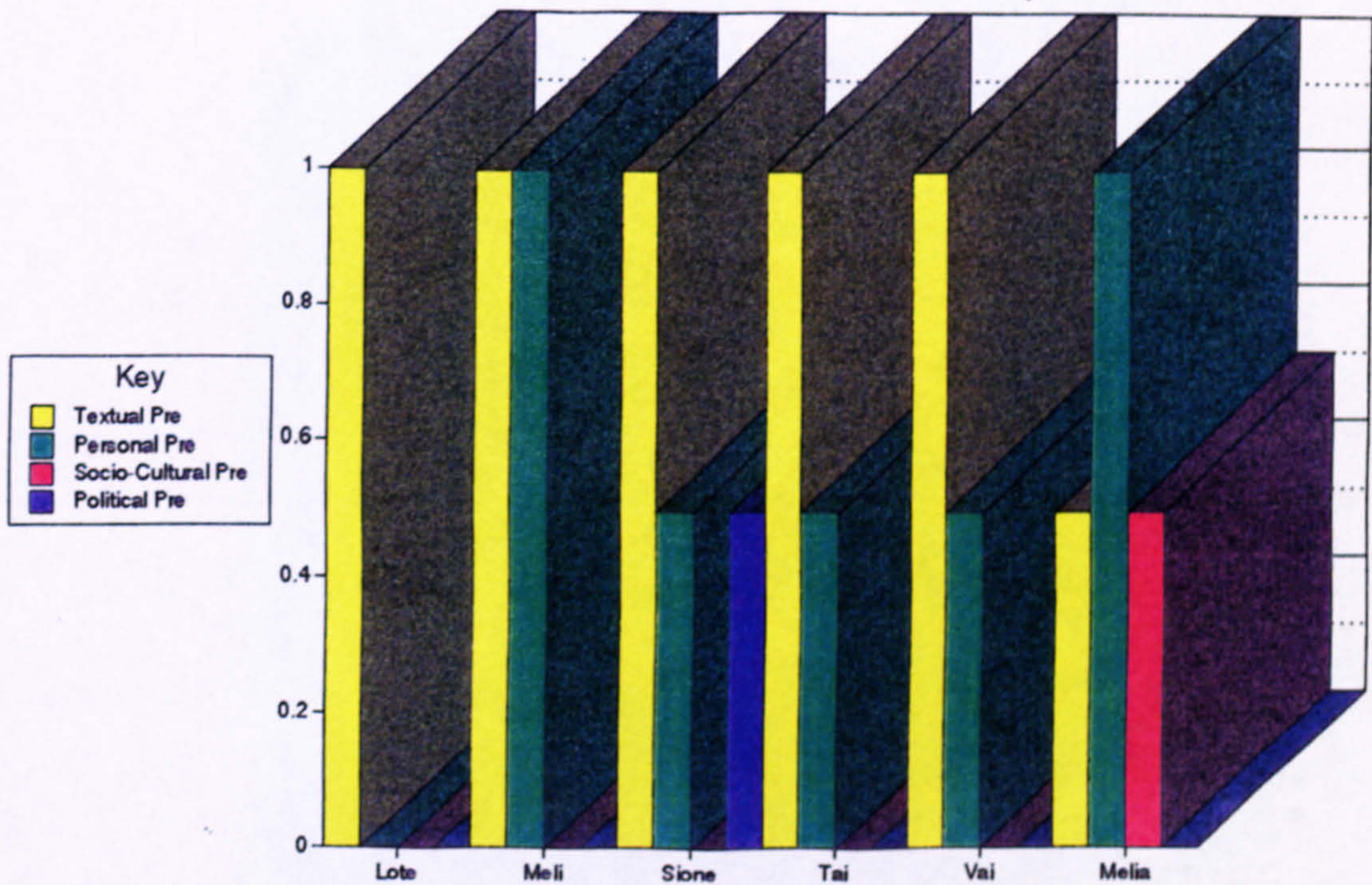


Fig2b Discourse Stances for Post Test Responses

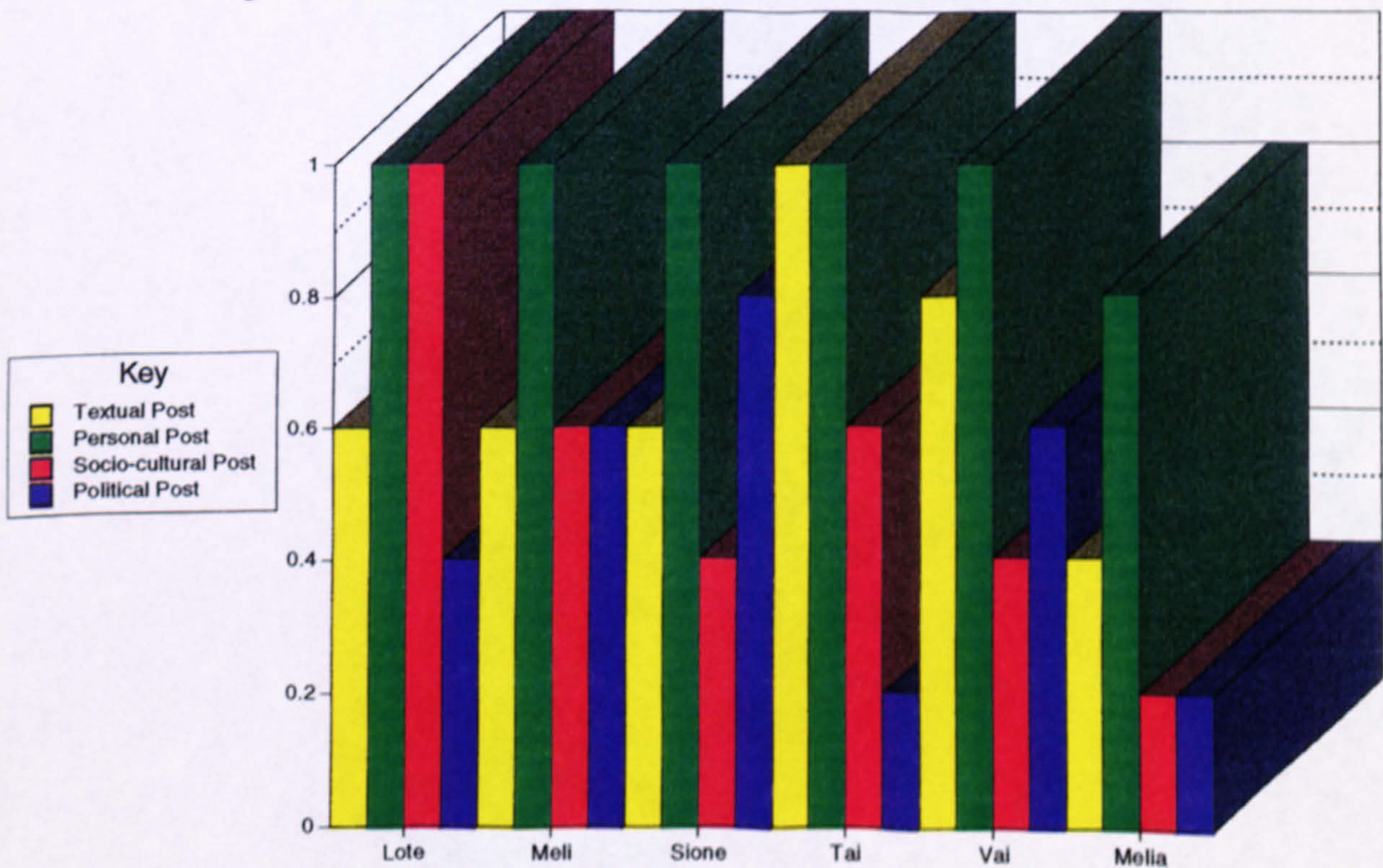


Fig3a Discourse Stances in Pre Task Responses

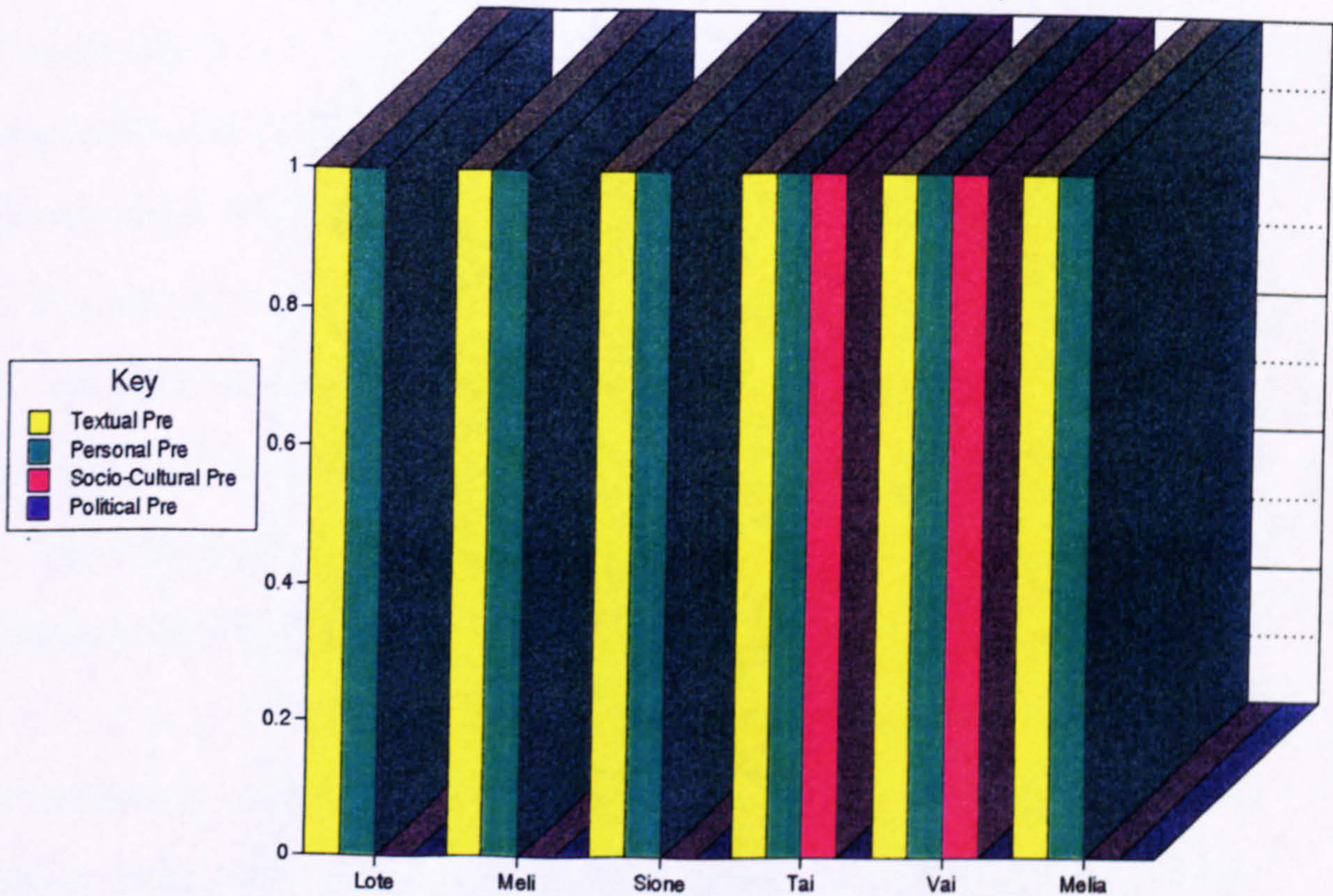
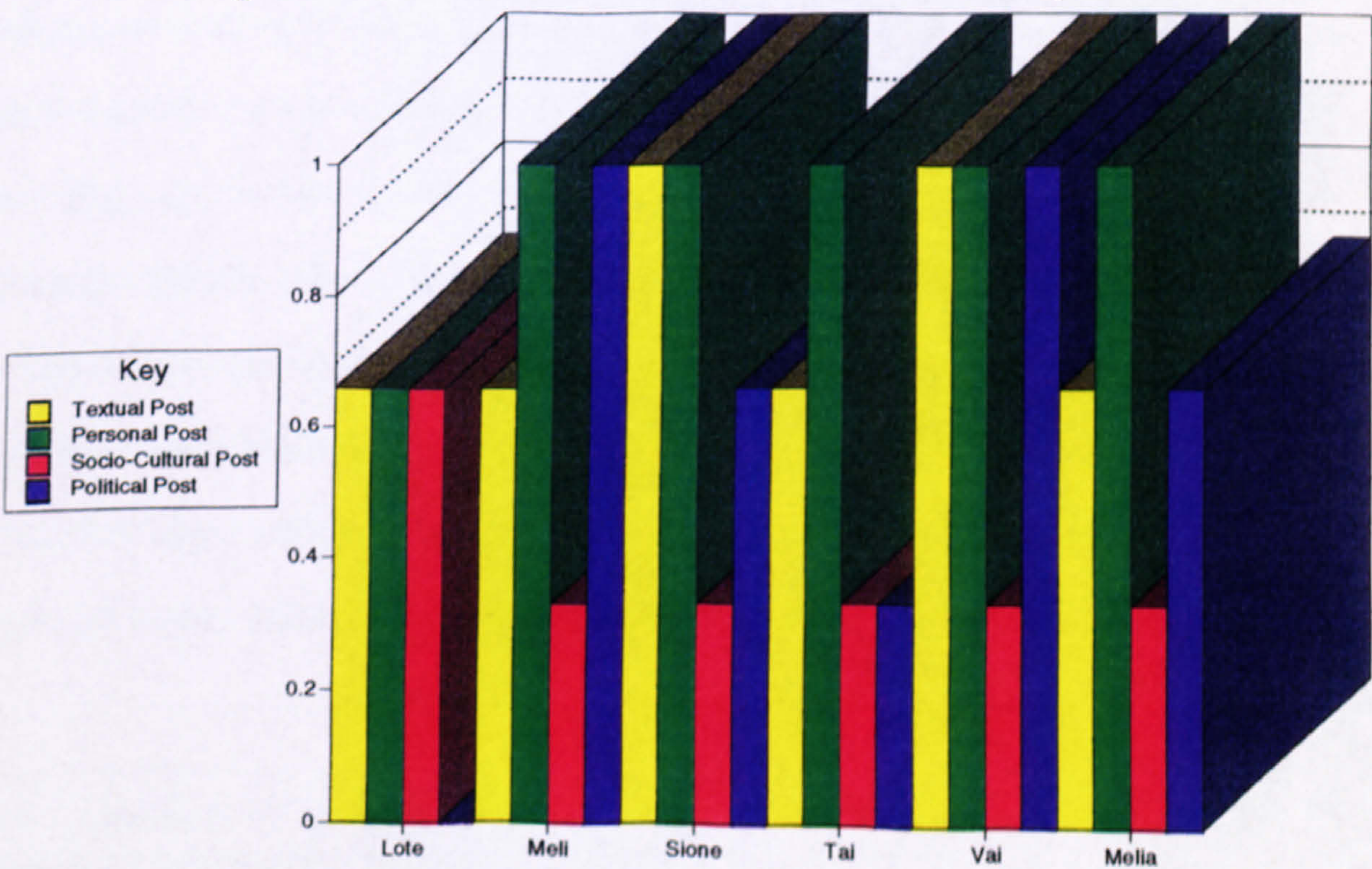


Fig3b Discourse Stances for Post Task Responses



5.2. During/Post-Scaffolding Responses:

In my own reading, male-authored *Eveline*, told in the third person constructs a socially repressive society where the protagonist, Eveline finds little choice for happiness. It seems to be redolent with the patriarchal view that a woman's role is subject to traditional notions of subservience and servitude. Lote approves Eveline's decision to remain with her father rather than go with Fred because his personal alignments, his literacy and cultural background welcome, and are in concord with this view. Meli, Sione and Vai adopt political, resisting stances, with Meli questioning the depiction of women's subordination though she does not offer alternative (e.g. empowering) readings².

Vai, in contrast, is contradictorily posed and resists on a different dimension, a resistance rooted in her personal:socio-cultural selves. She sympathises with Eveline's plight, but reads deferentially as an obedient daughter resisting the depiction of Eveline's father as a harsh unfeeling person because she claims, given the close-knit family background she comes from, that all fathers are not like that. Lote and Tai are the only ones who do not adopt a political stance. They are both deferential to what seems to be the dominant reading. They make socio-cultural links in addition to their textual-personal concerns but at varying levels. Tai reads like a patriarchal male; as a deferential female, reserving her sympathy for the father and the deceased mother (none for Eveline) because of traditional notions of female sanctity and filial duty to parents. Lote is contradictorily positioned in his sympathetic empathy with Eveline and Frank, and in his attempted justification of the father's behaviour. Melia is

² This is a limitation of the scaffolding where 'empowering' positions/responses as opposed to merely 'resisting' were not explicitly pointed out. It was assumed that it would be understood through the examples/tasks provided.

politically resistant in her sympathy with Eveline but does not critique male portrayal nor show any awareness of any sexism involved. Sione's political awareness is undermined by his characteristic objective stance. Though he understands the bias of the writer and women's plight, he justifies authorial expert knowledge.

Clearly, *Eveline*, invites a range of readings, a range that also becomes a range within a certain stance as in Meli and Vai's differing political stances and in others' different dimensions of personal alignments. It is possible that the lack of any sustained empowering resistance to Eveline's depiction is due to the novel effects of the scaffolding demonstrations, it being the first text. It is also possible that the narratorial effects of the third person distant narrator and Joyce's subtle psycho-patriarchal constructs of why Eveline needs not go with Frank (the promise, the mysterious picture of a priest looming over the sitting room, memories of a kind father) have discouraged non-deferential readings.

In *Electric City* the dominant message from its female writer seems to be the struggle of this working class Maori family, as told in third person, to survive in modern-day New Zealand. This is depicted in their lifestyle, attitudes and language. Rather than aligning or resisting, Lote transforms these textual signs using his dominant socio-cultural links to focus rather empoweringly on social/family relations rather than on the family's struggles and their subordination in terms of their race, class and education. Probably, his limited textual knowledge masks textual ideologies (i.e. the dominant reading). In contrast, Meli shows some understanding of the dominant reading. Her personal meanings and indeterminacies pre-scaffolding continue to surface as in her "as if", "perhaps", "probably". Through her probes, she assumes contradictory stances ranging from her authorial concerns with a message to a

resistance of how Harry and Ani are depicted. She is the only one with a political stance, one rooted in her personal and socio-cultural valuing of education.

The rest of the group assume textual, personal and socio-cultural stances; all somewhat deferential in their non-critique of textual construction. Sione self-places himself as Harry understanding why he has to leave school in terms of a son's duties. He provides what seems to be the dominant reading in his understanding of the plight of this family, accusing the government of being unfair. Tai and Melia, like Meli, maintain their endorsement of education in their disapproval of Harry's decision to quit. Tai's strong sense of family solidarity fuses with her view that texts teach lessons and reproduce reality making her non-critical and contradictory. Melia however, reads the story in a gendered way, promoting female's supposedly superior education in Ani's 'braininess' in contrast to Harry's lack of it. However, both Tai and Melia's responses in their ideas and arguments (like Lote's), are not developed, nor sustained reflecting their textual exclusion, their oblivion to textual signs, and the limited meaning links that they can have recourse to extratextually. Again, the lack of any critical depth in their readings may be due to the novel effect of the scaffolding. Also, most of them had voiced concern that this text was too difficult and this could have been instrumental in their overly focus on education as in the case of Sione, Tai and Melia¹. Further, though the narrative is deceptively simple in language, its abrupt, symbolic ending probably constrained responses especially when they are still over concerned with a unified reading, and only familiar with well-rounded, traditional stories (with beginning, middle and end - as reflected in their personal reading profiles).

¹ Some mention this in their response (see Vai), some orally and some on their second retrospections (see Appendix 4).

In the *BT* advertisement, the dominant meaning seems to be the exploitation of male (target audience) reticence, using the image of a male model to sell the BT service and the suggestion for males to be more communicative⁴. Lote transforms this by weaving his dominant personal and socio-cultural stances to read as a patriarchal male and not as the reserved male or general audience intended by the text. He does this in order to make a personal link in his inference that home tasks are women's duties. It is ironic that he never thought to link the notion of male reticence to that sold by the advertisement, given that this kind of personal reticence is characteristic of many males, particularly Tongan ones. Moreover, he did not even focus on the other dominant reading - that of BT's 'selling' aims. His textual exclusion could have denied him access to these aspects, particularly the message signified by the advertisement's slogan, 'It's always good to talk'. It seems that in such cases of textual exclusion, he, like Tai and Melia transforms language and visual cues into his own personal:socio-cultural meanings. Such a transformation positions him objectively, and possibly deferentially as he is unaware of the advertisement's target ideologies.

Meli and Sione adopt a political stance to this text. Meli resists what she takes to be the authorial meanings. She moves from a textual and personal positioning pre-test to one that is political and non-deferential with her personal responses comprising resistant and empowering elements. They are empowering in the sense that she not merely resists, she positions herself in the text as a feminist, and advocates for females against what she perceives is a kind of gender-role discrimination.

⁴ Alternatively, it can be argued that this reading may be an alternative one and that the dominant reading is that of the service offering missed opportunities to talk. Or as is often the case, the text invites more than one dominant reading.

Meli's gendered position may have been influenced by various positionings. One may be her shared identification with her own sex which seems to be a kind of intertextual connection (though she never actually claims so) in the way it echoes and reproduces the stances she adopts for *Eveline* and the *BT* advertisement. It may be also constitutive of her own assertive, independent personality, her readings of 'Nancy Drew'⁵ exploits, and that of her home background. A setting where home tasks are not strictly her mother's responsibility but a shared one where Meli plays a key role, and where her mother's busy professional work schedule (not housework) appears to have relayed a message to Meli that the home needs not be a female's domain and that women can be assertive and breadwinners. Sione refuses the target reading position in his resistance of what *BT* offers - for pragmatic reasons argued via his habitual 'rationalisations'. However, he does not offer any alternative readings.

Tai and Vai continue to approve the advertisement's ideas. Melia is rather indeterminant and her meanings are vague and fragmented. Vai, despite her critical questions, still subscribes to authorial craftsmanship. However, she is undecided about the target readership whom she thinks may be females. Moving beyond her textual and personal stances to the political is made only when they concern her personal, traditional female role/identity as in family dynamics. This shift seems empowering in her championing their cause but can be read as passive in their continued deferential stance to textual ideology.

Unlike the first readings where a textual stance dominates all responses, these second readings elicit a range of stances - dominant personal stance for all, a textual stance by Vai, socio-

⁵ Sleuth adventure series of a group of girls led by Nancy Drew, the main protagonist - very popular among high school girls in Tonga.

cultural by Lote and Tai, and a political by Meli and Sione. Though the *BT* advertisement provides a range of readings, the linguistic cues seem to limit the range of readings available, echoing Eco's (1979) 'closed texts'. The image generated more responses though on a superficial level than the cued "*Its good to talk*". This may also be due to the few language signs used, the text being dominated by the image. This male image in particular, elicits a rather empowering, gendered resistance from Meli and a patriarchal male reading from Lote.

In the *Singapore* advertisement, the dominant reading seems to be the service ethos of the airline epitomised by the depiction of a beautiful air hostess pandering to the needs (physical and emotional) of what seems to be targeted business men. As mentioned already, Lote was absent for this session. However, all four girls read as feminists, resisting this depiction of a subservient, passive woman whose beauty and caring nature are her only assets. Meli, Tai and Melia self-place themselves in the text in their shared, gendered resistance. They question this construction but do not generate alternative readings. Vai grapples with contradictory alignments, resisting the use and depiction of the passive female, yet, admiring the poetic craftsmanship of the lyrics, perhaps a result of her personal interests in creative writing and literary craft. As in his previous understanding of authorial construction, Sione shows hints of a political stance but he shifts to a personal, then objective stance. At the end, he resorts to a patriarchal male reading justifying the advertisement's use of a female via a local analogy to rationalise that they are standard lures for males⁶.

⁶ Sione is the only one who shows a kind of logical objectivity in his responses which are reflected in his frequent recourse to rationalisations.

Overall, the *Singapore* advertisement elicits the most gendered responses, clearly political from all four female readers and patriarchal from Sione (see Fig. 4). Evidently, it is the girls' personal-gendered alignments that give rise to their political readings. Though these stances dominate in this reading, they overlap. The woman's profile dominates the text and projects an image of docility, of passivity. The language further projects this nurturing portrayal, both of which are directed to a male audience which the girls readily identify. Such textual signs gave the girls no room to concur with its preferred reading thus positioning them into personally-gendered, feminist readings in contrast to Sione's rationalised, patriarchal, objective reading. A socio-cultural stance was evidently absent, with the personal and political dominating.

Figure 4

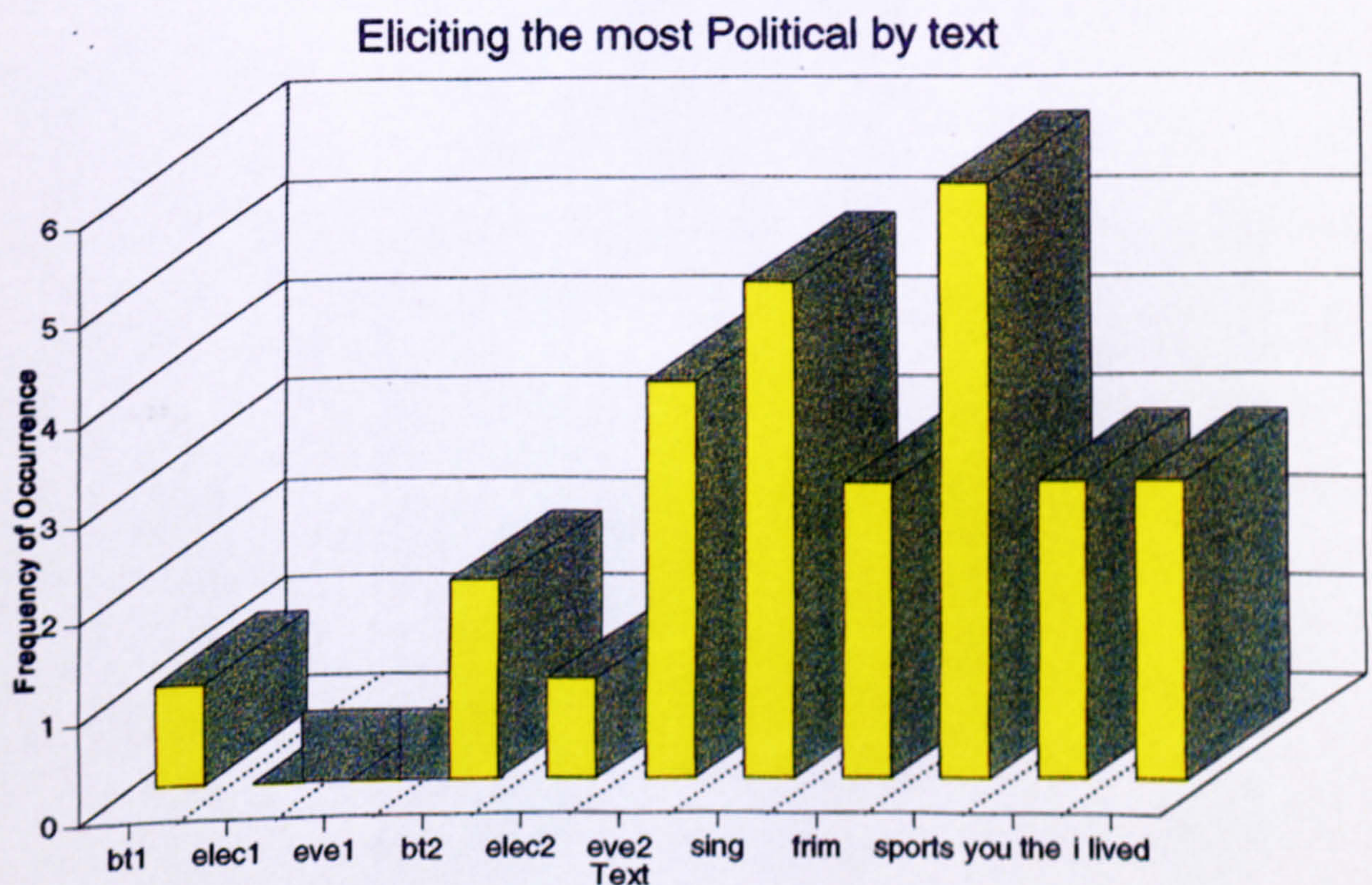


Figure 5

Eliciting the most Socio-Cultural by text

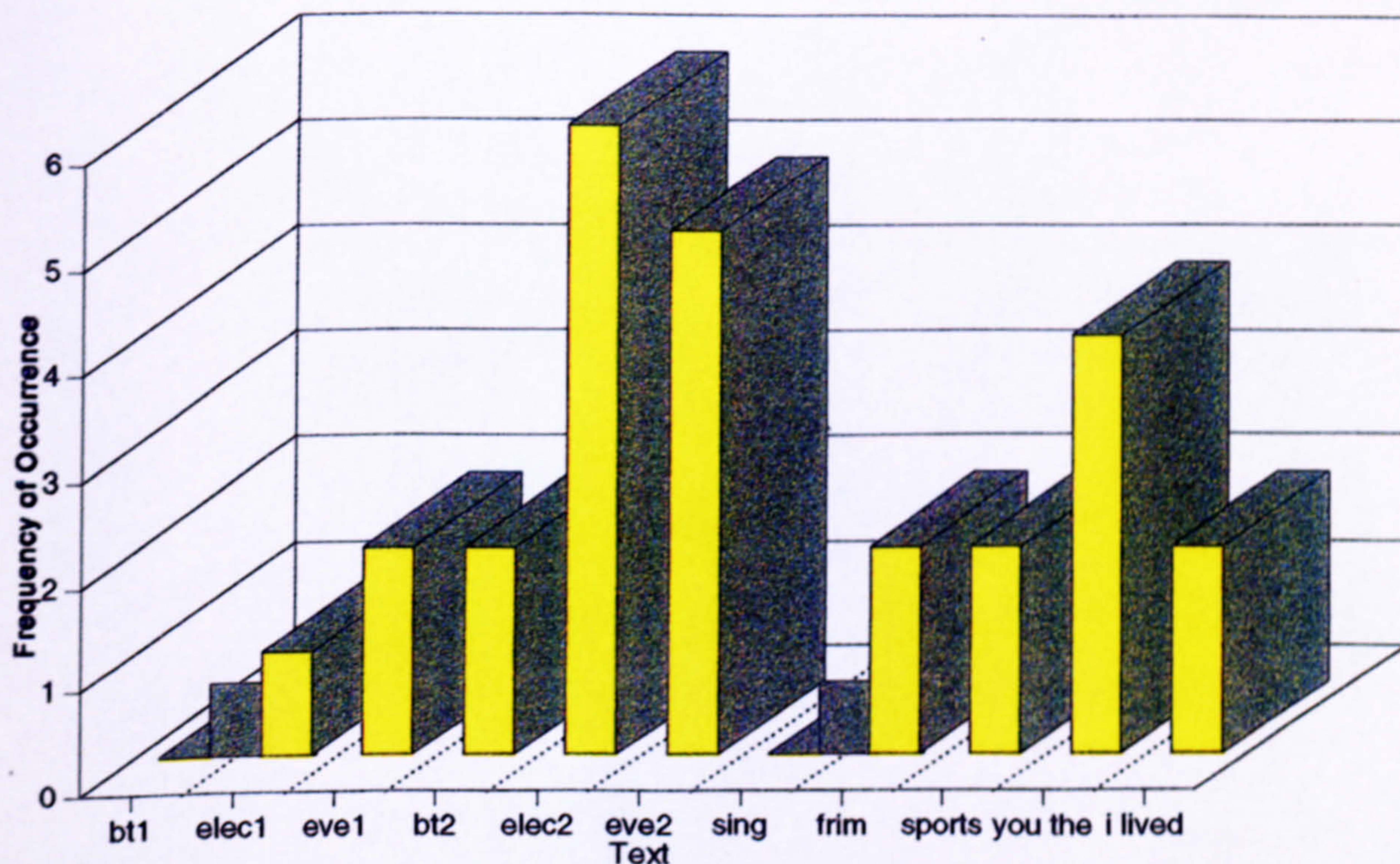


Figure 6

Eliciting the most Personal by Text

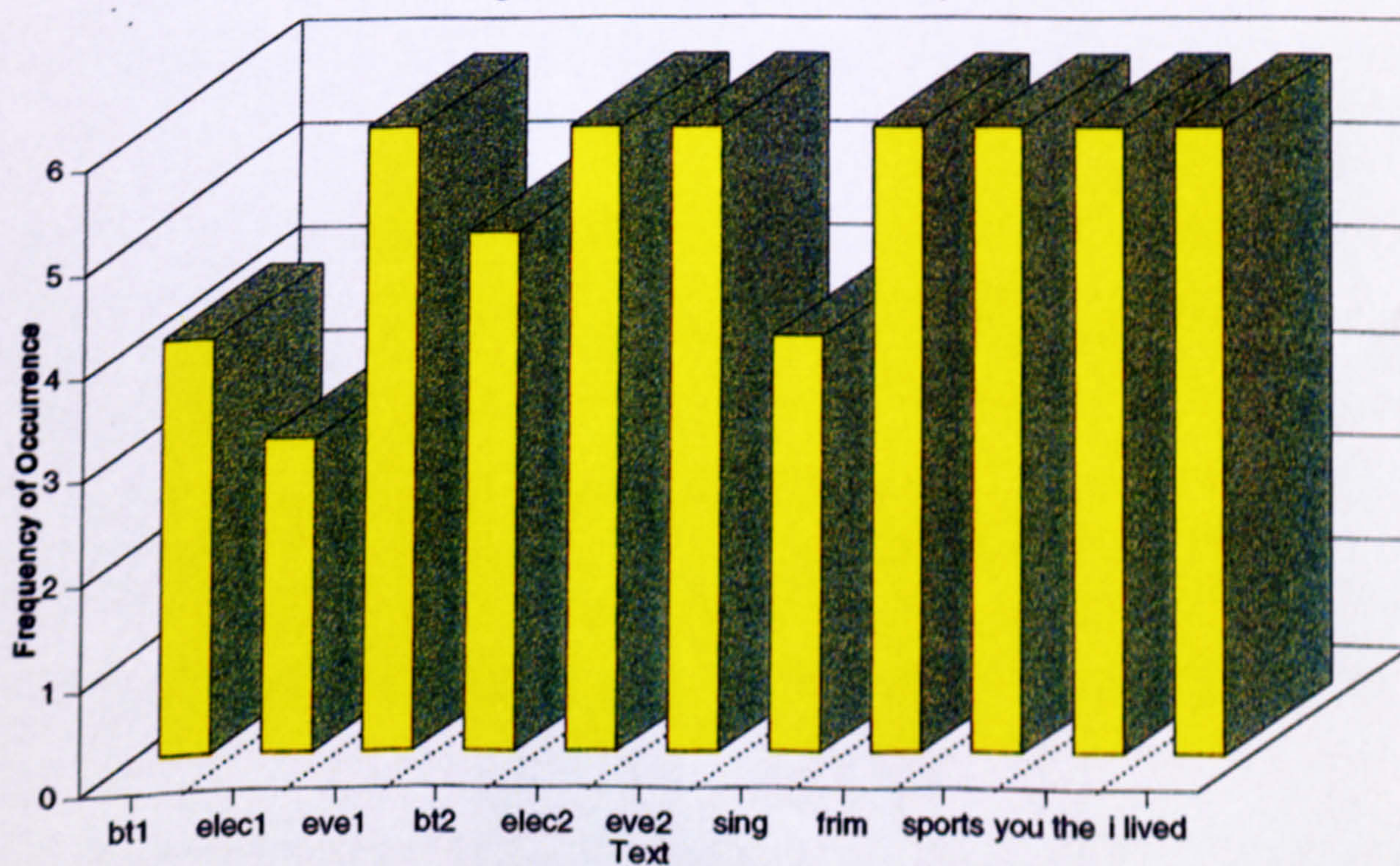


Figure 7

Eliciting the most Textual by Text

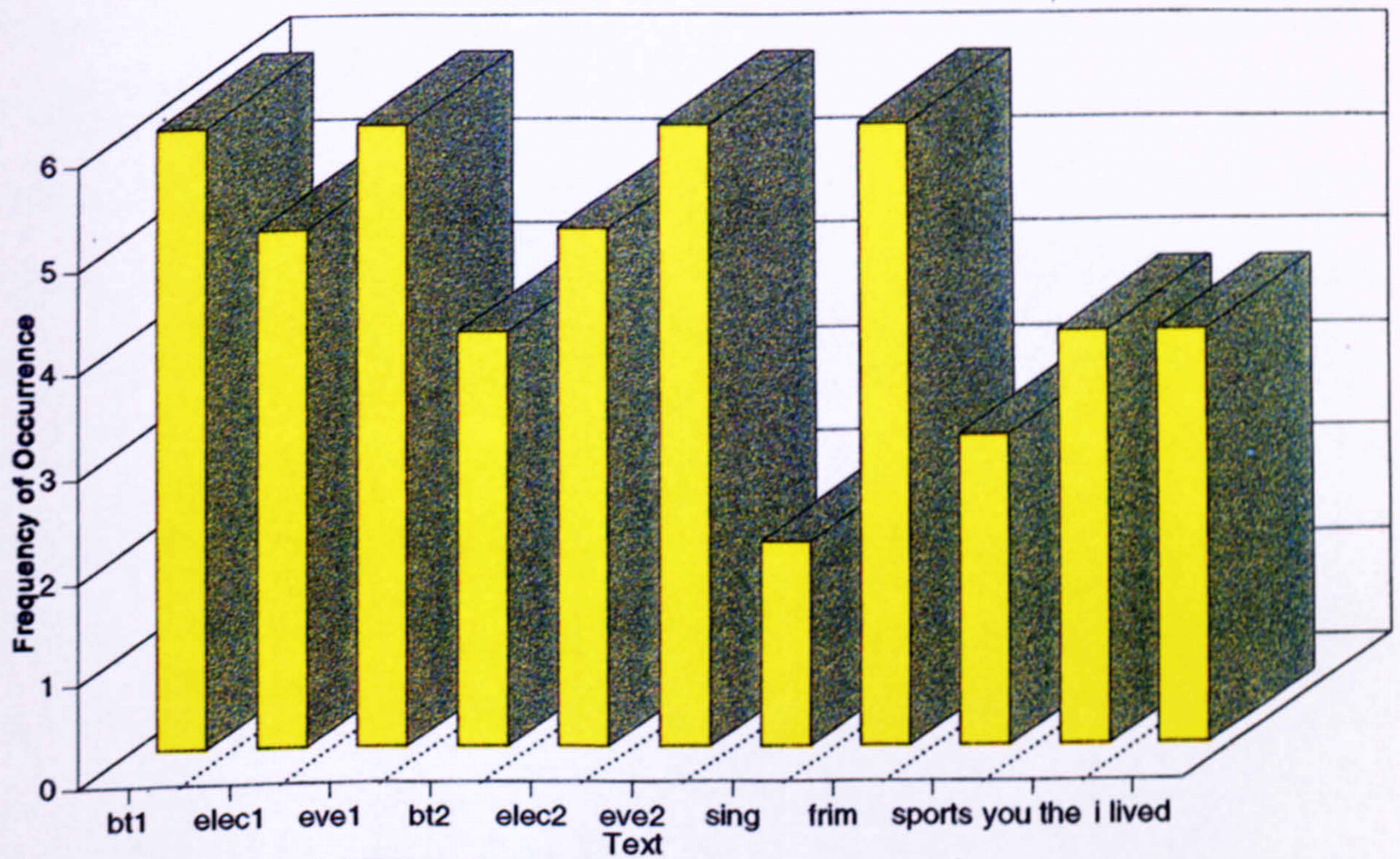
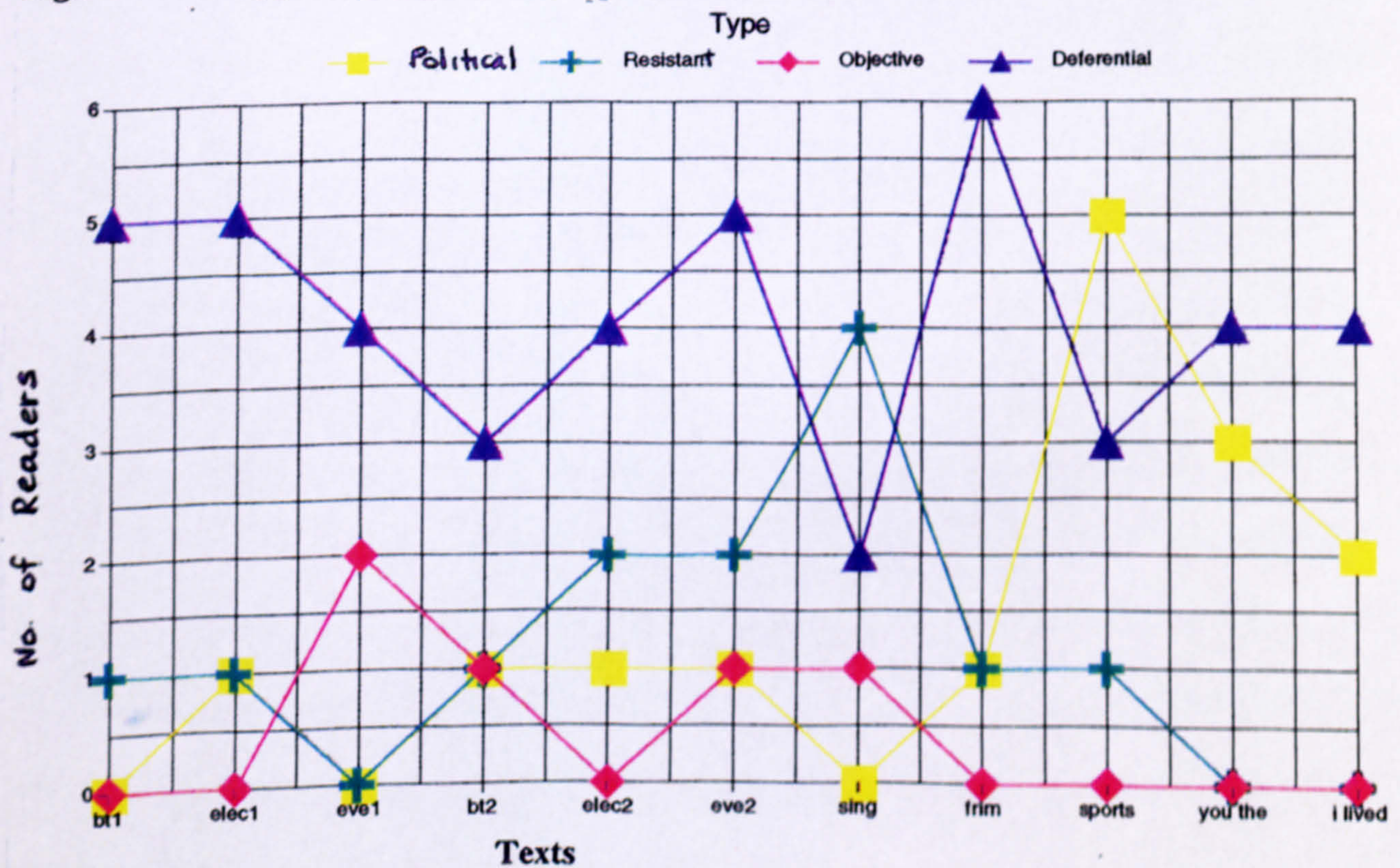


Figure 8 Types of Alignment per Text



bt 1: BT ad pre-test; bt2: Bt ad post-test; eve1: Eveline pre-test; eve2: Eveline post-test; ele1: Electric pre-test; ele2: Electric post-test; sing: Singapore ad; frim: Frim cartoon; you the: You the Choice; I lived: I Lived here Once

In the *Frim and Frat* cartoon, the inevitability of racial discrimination in human beings (the obvious/dominant idea) is brought into relief in the small frog's question, "*Green or Brown?*". Lote initially, identifies instances of discrimination. However, his non-development of this notion and his subsequent shift to gender conflicts and support for male precedence reveal his own discrimination where women's roles are concerned, and the paradoxical nature of all of his responses. His personal and socio-cultural alignments prevail as he endorses the hegemony of the prevailing ideology of socio-cultural (and classroom) passivity, male dominance, and that of his own subordination (to that patriarchal, passive ethos). However, if read alternatively, his stalwart socio-cultural stance can be deemed empowering for similarly aligned people in its persevering loyalty.

Meli again is multipositioned and like Vai, resists aspects of the cartoon's dominant reading. Her political stance is hinted at in her advocacy of minorities (whom she infers are represented by the small frog) making her waver in the conflicting dynamics of her various alignments along race, gender, socio-economic lines. It is political in the sense that she goes beyond the 'racial' aspect of the dominant reading of discrimination, reading the small frog as representative of other minorities. At one stage, she is particularly empowering for females but this is not sustained as her synthesis at the end becomes the dominant reading of discrimination. In doing so, she becomes paradoxically deferential to authorial/textual construction. Vai in contrast, is clearly political, resisting the depiction of people as discriminatory and offering an empowering reading, i.e. that not all people are like that. However, her usual stylistic concerns and appreciation of authorial knowledge make her readings contradictory.

Unlike others, Sione makes the least socio-cultural links as his textual and personal meanings seem to agree with the dominant reading of discrimination. Though he offers an alternative reading, it is still textually deferential. His preoccupation with the writer's purpose may have prevented him from this and his critical readings of the text somehow add up to a unified meaning unlike Meli, in his group, who transforms the notions of discrimination in such a way that she makes some kinds of resistant readings of it. It is possible that their group discussions gave Sione alternative readings but his authorial and personal concerns reign. Both Melia and Tai are textually positioned in their personal approval of the discrimination message, with Tai demonstrating fragmented personal links. In general, the cartoon, in eliciting a limited range of readings, is a rather 'closed' text. The most dominant stances it elicits are a fusion of the textual and the personal, and as shown in Fig. 8, it is the text that yields the most textually deferential stances, probably because its subject matter appeals to most (except Vai). The graphics, like the image in the *BT*, *Singapore* and *Sports* advertisements generate the most response as well as a range of meanings enabling readers to have recourse to various intertextual links to make inferences about discrimination.

In the *Sport* advertisement, the use of a young black man may convey two dominant readings - a message to young black males not to drop out from school, the institution of success. It is also saying that black young men are good in sports but experience little schooling success. Lote does not read it this way because he may have had no background knowledge of the high rate of black male dropouts in American schools (the social context of the text's construction). Instead, he transforms the text by exploiting his personal knowledge associated with blacks and sports to resist their denigration. The result is an empowering transformed reading highlighting black feats in sports. Significantly, this and the poem are the only texts that elicit

a political stance from Lote, a stance that may be rooted in his personal (with this advertisement) and sociocultural (with the poem, though has personal locations as well) alignments. They are, to some extent, to do with a resistance to feminist causes (as in his responses to the poem). His textual exclusion is shown in his limited recourse to textual knowledge or linguistic cues in the text. This is the same for Tai and Melia. Whereas, Vai, Sione and Meli show their textual access by their varying responses to textual cues and utilisation of other textual knowledge.

Meli utilises all her available textual and personal meanings to produce a political stance which hinges on being empowering. She empathises with blacks subverting their depiction as school failures into an empowering reading on their behalf. The rest have similar concerns. Sione uses his personal knowledge of male dropouts and blacks to question what he views is a racist presentation, suggesting empoweringly that a team of both blacks and white teenagers should have been shown. However, this meaning competes with his other personal deference to authorial messages, a deference probably rooted in his valuing of education over sport.

Vai and Melia's resistance are of varying dimensions. Vai, like Sione, suggests a racist ideology in the use of a black person. She makes an empowering suggestion probably based on a shared race identity or an affiliation with minorities - that a white male be put in to balance racial composition. She is the only one who explicitly places herself in the text. Like Sione, she provides contradictory readings based on the question of 'balanced presentation' as some knowledge she may have of male dropouts (that young men are used because many of them are dropouts) and her own personal interest in literary craft (that the words in the advertisement are "*apt*") position her contrastingly. Melia, like Lote, transforms the view of

blacks as the underdogs/dropouts into one that promotes their sportsmanship. Tai offers a range of readings, some approving the dominant reading, some hinting at a gendered presentation which she uses to conjecture whether males are good players. However, these are not developed.

As shown in Figures 4 & 8, the *Sports* advertisement generates the most political responses from five readers, and elicits the most empowering of readings (with the exception of Tai), readings which are locatable in their personal meanings and affiliations with blacks. Both the script and the image give varying signals. The language with its emphasis on schooling elicits much repetitive readings of the text thereby limiting focus on the educational aspect and making many concurring with the commonsense meaning of the importance of education. For instance, Vai sees the words as perfect, which contradicts her resistance to the negative depiction of blacks. Melia seems to read the text componentially, making only a token reference to the text's link to education in the last part, the reference being at the bottom part of the text, a situation which may be linked to her phonics concerns in the Phase 1/2 tasks. However, it is the black teen's image that generates the most political stances and the one that dominates the text. All see it as a sign of a racist downplay of blacks.

You the Choice, written by a female poet offers contradictory meanings. The bride persona's protest accentuates both the passivity of her compliance with her parents' wishes, and the dominance of cultural notions of obedience. Lote seems oblivious to her plight as he again, reaffirms the prevailing ideology of passivity and obedience. However, as one of the two texts where he does not show a textual deference, his stance is political because he reads as a patriarchal male, resisting the intended feminist reading position aimed at by the text, and

aligning with his socio-cultural meanings. Like Lote, Vai adopts a personal:political stance, ignoring the bride's plea for the more important cause of family solidarity, something which she strongly believes in. As in her response to *Eveline*, she resists the target feminist position, reading as an obedient daughter though she approves authorial craftsmanship due to her interest in that aspect. Meli, in contrast, takes a textual:personal stance because she reads as the poem's target feminist reader, drawing from her personal understanding of the cultural context and her literary/textual knowledge to sympathise with the bride. She resists traditional dictates and makes empowering readings on the bride's behalf. The same ideal position is taken by Melia and Tai, with Tai's sympathy grounded in a personal romantic sense, which links back to her love of romances (see p.271), while Melia's empowering ones are based on her more critical discernment of female's oppression. However, their pro-feminist readings position them as textually deferential, a 'chosen deference' based on gender affiliation.

Sione takes a multi-positioned stance. He empathises with the bride and the oppression of women but accounts this to cultural tradition rather than patriarchal dominance. He suggests that women stand up for themselves, but he does this in an objective way which is further undermined by his socio-cultural self (and maybe a male-gendered identity) in his contradictory follow-up "*but try not to hurt tradition*". He recognises the subtle working of patriarchal dominance but he distances himself, thereby placing him in a contradictory position of being sympathetic with the bride, and yet deferential to tradition and patriarchy. This is perhaps the result of his attempt to maintain a logical objective stance.

The poem invites a feminist reading. The symbolic and emotive language acts as literary 'hailers' which Meli, with her textual knowledge, utilises comprehensively as is shown in her

phrase by phrase analysis to demonstrate her sympathy with the bride and her resistance to traditions. Moreover, the emotive language and the hailing effect of the use of the first person "I" (the persona) work to invite these female readers (except Vai) to identify with the persona and give a collusive feminist reading. This kind of response may be explained by Chelland's (1990) findings that her girl readers respond on a 'discourse of feeling' concerned with relationships and emphatic alignments, as opposed to boys' focus on a 'discourse of action' which is concerned with logic and credibility (see Sione's response). That is, boys define characters by what they do. The context in which the poem is written also positions readers personally and socio-culturally. Most refer to the Tongan setting of the poem cued by certain Tongan vocabulary and allusions. Sione, in particular, shows through his analogies, his standard preoccupation with 'life-like' portrayal of texts⁷.

In *I Lived Here*, the dominant meaning intended by its female writer seems to be some kind of racial segregation, a sense of exclusion and possible loss of identity experienced by the native female as revealed in the silent, hostile confrontation between her and two white children. Lote reads as the text's ideal reader, as his 'socio-cultural self', and 'like a woman' in his anger at the discourtesy shown by the 'young' (children) to the 'old' (the native woman). This angry response seems to be located in his personal:socio-cultural alignments of deference to elders. Its emotiveness questions Chelland's (1990) earlier notion of males defining characters based on a discourse of action because it militates against the objective logic that goes with such a discourse. His fragmented reading is probably due to a dearth of background experiences related to racial and generational conflicts which could have led him to resort to

⁷ An effect of Reader Response teaching that he may have received from two of his teachers who attended my workshops.

personal empathy, rooted in his socio-cultural notions of deference. This is a stance that he frequently adopts when he lacks the background knowledge. Meli, Tai and Melia similarly make the dominant reading but with varying concerns. Meli, as usual, uses her various knowledges to question the ideology of racism presented. Tai, from a more feminist concern, thinks the writer belittles women because the boy does not speak to the woman, while Melia hints at sympathy for the woman, but this is undeveloped.

Sione and Vai adopt political positions. Both resist the depiction of whites as racist and in their support of whites, think the writer is biased. Sione does not develop this and is undecided about the ending. Similarly, Vai resists the depiction of 'fathers' in *Eveline*, 'discrimination' in *Frim and Frat* and now 'whites', arguing that not all whites are like those in the story. Probably the two, sharing a commonality in their having a white, non-Tongan parent may explain this. The story, like others invites a range of readings. However, it is possible that the distant, third person narrative precludes an empowering reading for those who resisted, and the linguistic denseness of the story (e.g. comments from Vai/Meli) would have made it more difficult to adopt a definitive stance. As in *Electric City*, students with clear textual exclusion like Lote, Melia and Tai make limited fragmented links overall.

5.3. Re-reading My Co-Readers

In this section, I make a synthesised re-read of the constitution of the two main co-readers, Lote and Meli, with brief references to the other four.

(i) *Lote*

We have seen how Lote's post-scaffolding responses show him emerging as a multiply-positioned reader who makes various meaning links beyond that of the dominant textual,

fragmented stance that characterises all his pre-scaffolding responses. These are shown in his attempts to either promote and/or transform the dominant ideologies that defined and prescribed the literacy practices he had participated in. Most of the stances he adopts are a fusion of the personal and socio-cultural which often make him textually deferential. His responses point to an overwhelmingly dominant personal:socio-culturally positioned self.

As discussed in Chapter 2, power-knowledge relations are constitutive of discourse. Foucault, amongst others (Bakhtin, 1984; Bourdieu, 1990; Pecheux, 1982; Gramsci, 1971; and Volosinov, 1973) discuss how discourse is pregnant with particular socio-cultural ideologies showing power struggles/relations of alignment, or resistance. In view of the scaffoldings, Lote should have become a *"reflexive agent"* who embodies *"repertoires of social and cultural meanings and practices which he may take up, transform and resist for particular goals and purposes"* (Bourdieu, 1990; p.x). However, much of the foregrounded evidence points to an 'agent' promoting the dominant discourses of his reading environment, and at the same time paradoxically, a 'subject' of such discourses. As shown in Figures 2a, 2b, 3a, 3b, Lote's meanings have the most socio-cultural links, and the least textual, personal and political locations. It seems that his textual exclusion to various textual knowledge evidenced from Phase 1 & 2 data disallows him access to textual signs so he takes recourse to his limited personal and socio-cultural meanings to make sense of his readings. It is also possible that his limited political stance might be explained by his own conservative, conforming personality (see profile, p. 179).

As already referred to, Lote's political self only emerges in deference to his personal and socio-cultural alignments with his personal, a site for approving a seemingly more dominant

set of socio-cultural meanings. As such, these two stances constitute and reconstitute a reading self that is passive from a feminist point of view, though empowering from a socio-cultural standpoint both in his alignment with the ideology of kin, patriarchy, rank and authority relations of his Tongan socio-cultural ethos, and in his rejection, even in the privacy of written response, of becoming a fully political self. The texts he has read for Sunday school and at school, as well as textual practices and classroom relations he has been engaged in, are embedded with the prevailing dominant concepts of his educational/socio-cultural background - that of hierarchies and unquestioning obedience, male dominance (teacher-centred), and defined gender roles. These are further augmented by biblical teachings that Lote receives from religious discourses. In such a context, his responses affirm and reproduce the ideology of these discursive practices. There are contradictory ideologies between, and within his social setting and that of his school. For instance, the traditional concept of a male as breadwinner, decision maker, and as an assertive character, sits uncomfortably with the spoon-fed learning encounters in his classrooms⁸. His responses however, suggest that other ideologies of deference to do with 'rank' and 'authority' (e.g the view of teachers as authorities on meanings) far outweigh this.

In their responses pre-scaffolding, Lote, and to a less extent Tai and Meli seem to be readers in a state of 'meconnaissance' (Bourdieu, 1990), or a case of Pecheux (1982) 'forgetting' reader (see also Eagleton's 'non-cynical' reader, p.50), an unquestioning state of misrecognition where they operate without being aware of how their daily lives have been structured or formalised by a society's social structure. Such misrecognition is paradoxical as it

⁸ 'Spoonfeeding' is often equated with 'nurturing' by many Tongan teachers and parents, and it is a gross misperception of two very different approaches.

contemporaneously champions as well as conceals the operation of the ideologies of deference/hierarchies, reflective of the structural hierarchies framing reading views, assessments and the wider society. Any weakness/failure is often attributed to individual difference and a general 'text-immanent' misreading of meaning. A classical example of this is Lote's perception of himself as a 'poor reader' because he "*does not read much and does not know word meanings*". This implies that he blames his individual ability - a blame that masks the operation of the ideology of passivity of the wider social context and that of the phonics and reading pedagogy he has been raised in. No matter how conscientiously he tries, his textual exclusion, limited reading experiences and world knowledge, and his own deferential personality all work to constitute a deferential subjectivity, strongly pinned to a personal:socio-cultural position. The mismatch between his school's reading goals and practice/support helps to perpetuate this deference. Despite his teachers' general view of reading as important, the ostensible lack of quality (and quantity of) reading materials, promotional programmes and critical pedagogy both at his past/ present schools and at home give no support.

There seems to be a kind of circularity in Lote's responses after the scaffolding. He continually vacillates but his personal: socio-cultural positionings preside and prevail at the end. His responses show him struggling to grapple with embodied textual signs as he tries to assign meanings to them. Some of these struggles may have been caused by a preoccupation with components of meaning - on a syntactical decoding. He interprets the text sentence by sentence rather than a more global approach, the influence of his phonics concerns. The guidelines seemed to have acted as a kind of chartered prescription for his responses even though they had been reminded to generate their own questions. As in *Frim and Frat*, he

shows a preoccupation with conflict: *"the writer shows the conflict between black and white people"*, but which he never develops.

The tensions Lote experiences (between his textual, personal, cultural and political meanings) are negotiated through consensus and transformations. Perhaps due to his deferential background, personality and textual (literary) exclusion, he settles these by giving precedence to his personal:socio-cultural meanings. Most of his responses show his alignment with the meanings that confirm the prevailing socio-cultural, deferential, and patriarchal ideology, whilst in others, he transforms them in terms of his own personal perspectives, which still subscribe to wider deferential and patriarchal notions. The scaffolding sessions have allowed him to shift positions, but in ways that he may have unwittingly affirmed the prevailing Bottom-up view of reading and textual practices of his schooling/religious experiences - a case perhaps of Pecheux's (1982) 'miscognitive' reader or Eagleton's (1991) 'non-cynic' due to his textual exclusion. Some of his responses show hints of a potential reflexive reader but they somehow mesh uneasily with his personal:socio-cultural meanings to the extent that he eventually opts for these meanings. He is both a 'subject' (who is, by nature, inherently passive) and an endorsing, non-reflective 'agent'/'object' of the dominant reading practices and socio-cultural ethos he has been enculturated into. As discussed in Chapter 1, 'empowerment' to use Gore's (1992) Foucauldian definition, is to confer power so that the conferee can 'exercise' that power. Lote has been empowered to generate alternative readings and such alternatives are exercises of power. However, these exercises, if they were done unwittingly, work paradoxically to sustain the dominant ideologies (of kin, male dominance, rank hierarchy) of his socio-cultural context and his own subordination, his own 'powerlessness'. In the two texts where he adopts a political stance, it is, as in the case of *You the Choice*, to

usurp the dominant feminist reading position, and to transform a downplay of blacks in the *Sports* advertisement in order to reaffirm his dominant personal:socio-cultural alignments.

Overall, Lote has shifted from a predominantly textual stance with limited links 'pre-scaffolding' to one that is consensually multipositioned (personal:socio-cultural, textual) 'post-scaffolding'. Some of his links are quite fragmented and the ones he focuses on waver within the confines of his personal and socio-cultural meanings. Still, the scaffolding has achieved an important feat. It has, if only in a limited way, granted him leverage to explore multiple meanings, to exercise 'deference' in critical awareness (by choice).

(ii) *Meli*

Meli's print-filled, literacy-oriented home background, her Australian literacy experience, and her love for reading seem to have guaranteed her a smooth literacy access to the textual demands of her present school. In her responses to the pre-scaffolding texts, we see the prevailing concerns of her literacy background, that is, the view of reading as predominantly the acquisition of a unified, authorial/textual meaning using various textual strategies. These are reflected in her teachers' concern with 'main ideas' and 'authored purpose' using interrogating literary devices such as symbols and images and contextualising word meanings.

Her unified reading of *Electric City*, *Eveline* and the *BT* advertisement pre-scaffolding (even in some of her post-scaffolding responses), show the effect of the dominant, text-immanent view at work seeing that her textual links and analyses seem so coherent and commonsensical. As already discussed, this is how typical responses have been normalised and how certain texts, through Barthes' (1977) 'realist operators' (or cultural codes which present ideas in a way

to render them recognisably realistic/commonsense, see p.80) privilege certain views and hide their effects in a commonsensical guise, rendering silent, unvoiced assumptions about gender, race, values etc. that are inscribed in texts.

In her post-scaffolding responses, we see how Meli, unlike Lote, in the dynamism of her response, fits Bourdieu's (1990) contradictory, 'reflexive agent and subject', initially a passive subject in her subscription to authorial/textual meaning, and at various stages, a resisting, empowering agent in her political struggle to make her alternative meanings gain precedence. As in Figures 1 & 8, she is the most political among the readers (followed by Vai & Sione), resisting authorial/textual constructions along minority dynamics (race, gender), Vai's, along family solidarity, and Sione's from a 'distance'.

Meli has utilised a wide range of links in various textual, personal and socio-cultural locations which, at times, compete for hegemony as shown in various contradictions in her responses. The dominant authorial view of meaning she brings into her readings pre-scaffolding, competes with that of the alternative ones effected from the scaffoldings and projects tensions. Most apparent is her attempt to align with, transform, and resist the textually-inscribed downplay of minorities, particularly women and blacks. That is, Meli, in instances where she adopts a non-deferential stance, seems to give primacy to meanings that advocate minorities especially along gender and race issues. Also unlike Lote, she is not in a state of Bourdieu's 'meconnaissance' because she shows her critical awareness of textual ideology by continually questioning such constructions. She, Vai and Sione, among the six, make the widest range of links. Her access to textual knowledge and literary conventions, and her strong gendered/minority identity make her continually have recourse to them as sites to situate her

interpretations, giving her few reasons to draw on her socio-cultural knowledge like Lote. She is the only one who explicitly adopts and maintains a Freirean questioning dialectic as she reads. This is constitutive of her own personal assertiveness as reflected in the leading role she plays in her group discussion. This leading role sees her taking on the Vygotskian role of an able reader, directing, determining turns and controlling discussions⁹. Her questions enable her to problematise certain 'given' ideological constructions, to draw attention to the construction of such meanings, and to continually search for alternative meanings. Her uses of 'perhaps', 'may', 'can' reveal her emerging resistance to a single definitive meaning. They also suggest the contradictions that multiple meanings create for her. In her search for meanings, she continually encounters conflicting, contradictory choices and her decisions on which meanings she would challenge, affirm, transform, or resist are ones grounded in her own conceptions of, and alignments with, race, equality and gender dynamics as constituted by the race and gender specific discursive practices that she had been raised in (e.g. her working mother, female-dominated home background, her personal alignment with adventurous females: e.g. reading Nancy Drew series). Though Sione still reads the texts differently, the possibility for the meanings of some of the less articulate ones in the group (not involved in the main study) to be voiced and to borrow from Sione's or Meli's voices is likely, given Meli's role and more dominant voice.

(iii) *Sione, Tai, Vai & Melia*

The others' interpretations are also produced out of the meanings available to them from reading practices that they have been brought up in. As shown in Figures 1 & 2a-2b, Sione

⁹ Some traces of hegemony at work can be argued to be evident in this directive role. See p.355 for a sample transcript of one of their group's discussions.

for instance, next to Tai and Vai make the most textual links, with him and Melia making the least socio-cultural links. His socio-cultural links are related to his personal and socio-cultural alignments with kin and filial notions of duty given the strong family bond that he comes from. His overall responses are dominated by a critical, textual:personal stance which is often grounded on a reasoned neutrality. This objectivity is reflected in his characteristic rationalisations¹⁰ and seems to fit, as earlier discussed, Chelland's (1990) male reader who relies on logic to make sense of text, perhaps also, guided by a kind of 'enlightened false consciousness' (see Eagleton, 1991, in p.50). This is a stance where one is aware of subversive elements operating but chooses not to transform them. His textual stance is dominated by thematic and life-like concerns. In the *Sports* advertisement and *I lived Here* where hints of a political stance emerge, these are linked to his personal alignments with 'sports' rather than with 'race' - advocate for blacks' sporting feat; and for whites as opposed to how they are depicted.

Tai's responses are dominated by a textual:personal stance with the textual often complementing her personal alignments. Where she makes alternative readings, they are located in her personal alignments - a gendered empathy, and in one occasion, a romantic sense. Her personal beliefs as in her concern for female's sanctity and a strong sense of family solidarity are also constituted by socio-cultural notions of kinship and social roles. She, like Lote makes the least political readings. Where one occurs, as in the *Sports* advertisement,

¹⁰ Interestingly during the F5 exam revision sessions that I included as an incentive, Siene had queried on the feasibility (in terms of good grades) of arguing both for and against a given essay topic, i.e. to remain neutral.

she transforms, like others, a downplay reading of blacks into an elevation of their sportsmanship, a transformation rooted in her knowledge of black sportsmanship.

Vai shows the most contradictory reading selves. She adopts a range of alignments along a broad range of categories to do with gender, race, roles/relationships. These lead to a range of contradictory alignments that covers the whole spectrum: from textual, to political, and from deferential to non-deferential. At one stage, she is the resisting feminist, in others, the obedient daughter. Often however, she reads as a passive female (non-feminist) like a patriarchal male, and in authorial deference. Like the others, her dominant stance is marked by textual-personal:socio-cultural concerns and her political stance is not so much a feminist opposition than a resistance to the feminist reading positions offered by the texts. Overall, her personal:socio-cultural meanings override others making her in many instances, deferential to authorial/textual meanings, a deference traceable to her literary interests and strong family-oriented values, constitutive of her church's family doctrines and that of wider cultural values.

Melia adopts a range of stances though her personal one with socio-cultural links dominates. Like Lote, and Tai, her textual exclusion as a result of limited reading experiences makes her resort to her personal meanings to make sense of the text. Her political stance has a predominantly gendered location though she also advocates for blacks in her empowering resistance of what she thinks is a racist depiction. This political position may also be linked, as in Meli's case, to her independent, renegade personality (see her profile, p.299).

I will now summarise the findings derived from the vignettes as they pertain to my research questions and related concerns - that is, to: (i) reader positionings and knowledge (meaning)

links, (ii) texts and textuality, (iii) the scaffolding and response context, (iv) the issue of dominance, and the (iv) reading perspectives that such links point to.

5.4. Findings

5.4.1. On Reading Positions and Knowledge Links

The study shows that my co-readers interpret or make knowledge links in certain ways, but these are not fixed across texts, backgrounds, gender, and even in rereadings of the same texts. Such links are particular to how each has been constituted historically as a reader; and are drawn from various locations. They may be confined to the text (intratextually); or extended to discursive points inter/extratextually (cf. Barthes, Derrida, Foucault, among others). As their polyphonous responses show, the boundaries of such links cannot be strictly defined for they are 'deferred' - only 'temporal constructions', made at a particular research context, to a particular research demand and textual cues, from a particular relevant point of interest and location, and constituted by ideologies of the wider socio-cultural context. Such links are made through 'inferences' and conjectures, and are often tenuous and indeterminant (frequent use of 'perhaps', 'maybe' etc.) probably because the referent codes are missing, inappropriate, or unappealing.

Multiple, affirmative, contradictory readings were taken up by my co-readers. Some shared similar alignments but made varying links because of their participation in different discursive practices. Those who assumed the same stance did so from varying vantage points or alignments - either from a textual, a personal, a socio-cultural or a political location; or an overlapping fusion of these. Male readers (Lote, at times Sione) often adopted deferential, patriarchal male positions and so did females like Vai and Tai and Melia who sometimes read

as passive females, that is, like patriarchal males and against feminism. Some may be like Sione who sometimes read like a feminist, and who transformed the dominant reading into ones which are neither resistant nor deferential. Or like Meli, and occasionally Tai, Vai & Melia who read as feminists. Some, like Meli, Sione and Vai, may even shift during rereadings or across texts in matters of degree within and across the same positioning. For instance, from within a political stance one's alignment may shift from merely resisting to being empowering like Mills' (1994) *"reactionary resistant readings to progressive ones"* (p.41)¹¹, or some vacillated between being deferential to non-deferential others (resistant, objective and empowering). Such variations destabilise psychocognitive notions of a unified reader, a unified reading and a unified text, particularly their assumption of a homogeneity in response and a universal reading process. Instead, they attest to the poststructuralist notion of a multi-positioned, socially constructed subject and of a text as a potential template of multiple meanings (cf. Derrida, *inter alia* in review). Given that these readers share commonalities as being Tongans, adolescents, and F5 students, the variation in their responses renders untenable any claims to homogeneity. Rather, they are mediated by a range of alignments to do with generation, gender, race, kinship/family, social roles, interests/values, contexts, reading, and so on (see also Fuss, 1989; Mills, 1994, 1995).

This heterogeneity (see Kristeva's semiotic, p.40-42) in response has important implications. Firstly, it discounts the conflicting findings posed by Lote and Sione's responses as they relate to Chelland's (1990) dichotomous notion of 'gendered reading' (e.g. to female's discourse of

¹¹ Akin to Stuart Hall's (1973) hierarchy of reading positions. However, I find this hierarchy notion problematic because it misleadingly presumes/ranks a range of readings in decreasing order of importance e.g. (from dominant to minor, from coherent to incoherent). Textual construction axiomatically does this but from an interpretive viewpoint, this should not be encouraged.

feeling vs male's discourse of action). It suggests that the notion of a 'gendered' reading is subject to becoming essentialised and in doing so, works to sustain dichotomies. It should be seen as a discursive temporality as Derrida (1978) suggests¹². Secondly, the range of alignments that comes with such a heterogeneity projects tensions like that voiced by Lave & Wagner (1991, see p.91) where as novices in problem-posing and critical interrogations, my co-readers were in a dilemma to engage and participate as members of the existing reading practice, and on the other, to establish their own identities, to question the status quo. In particular, tensions as their various alignments compete and as they position and are positioned in multiple levels, as individuals, as members of: an exam oriented pedagogy, a family, a christian faith; a sporting fan, as daughters, sons, and so on. Thirdly, they foreground the competing ideologies of the interstices between discourses that have constituted these readers (e.g. personal assertiveness versus traditional deference as shown by Melia, pragmatism versus family communality for Sione; gender alignment versus personal/family interest for Vai); and reveal how the intricate webbing of such discourses either mutually, or contradictorily impact on each other in varying ways. My co-readers 'actively' constructed various readings. However, such active constructions as are often exhorted in Reader response/Whole Language notions of the 'active meaning-maker', do not necessarily and automatically define them as non-deferential readers. Some stances were either postured in deference or in resistance to what is constructed by the text.

Four main alignments describe my co-readers variously within a text and across texts. These are the colluding, deferential readers who defer to the dominant reading(s) offered by the

¹² Cf. also to Kamberelis & Scott's (1992) notion of 'subjectivity' where a reader takes on multiple selves by adopting a range of stances which are in constant flux of negotiations and readjustments.

text; and the objective ones who are critically aware of the dominant readings but remain neutral and/or ambivalent. Then there are the resisting readers who resist the dominant reading but do not generate alternative ones; and the empowering readers who not only resist, they make empowering alternatives.

(i). **Deferential/Colluding Readers**

All the pre-scaffolding readings, and some post-scaffolding positioned my readers in textual deference akin to Boardman's (1994) "*colluding reader*" (p.205). This is a reader who approves as well as makes the intended, usually the dominant reading of a text. For patriarchal proponents like Lote and Tai, this position is located in what seems to be an inherited habit of textual/authorial deference (from their classroom practices). This deference colludes with their personal and socio-cultural alignments to do with kin solidarity, filial duty, respect, female sanctity, religion, and education¹¹. They seem to use socio-cultural and personal notions to make, and claim 'sense'. Moreover, a characteristic element of these collusive readings as in Lote and Tai's case, is the fragmented and limited connections made. This points to their exclusion to textual and other kinds of knowledge as already reflected in their profiles, recalls and retellings. An exclusion that disallows them to read and link textual signs/images as well as extratextual texts in ways which can provide them with more choices, choices that help usurp the hold that textual/authorial collusion has on them.

This deference is not necessarily passive and can be critical and empowering, though in concord with the text's dominant reading. Vai made critical and empowering readings for

¹¹ Concurrence with textual ideology may be part of the textual construction process where writers use certain textual cues to target specific reading groups via an assumed shared knowledge.

patriarchal/socio-cultural causes, and so did Meli and Melia in their deference to the dominant feminist reading in *You the Choice*. Such active deference or conscious deference is often to do with a process of 'identification' or 'self-placement'¹⁴ in the text, either located in their gendered identity or other personal/socio-cultural alignments. The majority become deferential because of this self-placement. However, as already suggested from their multiple positionings, this identification never remains fixed because it competes with other alignments giving way to other meanings. For instance, all the girls identify with the female repression in the *Singapore* advertisement, whilst racial or minority affiliation based on their respective knowledge of blacks make them identify with the black youngster in the *Sports* advertisement. Melia identifies with Eveline unlike Vai and Tai, and she is similarly positioned in the *BT* text because of its non-portrayal of females. Even Sione places himself 'degenderedly' as Eveline but shifts later to a neutral stance, and then 'genderedly' as Harry in *Electric City*. This is an ambivalent stance, suggestive of the competition between his objective and subjective discourses (e.g. gendered identity versus socio-cultural notions of a son's duty vs schooled practice of a neutral stance)¹⁵.

These instances of fluid identification discount the notion of 'identification' as a fixed and simple direct alignment with textual representation, as it does with a gendered, homogeneous response (see also Mills, 1994). As Mills suggests, the self is not a unitary being and text representation is more complex than the linear analogy it often assumes. This is because, as

¹⁴ Self-placement I believe differs from 'sympathy'. A person can identify with or understand what a character experiences but does not necessarily 'sympathise' with her/him.

¹⁵ Cf. to footnote 10, p.340 which refers to Sione's concern during our revision session for the TSC English paper, about the viability of adopting a neutral stance in essay writing.

reiterated throughout this thesis, ideas in text are constructed as part of complex and diverse discursive processes. Some like Lote, Tai and Melia were deferential perhaps because of instances of Pecheux's (1982) 'miscognitions', or a case of Eagleton's (1991) 'non-cynical' readers. Though they had identified some of the texts' dominant readings, their exclusion from various knowledge due to their limited reading experiences, particularly textual, preclude a comprehensive awareness of their various positionings (see also Bourdieu, 1990; Kress, 1985; Mills, 1994; O'Neill, 1989). Some 'exercised' chosen deference like Vai and Sione, a case of 'enlightened false consciousness' (Eagleton, 1991, see p.50). They critically understood certain patriarchal or biased constructions but their textual concerns (Vai on stylistic admiration, Sione on authorial expert knowledge) forced them to adopt contradictory, ambivalent/neutral stances. In general, while the deferential readings are exercised choices in most cases as seen in Sione and Vai's cases, they are not very apparent in Lote and Tai's case because of their exclusion to a range of textual knowledge which may have worked to mask the normalising process of ideological hailing.

(ii) Objective Readers

Sione is the only one who clearly adopts an objective stance. This mostly occurs when a gapped (potentially feminist) or clear feminist reading is involved. For instance, though he is aware of women's subordination in *Eveline*, the *Singapore* advertisement and *You the Choice*, he uses rationalised logic and real life analogy to distance himself from advocating on their behalf. As earlier mentioned, he fits Chelland's (1990) logical male reader, a position reminiscent of a Formalist's objective approach to text interpretation. Vai, in some instances, shows some ambivalence, vacillating from deferential to non-deferential readings especially where her literary and kin/filial concerns pit against her weaker feminist concerns.

(iii) **Resisting Readers**

Most points of resistance are to do with ideas that are personally and/or socio-culturally unappealing or unacceptable to them - such as various forms of discrimination especially with regard to minorities (women, blacks, working class), education, Tongan social roles. However, as we have read, those who resist do not necessarily fill the 'sutures' (Kuhn, 1982, see footnote 32, p.80) and incoherences - with alternative readings that are sufficiently empowering to augment the causes of their resistance. Certain readers like Meli and Melia, appropriate the dominant ideology to construct resisting or transformative positions for themselves (see also Mills, 1994). This is especially so in response to patriarchal-inscribed texts such as *Eveline*, the *BT* and *Singapore*, and to the race/minority downplay in the *Sports* advertisement. Most of the female readers in response to *Eveline* and the *Singapore* advertisement usurp their male-inscribed reading positions by wresting their dominant ideologies from the historicity of their paternalistic production. Others like Vai and Sione transform a dominant reading into their own meanings as in their responses to *Frim and Frat*, *I Lived Here* and *Sports*. These resisting stances shifted from being merely reactionary to readings on the verge of empowerment as the scaffoldings proceeded. This progression is enabled by alternative links as shown in the pre-/post-test readings (see Figs. 2a-2b & 8).

The mere act of resistance suggests the relative success of my 'empowerment' aims in terms of 'conscious exercised power'. My co-readers' ability to resist and/or to generate alternative ones compared to their pre-scaffolding deferential stances are signs of empowerment, a sign of critical awareness of multiple meanings. Those whose resistance or collusion based on similar personal/socio-cultural/political alignments seem to fit Fish's 'interpretive community' and Wallace's (1991) 'club of readers', but even within such similarities at the macro level,

are apparent differences at the individual/personal level¹⁶. As already discussed, readers in the same group respond variously from different positions and even those similarly postured differ in dimension as in the case of Meli and Sione; Lote and Tai.

(iv) **Empowering Readers**

Boardman's (1994) 'renegade readers' are akin to my empowering readers in the sense that they refuse to collude with textual cues that direct them to a dominant commonsensical reading. They do not merely resist, they make alternative empowering readings located in various alignments that they personally value. These alignments are to do with their personal identity, interest and beliefs, which are, in some cases, linked to their socio-cultural selves. As shown in Figure 7, all my co-readers made alternative readings of the dominant reading of black dropouts as related to educational success in the *Sports* advertisement. Despite the resistance of all female readers to the male-inscribed *Singapore* advertisement, they do not offer any empowering readings unlike the empowering readings offered by Vai and Sione (and Lote for the latter) to the feminist/minority-inscribed *I lived Here* and *You the Choice*. These empowering readings suggest several things about knowledge links: that readers can be empowered to make various links other than intratextual ones; that the links sanctioned or made recourse to can be a shared interpretive framework based on common interests/alignments, or can vary from reader to reader and may vary progressively within rereadings of the same texts, across texts, or at different points of time, producing multiple, and at times, contradictory reading selves.

¹⁶ The kind of consensus readings implied in Fish's notion especially in a peer or teacher-led discussion context, may not allow certain readers to resist or interpret in the way they really want, especially those with limited knowledge or who are less articulate. See a sample transcript where this occurs in p.355.

In general, the study shows that links are grounded in an interdisciplinary mosaic network of meanings, locatable in texts, in readers, in discussions, and in their respective reading histories and discursive habitats (family, church, schools, Tongan traditions). Moreover, that these are generated/inferred based on 'availability', on presumed 'relevance' (see Sperber & Wilson's 1986), on 'personal alignments' and on each respective student's discoursal constitution as reading selves. Links sharing common sites are those grounded on personal and socio-cultural alignments with gender, filial/family and cultural notions of rank and deference. Further, they are made from an interplay of overlapping stances and involve traversions/transformations, or extensions. Such interplay discounts psychocognitive/formalist notions of reader/text autonomy, and suggests the value of making 'intertextual links' to enrich interpretations.

Overall, the range of alignments (deferential in one instance and objective/resistant/empowering in another) that my co-readers have adopted shows that the spaces afforded to them from the scaffolding sessions both liberate and confine them, and in some instances, are often not taken up. Contestation of meanings is only obvious in alignments which involve a conflict of interest, especially those which have no appeal, direct relevance, and are not acceptable to them - alignments to do with family and its antecedent roles; education; generation, religion, gender, and race. Such alignments however, become blurred when it comes to defining their exact location and defining boundaries. The differences in their meanings are located in their own individual discursive histories, but these differences narrow as their meanings converge on alignments located in their broader Tongan cultural discourses. As such, the voices in each particular alignment can be traced to various locations, to wider sources, to a range of spaces -but evidently most powerful are those made available (and thereby act as constraints) by cultural discursive formations of the wider Tongan society.

The deferential readings made by some may suggest that even the noblest 'empowering' aims may not guarantee 'conscious exercised power'. This can happen if readers are in a state of miscognition. However, I argue that even the deferential readings generated by Vai and Sione (and in some instance Lote and Tai), are empowering in themselves because they are chosen 'exercises' of deference. They are aware of other meaning alternatives but choose not to align with them - this critical awareness whilst making a choice deference is 'exercised power'.

5.4.2. On Texts and Textual Meanings

As discussed in Chapter 2, texts are the constructed, manifested, ideological warps and wefts of discourses for they are produced in specific social situations for specific purposes (Kamberelis & Scott, 1992). Readers become subjects or in Freirean terms, 'repressed objects' (see p.88) as they are hailed by these inscribed ideologies to recognise themselves as the target selves that texts construct (see naturalisation notions in review, p.48). It helps to clarify why readers like Lote, and at times, Melia, Tai, Vai and Sione are positioned through this subtle process as subjects by texts' dominant ideologies and make compliant, commonsensical responses unwittingly. These texts construct certain knowledges in given ways that they are assumed to be agreed upon by readers if they share the same set of tools.

Several important implications arise from these findings, particularly necessary given the L2 status of students. First, is the importance of a Critical Stylistics analysis to allow students to recognise textual hailers and how certain cultural codes operate to sustain or repress certain meanings. This points to the necessity of furnishing them with text interrogation strategies to help them identify textual constructions. Second is the importance of the poststructuralist tenet

of intertextuality as a linking tool to challenge/transform ideological overdeterminations by texts/text-immanent meanings. Both of these suggest the essentiality of scaffolding Tongan students to provide the appropriate contextualisation of certain generic conventions of textual production given their limited exposure to a range of texts.

The use of 'realist operators' (Barthes, 1977; see review, p.80), such as direct narrative address is often to invite a specific group to read the text's preferred reading. This provides readers with special information that textual characters are not aware of. It also establishes a shared rapport or understanding as utilised in the use of 'deixis' (the way a text creates a context for itself by the use of 'I' or 'You' pronouns - see Montgomery, 1989) such as "*You*" in the *BT* and *Singapore* advertisements and "*I*" in *You the Choice*. Through this direct address, and sometimes indirectly via an assumed shared background knowledge, authors make the dominant reading position look commonsensical thereby creating a position for self-placement by a compliant reader. Another strategy is "*protensive tension*" (Boardman, 1994, p.206) which lures readers along by creating/satisfying certain expectations (e.g. certain conventional openings/closures; stereotypes), thereby securing the ideal reader's reading position. The success of such techniques is reflected in the various identifications, self-placements and shared empathy shown by my co-readers. There were instances of shared empathy and knowledge between female readers and female characters, and between female readers and ideas in texts written by female writers, which invite dominant feminist reading positions. As well, shared empathy was evident between readers who align with patriarchal/cultural notions of kin. They become 'collusive subjects' positioned by deictic or ideological hailing. However, such identifications as discussed, were not sustained nor consistent.

As discussed earlier, non-deferential readings show that interpellations by textual cues do not always elicit the required dominant response. They serve as cues for a range of readings, and sites from which to interrupt dominant readings (see Kamberelis & Scott, Gilbert, Mills, Morgan, for similar findings - in review). Many of the male-directed texts like all the three advertisements in this study are resisted by many of my female co-readers just as female-inscribed ones like *You the Choice* and *I Lived Here*, are resisted by my male co-readers and Vai to some extent. Advertisement graphics for example, generated more resistant readings than the linguistic cues, either because of some reader's textual exclusion (cf. Lote and Tai's reliance on pictorial texts in their profiles) and/or because they perceive gaps in their use, whereas the 3rd person narrative of *Eveline* and *I Lived Here* probably contributed to the non-deferential readings made by some of the girls.

The readers' multiple positions are evidence against Althusser's notion of interpellation as a linear direct process producing a fixed reading position, and bears testimony to the dynamic view of ideology posited by Eagleton and Hodge & Kress in the review. They further discount the view that textual representation is a direct reproduction of reality. Their varying responses show that texts are multilayered cuing systems and that these cues, do not elicit fixed, idiosyncratic or predictable meanings but are laden with the particular sets of values and beliefs of the discourses that produced these texts and readers (see also Gilbert, 1989; Patterson, 1990). Other findings regarding scaffolding have a direct relevance to my empowerment aims.

5.4.3. On Scaffolding Context

Meaning transactions, be it individual/group/teacher-led, and how such talks are organised

affect response. The study shows no perceivable qualitative difference between the teacher assisted post-scaffolding 'tasks' and the 'no-teacher' assisted post-scaffolding 'tasks' and 'tests' but the data on that aspect is too limited to warrant a justification¹⁷. As earlier suggested about Fish's interpretive community, reading a text in groups may skew results as there may be a leaning towards consensus (see also Mills, 1994). However, Melia and Lote who shared a teacher-mediated group produced differing responses, so did Sione and Meli who were in a 'no-teacher', peer-led group. Tai worked on her own without any benefit of group or teacher discussion. Because of her textual exclusion, she relies more often on her personal:socio-cultural meanings than on textual ones. Nevertheless, the process of hegemony was evident where the teacher rendered silent the meanings of less articulate/competent students, as has occurred in Lote's group, or when a more competent peer (as Meli did in her group), unwittingly prescribes an authoritative reading, disqualifies certain responses, and interrupts or dominates discussion. This is shown in the following transcripts of two groups' discussion of *Eveline*.

Lote's Group:(my emphasis on instances of hegemony)

T: Why didn't Eveline love her father? Why? Did she love her father?

L: She didn't love her father because she didn't get along with him..

T: Probably the father had mistreated her

L: Yes(He nods in agreement)

T: Why didn't Eveline love her father?

S:

T: Interesting when Eveline decided to stay behind - Is that a sign of love and concern and care? Because if she had gone off with Frank she would have started a new life..gain freedom because when she stayed, do you..Is that love?

S: Yes

L: No..Because she was frightened if she married, her father would have...

T: No that's not a sign of loving

S: I think...

T: When she stayed is that a sign of loving?

Legend: T: Teacher, L: Lote, S: a female reader

¹⁷ As earlier mentioned, irregularity in attendance meant that group discussions were often disrupted.

The teacher here interrupts, dominates the discussion as well as disqualifies Lote's response. In Meli's group where there was no teacher mediation, Meli assumed the role of group reader and directed the talk and turns. She is the one who spoke the most and the lengthiest. At times, she moved on to the next question without going further to explore a particular question. However, she tried to let everyone speak and did not set out to disqualify their responses. It is also obvious that she has advantage over others in language proficiency and reading experiences, and so the process of hegemony is inevitable, particularly if they are still new to this type of dialogic transaction. Had they had the benefit of peer talk/questioning practice, they would have had a more critical conversation (Reader 3, Sione is in this group and four students were in this discussion):

Meli's Group:

M: Okay the first question comes from Nia

N: ..Frank shouted to Eveline to come with him to Buenas Aires. Why didn't Eveline go...with him?

M: Okay guys what do you think...Kafi?

K: Because she didn't love...love him so very much.

M: Okay - so you're saying that Eveline didn't love Frank? Sione?

S: Because at the time maybe she has changed her mind.

M: Why do you guys think she changed her mind?

N: She remembered the promise she gave her mother.

M: Okay then we'll move on to my question. My question is - why was Eveline treated without respect at work?

Why wasn't she like...treated with respect...why did Mrs Gavan uh...like hate Eveline?

K: Because she...they thought that she ran away with Frank.

M: No but still they didn't know that they ran away. This was before.

N: Because she is not good at work.

M: Wanna give it a try Sione? No? Well, I think that Eveline was not treated with respect because women in those days were meant to stay at home and do all the household chores...so I think... OK next question, Kafi?

Legend: M: Meli, N: Female reader, K: Male reader, S: Sione

Other limitations emerged from the scaffoldings. Much of these are to do with clarity, and the provision of a platform for a comprehensive feedback to, and discussion of, my co-readers' various responses. Regarding the former for instance, the 'empowerment' dimension of alternative readings in terms of advocating certain positions was merely assumed and not

directly explained to readers. Though they were aware of the empowerment purpose of the scaffolding sessions (e.g. that all their meanings are valued), the notion of 'empowering' as including also the generation of alternative readings (not merely objective/resistant) was not explained to them, merely assumed via the demonstrations. This may have resulted in instances of 'reactionary resistance' that emerged, rather than provide alternative readings to fill the gaps. Moreover, some of the retrospections (see Sione's in Appendix 4) during and after scaffoldings were concerned with the lack of clarity in initial discussions and demonstrations, and were desirous to discuss the various meanings that they had generated. This was done but briefly, and only with a few texts due to lack of time. This time factor was problematic as students spent two or more hours in a session, much longer than a standard English period, too late at the time of the day for such focused work. A factor which may have been distractive and non-facilitative in generating responses and extended discussions. The inequitable talk that transpired in these group sessions - originating from the teacher in Lote and Vai's group, and from peer leader Meli in the other group, suggests that even my mixing of normatively chosen abilities does not guarantee the removal of hegemony. The teacher's unwitting slip into that mould points to the fact that to change the ingrained habit of imposing one's knowledge needs an extended period for reflection and practice. However, this concern with hegemony was not explained to the students and perhaps, had they the benefit of peer conversation practice could have prevented Meli (to a less extent Vai) from dominating/directing discussions. The value of 'talk-alike' groups raised by Alvermann (1995) and the implication for 'peer-talk' practice to allow students to get used to the process needs be explored in terms of this issue. Nevertheless, despite the evidence of hegemonic processes inevitable given Foucault's (1980) view that knowledge is inscribed in power relations, Ofu

and Meli's attempts should be seen as part of a Freirean and Vygotskian dialogic process towards the empowerment of these students.

In general, the scaffolding sessions have given voice and validity to the responses of everyone, even the less articulate like Tai/Lote/Melia in the sense that they generated alternative readings, moving from deferential to non-deferential, and not fragmented and textual-oriented as their pre-scaffolding responses. Such alternative readings show the instrumental role of the reader in the interpretation process who, when empowered, can exercise alternative meanings other than that which the author/text tries to impose. The scaffoldings have given them the 'power' to utilise their various discursive frameworks as relevant to their historical and socio-cultural makeup, in order to interpret texts, even if they have given Lote, and to a less extent, Tai the chance to voice and affirm textually deferential selves, a chosen deference. Even on occasions when they take up non-deferential resisting positions, they are to paradoxically affirm their deference to Tongan cultural notions of kin and rank. Equally important, the scaffoldings have nurtured a questioning dialectic from most readers which alert them to problematic areas in texts, and a manifestation of, as well as an essential step in, their own empowerment. This is evident in their retrospections (see Appendix 4) where the majority state their appreciation of being able to look at texts critically and alternatively.

5.4.4. On 'Views' of Readings

My co-readers were continually created into multiple subjectivities as they engaged with tasks, with others, and with texts. They are not what they have started as, and will not remain as they are as they continue to engage in various forms of meaning transactions. The phonics/textual view that initially positioned all of them was reaffirmed or extended by some

and treated peripherally by others as other meanings/voices traceable to the scaffoldings, discussions, and their respective personal, socio-cultural discursive frameworks were used during their readings. The range of these responses reflect a shift of view - of texts as no longer having any fixed, determinate meaning, and of interpretation as a multi-layered process of meanings constructions. Some, like Meli, and at times the others, were consciously instrumental in their positioning as shown in instances of critical awareness and resistance. Others like Lote, Melia and Tai were, more often I believe, either unaware or had no choice but to take the dominant reading because they had no other relevant meanings to situate their responses from or that the text's ideas are relevant to them. This aspect of 'relevance' as is suggested here needs to be considered carefully as it may foster in unconscious ways, a predisposition for textual deference, given the usual L2 reading research focus on culturally relevant texts for L2 readers. Also, it may foster unwittingly, the search for links that are only relevant in an endorsing way to dominant readings as suggested in some of Lote's, Tai's, and Melia's responses.

In general, these readers post-scaffolding, become complex, shifting selves, at one point choosing to be the targeted ideal readers and then later extricating themselves as their alternative meanings vie for dominance and as they sift for those that are congruent with their dominant beliefs. All these changing positions suggest that no definite view of reading, be it Bottom-up, Textual, Cognitive-linguistic, Top-down, Interactive, or Reader Response has a prevailing dominance in terms of reader positioning and knowledge links. Each impacts upon and overlaps the other and does so only temporally across texts and within a text. The fluid dynamism of these positions suggests the poststructuralist notion of the discursivity of meaning-making, the discursively-located notion of reading selves, the social dimension of the

process, and the value of taking a poststructuralist, interdisciplinary view of reading; a view that embraces the cognitive, linguistic, socio-cultural and the political. Equally important, the locatedness of these meanings suggests that we do away with debates on whether the reader/the text/context controls interpretations. It is 'meanings/knowledges' which control interpretations, meanings inscribed in texts, in the reader and embedded in the reading context, and contested or affirmed by my co-readers - meanings which need to be understood in their personal, historical, discursive specificity via holarchical, dialogical transactions and reflections.

6: CLOSURE? EXPANDING THE POSSIBILITIES

Our job is not to produce readings for our students
but to give them the tools for producing their own.
Schles(1985, p.24)

In this penultimate chapter, I try to step out from my insider, narrative role into one of Langer's (1992, see footnote 3 , p.) objective 'envisionments' in order to review the whole journey. Just as I used poststructuralist notions to problematise decisions made on my research journey, I now, in turn, use the responses of these students and their concomitant data to question several aspects of the research process, as well as the responses themselves. In doing so, I hope to expand possibilities for meaning transactions, research, reading curriculum, pedagogy, and assessment.

6.1. Expanding the Possibilities

6.1.1. Research Possibilities

The study shows that as the sessions progressed and more scaffoldings were given, readers adopted multiple stances as they took recourse to various knowledge links for interpretation. Although some adopted more political stances post-scaffoldings, these were not sustained, consistent nor increased significantly by the end of the delayed post-tests. Had the scaffolding sessions been longer, or had my co-readers been raised on a set of critical reading practices, a more dynamic, complex interplay of stances might have been evident. Longitudinal studies are needed to shed further light on how Tongan student readers position themselves and are being positioned by actual classroom reading transactions, interactional patterns, texts, and other related discursive practices using a poststructuralist approach.

It is not fully clear whether students were unwitting or deliberate in the links they made. Perhaps some were unwitting as Lote and Tai could have been with their limited textual and other knowledge repertoire. Perhaps some were deliberate (critically conscious) like Vai and Sione in their ambivalent stances. All links (all meanings) I believe, are examples of 'active decisions', but often, such decisions can be either made 'unwittingly' whilst ignorant of underlying constitutive ideologies (cf. Pecheux's 'forgetting' notion, p.48) or 'deliberately', a case of furthering a particular ideology. These concerns need to be ascertained by further research as they may be potential risks, either constraining or misleading (i.e. invites procedural shows) in terms of affording equitable opportunities for conscious, exercised choices on a range of meanings. An important aspect that can make this clear, and part of the empowerment process is to encourage readers' (and researchers') reflexivity and self-reflexivity. Readers' problem-posing questions can be analysed and be extended by reader self-generated reports or online introspections/retrospections to explain their meaning choices. Moreover, a focus on their linguistic interrogation strategies as well as teachers' responses would be particularly insightful. This is a limitation in my study as my analysis hinges only on triangulation of the data sets pertaining to each reader and on my own subjective readings.

6.1.2. Pedagogical and Curriculum Possibilities

The 'conscious exercise' of a range of meaning choices enabled by the scaffoldings suggests the value of a poststructuralist framework of reading and mode of analysis for Tongan Language classrooms and reading-related practices. A starting focus should be to problematise current reading practices in Tonga as well as curriculum documents. They need to consider the constraining and enabling discursive forces (beyond and that inscribed in language) that affect textual production and reception. Such a focus would allow students to see: (i) how

texts construct certain discursal knowledges and marginalise some in the process; (ii) how texts use certain strategies to effect these; (iii) how such knowledges become normalised via 'exercised power' that they are eventually taken as commonsense and natural; and (iv) how through such a process their reading selves are constituted and thereby 'disciplined' either via reward or punishment (inclusion or exclusion - e.g. via examinations). Furnished with critical interrogation strategies, and coupled with an added critical awareness, they can see the ruptures/silences in texts that make them untenable, contestable, and no longer sacrosanct. As my study shows, texts and textual practices are sites for contestations of these meanings, sites for alternative meanings, for transformation of existing dominant views, and for their own development as readers/individuals. They can see that textual signs are not sacrosanct. They are constructs of reality, not direct reflections so that instances of identifications are not with a world's 'reality' but with a 'construct' thereby making the depiction process and the 'real' untenable. Such notions also enable them to see signs as 'deferred' and therefore can be subverted, transformed, 'misread' once the reader assigns meanings to them. They enable them to see meaning links beyond the confines of a text as valid ways of interpretation, and to see the range of possible readings available for a particular text. This awareness also embraces that such links are traceable to ones sanctioned or available in their wider discursive practices. With the strategies, they can resort to other meaning links beyond texts in a critical conscious way, knowing the power-knowledge stakes at play.

All these can be approached via a Vygotskian, Freirean mode of scaffolding and critical dialogue. As I have adopted for my instructional intervention in Chapter 3, one way of raising their awareness is using the Foucauldian/Kristevan/Derridan analysis framework that I adopted

for this study. This includes furnishing them with a toolkit of interrogation strategies and a risk-free space for critical reflection and self-reflexivity.

(i) Awareness Raising via Scaffolding

The scaffolding sessions became sites for raising students' awareness of how regimes of truth are inscribed in various discourses. Such an approach would lead to the destabilisation of modernist views of reading that dominates reading practice in Tonga, and for alternative knowledges, 'alternative wisdom' (Morrison, 1981, see p.7) to emerge. This process can be done via a process of contextualisation and juxtaposition. Contextualisation means utilising students' views/knowledge base on certain topics as a ground to discuss the origins of those knowledges, how and why they have been taken on board and so on. These views can be juxtaposed in a structure box (see p.153-154) against views of other people (e.g. teachers parents, friends, the school, and so on). This may lead to a discussion of how certain knowledges become dominant, and eventually become given, and how such knowledges are reproduced during their signification process when they draw upon them because they are hailed as commonsensical.

This awareness-raising exercise necessitates a discussion of the normalising tools used by dominant discourses and how these are evident in textual constructions. The notion of binary opposition and the operation of stereotypes, of sexism, racism, paternalism, and so on can be introduced and how these promote dichotomies. The importance of drawing from students' knowledge base, local examples, and modelling or demonstrating certain aspects during these discussions should not be undermined. It is worth following up this discussion by a Freirean/Vygotskian group problem-posing and problem-solving tasks based on a range of texts either

in Tongan/English, thematically or by genre, and discuss how they portray certain identities to do with gender, race, social class; or to do with certain social roles or values. A discussion of their alignments/non-alignments with certain views in the texts can be used to demonstrate how these views are those regulated in the wider society and how such views construct and position them variously depending on their reading purpose and focus.

As discussed in Chapter 1, the canonical literature used in Tongan classrooms is selected with a view to promoting definitive moral/cultural values, and enslave other meanings by ascribing fixed binary categories on textual identities and ideas. Students are not expected to oppose the values constructed by these texts, hence their interpretations entail consensus with the texts' values. Various texts can be juxtaposed to analyse their relative social status and textual identities; their constructions of certain ideas/identities; the strategies used to deploy these; possible alternative meanings that can be generated, and so on. For instance, canonical and avant-garde texts (the latter can be drawn from texts written by Commonwealth writers, from black American writers, Asian/Pacific writers), texts from different genres covering the same subject matter can be juxtaposed to assess their identities in the ordering of truth in the literary world/classroom/assessment system; their constructions of certain identities (gender, race, social class etc.), what is privileged or not, and so on. For instance, *Romco and Jullet* can be juxtaposed with a love comic, a Mills and Boon romance, a Tongan/English love song. Discussions can be made on their assumptions about love, certain social roles, males, females, etc; the language used to depict these; the social status of each text; and why/when/how they read them; and so on. The implications of these in terms of their effects with regard to reality/truth/social identities, and hierarchical views can be drawn. As provided for my students (see p.141-143) given their L2 status and limited reading experiences, a similar set

of guideline questions can be provided to reconstruct the immediate, institutional and discoursal contexts of texts, that is, their social status and textual identity (e.g. genre, social/educational value), readership, and authorship and how these identities shape and regulate the way ideas/identities/roles will be depicted, read, and in turn, position readers. Media texts (TV/Video, film screens, newspapers, radio advertisements, and computers) are highly popular and more accessible as texts to Tongan young people than fiction/non-fiction texts. They have a huge impact in constructing/marginalising certain views. Since they are also an excellent means of subverting those views (and highly accessible as reading resources) as shown by my co-readers' subversion of dominant repressive readings, they need to be seen as essential texts in the reading classroom.

The second step in awareness raising is to scaffold students with some interrogation and linking strategies.

(ii) Interrogation and Linking Strategies

As outlined in Chapter 3, interrogation strategies allow readers to understand the construction of certain symbolic codes in texts, and to evaluate how certain ones operate via normalisation. That is, how they are used to deploy stereotypical notions related to gender, race, social class, and so on (see questions in part c and d in Chap. 3, p.141-143). As earlier discussed, the use of 'realist operators' and a 'set of cultural codes' (Barthes, 1977) in classic realist texts (as well as other texts) hail readers. The former presents the reader with a view that is linked to some recognisable reality via realistic descriptions, while the latter assumes a shared set of background knowledge and commonsense views that render the text a reflection of the 'real' (see also Montgomery *et al*, 1992). A critical linguistic and stylistic mode of analysis allows

readers to focus on particular linguistic/visual items that are symbolic, or that allude to other meanings as encoded in words, phrases, sentences, text forms, or graphics. It looks at the connotations of, and assumptions these have about, certain ideas, women, men, blacks, film stars, social roles and so on. Because certain words and text types will be culturally unfamiliar as well as new to some students, a juxtaposition of similar text types can be used to introduce students to the various conventions associated with these types, and how they constrain/determine what should be written. Making available a set of information texts such as encyclopaedias, various dictionaries during class transactions can help students identify the location of symbolic/cultural meanings of words used as allusions in texts (or assigning library group research projects). This will introduce them to the notion of intertextuality and of the viability of making links beyond that of texts.

These interrogations need to be framed within these aspects: contextualisation, juxtaposition, a Freirean questioning dialectic and a Vygotskian problem-solving approach, embracing Stanfield's 'multilectic' approach - discussion groups, journals, peer/ teacher talk, which, apart from their informative, enriching conversational value, are avenues for critical reflection and for an open, 'holarchical' transaction of meanings. These awareness-raising tasks will help students identify subjugated knowledges and bring them to the fore. A problem-posing/solving questions/tasks approach can lead them to generate alternative readings of texts. As this study shows, both self-generated questions and a questioning dialectic adopted by my co-readers are essential beginnings for a critical poststructuralist approach, and are valuable both as a focusing tool and a means of alerting them to problematic areas in texts. In doing so, they are exposed to the possibilities of meanings a text can yield. Teachers should also build on their local knowledge and their usual concerns. Summary writing as is standard in their classrooms,

is a good base to identify dominant meanings. Other common concerns such as 'What is the message/theme/purpose of the book?' can be used likewise as a basis to ask further questions such as those posed in my guideline questions (see Chap. 3), or like those posed by Patterson (1991) *"how does this book mean?" "how is this book different?", "how would we explain these differences", "why might writers select specific details for particular audience and what might be the effects of such selections"?* (p.246, 250, 251)¹⁸.

Foucault's suggestion of the historical discursivity of knowledge and subjectivity has implication both for curriculum and pedagogy. It suggests that teachers need to be reflexive, to be eclectic and multilectic in methods of raising awareness. They have to understand the discursive locatedness of the students and the classroom context and be able to respond to these during scaffolding reflexively and sensitively. In other words, for students' empowerment to be meaningful, a scaffolding approach needs to embrace the poststructuralist notion of agency and self-reflexivity. As outlined in Chapter 3, questioning one's decisions and positions in reading, the links one makes allow one to critically and clearly see how certain ideologies operate and why certain readers read as they do. My readers' responses show that it is certain 'alignments' that elicit responses and determine particular stances. Points of contention and contradiction lie in personal/social factors to do with social and minority issues such as race, gender, religion, family, education, and so on. These areas of contention and where they are located are worth exploring where students' voices, their fears, the oppressive constraints of their meanings, their experiences, values, and beliefs need to be embraced in a dialogic/conversational risk-free, trustful classroom (Ellsworth, 1992), as to their occurrence

¹⁸ See guideline questions in Appendix 3.7 for a more general set of questions.

in texts, classroom practices, and even beyond to wider discursive practices (in church, home, workforce, community). Ellsworth here is suggesting that practice needs to confront the power-dynamics that constrain a truly democratic dialogue where others' meanings will not be silenced. In a Tongan L2 classroom with their habitual inhibition (and constrained by fear of speaking in English wrongly; of being ridiculed; and being deemed wrong); the conservative forces from beyond; and the strong hierarchical framework all need an environment with high levels of trust, a more personal commitment and relationship to cement this trust. Again, the value of a bilingual approach to this awareness raising task should pave the way for a critical consciousness, for critical readings of texts.

By the same token, this necessity for a risk-free space points to the value of using texts written in the vernacular, local examples, other texts, and a bilingual approach as an opening to ease constraining and inhibiting factors related to their ability to transact comfortably and articulately in English. The study evidently shows some struggling with their English. The issue of language competence is something that is difficult to be reconciled in terms of the present English Draft Syllabus and Assessment policy. Whilst the Tongan Primary Language syllabus advocates a bilingual approach to English, the English language syllabus and assessment policy make no explicit concessions even though, as discussed already in Chapter 1, bilingual teaching is common in English secondary classrooms. A bilingual approach would pave the way to a critical consciousness. Tongan texts are accessible and a rich metaphorical style characterises the language itself, whose allusions and symbolisms are often difficult for some Tongan students themselves to reconstruct. They can be a good starting point for raising awareness of cultural inscription of signs, and the process of constructing meanings and positions. Such awareness-raising should start as early as possible and should build on Whole

Language approaches used in the Tongan bilingual language programme for primary, and Reader Response notions at secondary.

Because of the strong conservative and deferential element in Tongan society, acceptance of this approach will be problematic, fraught with tensions and will take time. However, teachers might see that such problematisations equip students with a critical reading repertoire; offer them the luxury of 'interpretative choices' without undue constraints; and alleviate/remove the fear of being disciplined and punitively branded 'wrong', 'irrelevant', 'poor readers'. As my findings demonstrate, some text's dominant meanings may be working for certain kinds of political empowerment (e.g. feminist texts like *You the Choice*; race-inscribed ones like the *Sports* advertisement) while others invite other kinds of reading. Students ultimately have the final say. As shown by certain 'chosen deferences', they don't necessarily have to become renegade, subverting readers if textual ideologies are congruent with theirs - at least they are aware of their positionings.

6.1.3. Assessment Possibilities

A poststructuralist approach to reading practices and assessment would enable teachers and readers to reconstruct or to reread current assessment judgment on poor performance/failures as the outcome of an invisible, commonsensical, culturally accepted code of discipline and punishment rather than a case of individual failure as is often the case. The current examination system in Tonga dovetails Foucault's (1977) view of it as a powerful tool of disciplinary power because it constitutes the student as effect and object of power-knowledge relations by establishing dichotomies/hierarchies and normalising judgement: "*a normalizing gaze, a surveillance that makes it possible to qualify, to classify and to punish....a perpetual*

comparison of each and all that made it possible both to measure and to judge." (cited in Jones, 1990, p.96-97).

As already discussed, the present assessment system hinges on the psychocognitive, rationalist view of a definitive single-answer paradigm forged by a coherent set of intratextual links - an apolitical, asocial view. Readers get defined and define themselves hierarchically as good, average or poor performers if they do not make the right textual links. This view resonates in classroom practices, and various relations in the wider structural fabric of Tongan society. The diversity and richness of meaning links made by all of my co-readers foreground the validity of all meanings that they generated, and the need to consider assessment options that take account of such diversity. Assessment needs to be framed within an empowerment aim, for instructional purposes, and be context specific. This entails seeing assessment only as particular to a specific context (e.g. classroom). It entails moving beyond the single, definitive coherent answers, 'text dependent passages', MC/short-answer, and personal response focus of Tonga's current assessment practice, to look at multiple texts, a range of writers, periods and contexts in a non-examined, classroom setting on a continual basis. Such a change can accommodate extended responses (alternative readings), reflexivity and self-reflexivity, and allows readers to utilise their various meanings (intra-extratextual). Self-evaluation via self-generated protocols, retrospections, and shared open discussions of ideas in groups and as a class, (and among teachers), can be used both as a reader's/teacher's assessment tool for instructional purposes. It is a powerful tool of being 'empowered', of praxis and reflective 'exercises' of meanings, of power as a positivity and a possibility - for an equitable learning process.

6.2. A Coda

My research journey has been one of changing, contradictory perceptions and enlightenment. Of the latter, it has alerted me to the fact that texts cannot be read nor written in any authoritative way (Foucault, 1978), an understanding that has been a constant directive for this study. I have already voiced such cautions recurrently in various sections of the thesis. There are however, four important understandings derived from the findings that I need to make explicit. These are re-presented here as problems, as divergences.

Firstly, in my attempt to empower my co-readers; to give 'voices' to their meanings by means of breaking down 'given' walls and carving out spaces for them to be 'exercised' and be heard, I had done so rather simplistically. Though I was aware that the scaffolding sessions would not necessarily guarantee empowerment, I believed that the repeated scaffolding sessions would suffice to empower my co-readers to voice their meanings distinctly and confidently. Though there is evidence that some exercised power by generating alternative meanings and that they are empowered in an 'awareness-raising' sense by the scaffolding sessions themselves; others, like Lote may not have been aware in many instances, of their ideological positioning. It is possible that decisions to take a particular stance (or no stance at all) are both idiosyncratic and social. Reasons to do with a limited knowledge repertoire; English language competence, and personal preference could have led to decisions not to generate alternative readings; or perhaps the scaffolding sessions were too simplistic, rushed and limited in demonstrating means, and fostering attitudes, of problematising texts. The value of teacher scaffolding and providing additional learning resources via information research in the classroom rather than confine them to library classes as is the case in Tongan English practice should be noted. Some, like Morgan (1991), may also argue that this approach can be easily

equated with a simple resistance of any dominant position or catching out a particular textual design just for the sake of resistance. This can happen. Teachers/students need to be made aware that such an approach enables them to determine and understand the grounds they, as well as others adopt in taking particular interpretative stances. Empowerment occurs when they make choices while critically aware of the range of meanings at stake. These concerns raise the second point I need to make, which I have already raised elsewhere.

This concern is prompted by some of my co-readers' TSC examination scripts which I was able to secure when they sat it six months after the scaffoldings (see Appendix 8). The pervasive grip of the examination in dictating and shaping responses is quite apparent even for those like Meli, Sione and Melia who showed signs of subverting the norm, the preferred readings. It again reinforces my iterated point that any attempt to empower students using a poststructuralist problematising approach needs be a pervasive, continuous practice in the curriculum, and to be systematic and comprehensive. It needs to look at all aspects of meaning-production and textuality - from production, distribution, practice, and reception. My scaffolding sessions were brief. Perhaps had they been longer, more systematic and comprehensive in terms of utilising various resources, texts, participant structures; had my co-readers been more well-versed in problematising; and had I and my co-teacher been more experienced in such an approach; more empowering readings would have been generated. Moreover, some of their responses show a struggle with the language and a limited range of knowledge - both textual and general. This suggests that even the most systematic approach to problematise texts may fail in its empowering aims if the knowledge base is limited or lacking, or if language competence is a barrier. For classroom practice, this means an extensive scaffolding programme to provide critical reading experiences with various forms

of texts/language use (written, media, art, etc.), preferably from an early age. Again this is where a bilingual approach where language competence is a barrier, can pave the way for raising critical readers.

Thirdly, we should always be alert to the double-pronged, paradoxical nature of empowerment and carving out spaces. As we have learned from some of Lote's responses, he may have unwittingly transformed a textual ideology into his personal/socio-cultural ones, reaffirming in the process his deferential self. Or, as in Sione's case, despite his awareness of the operation of textual ideology which is some empowerment in terms of awareness, he opts to align with it like Vai, an example of an 'enlightened false consciousness' (see Eagleton, 1991, p.50). Any exercised or exhorted empowerment may run the risk of becoming hegemonic, of turning alternative meanings into 'givens'. For instance, like Sione and Lote, a British Afro-Caribbean, a neo-nazi, a feminist - all seen as minorities, may use such spaces to peddle their own meanings and in doing so, fall into the trap of tyranny by being oblivious to meanings of others. A poststructuralist approach sees 'empowerment' as 'conscious exercised' power. That is, if students exercise 'deference' in critical consciousness, that is still empowerment. This at least, guarantees that such a view may not be accused of privileging certain meanings.

Fourthly, the study shows that a text elicits multiple meanings, multiple voices. Some of these meanings are proffered rather 'indeterminantly' or 'incoherently', particularly evident in the rereadings of pre- and post-test tasks and in cases like Meli who wrote several drafts.

My findings, in light of these four understandings, are therefore, provisional, and will generate multiple, contradictory meanings for their groundings in the verisimilitude they seek to

establish as Denzin (1994) suggests (see quote, p.313) can always be contested. In terms of my study's exploratory aims however, they serve as a beginning heuristic for understanding how and why a group of Tongan students read as they do and for a rethinking of ways to empower readers by providing a more egalitarian approach that acknowledges their meanings. The value of adopting a critical reading practice, even if it does not empower students/teachers to make alternative reconstructions is that they keep readers critical to the very end.

Several weaknesses in this exploration especially in relation to representation and validity have already been identified. This concern is seen by poststructuralists as "*the crisis of representation and legitimation*" (Alvermann, 1996, p.117; also Denzin, 1994). I believe that this study is legitimised through Lather's (1986) 'catalytic validity' (see footnote 21, p.30), which is the degree a study empowers a research community. That is, my co-readers have been, to some degree, 'empowered' by 'exercising' choices of chosen deference and alternative meanings. As also suggested in their retrospections (see Appendix 4), the scaffolding has enabled them to look at texts critically and alternatively. This concern with legitimisation also raised tensions. Because of my own egalitarian, empowering aims, I experienced tensions in the 'interstices' between and within my 'personal' and 'academic research' discourses. I was grappling with research criterial demands such as credibility, coherence, comprehensiveness, ecological validity and so on, and by the desire to be different, to make an alternative approach as a demonstration of the problematising ethos that informs my research (cf. also Lave & Wagner's notion, p.91). As discussed in Chapter 3, my subjection of students to certain text-immanent forms of tasks/analysis in Phase 1 created epistemological tensions given my poststructuralist framework. The tensions however were productive as I used the findings from these data to instruct me in my plans to actualise my empowerment aim in praxis, in

some pedagogical moments. They also suggest a paradigm shift with regard to my methodology. Also, despite my aims of self-reflexivity, I was torn between the need to disclose and acknowledge all the weaknesses in my design and in the research process as a whole, and the (modernist) fear that these would render my study invalid and incoherent. Equally, I was torn between the desire to interrupt the traditional mode of academic research writing, at the same time, I was constrained by it in terms of certain requirements (e.g. length, organisation, academic/standard English¹). There was another paradox and point of tension for me. My concern to give voices to my co-readers meant subjecting them to some kinds of 'derobing' exercise (through the probes I made into their personal/reading selves and other tasks they had). Unavoidably, these attempts to present their voices entail some degree of consensus with the status quo of the research community. However, for the sake of empowering my readers, and in order that this study might act as a prognostic for further ones, I decided that the best option is an archaeological/genealogical, microethnographic, poststructuralist probe into their reading histories and to take an open multilectic posture.

Despite my attempts to (re)represent actual responses of 'real students', both my rerepresentation and their texts should not be read as self-evident. Rather, as partial reality, partial evidence of the complexity of the meaning-making process (Denzin, 1994). This is because I may have given emphasis to certain sections and downplayed others. As Denzin suggests, *"there can never be a final, accurate representation of what was meant or said, only different textual representations of different experiences."* (p.296). During the research

¹ There are occasions in the thesis that I had deliberately used certain 'neologisms' (e.g. 'commonsensising') that have been questioned by my supervisors due to academic demands. I am of the attitude that 'standard language' is modernist in its prescriptions on language use. The same thing occurs in Tonga where students are corrected if they spell words in the American way (e.g. rigor as opposed to rigour, etc.)

journey, I have taken on the role of both a reader, and a writer. I have tried to read these data both for their explicit appearance and their silences and have retold/rewritten them through lenses of my own reader/researcher positionings. As has been reiterated throughout this study, a text can elicit multiple readings. My co-readers' readings are their versions while my readings of their texts are my versions with my narratives as evidence, and just one of the many that can be generated. Each version is taken from our respective discursive frameworks of meanings and purposes and can be read, as this study will be read, in different ways, both for their words and their silences. For this reason, I include descriptive data, sample analysis and procedures, and all the Phase 3 raw data in the Appendices.

Paradoxically as well, I have selected participants, research methods and tasks based on certain ideological alignments which authorise such selections. Some of the questions that propelled this study in the first place, participant selection, the coding schemes and categories I used for analysis are positivist in origin and prescriptive by nature. Likewise, as already mentioned, I have selectively mediated and read data and readers' responses authoritatively. It is, paradoxically, an attempt to give a coherent, plausible story. However, as already stressed, my readings here are not definitive as gaps can be unpicked, just as my co-readers' responses are partial and bound to change with more re-readings.

Overall, I hope that my attempt to project the voices of my co-readers and some of their teachers may encourage further research in this area in Tonga, as well as empower teachers and educators to consider its possibilities in terms of providing students with the luxury of choices in creating meanings, and a more equitable claim to knowledge. Adopting a poststructuralist mode of thinking is no easy task especially when teachers and students have

been trained in an alternative frame, when there's no curriculum support as augmentation, and when the social structures framing learning are deeply imbricated with conservative notions of rank, authority and deference. The constraints of habitual discursive practices, and the pressure to be consistent and non-contradictory make adoption of this alternative discourse a daunting one though of dire necessity. Just as this study, like its underpinning poststructuralist ideas is an act of resistance, of provocation for established views/practices of readings, the findings are to be seen as a form of demystifying empowerment to its perceived novelty and potential actualisation in Tonga.

don't call me poor reader call me good thinker (michelle commeyras)

i get called poor reader
everytime i take a test
by teachers, by friends,
and by my worried parents.

it's those multiple choice questions
that i don't get just right
i can think of reasons to pick every answer
they say i think too much.
it's those open-ended reader response questions
that seem so banal, so trite, so predictable.
i'd rather write about my own questions
the one's i'm really interested in thinking about.

it's time to talk back.
hey, don't call me poor reader
call me clever
call me creative
call me divergent
call me unique
call me interesting
call me
girl who likes to read and think
girl who goes her own way
girl who likes to lead
girl who reads every chance she gets
just call me a reader who is becoming more herself everyday.

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APPENDIX 2

PHASE 2

2.1. QUESTIONNAIRES

- (i) Student's Questionnaires**
- (ii) Teacher's Questionnaires**

2.1 QUESTIONNAIRES

(i) Reader Questionnaire

Written questionnaire

Name: _____
School: _____
Form: _____

1. When you are reading and you come to something you don't know, what do you do? (*'I he taimi 'oku ke laukonga ai pea ke lau ha me'a 'oku 'ikai ke mahino, ko e ha leva ho'o me'a 'oku ke fai?*)
2. Who is a good reader that you know. (*Ko hai ha taha laukonga lelei 'oku ke 'ilo?*)
3. What makes that person a good reader? (*Ko e ha 'a e me'a 'oku ke pehe ai ko e tokotaha laukonga lelei eni?*)
4. Do you think that a good reader like the person above knows everything she/he reads about (that is, knows every word and meaning)? (*'Oku ke pehe ko e tokotaha laukonga lelei 'oku ne 'ilo'i 'a e fo'i lea kotoa pe pea mo e 'uhinga 'o e me'a 'oku ne lau?*)
5. If that good reader comes across something she/he does not know, what do you think he or she does about it? (*Kapau 'e fetaulaki 'a e tokotaha laukonga lelei ko'eni mo ha me'a 'oku 'ikai kene 'iloi pe mahino kiai 'i he'ene laukonga, ko e ha nai 'ene me'a 'e fai kiai?*)
6. If you knew that someone was having difficulty reading, how would you help that person? (*Ko e ha ha'o me'a 'e tokoni ki ha taha 'oku faingata'a ke mahino ki ai 'a e me'a 'oku ne lau?*) Where did you learn that idea from? (*Pea ko ho'o ma'u 'a e fakakaukau tokoni ki ai mei fe'ia?*)
7. What would a teacher do to help that person? (*Ko e ha nai ha me'a la 'a ha falako tene fai ke tokoni ki he tokotaha ko'eni?*)
8. Do you remember how you first learned to read? What are your first memories of reading - what was it, where it was, with whom?). Explain. (*Fakamatala'i mai 'a e taimi 'i ho'o manatu na'a ke 'uluaki lava ai 'o laukonga? Na'e hoko eni 'i fe, ko e ha 'a e tohi ko la pea na'e 'lai nai ha taha na'a mo kaunga lau?*)

What were your readings as a child? (*Ko e ha 'a e ngaahi me'a na'ake lau pe lau atu kila koe 'i ho'o kel leka 'oku ke manatu ki ai?*)

Books:

Authors:

Type of books (*Kalasi tohi pe talanoa*):

9. Do you think that you are a good reader? Why? (*'Oku ke pehe ko e tokotaha laukonga lelei ko e? Fakamatala e 'uhinga ho'o tali*).
10. How often do you read? (e.g. everyday or everyweek etc.) *Ko e ha 'a e tu'olahi ho'o laukonga?*

11. What do you like most of all to read?(*Ko e ha 'a e me'a 'oku ke sai'ia taha keke lau?*)
- List the most important books/authors you have read so far. Explain your choice.(*Lisi hifo 'a e ngaahi tohi pea mo e kakai na'a nau fa'u e ngaahi tohi 'oku ke mahu'inga 'ia pe manako taha hono lau pea fakamatala'i mai 'a e 'uhinga ho'o fili*):
- 1.
 - 2.
 - 3.
12. Can you remember any special book or the most memorable book that you have ever read? Why?(*Ko e ha 'a e tohi kuo ke lau 'oku makehe atu pe fakangalongata'a taha. Fakamatala'i mai hono 'uhinga*).
13. What kind of things that you hate to read?(*Ko e ha 'a e ngaahi me'a 'oku ke fahi'a ke lau?*) 'ikal keke sai'ia keke lau?
14. What is the most difficult things that you have read or have to read?(*Ko e ha 'a e ngaahi me'a oku ' ke faingata'a 'ia hone lau - faingata'a ke mahino?*)
15. What is the importance of reading to you?(*Ko e ha hono mahu'inga 'o e laukonga ko e?*)
16. If you improve your reading what good would it be to you?(*Kapau 'e fakalakalaka ho'o laukonga, ko e ha nai hano kaunga lelei kia koe?*)

17.

PURPOSES OF READING IN ENGLISH

| READING MATERIALS AUDIENCE | PURPOSES | ROLES OR TARGET |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. driving instructions | safety(to know the rules of the road | drivers |
| 2. textbooks | _____ | _____ |
| 3. newspapers | _____ | _____ |
| 4. personal letters | _____ | _____ |
| 5. novels | _____ | _____ |
| 6. recipes | _____ | _____ |
| 7. bible | _____ | _____ |
| 8. poetry | _____ | _____ |
| 9. advertisements | _____ | _____ |
| 10. encyclopedias | _____ | _____ |

18. Rank the following in the order that you find easiest to read, from 1 - 7. *(Fakahokohoko mai 'a e 'u me'a ni 'o fika 1 'a e me'a 'oku faingofua taha kia koe keke lau pea fika 8 'a e mamafa taha).*

- Poem
- Instruction
- Story
- History Text
- Bible
- Editorial(Lau 'a e 'Etita)

READER QUESTIONNAIRE PART TWO

18. List the kind of reading materials that you have at home. *(Hiki mai 'a e ngaahi tohi pe pepa 'oku ala lau 'i homou 'api)*

19. Write down for each of these people the reading materials they read most. *(Fakafonu mai 'a e ngaahi me'a 'oku sai'ia taha ai 'a engaahi memipa ni kenau lau).* Do you read them regularly? *('Oku nau lau ma'u pe 'a e ngaahi me'a ni).*

Close friends(two best friends):

Parents:

Brothers:

Sisters:

21. Do you go to Sunday School? *('Oku ke lautohi fakaSapate?)*

22. What readings are you being given to read or to listen to? *(Ko eha 'a e ngaahi talanoa pe me'a 'oku mou lau pe fanongo ki ai?)*

23. When you look at a copy of the Tonga Chronicle or Taimi of Tonga what part do you look at first? *(Ko e ha 'a e konga 'i he'etau nusipepa 'oku ke 'uluaki fie sio ma'u pe ki ai?)*

24. Do you read everything in the paper? *('Oku ke lau 'a e me'a kotoa pe 'oku 'asi he pepa?)*

25. Rank the following sections in the paper, in the order of your reading choice 1 - 8 with number 1 as the part that you would read first and number 8 as the one you would read last. *(Fakahokohoko e ngaahi topiki ni 'o fika 1 'a e me'a teke 'uluaki fie lau taha 'i he pepa ko 'eni pea fakamuimui 'a e me'a 'oku 'ikai teke fie lau.)*

- Local News
- Sports News
- Weather Report
- Notices/Advertisements
- Letters to the Editor
- Editorial
- Cartoons
- Photographs

25. Write down 1-8 and beside each, give a reason why you ranked the above newspaper sections as such.

(i) Teacher Questionnaire

The purpose of this inquiry is to elicit your ideas and understanding about 'reading comprehension' and its processes. I am certain that your vast experience in the classroom has given you important insights into the reading process and some of the problematic areas faced by your students when they attempt to read a text. Please think carefully about what is being asked and write down what you know/believe with regard to the following queries about reading.

Sex:
Teaching Experience(English - in Yrs):

Qualification:
Teaching Level:

A. General understanding of reading comprehension:

Write down ALL you know or understand about the PROCESS of 'Reading'(That is, what is involved when one reads).

(i) Write down what you know about HOW understanding what one reads happens or is brought about.

B. Perceived Reading Difficulties

(i) What are the difficulties faced by your students when they read?

(ii) What do you think is(are) the CAUSE(s) of these difficulties?

C. General Advice

(i) Write down actions/teaching methods(teaching focus) to be carried out by the TEACHER to improve reading comprehension:

ACTIONS

TEACHING METHODS

(ii) Write down actions/strategies to be carried out by the STUDENT to improve reading comprehension:

ACTIONS

STRATEGIES

D. Specific Strategies

(iii) Write down what you believe to be the THREE MOST IMPORTANT STRATEGIES to be taught to or learnt and THREE MOST IMPORTANT ACTIONS to be taken by students as they read. For each strategy, please explain what it is and the type of text or purpose it may be used for:

STRATEGIES

ACTIONS

1.
2.
3.

1.
2.
3.

APPENDIX 4

PHASE 3 READERS' RETROSPECTIONS

RETROSPECTIONS 1 and 2¹²

The following are a select samples of feedback taken during and after the Phase 3 field sessions. I have included retrospections of students who attended the sessions but who are not profiled in this study.

Lote 1:

First of all I was really proud of being participation in this session. This session is very important to me. Because I knew some new thing like how to find out what the poem, short story and advertisement talk about and its main idea and message the writer send. But many time I sitting in the session I felt difficulty with language because I can't spoke rightly. Another problem I face with during this session is how to answer the individual writing task. Lia I relly thank you for you allowing me to be one of the students. I am look forward for more new things that I will learn from these session.

Lote 2:

In this session I really enjoy it. I am sorry here for some attitudes that I have done that wrong with your looking. I am very proud of being participated on this session because I learn many new things. For example, I learn from this how to criticise some poems, short story, advertisement. Like firstly I must set purpose than find out what the story is about. I also learn from this how to write and read and how to find out some word by reading the next sentence and the sentence before it. All of the above I learn it but it was hard for me to know but I hope it will help me later when I grow up in the period of schooling. On behalf of Lavengamalie student I would like to say thank you for allowing us to participate on your session. It is honour for us Lia we thank you for your help and kindness to us. May God our heavenly father blessed you and your studying Lia you will not forgot in our memory and we will always pray for you when you are in Britain. May God bless you.

Meli 1:

I am quite grateful that I am one of the students that attend these sessions. I now understand how to actually make a critical response. Well, at first I didn't know how to respond critically but after going through the advertisements and the short stories I have gained a fair idea of how to do it.

Firstly I've learnt how to analyse an advertisement and the steps of how to do it. Also I now know hidden meanings behind stories and advertisement, for when I read texts, I look at how men and women are like, how they are presented, what is being emphasized and most importantly, the purpose of those texts. So therefore, because of this, I have a better understanding of how to look at texts critically and am very thankful. I also like my discussions with the group I'm in, disagreeing with a point and giving your reasons to why it is so. But overall, I like the sessions and it will help me in my school work at school.

Meli 2:

From the sessions that I have enrolled in, I have learnt how to criticise poems and what devices I must use. For example, how to interpret lines of a poem, see how people are represented and things that I did not know before. I am thankful for I now know how to think critically using the guideline questions that was given out. I also know that I should not only stop with my personal response but go onto a more critical level. This understanding has helped me for my exams and also for my future studies.

The way of critical thinking has helped me for everytime I read, I ask myself, what do you think this will be about? What is my purpose for reading it? And while I read it I ask questions at the same time like, "Why this and not that? How has it happened? and I commonly use why? and How? questions. At the same time, I answer these questions in my head. With the short story, that I've done today, I found it quite hard to concentrate and to criticise, the story. I guess its because I did not attempt to read it properly or probably it was just too hard. But I enjoyed doing the critical response for the poem of "You the choice of my parents". It seems to me that couldn't stop myself from writing but it was a bit different with the story of, "I used to live here once." Thank you Lia and that is from the bottom of my heart.

¹² Retros 1 was done after the first post-scaffolding tests and 2 after the delayed post-test at the end of the Phase 3 sessions.

Sione 1:

I think that these sessions are a little bit useful and a little bit fun as well. At the beginning of the session I was totally lost. But now a little bit of light is coming through. To me its always nice to learn something important and new as well as fascinating. Its quite new and fun trying to interpret what a writer is trying to tell us. Its almost like trying to get into the brain of the writer, to think like he thinks, to see like he see and to express myself like he expresses. It useful to read all these ads, short storys that the teacher gives us. We had a little quiz at school and some of my answers were from sentences in a short story or an ad. Its also useful is when we discuss an short story about its main character and a critical level then we can understand the story and use it. I'm using one of the short storys we've been given for my school short story. I have learned a way on how to understand the critical level of a text. I know now that there is a message behind every text a writer writes and not just writing down some words for nothing. I'm not sure I know properly how to understand a text and still need some more examples as well as exercises. Sometimes I have an idea but can't express properly.

Sione 2:

I think that what we learn in our session will be handy in future study. Even though it is ahead of our knowledge but you got to learn sometime, and its better to know early. I've still got to learn a lot about finding the critical response of text, what to think of it and how to put it into words. I know a little of what of expect of the kind of text that I'm about to read and may not interpret it to its right standard but at least I've got a head start in English. One thing I didn't like about the classes is we never got told how we did on the past texts. We never got told what we did wrong or right and its a bit hard thinking, shall I do the same or change the way I interpreted the text. One thing I learned is to annotate, think and reread hard texts. And if that doesn't work then back to guessing. And last but not least, new easy ways to remember a question(eg. 5W + H).

Tai 1:

In this session's I have learned alot of things. I learned alot and meeting together is important. I recognized now that this sessions help me and this is a good preparation for the examination. I really understand what was going on in this sessions. Now I know that this is a good way of helping us in our study. I have learned more information and I get a fair idea's. The way the teacher teach us is good and I count this session's as an important work. I have learned a way of how to read and understand the story also the advertisement and how to questioned the writer eg the way the writer presented the ideas in the text. I think that if this session keep on going I will get a better result in the exam. I also learned of how to read and write a critical response. I learned alot and this helps me in my individual work in school.

Tai 2:

I learn a lot of things in this session and I count this moment as a privilege for me. This is an important session. I know how to interpet a poem, advertisement, story and also the cartoon. And I know how to criticise a story and all those things and how to give meaning to the poem. I know how to get the purpose, target audience, main ideas, and how to questioned the writer. All the things that we have learned before I really understand.

Vai 1:

I've learnt alot from this class or session. You could say that it has helped me interpretate text more easily. When we were given the advertisement about the dog and that dinner was in it, I was huh? I couldn't even understand anything but when Ofu started explaining the techniques and guidelines to us it slowly came clear. I was nearly confused because at first what we heard made the text even more confusing but then I saw what you guys were trying to say and I guess you could say that's what had me to undertand the other advertisement about the airlines. When I saw it I put your techniques to test and boy! did it work the whole advertisement was clear your ways really work! Also the story Eveline I didn't understand anything about it but after I tried annotating and asking my own questions I understood it like you told us it would. My responses weren't really critical like how you wanted them to be but after working in the classes I think I know how to be critical.

Vai 2:

In this class I've learnt alot. Especially in the part about criticism. Before when I would read something I would always accept it just as it is right now. But ever since I have joined this class I have slowly learnt to criticize the text or oppose it sometimes. This class has taught me to think clearly and more deeply about the text that has been written.

APPENDIX 5

PARTICIPANT SELECTION TEST FOR PHASE 1

APPENDIX 5

Participant Selection Test

FORM 4 COMPREHENSION TEST

FEBRUARY 1994

NAME: _____
SCHOOL: _____

PART A:

10 MARKS

Read the following passage carefully and then answer the questions that follow by writing down the LETTER of the best answer in the space provided.

That spring Longfellow School announced that a track meet was to be held one school to compete against another; everybody to participate. Here, I believed, was my chance. In my opinion I would be first in every event...

The time came at last for me and three other athletes, one of them a Greek to go to our marks, get set, and go; and I did, in a blind rush of speed which I knew had never before occurred in the history of athletics. It seemed to me that never before had any living man moved so swiftly. Within myself I ran the fifty yards fifty times before I so much as opened my eyes to find out how far back I had left the other runners. I was very much amazed at what I saw.

Three boys were four yards ahead of me and going away. It was incredible. It was unbelievable, but it was obviously the truth. There ought to be some mistake, but there wasn't. There they were, ahead of me, going away.

Well, it simply meant that I would have to overtake them, with my eyes open, and win the race. This I proceeded to do. They continued, incredibly, however, to go away, in spite of my intention. I became irritated and decided to put them in their places for the impertinence. Somehow or other, however, not even this seemed to bring me any closer to them and I felt that in some strange way I was being betrayed. If so, I decided, I would shame my betrayer by winning the race in spite of the betrayal, and once again I threw fresh life and energy into my running. There wasn't a great distance still to go, but I knew I would be able to do it.

Then I knew I wouldn't. The race was over. I was last, by ten yards. Without the slightest hesitation I protested and challenged the runners to another race, same distance back. They refused to consider the proposal, which proved, I knew, that they were afraid to race me. I told them they knew very well I could beat them.

It was very much the same in all other events. When I got home I was in high fever and very angry. I was sick for three days.

From: The Fifty Dash Yard By William Saroyan

Read the following statements based on the passage. Then write down whether each one is **TRUE, FALSE OR NOT STATED**. Only one answer is required - either TRUE, or FALSE or NOT STATED.

- 1. In the first paragraph, including everyone in the race gave the narrator(I) the chance to participate. _____
- 2. The narrator thinks that he is a very good athlete. _____
- 3. The narrator took part in the first event of the competition. _____
- 4. The distance between the narrator and the three boys increased as they neared the finishing line. _____

- 5. The three runners were afraid to race against the narrator. _____
- 6. The narrator used to be a winner in previous athletic competitions. _____
- 7. The narrator was very sick because he was angry to have lost in the events. _____

CIRCLE THE LETTER OF THE BEST ANSWER

- 8. In the third paragraph, the narrator found in hard to believe that
 - A. he was running at such a fast speed.
 - B. he had run the fifty yards fifty times.
 - C. the boys were far ahead of him.
 - D. what he saw was a mistake.
- 9. The word 'one' (line 29) refers to
 - A. yard C. protest
 - B. race D. loss
- 10. In the last paragraph, the sentence, "It was very much the same in all other events" tells us that the narrator
 - A. came last in all of the events.
 - B. was betrayed by others.
 - C. was made fun of by others.
 - D. did not join in the other events.

PART B:

SENTENCE ORDERING

5 MARKS

The following paragraphs describe an event but they are in the wrong order. Reorder the paragraphs in their most meaningful order. The first one is done for you.

- 1. During the celebration of King Tupou IV's 75th birthday, I tried to catch a glimpse of the King. "Was he really as big as the guidebooks suggested"?
-

2. So I jumped in the parade, grinning from ear to ear as I marched right past the guards and through the palace gates.
3. Darkness fell as the last bunch of kids tiredly walked through.
4. Lost in thought, I was jolted to life when a young Tongan lady named 'Ana grabbed my hand and urged, "Come on, let's march past the King."
5. There in front of the palace sat a smiling cross-legged King. He was not as big as I imagined!
6. Once inside, 'Ana and I jumped out of formation and stood beside a palace guard while thousands of school kids marched on.

PART C: CLOZE

20 MARKS

There are TEN words missing in each of the TWO passages. Find the word that BEST fits each blank.

Passage 1

One day Nasrudin saw (1) _____ shining in the gutter. "Ah-ha! (2) _____'s this?" he said. "Someone (3) _____ lost something valuable." He (4) _____ it up. It was (5) _____ mirror. When he looked (6) _____ it and saw (7) _____ face, he threw it (8) _____ again. "Yuck!" said Nasrudin. "(9) _____ wonder they threw it (10) _____. It's so ugly!"

Passage 2

The sands on our beaches are disappearing at a very rapid rate. Much of the blame can be placed (1) _____ the growing number of concrete buildings being (2) _____. Since our coconut-made Tongan house is (3) _____ longer popular, the demand on our sand resources (4) _____ increase until the whole of Tonga will no longer have (5) _____. What will this mean to our low-lying flat islands? (6) _____ are surrounded by the biggest ocean in the world (7) _____ that ocean can be very rough at times. Experts tell us that the (8) _____ protect our islands from the ravages of (9) _____ sea. (10) _____ this is true, what will become of us when our sands are gone?

APPENDIX 6

DATA ANALYSIS PROCEDURE AND SAMPLES FOR PHASE 1

- (i) Propositions Breakdown**
- (ii) Sample Proposition Breakdown**
- (iii) Coding Categories for Recalls/Retellings**
- (iv) Sample retelling analysis (Lote's)**
- (v) Sample miscue analysis (Sione's)**

DATA ANALYSES PROCEDURE

(i) Propositions Breakdown - Adaptation of Meyer's (1985) & Bernhardt's (1991)

Recall Passages:

Whaling in Alaska (Expository), 314 words, 15 sentences, 5 paragraphs; 306 (102x3) idea propositions; age 14 reading level for native speakers according to the Fry Readability chart but higher than average vocabulary difficulty.

Science Scholar Studies Suva Reef, 315 words, 13 sentences, 13 paragraphs, 255(85x3) idea proposition; age 13 reading level with greater than average sentence length in the Fry Readability scale.

(ii) Sample breakdown of *Science Scholar Studies Suva Reef* into Propositions (News Article, 315 WORDS, 13 paragraphs) 13 Years in the Fry Readability Scale, greater than average sentence length.

1. FACING THE FURY
2. OF THE WINDS
3. AND SEA
4. AT NIGHT
5. AND THE FIERY SUN
6. BY THE DAY
7. FOR SIX WEEKS
8. OUT ON SUVA'S REEF
9. IS HOW A 22 YEAR-OLD
10. UNIVERSITY STUDENT
11. FROM WALES
12. IS WORKING
13. TOWARDS HIS DOCTOR'S DEGREE.
14. NICHOLAS PENN
15. IS IN SUVA
16. ON A SCHOLARSHIP
17. FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF SWANSEA
18. AND HAS TWO OTHER SCHOLARSHIPS,
19. ONE FROM THE ROYAL SOCIETY LEVERHULME STUDENTSHIP
20. AND ONE FROM THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT RESEARCH COUNCIL.
21. TWO OF HIS SCHOLARSHIP YEARS
22. WILL BE IN FIJI
23. AND THE OTHER YEARS IN WALES.
24. HE HAS BEEN OUT ON THE REEF
25. FOR THE PAST THREE AND A HALF WEEKS.
26. "THE PURPOSE
27. OF MY STAY OUT ON THE REEF
28. IS TO STUDY
29. THE EFFECTS OF DREDGING
30. ON THE REEFS
31. AND THAT INVOLVES MONITORING
32. THE TEMPERATURE,
33. SALT LEVEL
34. AND CURRENTS,"
- HE SAID.

35. HE DIVES FOR FISH SAMPLES
36. AROUND THE REEF,
37. WELL AS COLLECTS SEA GRASSES.
38. THE FISH THAT HE CATCHES
39. WITH THE HELP OF LOCAL UNIVERSITY STUDENTS
40. ARE PHOTOGRAPHED
41. AND PRESERVED.
42. THIS COLLECTION
- R. OF ALL THE DIFFERENT TYPES OF SEA GRASSES
- R. AND ALL THE SPECIES OF FISH
43. THAT FEED ON THEM
44. REVEALS HOW SEA LIFE
45. WOULD BE AFFECTED
46. BY DREDGING.
- R. FISH
- R. AND OTHER SAMPLES OF SEA LIFE
- R. ARE COLLECTED
47. AT NIGHT
- R. WITH THE HELP
48. OF FRIENDS
- R. FROM THE UNIVIERSITY.
49. THE OTHER PART OF MR PENN'S EXERCISE
50. IS TO DETERMINE
51. HOW LONG IT WILL TAKE
52. FOR SAND-DREDGED AREAS
53. TO FILL UP AGAIN.
54. "I DO THIS
55. BY BURYING
56. EMPTY BOTTLES
57. ALONG THE REEF
58. TO FIND OUT HOW LONG THEY TAKE
59. TO FILL UP WITH SEDIMENTS."
60. MR PENN LIVES
61. IN A ONE ROOM HUT
62. IDEALLY SITUATED
63. IN AN AREA WHERE THE REWA RIVER
64. JOINS THE SEA.
64. THIS PLACE
65. IS A SOURCE OF INFORMATION
66. FOR HIS EXPERIMENTS
67. AND IT IS ALSO AN UNDISTURBED AREA
68. OF THE REEF.
69. HE HOPES
70. THAT AS A RESULT OF HIS OBSERVATION
- R. ON THE REEF,
71. HE WILL BE ABLE TO PUT FORWARD
72. PROPOSALS
73. ON HOW TO CONDUCT DREDGING
74. ON THE REEFS.

TOTAL NO. OF PROPOSITIONS = 74 x 3(NOUGHTS) = 222

Percentage of recalled propositions = Total no of noughts tallied/Total no. of propositions = x/222

(iii) Coding categories for miscues/recalls/retellings

The coded descriptions used for miscue analyses were modified and included during my tallying. These helped me identify the levels and type of recalls made. The codes are:

| Item | Code |
|---------------------|-------------|
| Paraphrase | P |
| Partial Paraphrase | PP |
| Verbatim syntax | VS |
| Verbatim phrase | VP |
| Verbatim vocabulary | VV |
| Distortion | D |
| Elaboration | E |

(A) Coding categories for oral reading miscues

(An adaptation of Goodman, Watson & Burke's(1987) codes):

| Miscue | Coding |
|------------------------|--|
| Hesitation | H (Where there is a long pause before the resumption of reading) |
| Self-Correction | C (Where the reader self-corrects a previous miscue) |
| Repeated Miscue | RM (If the same miscue is repeated, record once and just mark but do not tally as a separate miscue) |
| Intonation | I (Where there is a perceived lack of, or inappropriate use of tone to mark exclamations, questions, comma and end of sentence) |
| Insertion | (Elaboration/Distortion)(Where an extra word/words is inserted in the reading - are they meaningful elaborations or do they distort the meaning? Are they syntactically appropriate to the context?) |
| Substitution | S (Where a different word is substituted for a word in the text - record above the word. Look at the nature of the miscue(text/knowledge or cultural-based) |
| Repetition | R (Where a word(s) is repeated. |
| Omission | O (Where a part of the text(a line, phrase, word, morpheme) is left out of the reading). Circle the omission. |
| Pronunciation | P (where a word is pronounced wrongly or attempts to pronounce are evident(syllabic/first few letters) |

(B) Miscue categories (An adaptation of Johnson's(1976; Bernhardt's(1991) & Davis(1994)

| <u>Text-based:</u> | <u>Reader-based:</u> |
|--|---|
| Are the miscues: | Does the reader: |
| (i) graphic(Does the miscue <i>look</i> like the text word?) | (i) control reading process(Adjust rate of reading, pause, reread, skip, sub-vocalise, etc.?) |
| (ii) phonic(Does it <i>sound</i> like the text word?) | (ii) monitor reading process(Correct errors?) |
| (iii) syntactic(Does it have the <i>same grammatical function</i> as the text word - plural/tense, etc?) | (iii) utilise various knowledge sources(knowledge of other texts, of format, personal experience, content/topic, cultural knowledge, etc.?) |
| (iv) semantic(Would it be a <i>meaningful sentence</i> if read on its own, out of context of the passage?) | (iv) interact with text(translate? paraphrase?) |
| (vi) dialectic(A dialect variation - e.g. 'bucket' for 'pail'?) | (v) utilise the text(the genre, rhetorical structure, register/style, immediate context, syntax, vocabulary?) |

(iv) Sample Recall Analysis of Lote's *Disaster at Sea*

NARRATIVE: RETELLING ANALYSIS

READING LEVEL: 7+5 = 12 with higher than average vocabulary difficulty in the Fry Readability Scale

No. of Propositions

2.3

1. Susan Hames ooo
2. was taken to the Novotel hotel. ✓
3. where she spent the whole night, ✓
4. wrapped in a blanket, ✓
5. in the lobby, ✓
6. waiting for news of Rob. O
7. Her earlier confidence ✓
8. that he had got out ✓
9. had weakened. oo E *... very nervously*
10. She had checked all the lists, ✓
11. made all the calls, ✓
12. and there was no word, none. x
13. And now ✓
14. she knew that not everyone o "no one"
15. had got off the ship alive, oo
16. that bodies had been brought out x
17. and scores more, x
18. unreachable, x
19. remained. x
20. As night ✓
21. became morning x
22. and morning turned to midday, x
23. still without news, ✓
24. it gradually came over her x
25. that Rob might be dead. x
26. Then she saw Claire ooo
27. and her mother, ooo
28. carrying baby Christopher, ✓
29. walking through the lobby. x
30. The mother said ✓
31. they were on their way to the hospital ✓
32. to see her husband. ✓
33. "How are you, Claire?" o
34. asked Susan. x
35. "Fine. x" E *... in a way*
36. thank you, ooo
37. the child replied ooo *... very bravely*
38. courageously, ooo
39. clearly without a sign of recognition. x
40. "Look," x.
41. Susan said to herself ✓
42. when they'd gone, O
43. it was dark, x
44. or maybe it's her way. x
45. of putting the thing out of her mind. x
46. But she began to cry nevertheless, o D *"She sat there with a sad face"*
47. and cried until her father, oo
48. a British military investigator oo *... British*
49. stationed in West Germany, ooo
50. arrived that evening. oo *"... every"* D *"... her father arrived"*

51. He walked in, X
 52. took one look at her X
 53. and said, "All right, that's it. X
 54. We're going home X
 55. - now." X
 56. And it was her father, X
 57. two days later, X
 58. who returned to Zeebrugge X
 59. and went through the mortuary, X
 60. a bleak little sports hall X
 61. where some 50 bodies X
 62. were laid out, ✓
 63. and then telephoned her to say X
 64. that Rob was not there. X

65. Maybe it's all right, X
 66. Susan thought, X
 67. with a thrust of hope. X
 68. Maybe he is just hurt, X
 69. lying somewhere X
 70. and unable to get a message to me. X

71. But her father had to tell her X
 72. that he had talked to someone X "news was received"
 73. who showed him X 'room' indirect reference
 74. a plan of the restaurant. X
 75. He said it was under 120 metres of water, X "full D
 76. sealed in, 000 of water
 77. and the divers couldn't get to it. 00 "investigators" instead
 78. "Do you understand what I'm saying?" X of a word

Paragraph

79. "Yes, Dad," she said X
 80. after a time. X
 81. "I understand." X
 82. And she did, ✓
 83. at last. X

Implied

And Susan knew that Rob
 was inside the room.

- Arranged the main ideas in the story
- Paragraphed these ideas - some elaboration as a result - many inferences
- missed details
- spelling - military
- Punct. tense problems - "was find" "thought", "decided"
- inconsistent tense - "could it get inside"
- awkward expressions "very nervously", "during her study"
- words used from original text

- Susan lives
- Rob, Claire, mother, father
- military investigator, 'sailed'
- military, west of a river
- questions: "How are you ... I am fine thank you."

$$\frac{47}{249} = 18.9\%$$

(v) Sample miscue analysis of Sione's *School Uniforms*

A. SPEECH

SCHOOL UNIFORMS SHOULD BE ABOLISHED

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, it is my opinion that school uniforms serve a useful purpose. Therefore I disagree that they should be abolished.

Take a look around you here today! You are all looking smart and presentable because you are pupils of a school which requires you to wear a school uniform. Imagine, if you will,

what your reaction would be to seeing an audience comprising

what
1 jean-clad students. The scruffy appearance of jeans is well known and would certainly not ^{create} a very good first

impression of the school that allows pupils to dress in this

way. Would you want to be called a 'no-school' person because

you are not wearing any uniform? Wouldn't you be proud to be

identified as a student of the school you are attending by

wearing the uniform required by that school? ⁰ *no ? tone*

School uniforms are hard-wearing. They are practical. No ^{dress/} snobbery can enter the school if each child ^{(R) must/must dress/must dress} must dress in the same way. No child is made to feel ashamed ^{(P) of his/of his} of his poverty. ^{(P) poverty}

Fashion is fickle. Styles come and go! Not every family can

afford to keep up ^{(S)with} ^{R rich/rich} to whims of fashion. Rich children would

not care about how a poor child feels ^{(C) children/child} ^{(S)of} at being left out of the

fashions. This situation is totally avoided by school

uniforms.

School uniforms need not ^{to} be unattractive. They can be

cheerful and ^{(S)become} ^{P initial} becoming just as any casual clothes. The initial

expense of buying a school uniform can be quite high.

However, in the long run it is less expensive to the parents

to provide ^{(S)an} a uniform, rather than to ^{(S)take} be constantly replacing

cheaper clothes which cannot take the ^(H) ^{R - correctly} ^{S/strain} strain of all day use.

For these reasons, I conclude that school uniforms are

necessary to schools today. I hope that you will agree with me

on this ^{school (C) subject} subject. Thank you for your attention.

APPENDIX 7

PHASE 3: READERS' ORIGINAL RESPONSES TO ALL PRE- AND POST-SCAFFOLDING TASKS/TESTS

7.1 My co-readers original responses

- (i) Lote
- (ii) Meli
- (iii) Sione
- (iv) Tai
- (v) Vai
- (vi) Meli

7.1 READER'S ORIGINAL RESPONSES

(i) Reader 1: Lote

PRE-SCAFFOLDING TASK: *Eveline*

"This story is about Eveline trying to do what she wants to do in order to gain a good future. And also it was about Eveline's family. Eveline's mother was dead and she lived with her father and her brother. Later on her brother Ernest died and she didn't get well with her father when she loves Frank (her boyfriend). Eveline really love her boyfriend but her father dislike her boyfriend. So Eveline tried secretly to meet with her boyfriend. One night Frank and Eveline walk out. This shows that Eveline start to gain her decision. This passage illustrate its idea clearly. My feeling about the idea Eveline makes the right decisions on her life. Because her mother died and she couldn't get well with her father, so her life need someone to get on with and also her brother that she love the most was died also. The writer presented the story in a clearly way. The writer described the character of her father and also described their way of life when they were young. The writer start his writing from the beginning of their life. The writer trying to attract the attention in the begin before he comes to his main idea, when he comes to his main idea he already got the attention of the readers and ther eaders will obviously know what his story about and the characteristics of the character."

PRE-SCAFFOLDING TEST

BT Ad:

"This passage is an advertisement of BTs call return. BT is new technology when the phone rings and your lazy to get to the phone. When you want to know who was phoned to you just dial the 1471 and you will hear the number of the person who was last to call. My feeling for this idea..it feel happy because when you can't get to the phone B.T is there to act as your servant. When you came back to the phone just only call BT by dialing 1471 and you will know who call to you. The writer of this passage show his idea by putting a example of how the BT useful. The writer shows his/her idea by putting a clear example. This example shows one of the problem when you are doing something else and suddenly the telephone rings. Then the writer said, BT is there to hold the number of person who wants to talk to you."

Electric City:

"This text is about a word electric city. This word found when Ani went to pay the bill of there electric use. I think this story was about a family lived out of the city and the civilisation of it for example the row of street light. Then we knew that they were surprise to see the electricity everywhere. I also think that they were newcomer to the city. This also about a school kids who lived together in one home. My feeling for this text is a surprise feeling. When they arrived at city they were surprise to see electric light along the road. I also feel that this school kids enjoyed there way of life. The writer present his idea she made up a story in order to show clearly his idea."

POST-SCAFFOLDING TASKS:

Eveline:

"This text is about a girl called Eveline. This passage shows how Eveline trying to gain the decision that she think it was the most important. When Eveline was young her father treat her well; but afterward when she was getting old (over nineteen) her father threaten her. Maybe the reason why Eveline's father threaten her because he know Eveline courtly. He tried to make her scared of him because he hated Frank. But Eveline fell in love with Frank. So one night Frank and Eveline went out. But at the end Eveline didn't want married frank, becasue when she came to know Frank. I feel angry with Eveline's father. Because he treat Eveline badly, maybe he trying to stop Eveline from courting but it is not good, because Eveline getting mature and she knows what good and bad. I also feel sorry with Frank of how Evelines father hate him, maybe it's not good for a father to choose the boyfriend of her daughter and also maybe Frank was a poor person that's why Eveline's father hated him. But it is not good to look down to any person. I also feel happy with Eveline. Because her father treat her badly but she still love him very much becausè her mother was dead and she wanted live with her. For example, when she was gone with Frank, maybe when she remembered her father her heart was filled with love to him, perhapes there's nobody at home only her father lived at; so she leave Frank and went back home. In this passage I feel agree with how the writer present his idea. Firstly father's role is to show to his children what's the right thing to do. Secondaly I think women's role is to stay at home and serve the parents until they died. After parents died than they women free to choice."

Maybe the parent's role is to keep the children but when they are getting mature it is up to them to choose who they might marry to. For the children they might choose someone that loved him or her and a someone that love his or her parent."

POST-TEST 1

BT ad

"This passage is an advertisement of the British Telecom's Call Return. In this passage, how the BT Call return important. On the picture shows the way you can use the BT Call Returns. Call return is free that means no need for you to pay the BT Call Return. The important of call return is when you want to know who called you last just dial 0800801471 and you will get the one. Maybe the purpose of the advertising of BT Call Return because it is Free. Only one thing you have to do is to establish a telephone in BT than you are allowed to use the call return. Perhaps Call return was newly established. I feel excited. Because of the new technology that BT has. And I also feel happy because their new ideas will help the Business people who always busy everytime. Also it help to you when you are doing some important work and the phone rings just only dial 1471 and you will know who was last call. I also feel confused that why can't call return establish here in Tonga and also the Pacific island maybe there's no enough money in order to establish the Call Return services and also maybe the knowledge in electronic that's why call return establish here. I also feel sorry for the Pacific Island. Because of not having much money also also lack of people in electronic's getting degrees. But I hope in the future here in Tonga we will use the Call Return and also hope that maybe FREE for us to call the T.T. Call Return(Tonga Telecom) and I also feel sorry for people that they haven't got a telephone because they will not use the Call Return. In this advertisement shows the conflict between female and male. I think the writer of this advertisement like the feature of a man. I also think that's why he shows his idea by using men, maybe he knew Business man will mainly use the call return. Because he was busy everytime. And also it shows the male can do the female's opportunity for example they can live at home and do the female's task. It also shows that female's role to serve the men. In this advertisement shows that female were out of home. That means women were not doing their opportunity but they are away from home."

Electric City

"This passage is about a school students. After school Ani went to pay the electric bill, when she get back home Harry was there, he had already cooked the chops and chips for them. After they eat, Ani and Harry went to work in the city. They get in the train and go "Ani, we have school test tomorrow," Harry asked. Ani said "yes Bio and Maths. But afterwards Harry said to Ani school for kids. I am going to leave school. Maybe that's why she leaving school that he is too old for studying at school. And he told Ani that he skipped from school and being interveiwng at the video shop. When the train scuttle out from the cutting it was already dark. Ani and Harry saw that light is everywhere in the city, in the wharf, beside the road, etc. Maybe that's the meaning of electric city, is a city of electric means electric every where. And the train scuffled into the station. Then Ani and Harry gets out. I feel sorry with Pania. Because she wasn't have a food. Maybe all of the food has been eaten up Any and Harry. Also when Pania came Ani said that she must cleaned the dishes before their mother came back home. Perhaps Pania was the youngest child that's why Ani treat him badly. I also feel angry with Ani because she treat Pania badly like leaving her without any food and also asked her to clean all the dishes before Mum gets home without anyone help. Also I feel angry with their parents because they leaving their children at home and went away. This show that they weren't doing their jobs as looking after the children. I also feel happy about Ani and Harry. Because they trying to work in order to help their parents in paying their school fees and keeping them. ,this passage shows the conflict between old children and young children. This shows that the writer believes that when parents are away eldest son or daughter will hold the responsibility over the rest of the children. And the writer believes that older children will help their in working for gaining money like what Ani and Harry did. And the writer also believe that young children will do all the works at home like cleaning dishes like what Pania did. And also the writer believes that parents be out for working and the bigger children will handle well the rest of the children. But in this passage so that young children can't do anything because elder children threaten them."

POST-SCAFFOLDING TASK 2(Singapore Airlines)

(Lote was absent on this occasion)

POST-SCAFFOLDING TASK 3:

Frim and Frat

"This cartoon is a conversation between two different kinds of frogs. These two talks about the main problem of

different colours, language, authority, races etc. in their way of life. This cartoon shows the one who have authority he is the one who rule and talks the most. On the graphic shows that the big frog talks the most. This cartoon is about human races and their major problem that's problem is discriminating. And the cartoon shows the result that will happen if discriminating continue. On this cartoon I feel sorry with the people who discriminated by the powerful, older, wiser etc. I feel sorry because they were exploited by the people who have authority because this cartoon was made by the people who resist his ruling in order to show to the people some of its wrongdoing on its ruling. The rebellion party trying to put down the people who have authority so that the people think that his ruling is not good... This cartoon shows that discrimination is the obvious problem that face with human races in different sexes, different races, different colours, between authority and less authority and between old and young generation. The writer of this cartoon trying to teach us a lesson that lesson is not to discriminate each other but love one another as much as you love you. His message was established in cartoon by graphics for example he use big frogs and a small frog. Big frog represent people who have power and the small one represent people who are poor and less authority. Not only that but big frogs represent men and the small one represent women. If this one above is true this cartoon shows that men is the head of the family and women's role is to be submissive to the men and do the household working. And also the conversation between these two they talk about who is going to rule the family. Green represent men and brown represent women. The small frog says 'green or brown' That's mean men or women will rule the family. The small frogs that represent women shows from her face a respectful looking, helpless, small can't do anything. This clearly shows that the writer trying that women should stay at home and submissive to the head family is the men(father)."

POST-TEST 2:

Sports Education Ad

"This advertisement shows how do people who wanted to become a rugby player etc the goal. In this advertisement shows the way you can become a football player. Firstly you will develop your body to be fitness and to be strong so that you will defence your body from hurting. And this advertising using the daily language. The writer use a blackman to present its idea. The target audience of this advertisement is the people who want to be a football player. It is being said here to be develop your body and mind in order to you to become a good football player. In this developing means you must be fit, strong, obeying heart and always concentrate your mind in football. I think this advertisement is not balanced. Because why can't a white person present its message or old person or women? There's something missing in this advertisement. Why can't a hero in football represent its idea? This advertisement clearly shows the racist of the writer. In this passage is also said that if we stay in school we will not become a good football player because your mind won't concentrate in football only but it will make you concentrate in study also. In its looking it shows us that he want to become a football player. I feel angry with the writer because of its biased. ..the biased of the writer he use a black young men instead of using white people; because white people are the famous people in rugby; black's people are not good playing rugby. I feel sorry with the white races because the writer trying to belittle them. Because he use black young man and he think that black people are better than white people in football. I agree with the writer on using men instead of women because football game is the men's game. Women's game is netball, tennis, etc. I feel sorry with the old people because of not using them but it is true football didn't need people who are old because they are weak, unfit, helpless. ..this advertisement make's me feel courage because if I develop my body and mind I will become a good football player. The writer is trying to show's the conflict between black and white people...to show the obvious way of how to become a football player. The writer use black young men because black people want to become a football player. That's why he using black people because black people are confident in sports like athletic, soccer, baseball, basketball, etc. Maybe the writer knows that football game is the game that black races didn't confident on. And that's why he using black people he is trying to make black people to be confident in football game. And also the games. ..this advertisement teach me a lesson."If the body and the mind work together in learning to become a football player its will make us famous in rugby. And it's also tells me studying is not the only way to have a good future its also shows that sports can give you good future too."

DELAYED POST TEST:

You the Choice of My Parents

"I think this poem talks about how children are important in the family. On the first two lines shows that the parents are really love their children, this love shows from their acting, parents provide best thing for the children. Tapa clothes, represent the best clothes that the parents offered to the children, fresh perfumed oil represent that parents

are still instructing the children at home. Third line represent when the children did according to the instruction. its like a star shining in the night. On that attitude your parents must be proud of you. ..this poem also talking about that children are the one who keep the genealogy. It also shows that children are the important thing in the society. I feel very proud because the poet shows that we are children and we are very important in the society. The poem talks about the children are the one who keep the genealogy. And also the children are the one who the parents proud with. Also the important of children in the family children can uplift a family from poorly living to a good standard of living. Not only that but the poet also shows that children are the future of the country because children can keep the traditional culture. Further on children are very important in the church because they are the future of the church. I also feel proud with the parents. Because they show their loving way keeping us(children) from the date of my birth until we are mature enough to control myself. I feel proud with the way that the poet used to represent her message. It's represent its idea in a good way for example he use formal language she use the Tognan goods like Tapa and perfumed oil to make its message clear. I also admire because she shows that parents role at home still doing, it shows that parents are still instructed the children at home. It's also shows that the poet stryng to support that parent's role is to instructs the children at home so that they grow up with a good attitude."

I Lived Here Once

"This story is about a woman who lived in a village and she went away for sometimes than she came back to the village again and the home where she lives. When she came back everything is new the road are much wider now and the work was done carelessly that means the road was not good. And it was very dirty now. The only thing that wasn't new the way was fined and the blue sky. When she came the home where she lives was very strange that there a car outside and the house was paint in white colour and there are two gays playing outside. Than she say hello to the children but they didn't turn their heads or answer. This shows that she was a newcomer now to the home where she lives. I feel sorry here with the woman who came to the village because of not having someone to welcome her. I also feel sorry with her because of the attitude done by the children to her. On the way that children treats her it clearly shows the attitude of the European. This shows that their attitude are quite bad because if they are not know you they won't say hello or Good morning or welcome you. I also feel angry with the people of this village because of their attitude against the newcomer. I also feel sorry here with the women because of the changes had happen. ..this passage shows the conflict between races. I feel sorry here with the other races who came to Europe and the way Europe did to the newcomers. In this shows that the European are selfish because they didn't a new person to be enter their homes. And also shows the conflict between old and young generation. In this passage they young generation didn't likethe old generation maybe the reason for these the older generation treat them badly or maybe they dislike the attitude of the old generation."

(ii) READER 2: MELI

PRE-TASK

Eveline:

"I think that "Eveline" is about young girls of the past and how they play their roles as women. "Eveline" is the name of the young girl who is about to run away with her boyfriend Frank and get married. But didn't go afterwards. This story shows how submissive women were in their society, shows that women had to stay home and not to be breadwinners. Why didn't Eveline go with Frank? Was it because she was afraid of her father? This story talks about women in particular, that their only role is to stay home and do household chores.

PRE-TEST:

BT ad

"The advertisement is advertising service of "BT's Call Return". I think that what they do then inorder for them to get more customers, is that, they must therefore put you in a situation, whereby it makes you realise that you certainly do need their service, and that is when your taking a shower and the phone rings, and you either go and answer it, dripping water everywhere, or you could just ignore it but wonder who it could be. Therefore, the "BT's Call Return", will be able t provide you with telephone number of the last person who called, thus be of great help. The ideas of this advertisement makes me feel that I need their service; and so therefore, I think that the ideas of this advertisement is laid out pretty well and is well-structured. I like the way the writer has presented the idea of this advertisement and the reason for this is because the writer gives you a clear picture of how you desperately need "BT's Call Return Service". In other words, the advertisement is well-structured.

Electric City:

"This short story is about children of a family and how two of those kids go to work at night, probably part-time jobs, to help their parents. These two kids, are Ani and Harry, and the story mainly focuses on them. The other two, probably younger ones, are Pania and Boo. Ani and Harry both go to school, perhaps high school, but they also have part time jobs at night. Before they went to work, Ani had just come back from the "Electric City" with tall buildings and layers of light patterning the sides of it. I think that the "electric city, controls the power supply or electricity, so without them(electricity), you will find it hard to survive. For example, if they cut off the power, that means phone, T.V and so forth. Ani went to the "electric city" to pay their bills. There is no particular time whereby this story takes place, but perhaps it is set in the future. I feel as if this story is trying to warn us, the generation of today. The writer is trying to say that the future can end up like this, with technology being a great influence in our lives. For instance, some people of today are content if they have no T.V. or phone, but in the future, people need them as if they are essential to us. This shows how technology influences our lives and how they can slowly take control of the world. Therefore, the writer wants us to face reality, and that inorder to prevent this from occurring, we, the people of today must act now, to stop this thus preventing the future generation from suffering such problems. I feel tht the writer wrote this story using simple language that is easy for everyone to read, but it also holds an important message, which I have already explained above, and that is "TECHNOLOGY WILL RULE THE WORLD SOMEDAY". Even though this story may look easy to read and seems like just any other story, but it has inner meanings, waiting for us readers to interperate. So therefore, I like the ways the writer has presented this message."

POST-SCAFFOLDING TASK 1

Eveline:

"This short story is about a young girl, who is over nineteen, who decides to go off with a young sailor and get married. This young girl is Eveline Hill and her boyfriend is Frank. Frank proposed to Eveline, to marry him and they decide to runaway on a boat to Buenos Ayres. Eveline's father, is greatly against the idea, of Frank courting Eveline, and therefore they must secretly run away, and get married. But in the end, when Frank and Eveline are aout to board the ship, Eveline decides to stay home and not go with Frank to their destined home in Buenos Ayres. I have pity for Eveline at first, for she seems that she does not enjoy her life with her father. Her mother has died and also her favourite brother Ernest. She is left with another brother Harry and her ill tempered father. And at the end, the greatly disagreed wth her choice to say home and not to go with Frank. I think that she would have gone with Frank to Buenos Ayres, get married and enjoy life to its fullest. If she did go, Frank will protect, as she has no one to protect her at home, she will make new friends, for back home, all her friends have left, and also I think she deserves to be happy and not to experience a hard life in staying home with her dad. I think that the writer has presented this story quite well, by using simple langauge, that is easy for everyone to read. But though it seems simple, it has a deeper meaning, and that is "it is important to make the right decision in life for the benefit of one's future".(Mele handed this in immediately after the session - the next day she handed in this other response - probably after having time to think over the story. This is the second response:

"I think that this author is a sexist. He is a male and from reading this story, it seems to me that, female have no freedom. They are expected to stay home and not go to work. Eveline, for istance, was treated without respect at work. Why? Was it because, women were epected to stay home and serve the males? Eveline's mother was also not treated with respect but why? What did she do, that made her not receive respect like any other women. Also at the end, why didn't Eveline leave with Frank? Was she afraid of gaining freedom? Was she scared of what she might have to face? But why was she afraid? From my point of view, I think that Eveline is faced to do things she hated, she has no freedom to do what she wants, and probably its main cause, is the type of sorrounding she lives in. This story must be directed towards women, that they have no freedom.

POST TEST 1

BT ad:

"I think that the BT Company uses a picture of a man taking a shower instead of a woman because men are likely to be very busy for they might be businessmen or they might hold very important posts in the society. So because of this, the phone calls are mostly for them, and that is probably why they used the picture of a man. Men are likely to be the ones who will use the BT service and not women. This advertisement actually puts women down. It shows that they BT service thinks that women are not as busy and active as men in business and other important affairs. But it also gives us their point of view about male nd female. They think that female are not as important

as male in business affairs and stuff like that. So in order for them to sell their service and make it more popular, they use men and it shows how busy they are and that they should use BT service for it will be very handy for them, especially in their work.

I most absolutely disagree with the person who made up the advertisement. How dare he make women look so low! Women have the same right as men do. There is no difference between them. I think that they are being sexist and that they only go for men and not women. Because they think women have no other roles but cook and stay home, they will think that women won't need their service. But then women need freedom. The freedom to work, the freedom to do whatever they want. The ad is directed towards men and that they need the BT service and not women. This makes me angry and I am very frustrated with who ever wrote this advertisement. He doesn't have to make women look incapable of working in order for them to sell their service, for women are capable of becoming businesswomen just like how men are.

Why use a picture of a man and not of a woman? Is this to suggest that men are more capable and more active in business affairs than women? Probably it's to show that men are always the ones who are busy with business and not women. Definitely not women. But why? Why make women look so hopeless? Look so incapable? Is it to sell their service? Is it to attract attention? Who is this advertisement for? For men? But why them and not women? Do they believe that the woman's place is in the kitchen and nowhere else? But isn't that being sexist? This advertisement clearly says that the roles of women is to stay home, cook and do household chores while men are breadwinners they go and work thus be of importance to businesses and other affairs. But then if the phone rings, where is the wife to answer the phone? This also suggests that the wife is not at home to answer the phone for the husband. But where is she then? If she isn't at home then she probably goes to work and therefore has the freedom to do what she wants, and doesn't stay home to serve the husband for she has other roles just like the husband, besides cooking and staying home."

Electric City:

"This story greatly comments on the way of life of people. It shows how important money and technology is to the people's lives, who are in the story. These two factors greatly dominate their lives and without them, they won't be able to survive. A message that I have learnt, is that, if the people of today won't act to stop such problems from happening, then technology will rule the world someday. So, in order for the future generation to not suffer, we must act now, and prevent technology from gaining power to rule the world. Ani and Harry, still both go to school, but then they work at night. This shows that they desperately need money for them to survive in such a society. Even though their father works, but his income is not enough. This situation suggests that money can buy everything. Also since the mother wasn't home to prepare dinner, then I think she has other roles and has freedom to work or do whatever she wants. I greatly disapprove of Harry and Ani, going to work, from my point of view, I don't like school students having to go to school, at the same time, work. I think that because they go to work at night, then they hardly have time to sit down and study, at home. So if they don't study at home, then their school work might not be of satisfaction, and the reason for that, is because they don't get the opportunity to study properly for their tests. For instance, look at Ani, she just studied for her Biology test in the train, on their way to work. Is that how you study for a test? Absolutely not! But nevertheless, I also admire Harry for wanting to skip school, so that he can work, thus let his sister study properly and let his dad rest. This shows how much he loves and cares for his family and that Harry admits that if he gets a job, he is prepared to work as hard as he can, for his family's benefit and welfare.

Why did Harry and Ani have to go to work? Was it because their dad's income is not enough? Why did they have to pay the electric city? Is that the main source of power? Is it that important? Why do you always have to pay the Electric City? Does the mother work? If she does, then doesn't her income help them too? I think that Harry and Ani represent children of the future and that they must work in order for their families to survive in such a surrounding, and that is probably why Harry and Ani had to go to work. The Electric City is probably, the main headquarters for electricity and that you always have to pay in order for you to have some power supply. So when you do have power supply, everything is o.k. But one thing I can't understand, is why does the father have everything counted out? Or in other words, why does he wisely budget their income? Probably it's because they hardly have much money and so he wants every cent to be worthy. Also, from the way the story is written, the author is overemphasizing the roles of the kids. But why? Is it a threat? Probably it's because they are the ones who will suffer, in the future, if their society is so technologicalised.

POST-TASK 2

Singapore Airlines Ad

"This ad of Singapore Airlines uses a picture of a girl to advertise their service. But why? Why use a picture of a girl and not anything other? Is it because the beauty of the girl will attract attention or what? I think that this picture puts women down. It shows that what women do is that, they serve men and give them pleasure. Women here are like servants, and that they do nothing but do what pleases men. This ad is directed against us, women, that we serve men and we are under their power. We are like dolls that satisfy needs and wants of males.

POST-TASK 3

Frim and Frat

"I think that this cartoon is plainly a mockery. It is mocking at the way we humans live, and I believe that, that was the whole purpose of this cartoon. Why did the cartoonist use frogs? Is it to put humans down? Why does the big frog always talk? Probably its because of its size. Its obvious that it is bigger and being like that suggests that you have more power and authority. But why does the small frog not talk that much? Is it because its small in size and that makes it weak and submissive? But what does the smaller frog represent? A weaker race? A submissive sex? An unable and weak generation? Why does the small frog ask, "Green or brown?" Does he refer to men or women? Black or white people? Old or young people? Educated or uneducated people? Rich or poor people? From my point of view, I think that this cartoon shows how women are submissive to men. Probably the big frog represents men, showing how dominating and very influential they are on women, and probably the small frog represents women, making us to be aware of how submissive and weak they are to men. Also, from my interpretation, probably the big frog represents white people, since it talks alot. This shows that white people always get their say and always wins, whereas with the blackp people, which I believe is represented by the small frog, are weak and don't have the courage to stand up and fight for their own rights. The black people are too afraid of the white people and so just follows the orders and commands of the white. This cartoon could also be talking about old and young people, with the old people as the big frog and the young people as the smaller one. It show how the old people influence the lives of the young ones, and the young ones, not standing up for their own rights. The cartoonists is mainly trying to convey the idea of discrimination and that it can destroy us humans, so we must act now to stop this type of discrimination whereby black and white fight against each others. Also young and old people, how they disagree on certain things and also how men and women are opposing each others. Lastly, from my personal interpretation, I think that the big frog presents how some people are very powerful and has the authority to always have his/her say. While those who are not powerful, not educated, are weak and don't have any other choice but to follow orders thus become hopeless and submissive.

POST TEST 2

Sports Education ad

Target audience: young men who are interested in becoming a football player...This ad is saying that most kids who dump school are black kids, which makes this ad to be unbalanced, for their emphasis falls on the black people. What is being said here about black people is that they ar enot as intelligent as the white people and that the majority of the blacks are not educated or are but they don't finish their education properly. Whereas with the whtie people, they don't dump school, they are well-educated thus much more intelligent than the blacks...

The purpose of this ad is to show how important school is to your future ambition. The langauge used is simple and easy to understand. The picture is a young black football player. But why? Why use the picture of the black man and not have a picture of a white man? Does this mean that football is a sport for only black people? Is this saying that white people are more intelligent and well-educated than the black people thus can get better juobs than just becoming a football player. Does the picture of the black guy suggests that black people are not well educated? Probably yes! Why not a picture of a female. Is it because football is only for males. Why is the headings in bold letters? Is it there to attract attention? And why is the sayings at the bottom are smaller in size? Is it to show its a threat or a warning? I think it is both a threat and a warning. The target audience here are yong black men who are interested in becoming a football player. This ad is saying that most kids who dump school are likely to be the black kids. Because of this, the ad therefore is not blanced, for this ad stresses too much of the black people, thus makes the writer of the ad be a racist. The writer is overemphasizing the black race by using the picture of the black man. Something here is missing. Where do the white people come in? Are they just by-standers? This says tht black people are not as intelligent as the white and that the majority of blacks are not well-educated or are but they don't finish their education properly, whereas with the white people, they are well-educated, and not dump school

thus much more intelligent than the black people. There is something that is said about men and that is football is a sport for them only and not for women. This makes the advertiser, a sexist. Also this ad says that football is not a game for all to play but strictly for young people and not the old ones. This makes the old people look incapable. Why does it say, "develop your body and you could be a football player"? This is probably saying that the black people have better bodies that are required for football than the white men. From my point of view, I disagree with the advertiser. Black people are not dumb and are just as intelligent as the whites. The writer makes the black people look incapable of getting better jobs, and also this shows that the black people do not have important roles like those of the white people. Why is there not a picture of an old man or woman? This means that football players are young. But why not use a picture of a lady? They say that women don't play football? Or are they saying that women don't play sports like men but stay home and serve the family? Probably that's what they believe. Does this picture suggest that men have more freedom? Have more important responsibilities than women? I think it does, that men think women don't play important roles like them but stay home and cook. Why do they say, "develop your mind and you could own the team"? This probably means that if you're well-educated, you can easily own a football team. Does this suggest that the black people are incapable of owning a football team whereas the white people are? I think that they are saying that black people are too poor. Why does the writer say what he/she did at the bottom of the page? I think that this means that education can buy you everything and without it your future is hopeless. But why have the black man in it? It is saying that the black man is not well-educated? Whose view is being presented? Is it a point of view of a black person, a white person, a male or a female? I think that it's a white man's point of view that is being presented and that he is both a sexist and a racist. So therefore I think that the black man, shows that they are the weaker race, which is the message that is being conveyed.

DELAYED POST-TESTS

You the Choice of My Parents

Purpose: comments on traditional marriage and how parents arrange the marriage of their children. Why did the poet write this poem? The poet wrote this poem to criticise the people or parents who still arrange the marriage of their children for them. Does the poet overemphasise a particular idea? To me, the poem seems to be emphasising on how obedient women are to their parents about arranged marriage. Does it present a point of view? The poem presents the point of view of the bride, what and how she feels about her arranged marriage.

Target audience: women who have parents that arrange their marriage for them. What is missing? Where is the groom's say? For he is obviously not saying anything, which means that this poem is the bride herself who wrote it. I dislike the way the parents arrange their children's marriage because it won't be for love but for wealth and fame.

Criticising: Stanza 1. Tone - sarcastic? Yes because she said that he does not know her. The poet uses sarcasm, especially when the bride talks about the groom. For example, "...your brown skin bursting with fresh perfumed oil..." The use of sarcasm here, further stresses the fact that she is protesting about their marriage. What she feels is very different from what the groom feels. For she is hopeless and must obey her parents in marrying the groom but she does not want to. This is proved when it said, "...the dancing has begun I see myself dying slowly to family and tradition..." Here "Dance" and "dying" are totally from the opposite sides. This shows how hopeless the bride's situation is. Why does she always describe his physical features? This is because that is all she knows of him, she doesn't know what his personality is like. Why are his eyes shining? Is it because of greed? Excitement? To me and from my interpretation, I think that his eyes were shining because of greed. "You the choice of my parents". Who does the you refer to? I think that the "You" here refers to the groom because it is he, who were parents want their daughter to marry. But why repeat this phrase? Probably to emphasise and to stress out to the readers, and also to the groom that he is the choice of her parents, the groom is the one man her parents think is suitable for a husband. "Western type education... second-hand car..." Are these important in our society? Yes, education and vehicles are important in our society today, for it brings fame to the family. It makes the family become popular, for this meant that your family is rich. And I think that this is why the parents wanted the groom to marry their daughter, so that their family will become popular and will be considered by others as a rich family for the groom was educated and he has a car. This shows how important education is to our lives and how it brings wealth. "Yet you do not know me, my prince". Why doesn't he know her? I think that the groom does not know her personality nor does he know how she feels, in other words, the groom does not know the real me (the bride) "I fit your plans and schemes for the future". What are his plans? In stanza 3, her duty is to bear him a son and I think that this is the groom's plans - to have a son so that his family line will not end but will be carried on by their son. Also from this line I feel sorry for the bride, for she is being used to give the groom a son. There is no love here, only desire to get what he wants which is a son. "I have no other choice". Why doesn't she have any other choice? Is it because of her parents? Tradition? I think that she has no other choice but marry the groom because that is what her parents want her to do, and so therefore must obey what her parents have told her to do. I also think that

tradition here contributes to her marriage because probably the society that she lives in, have a tradition of parents arranging the marriage of their children and that is also why she has no other choice but to marry the groom.

Stanza 2: "The priest has left the altar now..and the dancing has begun". Tone, happy? Joyful? Excited maybe? What altar is she talking about? The tone here is happiness, for the dancing has begun. But what altar? I think that it is the altar of the church or temple where the marriage ceremony is held at. "I see myself dying". Which part of her is dying? Is it her body? Her soul? Spirit? Or her mind? I think that it is her spirit that is dying. But why is she dying? What has happened to cause her to be like this? She is dying because this is not what she wants. She wants to be married because of love, not because of money or education and this marriage has made her be like this, as in dying. Dancing and dying are opposite phrases and do not go hand in hand because they have opposite meanings. But why are they being used? Because they are to stress out that even though happiness has started because of their marriage, her spirit has withered and no longer alive, "stripped of its wills and carefree spirit".. "Naked..." Why use these strong words? Probably to emphasise that her spirit is dead because of her parent's choice. But why is she alienated from belonging truly. This is because she cannot love him for he does not love her and the family that she will become a member of, will be foreign to her for the groom does not love her just because of the way she is, but wants her to fulfill his wants.

Stanza 3: "I love as a mere act of duty". Why does she love only as an act of duty? Because when you are married, you must love your husband or wife, but she knows that deep down they do not love each other truly, and just doing it because of traditional ways. But why does she feel it's her duty to love him? Because that is what her parents want of her, to love the husband that they have chosen for their daughter. "Changing ...familiar ironwood tree? Why is she familiar with the ironwood tree? I think that it is because, the ironwood tree is probably where she grew up in and she may have used to play there. What does the tree represent? To me, the tree probably represent her homeland, where she grew up in. But why use the ironwood tree? Is it different from other trees? Probably it is and that is why she used it. "My soul is far away". Why is it far away? Because she wants to go home and not get married to the groom. It is against her will to marry him and so her soul has become cold and remote. Where is it at then? Her soul has died. "But when my duties are fulfilled my spirit will return to the land of my birth". What are her duties? To give him a son? To her family? Marry the man they have chosen. How will she fulfill her duties? And what? She will fulfill them by giving them all what they want and being obedient at all times. "My spirit will return..." Why will her spirit return and not her body? Because she will die there and be buried there, and then her spirit will go back home. "Where you will find me no more" But why won't he find her? Because he won't know where to look for he does not know her properly. "Except for the weeping willows along the shore". What does the weeping willows represent? It represents sadness. But what shore? The shore of her homeland. Why is she saying that they are a part of her? Because her life was full of sadness like the weeping willows.

In this poem, women are being represented as weak, submissive, obedient and are used by men to fulfill their needs, whereas men here, are strong and very dominating for they are the ones that make the rules, while women obey them. From my personal view, I don't like the way women here are being treated. They are used to fulfill needs and wants of men. It also shows how important education is to her reputation. It makes you become popular and be stated as rich. Also, tradition here greatly contributes to the way they live and plays an important role in the society, for they are the laws and must be obeyed. The poet here uses simple language to accuse her parents and groom e.g. "You cannot see the real me..I have no other choice". Emotive words are also used like dying, naked, stripped, to stress out her protest in marrying the groom. I also think that women are represented this way so that parents who arrange marriage of their children can be aware of the fact that they are spiritually destroying the love of their children.

I Lived Here Once:

Purpose: Comment on how children of different races react to one another.

Target audience: intended for white people to teach their children to hate and avoid the black kids.

The main ideas of this short story is racism. How the white children hate those of the black. This is shown quite obviously, when the two white kids did not want to talk to the black girl even though they heard her perfectly well. The main character who is the young black girl, is very friendly and shy. She is naive and innocent yet does not know anything about racism, but the two white children on the other hand, are experienced kids who have been taught probably by their parents, guidance or teachers not to be friendly to the black children. This story takes place in the West Indies and his young girl is a native whereas the other two white kids are Europeans. The young black girl is being overemphasised and this makes it unbalanced. The black people here are represented by the young native black girl, who is being ill-treated by the two European kids. This makes the black people to put down, white

the Europeans or white people are always the rulers. Why was this story written? It was written to make the white people or parents be aware of what they are doing. They are probably the ones who teach their children to hate the black children but if they don't teach the kids, then, probably their children have watched them react towards black people and therefore they also follow, what their parents have done. Why was the black girl extraordinarily happy? She probably felt this way because she remembered all her happy times here, the place where she grew up, the place where she belonged to. Why did she think of "Glassy", and not of any other word like beautiful? Probably because the sky looked like glass, clear like crystal. Why was it strange for her to see a car parked in front of the house? I think because when she lived there, they were too poor to afford a car therefore had none. Why didn't the two European kids not turn around when she repeatedly called out to them? Because they did not want to talk to her or have anything to do with her and so therefore did not turn to her. But what were these Europeans doing in the West Indies? They are probably there for business matters, since West Indies is a great place for traders of raw materials. What did it mean by "as if the white blood is asserting itself against all odds?" The black girl means that the white children do not want to know the black children and so keeps away from them. Why did the boy make up an excuse to go inside the house? Because they didn't want the black girl to be there and they wanted to get far away from her. But why were her arms out with longing to touch them? She probably wanted to be their friends and make peace between them. What did it mean by, "That was the first time she knew". Knew what? What did she find out? I think that she finally knows that the white children hate the people of her race. The parents here are not in it except children("the young black girl facing reality" in her first draft). These children represent the black and white race and how they live. They don't like each others, and this makes the young black girl look weak. From my interpretation, I also think that the black girl is probably uneducated while the white children are. But why are the black people represented like this? Weak and hopeless. Because the author wants to stress out that the white people are not treating the black people properly and not in a civilised way. I oppose to the idea of black people being ill-treated and the author has used a very effective way of showing this. I also think that the black people here, are extending a hand to settle peace between the two races but the white people will not except it, which makes the white people be racists for they are cold towards the black people."

(iii) READER 3:SIONE

PRE-TASK

Eveline

"It is concerned with the frustrations in the lives of ordinary people facing up to important decisions. Life is full of frustration and ordinary people who face important decisions may sometimes take the wrong or right solution. In some cases you can change your decision right up till the last moment and then you have to stand by what you thought was right. I like all of the story. The way the writer makes it clear that this is an ordinary girl trying to cope with the frustrations of life. She has a chance to escape from her problems until she has to make one of the biggest choices in her life. I think he uses a girl as the main character because girls are more likely to meet these kinds of frustrations in life (getting harder and harder to make a living. People pick on them. Fathers like sons more than daughters. Things tempting her to run away and get married). The way the writer tells the story so real, it's like I'm the girl living this life.

PRE-TEST:

BT Ad

"It's about one of those little but annoying little problems in life. For example, you put your keys down but don't remember where. So they invented the key beeper so when you whistle it makes a sound and you can find it. Or the alarm clock for heavy sleepers. I think it's quite a good idea but not really that important. Most people don't live alone and some have answering machines. If the phone call was important then the person who called will probably phone later. The first two sentences on the poster tell me that these people have come up with something new for when I can't get to the phone. The writer starts by telling me the problem and then 2 solutions. I don't want to take. Then the writer gives us the idea they came up with. Then the writer tells me "Is a fine new service available to most BT customers" which means to me that only people who are BT customers may get it.

Electric City

It's a story about a family struggling to make a living. About a boy's sense of duty to his family to leave school and work so as to provide for the family's needs.

POST-TASK 1:

Eveline

"The writers concern with the frustrations in the lives of ordinary people facing up to important decisions. That the writer knows what he's talking about. That probably the writer has gone through an experience about the same. The writer has thought about what he was talking about. A writer as I believe meets these kinds of problems in life. No one except journalists or reporters work as a writer. No one is paid to be a writer. Every writer lives on his own money until he writes a book that can be sold and then he is paid. The writer is showing his concern for ordinary people facing up to important decisions. I think that the reason for a girl being the main character is girls are more likely to meet such frustrations and important decisions in their lives than men. Women usually get fed up living alone in their home so the first chance they get to get away from there they usually take. Women are more likely to have a boring life and struggle to make a living. Women are more likely to be picked on like Eveline. I think the writer is on the men's side because the only man in the story that would have saved Eveline and was willing to was Frank. If I was Eveline and had made the choice to stay I would forever sit and think about what would have happened to me if I had gone. Would I have made it in life or would I fail? The writer may be saying (I guessed) that women aren't smart enough to make the right decision when they face important ones and will maybe always panic.

POST-TEST 1:

BT Ad:

"I think the purpose of the text is to sell a service. But not this call return service, but BT. I think that the idea of it is not too important. I don't think that you can buy the return call service, but you can get it free if you're in the BT digital network. So I think the purpose of the ad is to tell us one of the advantages you would have if you used BT service. I don't know why the writer used a man in the ad instead of a woman. Maybe more men live alone in Britain than women, or maybe it's just done to catch the readers' attention. The word "Free" in the heading can also catch someone's attention. Maybe the writer is criticising men who live alone and who have girlfriends that may call at the wrong times. As you read through the ad and you like the idea and you think about buying this return Return Call, until you find out that "it's a free new service available to most BT customers on a digital Network". The writer may also be telling the caller that it does not matter if your friend doesn't answer when you phone. They probably can't get to the phone but they will phone you back up later. I'm quite sure it's helpful but a problem is that in Britain people usually shower for a long time, and the phone may ring more than once during that time. The call Return Service may only tell you who the last person who rung you up was. So you still meet the same problem. Right at the bottom of the ad in small letters it tells us that they cannot tell you the number of a person calling from a Non-BT Network but telling you the advantage of having the BT Service.

Electric City

"The writers concern for middle class family struggling to make a living. Working and dividing up their resources for everything that is needed to live a normal life. I feel sorry for Harry for having to leave school. But at least they are getting a lesson on life while they are still young. So they might learn and not make the same mistakes. I have learned to always try to help and try to take more responsibility. The way the writer starts his story really caught my attention. The main character I think is Ani. I think the writer is showing his concern for the children by telling us that they go to school at daytime and work at night. They hardly have time enough to study because straight after school they get to work and try to finish it early. I think that the writer is also trying to tell us that the children are independent. He hardly mentions their parents except that the father works at night and is probably asleep when the children are home. The daughter has to go and pay their power bill and the son can cook for himself. The family is pretty big and probably live on the outskirts of a city. The son is fed up of this kind of life and thinks he can improve their way of living by giving up school and working. To earn money to pay for things that we may take for granted. I think that the writer is pointing out that Harry may feel like it's his duty to provide for the family. That he can work and let Ani stay home and carry on with her studies. I also think that the writer maybe criticising some government or other rich people. That maybe the government maybe wasting too much money on things that are not really needed eg. (street lights on streets where people don't walk but maybe again I am wrong. I think that the writer has told us that this family has divided up all of their money from work to pay for each thing in their household. And lots of things can disrupt these things.

POST-TRAINING TASK 2:

Singapore Airlines Ad

"The purpose is to sell a service. The writer has a good view of how people want to be treated. When I first read it I thought that if you use this airline you are more likely to meet a girl. But when I think more about this the different the idea that comes to me. Does the airline only want men? Coz only men would want to use this service. The airline wants all kinds of people to use this service. Why does the writer use a picture of a girl in the ad? Why the words "This girls in love with you - or so it seems". When I think of the first question then I think of this question: "Why do they sue women instead of men in beauty questions? Why is there a Miss Heilala instead of a Mr Heilala?" Well the only answer that I can think of for these question is that women are better looking than men and people would rather look at women than men. So the writer has a picture of a woman on the ad to catch my attention. When I think about the second question it goes, how would a person who loves me treat me, with the greatest respect and kindness. So the "Or so it seems" in the ad means that when people see how the hostess treats you on the plane it seems to them that she loves you but really she does that to everyone on the plane.

POST-TASK 3:

Frim and Frat

"I think that the purpose of this cartoon is to let us be aware of the racism as well as to make us laugh. This cartoon is not really like some of the other cartoons where the pictures and the words make us laugh. This cartoon you have to read the words only to know what is about. I think the writer uses animal because they are differnt from us. I think the writer is also using animals because he's criticising the human race, but they will also be the same as humans. I think the writer is also trying to tell us how people as well as animals fight over power. Some people will destroy other races just because they are more powerful. I think that the reason the writer would be writing about this is maybe to let us know what we are heading for at this rate and it maybe true. The reason the big frog always talk is probably because he's the dominate in them. He maybe the know it all kind, because there are people like that. The other frog may know about it as well but does not seem to care much. When he says "Green or black" means that he doesn't care if the human race destroys itself. It also show that it doesn't care much for the frog race as well. There are also some humans that are like that as well. They don't care that they've killed off lots of other species of animals and put others on the danger list. So the writer I think is trying to tell us to beware of not only destroying ourselves as well as other species.

POST TEST 2:

Sports/Education ad

"What is the writer trying to tell us? Why has he got a picture of a black boy on his ad? Why is he a boy instead of a girl? These are only a few of the questions that go through my mind. I think that the writer may be racist. I think that the reason that the writer is using a male teenager on the ad is because they have a higher rate at dropping out of schools and joining gangs and other things. I think that the writer uses males is because there are those that get a scholarship just to go to a school to play basketball as football. The ad maybe showing the schools concern for teenagers. Kids that get scholarships to play basketball or football usually don't have any time to study, or a lot of pressure is put on them until they start taking drugs of alcohol and then drop out of school. I think the ad is alright but I think its criticising male black teenagers. I think it would have been a better idea if the writer had a picture of a football field and a team on it, the team must consist of both blacks and white teenagers. The good message that I can see in this ad is the writer is telling us its not all bad to develop your body but it may be better to develop your mind. It also gives you an example of this."

DELAYED POST-TEST:

You the Choice of My Parents:

" 'You the choice of my parents' is quite a good meaningful title after you've read the poem and understand it. I think the reason that the writer uses a female is because this is a true poem. This happened in the past and it is still happening now in plalces in Tonga. Although the same problem faces some men but it is not as common as in women. It tells us of how a girl has no say in tradition and her parents decision making. Its known that men are dominant but in this case tradition is dominant and then parents. This tells me of how women are being mistreated in a Tongan families. Parents would give away their first-born daughter for wealth and fame. Even though she may smile but the girl sees herself, her freedom, her joy, her fun all leave with the priest. Her freedom to love someone, to belone to someone has been cut off. She loves as a mere act of duty. Even though she is unhappy she does not

really put all of the blame on her husband. I think that one idea for women in this passage is tell them not to take that kind of treatment. Stand up for yourselves but try not to hurt tradition. I also think the writer is criticising males by giving us the idea of the man showing up with his fine mats and car and destroying the females life. Also of the parents choosing his and we all know who is the boss in the parents. I think the writer is criticising men by writing things about them and not the whole truth, by not telling all of his thoughts and how he got to marry her. The thing I think is not shown is the people and the mans parents, thoughts. The people may object to it and so may the boys parents but like it goes they too have to follow tradition."

I Used To Live Here Once:

"I think the main purpose of this text is to entertain. Why is the writer using a female in this story? Who does she represent? Well I think that the writer is biased and is criticising white Europeans living in foreign countries. The writer I think is telling me how Europeans ruin lots of things as well as are racists by telling us of how things have changed from what the character remembers. eg. The roads being widened and trees being cut down and left lying there. Also of how the character called to the children and they ignored her. I think the female may represent the native people of that country. She remembers her country as being beautiful and the home she once lived in. It was strange to her for from her memory was the vision of her home. She may have been away and the only way to see her home was through her memory. The car may represent new technology that is strange and new to people who have and always known the old ways.

The children I think may represent the next generation of people. I think the writer may be against white Europeans a little. I really can't make up my mind on what the female know at the end. At first I think it's her ghost after she's dead going back to the place she loved the most. That would explain why the children didn't speak to her, but there are children who know not to speak to strangers. So I picked this answer. "She knew for the first time that this could never be her home again. Too much had changed. She knew it was better to keep the memory of her old home safe in her memory and for the first time she knew things can never be the same forever except in our memory."

(iv) READER 4: TAI

PRE-TASK 1:

Eveline

"I think the story is about a girl named Eveline. She made a promise with her mother that she's going to keep the home together as long as she could but she didn't, she went out with a fellow. I think the story is all about girls behavior. I feel great when I've read the story. I know a better information about it. Girls will be treated nicely if they do the right thing but if they don't I don't know what would happen. In the story if Eveline get married probably the people will treat her with respect then e.g. She went out with a guy and what would the people say about her maybe bad words. I got a lesson from the story, to obey your mother and don't do the things that Eveline do i.e. she went out with a guy. People will treat you with respect if you do the right thing especially girls even boys. The way the writer wrote the story is good enough. He use mixture words e.g. simple and complex. He did not mention the setting of the story."

PRE-TEST 1:

BT Ad:

(heads her response with the word 'VACANCY' in bold capitals)

"This is a vacancies from a company called BT Customers. I think this is a good idea for us to think about. In the text there is a part in it says What its like you've just got into the shower and the phone rings. What do you do? Whether you concentrate on your shower and ignore the phone or answer the phone. If you ignore the phone you'll have to spend your time wondering who it was and this makes me think more about this two things. I enjoy reading the text. It is a good idea. This ideas make me to think more about the text. I feel that this is a good company(BT Customers)They want to get the people's attention in thephone call. According to the passage it is says that if you don't want someone to know your phone number all you'll have to do is dial 141 followed by the number you've calling to etc. Some of us wants to know the secret and so they want this company. I feel taht if the company give more information about the phone call they will act a better results, and I feel good for the ideas presented. The way that the writer has presented the ideas is fairly good. He used mixture words eg simple and complex words. He does not mentioned the figurative langauge eg he does not include simile in the passage.

Electric City:

"I think the story electric city is all about expenses. According to the story the girl went to town to pay the electric city and she paid it with money and in my opinion that electric city is an expenses. I feel good when I read the story it gives me more information about what happened in it. Harry said that he is old and school for kids. I'm not happy with this idea. School is important it doesn't matter whether you are kids or not. In the university I think you haven't seen a kids there and so in my opinion school is not for only kids but for all of us(some). We get so many information in school and it helps us preparing for our future career. The way the writer presented the story is fairly good. It gives us more information about the story. He uses simple and complex words."

POST-TASK 1:

Eveline

"I think the story is pretty good. The story is about a girl name's Eveline. She disobeyed her mother e.g. she made a promise with her mother before she died that she's going to keep the promise. The promise that she made was that she'll have to keep the home together as long as she could. But somehow she want to skipped away from home with her boyfriend Frank. I feel good about the ideas. It gives me a lesson. Sometimes it happens in our individual life. Relate to us nowadays that sometimes we do a lot of things to displeased our parents. According to the story Eveline never keep the promise that she made with her mother before she passed away. She ends up unhappy because of what she was doing. Her mother was displeased about what Eveline trying to do. In a case we sometimes do it but we should all know that our mother loves us and she's trying to make us good but we can't use our time wisely. This idea's gives me a lesson to obey your mother even your father all the time for they tried to do their best. Maybe Eveline try to make her the best. Our mother loves us more than anything. In my opinion and my feeling towards the story it is a good idea we learn from so many things from it and we should follow in a good way. In order for us to get a better future we should obey our parents. The way the writer has presented the ideas is pretty good. He uses mixture words like mixture of simple and complex words. He does not mentioned the figurative language like simile. Anyway this is a good idea. I read the story and I get a lesson from it. This is a good story it helps me in my everyday work."

POST-TEST 1:

BT Ad

"I think the advertisement is to sell a service. As I look at the heading "can't get to the phone, we'll get it for you" It means to me that there is someone will get it. I think the first paragraph will generalized the heading of the text in order for us to know what it is about. I think the reason why the writer presented this ideas is to sell the service. I think like this because I try to give meaning to the heading I've mentioned above. I think the kind of people that the writer aims for is male and female but in my thoughts this advertisement is especially for female, because of the picture's a male and the writer try to get all the women's attention. This text is an advertisement. The ideas in the text is good. This is a good way of trying to sell the service. I feel that the writer wants us to give an answer for the question. Why did the writer be writing about this text? To sell the service of the BT Customer's. What could be a reason for the writer's presenting the ideas? He suggest the way of work. Why did the writer use this kind of male pictures in the advertisement? Maybe he wants to attract female's attention. What about if the writer was female instead of male? Maybe he choose male as a helper of female. Where is the setting of this text? Unknown. How did the writer set out this text? I think the reason that the writer choose male in the picture he try to increase male's standard of living as a helper of female. According to the story "can't get to the phone, we'll get it for you" It means to me that if the female can't get it the male will get it."

Electric City:

"In my opinion, I think this story ..is all about expenses. According to the story Ani went to pay the electric city it means to me that she went to pay it and that is an expenses. I think that this story is well done because it set out in a proper way. ..the reason why the writer presented this idea's to show a family conversation e.g. between Ani and Harry. ..the writer aim's this story to a family or teen-ager even young kids. It is to show a conversation between sister's and brother's. I decide to read this text as I look at the heading I wonder what does it mean's electric city and I want to get the reason of this heading. I think that this story aim's for teenager's because it mainly talks about the children. As I read I always want to read the most interesting part and the main event of the story. I feel happy as I read the story because I like the way a brother & sister talk. I think that this sotry could be rea. As I read I found out in the part of the story say's "school for kids". I'm not happy with this ideas. As we all know that school is important and it doesn't matter whether you are young or old. In the university it is hard

to see young children there and that's the reason why I disagree with the ideas. Why did the writer use electric city as the heading of this text. Probably that he thinks this is the most important part of the story and he uses it as the heading then describe it. How did he set out this information? I think he get information from other people. What could be a reason for the writer's choice in presenting the ideas? The way of life in a family. Why he use Electric City as the heading instead of other words. Where is the setting of the story? Unknown. Is he try to say something or give a message, probably yes, What is the message? To live happily. What is the purpose of the story? To be good in your way of life.

POST-TASK 2:

Singapore Airlines Ad:

"In my opinion, why did the writer use woman's as the picture of this advertisement? or Why did the writer not use men's. I think more and more about this and I get an idea's of why he do this. Maybe he use woman's because he try to attract men's attention of he is looking down at us. Why did the writer repeat this girls in love with you. Probably that this is the main theme of the advertisement. When I first read this advertisement I wonder why did the writer use female instead of male. Why he didn't use male. I wonder why he keep on repeating the same thing, this girls in love with you. In my imagination and my thought that every men's fell in love with this girl. When I read this advertisement I found out two things, i.e. female and Singapore Airlines. I'm not happy with this ideas of using female's as the pictures of this advertisement. It seems to me that the writer try to sell the girl, and as I read I found out that this advertisement is to sell the service of Singapore Airlines and if the reason why the writer mentioned woman in this advertisement is just to sell the service, why he did not use male instead of female."

POST-TASK 3:

Frim and Frat

"This is a cartoon and it is a conversation between Frim and Frat(frogs). In my opinion the writer of this cartoon tried to expressed the way of life inhuman beings. As we all know that we are all in the big family of humanity and we are equal whether you are black or white etc. In this cartoon the writer tried to emphasize the way of human discrimination. Why would the writer be writing about this topic? In my thoughts that the writer wants to give us a message. What is that message? To look as we are equal to everyone here on earth. Who might be the reader that the writer is writing this topic for? All of us human beings. Why do you think so? Because in my imagination the writer is trying to emphasize human in this cartoon. I think to myself that this is a good idea why? Because it mainly talks about the way of life in human. I'm not feeling well with these ideas of human discrimination. I know that this is not a good standard. If they keep on doing this I think it will come to a time that they will fight against each other. In my interpretation, we are all in the family of humanity and we should do well to everyone and count everyone as equal. My purpose for reading this text is to get a better ideas of what was happened in this text. Why did the writer be writing about topic? I think he want to give a message? What is that message? He wants us to love each other and be good in our way of life. In this cartoon the writer is trying to emphasize humans. Why do you think like this? Because he mainly talks on humans way of life. What could be a reason for the writers choice in presenting or showing this ideas. Is there are a particular point of view. The writer suggest about the way of life in humans. This is an example of human's way of life. This is a low standard of living. Why did the writer chose this kind of pictures? Maybe he represent frogs as an example of human. Why did he present frog's rather than man. I think he wants to present frogs. Maybe he likes it. What does he meant by the frogs will rule the earth. Just my imagination that if people or nation fights against the other and then they will destroy themselves, then the frogs will rule the earth. How does he present this ideas? In a good way. He point it directly to human. How does he present this ideas? In a good way. He point it directly to human. Why didn't he chose other kinds of pictures? I think he really likes the pictures. Do you think that this is the best medium? In my opinion if he try to emphasise human why didn't he present human as the pictures. In what way does he present human in this text? In a very low standard."

POST TEST 2:

Sports Education Ad

"I think that this advertisement is pretty good. The purpose of the advertisement to stay in school and try to develop your body and mind. What could it be about? This advertisement is about a black man sitting in a room. The title is to develop your body and develop your mind. What does this mean? In the last paragraph it says stay in school and there's no telling what you might shape up to be. To my imagination I relate the last sentence to the information above and I think the writer means that if the men stay in school it will develop his body and mind and so there's no telling what you might shape up to be. Why would the writer be writing about

this topic? Maybe the writer wants to express the way of becoming a good player. Who might be the reader that the writer is writing this topic for? Male, why do you think like this? Because they are the football player. Why did the reader make a short information...he make the picture to cover all the passage given? I think that he is trying to get the people's attention by making the picture bigger. Why did the writer highlight the above information? In my imagination that's the moral of the advertisement. The way that the writer presented the ideas is pretty good but the things that I want to ask is who is the author of the advertisement? Unknown. Why would the writer be writing about this text? To give a message what is that message? To stay in school and try to get something, to develop your body and develop your minds according to the text, it means to me to learn something in school so that you can develop your mind and you will come to a better standard in the future. Why does the writer choose a black man instead of a white man? Maybe he thinks that the black man is a good player. What could be the reason's for the writer's choice in presenting or showing the ideas? He suggested about man. Why didn't he represent women? Maybe he was in a sort of racist. What was the things he try to emphasize? To stay in school and learn something for the better in the future."

DELAYED POST-TEST

You the Choice of My Parents

"The poem is about a tragic story of a young girl who was given to a strangers to marry. This young man has money 'I quote second-hand car and fame is well known western type education'. What is the purpose of this poem? Arrange marriage should be forgotten as a thing of the past. Why would the writer be writing about this topic? So that parents read it and give their children the right to choose their own partners. Why do you think so? From the story the persona married the man chosen by her parents. Who might be the readers that the writer is writing this topic for? All of us human beings but especially for parents and children. Why do you think so? Because in the poem the parents choose their daughters husband. In my opinion the persona feels trapped and sees no way up "I have no other choice". She is ordered by her parents to marry the groom without informed her. Also she feels sad and lonely "naked on the cold and lonely waters of a family shoreline" not only that she married to a strangers but she does not even know a new husband and family. To me I feel anguish when I read the poem. I feel sorry for the bride Why? because she does not agree with the arrangements made by her parents, and sees no way up eg I have no other choice. In our society today parents should give their children the right to choose their own partners. Today young people should be allowed to choose for themselves so that the marriage should be based on something solid i.e. love. The writer emphasize the way of parents treat their children. Why does the bride say "I have no other choice" She meant that her parents ordered her to marry the groom This is justified by culture. How does the writer present the ideas? he present it fairly. Does the writer emphasize a particular person? Yes the writer emphasize the fact that the bride does not like the groom. What could be a reason for the writers choice in presenting the ideas/message in this way? Is there a particular point of view. The writer suggest about life and marriage. From the poem parents chose the husband instead of choosing her own partners. There is a conflict between - parents and childrne i.e. the bride married the groom but she don't like him why? because she did not choose her own partner's it is her parents choice. How did the writer presents parents? Parents are very dominant, strict. How did he presents woman? They have no way up "I quote I have no other choice" and sees no way up. Does the writer present the ideas fairly or he overemphasize a particular person. He present it fairly and he emphasize parents i.e. choice for their children and also the bride i.e. she did not agree with the arrangements made by her parents i.e. to marry the strangers.

I Lived Here Once:

"What is the purpose of the story? Children behavior. This story is about a girl who walked around enjoying herself then she saw two children under the mango tree, she called to them but they didn't answer. Who are the target audience? Children. Why do you think like this? Because the story is about children. Why would the writer be writing about this topic? To give an example of how the children from other country treated children from one other country "the girl talked to the children under the mango tree but they walked away. How do you feel about the ideas? The ideas is pretty good according to the story. Who is the main characters? The little girl. How do you feel about her? I felt sorry for her. In a sense that she want to know about the two guys but they walked off. In my opinion this is a good girl why? She want to talk to other's and perhaps to introduce herself to them and to know them well. She feel lonely. Why? She walked around by herself and she talked to other guys but they did not talk to her. Perhaps she feel anguish also. How are ideas being presented? In a good way. Why would the writer be writing about this text? To give a message what is that message. To love each other and be friends to everyone and don't ignore them like what the boy do. "His expression didn't change" Is the writer biased or neutral in a way he presented the ideas. Neutral. He overemphasize girls. Why? I think because that the main character of the story. How has the writer presented women? belittle women, because the boys don't want to talk to her. How has he presented men? bad attitude. He ignore the girl when she talked to him.

Why did he chose women as the main character instead of men? Is he looking down at us or whatever. In my imagination the writer is not looking down at women but he tried to expresss the women's way of life and how they behave to other people. Women behave well. Why didn't he presented old people. Because the story is for children not for older people.... He overemphasize the main character."

(v) READER 5: VAI

PRE-TASK 1

Eveline

"This story mainly is based on how a young girl Eveline is forced to make a decison to stay with her family or to run away with a sailor and get married. She strives to make up her mind, in the end she stays because of a promise to her mother to keep the family together. I think it was wise of her to stay. She promised her mom that she would keep her family together and so she did. Even if she did run away with the sailor it wouldn't of been wise because you know what might have happend if she ran off with Frank. I think if he really loved her he would of stayed with her no matter what but he chose to go. Plus if he is a sailor he wouldn't be at home much. I think the writer was very thorough in getting his ideas across to us. He made us think twice if it was good or bad that Eveline stayed. He writes from experience I guess because you can really feel what the character is feeling.

PRE-TEST 1

BT Ad

"I think this advertising company is trying to advertise its ability to get the last person that phoned you but you probably were too busy to answer the phone. It's showing that if you are too busy to answer the phone just call BT and they will give you the person that last phoned you. I think it's great if your'e single or if you don't have an answering machine. I also think it's great because it's free for who would give up an opportunity like that! I think the writer did an excellent job. Well explained and expressed."

Electric City

"This story is just about how Ami and Harry go to school but Harry wants to quit to get a job. It just shows how the city is illuminated by electricity and that is why it's called electric city. It also emphasises that the father always has to pay the electricity."

POST-TASK 1:

Eveline

"I think this story is about Eveline a young girl and how she faces two important decisions in her life. She is torn between the man she loves and a promise sworn to her mother to keep the family together. She struggles but in the end she chooses to stay with her family. I didn't really like the way they described the father and how he as overbearing and domineering because the description the author gave was what you call an overdose description making fathers look all mean and too powerful but not all are like that. Alot of daughter will feel the same that the author really put down the fathers when there are millions of fathers that are opposite. Another idea I didn't like was the way the writer ended it. His purpose for writing and the message I get is that family is first that's very true but to a limit. We all have our lives to live and if we let people rule our lives all the time will end up no where. You got to stand up for what you believe in. The writer showed that Eveline was kind of chickening out of marriage and saying that women don't know how to choose but they do now-a-days they really do! I think the main audience the writer aimed for was someone like Eveline.

POST-TEST 1:

BT Ad

"My interpretation about this advertisement is that a line service named BT is trying to sell their service using a catching heading and a man in a shower. Vainly trying to emphasize that if you're too busy to answer the phone than they will do it for you. What I don't get about one of their ideas for selling the service is their picture. Who is this man supposed to attract? If the main target audience were business men I don't think they'd be attracted to the advertisement. Because like all people we just look at the pictures and those we find interesting we'll read. It explains what the picture mean't at the bottom in small words but who will read that? If the picture isn't interesting

than what's the use of reading the rest of the information. It may attract women's attention but is that what this service wants only women using their lines. I like the way the writer displayed his ideas he had a catching heading especially the word "free" in the heading it will surely turn all eyes on it. He had a unique way of explaining the condition you've always in like in the shower and you can't get to the phone it gives you a very good reason to use this BT service line. Plus he emphasized very clearly that it was for free so it would not hurt if you tried!"

Electric City

"I think this story mainly talks about these two children who have a father who is always paying the 'electric city' that's what he calls it, the house where you pay your power bill. I think this story was to give a message to children who think their dad has weird names for things. But what they really don't know is that there's true meaning in their weird names. Like Ami and Harry could never get why their father called the power house the 'Electric City' and they finally realised that from one house of power ignites a whole city up. And that is why he called it 'Electric City'." I didn't really like the way he wrote his writing because he wrote it in a way that it was hard to understand. If he wanted people so much to get his message wouldn't he have written it in simple text? And why didn't he? Didn't he know that only smart people would get his meaning? If it was for only father's then why didn't he make it in simpler terms so the uneducated father's would understand or if it was for children why didn't he make it easy for us to understand?

POST-TASK 2:

Singapore Airlines Ad

"I think this advertisement is mainly made to sell the service of the Singapore International Airlines. The heading is a very attractive heading. I mean if you read the heading it would of attracted your attention because it sort of doesn't make sense or it makes you want to read the rest. I didn't really like the way they used women in advertising it probably a message saying women are users sort of like things. The main audience in this advertisement I think would be men because the use the opposite sex to advertise the airlines. I like the way they displayed the rest of the text and how the writer wrote it is sort of written in a poem like way that adds a sparkle to this advertisement. To give my honest response the writer must of been really smart this advertisement is perfect.

POST-TASK 3:

Frim and Frat

"I think this text is about two frogs who have a conversation about how we humans are always discriminating ourselves that by the rate were going we will definitely die. I didn't like the way the writer said that we were discriminating against each other. We're not always discriminating against each other in fact leaders today are trying to make amends why then did the author say that we were? I kind of think that the author is biased or hates leaders of today. Mainly due to the older frogs comments. In a way it kind of degrades our leaders of today. But I think that the authors did a great job in drawing the cartoons and making frogs criticize humans because we understand it more when other characters are put in besides ourselves. The question at the end was really good it gave meaning to the whole text. When the frog said "Green or Brown" it meant a lot of things could have been racism, dominating men and weak women it has a lot of lessons in this text.

(see her taped comments).

POST TEST 2:

SPORTS/EDU Ad

I think this advertisement tries to encourage you to go to school. It has used the heading 'Develop your body and you could be a football Player. Develop your mind and you could own the team'. This heading really encourages you to go to school I mean you could become a good football player if you had the body and developed it but if you developed your mind you could own the team. Meaning if you went to school you'd become someone way better than what you can without it. This text mainly goes to teenagers that are schooling. Even if it was do you think black people will be offended? Yes! I do because advertising a black person in the advertisement is like saying or scolding him that being a football player is good but if you gone to school you could have owned the team.. It's sort of telling everyone he's a dropout and that because he never went to school he never achieved anything. It's like telling me if I don't watch out I'll end up like him! To all the black people it must hurt because not all blacks are dropouts. The author was very biased in choosing who to advertise it. He really was against blacks. I must say

that his heading was really excellent because the majority of kids think sports or other jobs and activities are number one thing in life. Mainly boys they are offered professional jobs at a young age and neglect school but that doesn't last long. His words will influence a lot of young kids that if they go to school they'll become better. His example of football was really good because that's what young kids are into now-a-days. If you're not a player you're a fan! To make this advertisement more becoming and influencing they should have put a white guy in to balance racial criticism by people reading the advertisement. To blacks seeing a black person in an advertisement presented that way wouldn't really be influenced by the advertisement more offended that a white wasn't in instead of a black. I think it was good to use a male because the words fitted it perfect because a lot of young men are drop-outs because they don't give enough attention to school. If you put a girl in there it would ruin it. Because then you'd have to change the heading because girls don't play football and are not really into sports. Then it wouldn't make an impact on the boys because they'll just look at it as a thing for entertaining whereas the advertisement now a lot of boys will take it seriously because they will think not of the boy but of what if it was I the drop-out?"

DELAYED POST-TEST:

You the Choice of my Parents:

"I think the soul purpose is to inform and relay a message to us. The way she relays her purpose is unique she makes us feel like the girl who is betrothed to the man. She makes us feel her purpose. I think she mainly targets this poem to young girls who are forced to marry men and though the author has used the Tongan way it is for all the girls whom are forced to marry. I also think it's for the parents too, it kind of gives a message to the parents that their daughter is feeling loss. And gives them an idea of how their daughter feels. The main idea is to give people a knowledge on how young girls feel about arranged marriages and how the culture is like in Tonga. The way the author has used our customs and traditions has given this poem an interesting flare. Making the poem interesting and so true to all those girls that are betrothed. In this poem she relates to women as them being very obedient and submissive and humble and the parents overbearing and powerful. It shows that young girls are helpless and trapped of their freedom and that they have no other choice. Yes all or most girls in that condition would be obedient because after all your parents did and sacrificed for you the least you can do is owe them some respect. I think it was fair that she related girls like this because it is true the girls have no other choice because if they rebelled it would hurt their parents. So the way the author wrote and presented women in this poem was very fair and true. I don't think the author was biased on if the girl was black or white or brown because the author was just trying to related how things are done in her way. And to readers it is not biased but respected by them. Although I'm a bit troubled on why she didn't represent the boy's feelings. I mean I'm sure the guy is hurting also not only the girl. Why didn't the author represent the guy's view? I'm sure he was feeling like the girl why didn't the author mention the guy. Because maybe sometimes the guy has no choice and has to marry a rich girls or royalty etc. I think the author was biased on that part about not showing the boy's sight of view."

I Used to Live Here Once

"In this story the main purpose I think is to inform people about how some people are treated unfairly because of their colour. The author really makes her purpose obvious and emphasizes it alot during the story. This is where I think the author is a bit biased. I think the target audience is to the people who are not white. It's to all people who have and is being treated unfairly. The main idea in this story is about how non-white people are treated unfairly. I think in this story the way the writer has presented non-white people is fine for the non-white people. But how about the white won't some of them feel unjustly judged. The author has no right to degrade the white people because in the whole story the children sort of represent white people and they were rude. So if someone read this story they'd think of all the whites being rude. The author was a bit biased in saying whites are all like that just because your not white. It also shows that whenever white people are there there is bound to be changes wherever they go. This is true because in our own country white people want to build and when they want one place their going to have it and they don't care what resources are in there way. I didn't really like the way the author presented her ideas and the way she wrote it was hard to understand. She should have made it simpler.

(vi) READER 6: MELIA

PRE-TASK 1

Eveline

"This story is about a girl - Eveline. She lived with the father and a friend because her mother and brother were already died. When she was young the father loved her and treated her nicely. But after the death of her mother,

her father became more strict and their relation was not quite well. And one day she thought of a decision - To marry Frank(boyfriend). This was a very hard decision for her because of her father. She thought about that; what would her father do or something like that. At last her decision wasn't right. And then at the end of this story there was an accident happened to her. She was so helpless. ..I feel sorry and sad of Eveline. I feel sad because of how she met so many problems in her life. If we compare her life to us(girls) we are poor, and we may feel lonely. I also feel sorry for her. This is about the decision she made; to marry Frank. I like her choice but I was sorry of the thinking of her about the father. Poor her, if it was me, I would kill myself. I don't like any father like Eveline's father. I like the ideas and especially the decisions and Eveline's life. I feel I like to read the whole text. I like the ways the writer has presented these ideas. The writer used so many explanations about the main character(Eveline). Also used direct speech but mostly is the explanations. I love to read the explanations about the main character's life. When she grew up. How the parents treated her and the changes after her mother died. I like this to compare it to myself.

PRE-TEST

BT Ad

This text is about a special way of the BT's solution. It talks about what would happen when you have got into the shower and the phone rang. There were two ways you have to do. The first one is that you race down stairs to answer it or the second one is that you ignore it. And then you would spend the next half an hour thinking about who called you last. But in this text it tells me that the BT's solution; call return would give you concentration. When you couldn't get to the phone, the BT's solution had a special number for you to dial(1471), and then you would find who called you last. It also gives me a number to dial(141 followed by the number you'd call) if I didn't want someone to know my number. My personal response to the ideas is that I feel comfortable and like it when I read this text. For example: Dial 1471 and you would find who called you last. I think this is a very good idea for us all. If we are busy outside or anywhere, then this example will help. We may enjoy ourselves there because we know that there is a special way to know who called us last when we were busy outside. The other idea is that if we don't want someone to know our numbers, then there is a number to dial to: 141 followed by the number we are calling. This idea will help us a lot. We don't anyone to know our numbers, so we can dial to the above-mentioned number. I feel happy about this idea because I have to do whatever I want because no-one will know my number. The last idea is that what are you going to do when you have got into the shower and the phone rings. I feel funny about this but the BT's solution has a good way for knowing who called you last. This is a very nice idea. I like it. My critical response to the ways the writer has presented these ideas is that I feel happy about the ways. The writer gives us clear informations and uses simple words and its easy for us readers to understand. The writer also uses pictures and it's a nice picture. This text is like a slogan. The picture tells us readers to do what the writer wants to tell us. The other way is that the writer writes the words well shown or in block letters and in a line to point directly to the fact and that is the aim of this text. The writer wanted us, readers to know that the BT's solution may help you when you can't get to the phone. I love these ideas very much and I want it to be happen in this country.

Electric City

"This text is about an old man who called the charged of the electrical stationeries; "electric city". Ani and Harry knew about this. They were talking about what would the old man called it during in his work. They knew that the others might laugh at him when he would talk about electric city. These two were still in school. While they were in the train they had a little quarrel. Harry wanted to leave school because he thought that he is too old, school is for kids only. But Ani wondered what would the parents do when they heard Harry's idea. Harry didn't worry about them because he already went to the video shop for an interview. While they were in the train they could see clearly at the lights, there were so many lights. So, Ani and Harry thought that these lights were what the old man means: Electric City. And then the trainstop and they got out to where the commuters wait. My personal response to the ideas in it is that I feel funny about the ideas. For example, is the old man. He thought that everything which about electricity, he called it electric city. The other idea is about Harry's idea. I feel ridiculous about Harry. He thought that school is for kids. I don't think this idea is right. Maybe Harry didn't like being in school. He wanted to do work but he must finish from school and then do some work. Harry didn't worry about the parents. They would be angry at him for his idea but he didn't worry them, especially the mother. I don't feel I like his idea. He was a lazy young man. My critical response to the ways the writer has presented these ideas is that I feel lazy and don't like/want to read the whole text. The writer didn't use pictures to let me want to read but he wrote too many notes. It's too long but there wasn't any ideas which is good. I mean he/she didn't write more details and more reasons for electric city. The reasons wasn't enough. The other critical response is that I feel funny about the ways he has presented these ideas. First he talked about electric city and the old man. Then he moved to another idea, the idea of Harry. And then he talked about electric city again. The writer must write the first(old

man) idea, everything about it must write at first and then go the next idea. Step y step.

POST-TASK 1:

Eveline

"This text is about a girl, Eveline. She lived with her father because the mother had died. Now, her father threaten her not like before of during the mother alive. So, she thought of going away from home. Eveline wants to marry Frank, her boyfriend but the father hates Frank. Eveline had to make her own decision. But at the end of the story she wasn't marry Frank. She stays at home with her father. I felt sorry for Frank. Why? Because Eveline's father hates him. I felt angry for Eveline's father because of how he had threaten Eveline. He must have had threaten her as a feamle or as a child. Eveline must do what she wants. I also felt sad for Eveline, because she wants to marry Frank for respect but at the end she stays at home. In this text, I was so surprised when I came to th last paragraph. Before I thought that Eveline could marry Frank but it wasn't. I think that the writer wrote this text for us girls in this century. Maybe because there are so many same problems as Eveline in these years or generation. This story is useful for us all, especially the students. We have to obey the father and do what he says. No matter if he's a strict man but try to be more friendship with him.

2nd Draft: "This text is about Evelien. The author is a male, who is James Joyce. The main character is a female, who is Eveline. Because she is the main person who the author writes about. There ar also minor characters. They are Frank; Eveline's boyfriend, Eveline's father, brothers and the neighbours. We all know that Evelien(19yrs old) has a problem. And I think the author knows that this problem is the same thing happen to us youths in these century. The writer writes about Eveline as an example for us, especially female to follow. He wants to tell us about obedient. This is a very important behaviour for us all to have. We have to obey our father, no matter what. If he had threaten us badly or unfair, we have to obey. I feel sorry for Eveline because she made a wrong decision. She wants to marry Frank; for respect and to start a new lfie, because she sees that the neighbours are going away from their homes, so she wants to leave home too. But at the end of the story she stays at home with her father. The other idea is about Frank. In this story it says that Eveline's father hates Frank. So, I feel sorry for Frank because Eveline's father hates him. In these days there are so many prblems like this. And that causes the chidlren to run away with her boyfriend or with his girlfriend. Then the parents may be sorry later, ut it's over. I can see here of how the author presents his ideas. He wants to promote male; to show how powerful they are, and he tries to p[ut down our values; female. This idea appear in the story. How he tells us about the relationship between Eveline, the fatehr and Frank. At the end of this story the daughter stays at home with the father and not marry Frank. This shows of how powerful male are. But, us female we have to obey male.

POST-TEST 1

BT Ad

"This text is about the BT(British Telecom) solution. It is about when you are in the shower and then you heard the phone rang. We all know that there are obnly two ways you have to do. First is that you race down stars. But in this text the BT's solution had a something Call Return for you. It is free. You may enjoy in the shower and then go down stairs. There is a phone number for you to dial to. After dialing you may hear the number of person who called you last. ..this advertisement there were so many ideas in it. One is about the important of BT's solution. I think this is a very nice idea to be happen in Tonga. The other idea is about this service. But for myself we have to pay for it because it is a hard work for the BT's solution to do it for us. This is an easier way of knowing who called us last. I like the ideas of the writer. Because if I am in the shower and the phone rings I don't know what to do. But I know now, so I have to enjoy myself there and then use the BT's solution: Call Return. When I first reading this I was in a big confused. I don't know what does BT stand for. And also why the writer writes about this. The other thing is about the layout. Why did the writer used a photo of a male but not female. Maybe the male has more good appearances than the female. And also why did the writer used the shower but not any place outside the house. Maybe the writer used the shower because that is the main area that we are during the phone rings. One idea is maybe the writer used male in the shower because us female we are not in the shower. This shows that the writer thought that us female are passive. Only male are bathing but not us female. I think the target audience is us all especially old people. Because they have to walk down the stairs very slowly so that they might not fall or something like that. They may stay in the shower for a long time nd then use the way of the BT's solution; call Return.

Electric City:

"This text is about an old man who called the charges for every electric equipments; electric city. Ani was the one

who went and paid for this charges. Harry was with her talking about this family problem. Why? Because of the misunderstanding of the old man. Maybe this man didn't educated at all. That's why he called electric city. Harry and Ani were knowing about this and they were so confused on how the old man would call it during at work. The others might laugh at him. One day they were discussing some learning because they would have a test. Then after it they started to talk about the old man. When they were in the train they could see the lights, so many and then they thought may be that is why the old man called electric city. In this text there were so many ideas in it. I can see here on how the writer writes about young and old people. Maybe he wants to tell us how important to educate is. Why? Because we have to know what to say about changes or whatever. The writer likes to talk about students (Ani and Harry). This is a very important part for us all. We have to know how to treat others. We have to do not make fun of the un-educated people. I felt sorry for Harry's idea, of leaving from school. He must go to school to prepare his target for the future.

When I first saw this topic I was in a bit confused. I was so worry about what would the writer may writes about. Also I don't understand the topic; Electric City. Then I thought that may be the writer loved the electric city (road etc) and so writes about this topic. When I read this story I thought that the target audience could be the uneducated people. Why? Because, the old man didn't know the word for the electric equipments in the house. He used to call it the electric city. This is so funny. The writer writes about the misunderstanding of old people. But mostly it's about the un-educated people. One idea is Harry. This boy thought of leaving school. Because he thought that school is for kids. Then, for myself, Harry was a poor boy. He must go to school in order for him to know more. Not like his father. I can see here of how the writer writes about female, male, young and old people. He writes about female (Ani) and promote female. This is very true, female are the most educated kind of people. Old people can't understand things, this is also true. About Harry, he wants to leave from school, he wants to go and work. Maybe the writer writes about these things because there are so many problems like that happen in these days. In comparison it is very true about male and female. The writer seems like the young (female) and hates the old people (especially male). The last idea is about the relationship between the young students and old people. Harry and Ani had a conversation of talking about the old man of how he used to call electric charges and all those kind of things. This is because the kids educated and they understand things but old people don't understand what they knew (children). This kind of problem happen now a days. I felt sorry for the old man because of calling electric city.

POST-TASK 2:

Singapore Airline ad

"The layout of this advertisement is a picture of a female and some writings about the Singapore Airlines. On how the writer has presented these ideas is not good or it is unfair. Why? Because the writer used a female photo. So I knew that the target audience is male. Why did the writer used female photo? I think maybe the writer thinks that us female are passive. Also we are mainly the attracted kind of people. It's caused by our appearance and our clothes or whatever. These things attract the life of male. They will go and use something which belong to female. One idea is that the writer used a picture of a female because us female is the most servant in every business. We are the one who do the serving. So the writer put down our values; female. In this advertisement the writer used big, block letters and repetition to tell us readers about their main message or what the author wants to tell us about the service. The author used also simple words, so it's so clear and easy for us readers to understand. We can read and see that the writer used words that mean about King's feast (banquet) in the sky. This is just to tell us that how the girl works is like working or living in the sky. I felt sorry for us female. Why? Because I can see here, in this advertisement on how male make fun of us. The author must used a photo of a male but it wasn't. Us is like servants and it is very true. We have to care for others but male don't dare to worry about what we have done. Our body or the appearance is like some food to attract the mind of the others (especially male) to come and use the Singapore Airlines. The author used Singapore Airlines because it is kind of service that fly around the world. So the more the male will use this Airline the more the service will advertise the female. Then the Singapore Airlines will get more money.

POST-TASK 3:

Frim and Frat

"The purpose of this cartoon is to tell us humans about what we did. We all know the reason why the writer wrote cartoon. It is to reveal a problem. Sometime it is to make fun of people who had a problem. And the writer didn't use the main people but just use funny pictures. Then the words they used is about the main people the author talks about or wants us readers to know what happened to that kind of people. I am so confuse of why doesn't the writer

and I understood it. The purpose of this story is about the misunderstood of female. We all know that the main character is a female. I think the target audience are the adults, because in the story it says that the girl came near the two young children. This is the third time she says hello to these two but they didn't answer her back. So I think the older girl has to do something better so that she might become friends with the younger ones. So I think the adults must read this poem so that they can learn and know what to do when they would meet young some day or a place where they couldn't meet before. The main idea is about living somewhere and go to other place where you were there once. We all know what might be the feeling we will have. The other thing is about the treating of young ones. We have to do something which they will like and enjoy. On how the writer presented the female is not fair. Why? Because the female (she) in the story called three times (hello) to the two young children; a boy and a girl but they didn't hear or say anything. I felt sorry for the girl who says hello because she called 3 times but no one answer. Then the boy seems to know her and then told the little girl to go inside the house. It is because of the older girl. The boy must welcome her because she lived there once and now she came to visit them again but they ignored her coming. The parents of the two young children were not represented and I think maybe because the parents didn't want to see the older girl. But I think it's more wisely for them to be outside the house so that they will see the girl coming and welcome her to their home. I compare the story and the title. They are linked. Why? Because of the last part. "I used to live here once". That means that we lived there but only once, so we don't see the kind of people living there and their behaviours. We would return and could see the differences of being there at the last time and the time you were there now. The house, road, car, children and all those things are changes.

APPENDIX 7

PHASE 3: READERS' ORIGINAL RESPONSES TO ALL PRE- AND POST-SCAFFOLDING TASKS/TESTS

7.1 My co-readers original responses

- (i) Lote
- (ii) Meli
- (iii) Sione
- (iv) Tai
- (v) Vai
- (vi) Meli

7.1 READER'S ORIGINAL RESPONSES

(i) Reader 1: Lote

PRE-SCAFFOLDING TASK: *Eveline*

"This story is about Eveline trying to do what she wants to do in order to gain a good future. And also it was about Eveline's family. Eveline's mother was dead and she lived with her father and her brother. Later on her brother Ernest died and she didn't get well with her father when she loves Frank (her boyfriend). Eveline really love her boyfriend but her father dislike her boyfriend. So Eveline tryed secretly to meet with her boyfriend. One night Frank and Eveline walk out. This shows that Eveline start to gain her decision. This passage illustrate its idea clearly. My feeling about the idea Eveline makes the right decisions on her life. Because her mother died and she couldn't get well with her father, so her life need someone to get on with and also her brother that she love the most was died also. The writer presented the story in a clearly way. The writer described the character of her father and also described their way of life when they were young. The writer start his writing from the beginning of their life. The writer trying to attract the attention in the begin before he comes to his main idea, when he comes to his main idea he already got the attention of the readers and ther eaders will obviously know what his story about and the characteristics of the character."

PRE-SCAFFOLDING TEST

BT Ad:

"This passage is an advertisement of BTs call return. BT is new technology when the phone rings and your lazy to get to the phone. When you want to know who was phoned to you just dial the 1471 and you will hear the number of the person who was last to call. My feeling for this idea..it feel happy because when you can't get to the phone B.T is there to act as your servant. When you came back to the phone just only call BT by dialing 1471 and you will know who call to you. The writer of this passage show his idea by putting a example of how the BT useful. The writer shows his/her idea by putting a clear example. This example shows one of the problem when you are doing something else and suddenly the telephone rings. Then the writer said, BT is there to hold the number of person who wants to talk to you."

Electric City:

"This text is about a word electric city. This word found when Ani went to pay the bill of there electric use. I think this story was about a family lived out of the city and the civilisation of it for example the row of street light. Then we knew that they were surprise to see the electricity everywhere. I also think that they were newcomer to the city. This also about a school kids who lived together in one home. My feeling for this text is a surprise feeling. When they arrived at city they were surprise to see electric light along the road. I also feel that this school kids enjoyed there way of life. The writer present his idea she made up a story in order to show clearly his idea."

POST-SCAFFOLDING TASKS:

Eveline:

"This text is about a girl called Eveline. This passage shows how Eveline trying to gain the decision that she think it was the most important. When Eveline was young her father treat her well; but afterward when she was getting old (over nineteen) her father threaten her. Maybe the reason why Eveline's father threaten her because he know Eveline courtly. He tried to make her scared of him because he hated Frank. But Eveline fell in love with Frank. So one night Frank and Eveline went out. But at the end Eveline didn't want married frank, becasue when she came to know Frank. I feel angry with Eveline's father. Because he treat Eveline badly, maybe he trying to stop Eveline from courting but it is not good, because Eveline getting mature and she knows what good and bad. I also feel sorry with Frank of how Evelines father hate him, maybe it's not good for a father to choose the boyfriend of her daughter and also maybe Frank was a poor person that's why Eveline's father hated him. But it is not good to look down to any person. I also feel happy with Eveline. Because her father treat her badly but she still love him very much because her mother was dead and she wanted live with her. For example, when she was gone with Frank, maybe when she remembered her father her heart was filled with love to him, perhapes there's nobody at home only her father lived at; so she leave Frank and went back home. In this passage I feel agree with how the writer present his idea. Firstly father's role is to show to his children what's the right thing to do. Secondaly I think women's role is to stay at home and serve the parents until they died. After parents died than they women free to choice."

Maybe the parent's role is to keep the children but when they are getting mature it is up to them to choose who they might marry to. For the children they might choose someone that loved him or her and a someone that love his or her parent."

POST-TEST 1

BT ad

"This passage is an advertisement of the British Telecom's Call Return. In this passage, how the BT Call return important. On the picture shows the way you can use the BT Call Returns. Call return is free that means no need for you to pay the BT Call Return. The important of call return is when you want to know who called you last just dial 0800801471 and you will get the one. Maybe the purpose of the advertising of BT Call Return because it is Free. Only one thing you have to do is to establish a telephone in BT than you are allowed to use the call return. Perhaps Call return was newly established. I feel excited. Because of the new technology that BT has. And I also feel happy because their new ideas will help the Business people who always busy everytime. Also it help to you when you are doing some important work and the phone rings just only dial 1471 and you will know who was last call. I also feel confused that why can't call return establish here in Tonga and also the Pacific island maybe there's no enough money in order to establish the Call Return services and also maybe the knowledge in electronic that's why call return establish here. I also feel sorry for the Pacific Island. Because of not having much money also lack of people in electronic's getting degrees. But I hope in the future here in Tonga we will use the Call Return and also hope that maybe FREE for us to call the T.T. Call Return(Tonga Telecom) and I also feel sorry for people that they haven't got a telephone because they will not use the Call Return. In this advertisement shows the conflict between female and male. I think the writer of this advertisement like the feature of a man. I also think that's why he shows his idea by using men, maybe he knew Business man will mainly use the call return. Because he was busy everytime. And also it shows the male can do the female's opportunity for example they can live at home and do the female's task. It also shows that female's role to serve the men. In this advertisement shows that female were out of home. That means women were not doing their opportunity but they are away from home."

Electric City

"This passage is about a school students. After school Ani went to pay the electric bill, when she get back home Harry was there, he had already cooked the chops and chips for them. After they eat, Ani and Harry went to work in the city. They get in the train and go "Ani, we have school test tomorrow," Harry asked. Ani said "yes Bio and Maths. But afterwards Harry said to Ani school for kids. I am going to leave school. Maybe that's why she leaving school that he is too old for studying at school. And he told Ani that he skipped from school and being interviewing at the video shop. When the train scuttled out from the cutting it was already dark. Ani and Harry saw that light is everywhere in the city, in the wharf, beside the road, etc. Maybe that's the meaning of electric city, is a city of electric means electric every where. And the train scuffed into the station. Then Ani and Harry gets out. I feel sorry with Pania. Because she wasn't have a food. Maybe all of the food has been eaten up by Ani and Harry. Also when Pania came Ani said that she must cleaned the dishes before their mother came back home. Perhaps Pania was the youngest child that's why Ani treat him badly. I also feel angry with Ani because she treat Pania badly like leaving her without any food and also asked her to clean all the dishes before Mum gets home without anyone help. Also I feel angry with their parents because they leaving their children at home and went away. This show that they weren't doing their jobs as looking after the children. I also feel happy about Ani and Harry. Because they trying to work in order to help their parents in paying their school fees and keeping them. This passage shows the conflict between old children and young children. This shows that the writer believes that when parents are away eldest son or daughter will hold the responsibility over the rest of the children. And the writer believes that older children will help their in working for gaining money like what Ani and Harry did. And the writer also believe that young children will do all the works at home like cleaning dishes like what Pania did. And also the writer believes that parents be out for working and the bigger children will handle well the rest of the children. But in this passage so that young children can't do anything because elder children threaten them."

POST-SCAFFOLDING TASK 2(Singapore Airlines)

(Lote was absent on this occasion)

POST-SCAFFOLDING TASK 3:

Frim and Frat

"This cartoon is a conversation between two different kinds of frogs. These two talks about the main problem of

different colours, language, authority, races etc. in their way of life. This cartoon shows the one who have authority he is the one who rule and talks the most. On the graphic shows that the big frog talks the most. This cartoon is about human races and their major problem that's problem is discriminating. And the cartoon shows the result that will happen if discriminating continue. On this cartoon I feel sorry with the people who discriminated by the powerful, older, wiser etc. I feel sorry because they were exploited by the people who have authority because this cartoon was made by the people who resist his ruling in order to show to the people some of its wrongdoing on its ruling. The rebellion party trying to put down the people who have authority so that the people think that his ruling is not good...This cartoon shows that discrimination is the obvious problem that face with human races in different sexes, different races, different colours, between authority and less authority and between old and young generation. The writer of this cartoon trying to teach us a lesson that lesson is not to discriminate each other but love one another as much as you love you. His message was established in cartoon by graphics for example he use big frogs and a small frog. Big frog represent people who have power and the small one represent people who are poor and less authority. Not only that but big frogs represent men and the small one represent women. If this one above is true this cartoon shows that men is the head of the family and women's role is to be submissive to the men and do the household working. And also the conversation between these two they talk about who is going to rule the family. Green represent men and brown represent women. The small frog says 'green or brown' That's mean men or women will rule the family. The small frogs that represent women shows from her face a respectful looking, helpless, small can't do anything. This clearly shows that the writer trying that women should stay at home and submissive to the head family is the men(father)."

POST-TEST 2:

Sports Education Ad

"This advertisement shows how do people who wanted to become a rugby player etc the goal. In this advertisement shows the way you can become a football player. Firstly you will develop your body to be fitness and to be strong so that you will defence your body from hurting. And this advertising using the daily language. The writer use a blackman to present its idea. The target audience of this advertisement is the people who want to be a football player. It is being said here to be develop your body and mind in order to you to become a good football player. In this developing means you must be fit, strong, obeying heart and always concentrate your mind in football. I think this advertisement is not balanced. Because why can't a white person present its message or old person or women? There's something missing in this advertisement. Why can't a hero in football represent its idea? This advertisement clearly shows the racist of the writer. In this passage is also said that if we stay in school we will not become a good football player because your mind won't concentrate in football only but it will make you concentrate in study also. In its looking it shows us that he want to become a football player. I feel angry with the writer because of its biased. ..the biased of the writer he use a black young men instead of using white people; because white people are the famous people in rugby; black's people are not good playing rugby. I feel sorry with the white races because the writer trying to belittle them. Because he use black young man and he think that black people are better than white people in football. I agree with the writer on using men instead of women because football game is the men's game. Women's game is netball, tennis, etc. I feel sorry with the old people because of not using them but it is true football didn't need people who are old because they are weak, unfit, helpless. ..this advertisement make's me feel courage because if I develop my body and mind I will become a good football player. The writer is trying to show's the conflict between black and white people...to show the obvious way of how to become a football player. The writer use black young men because black people want to become a football player. That's why he using black people because black people are confident in sports like athletic, soccer, baseball, basketball, etc. Maybe the writer knows that football game is the game that black races didn't confident on. And that's why he using black people he is trying to make black people to be confident in football game. And also the games. ..this advertisement teach me a lesson."If the body and the mind work together in learning to become a football player its will make us famous in rugby. And it's also tells me studying is not the only way to have a good future its also shows that sports can give you good future too."

DELAYED POST TEST:

You the Choice of My Parents

"I think this poem talks about how children are important in the family. On the first two lines shows that the parents are really love their children, this love shows from their acting, parents provide best thing for the children. Tapa clothes, represent the best clothes that the parents offered to the children, fresh perfumed oil represent that parents

are still instructing the children at home. Third line represent when the children did according to the instruction. its like a star shining in the night. On that attitude your parents must be proud of you. ..this poem also talking about that children are the one who keep the genealogy. It also shows that children are the important thing in the society. I feel very proud because the poet shows that we are children and we are very important in the society. The poem talks about the children are the one who keep the genealogy. And also the children are the one who the parents proud with. Also the important of children in the family children can uplift a family from poorly living to a good standard of living. Not only that but the poet also shows that children are the future of the country because children can keep the traditional culture. Further on children are very important in the church because they are the future of the church. I also feel proud with the parents. Because they show their loving way keeping us(children) from the date of my birth until we are mature enough to control myself. I feel proud with the way that the poet used to represent her message. It's represent its idea in a good way for example he use formal language she use the Tognan goods like Tapa and perfumed oil to make its message clear. I also admire because she shows that parents role at home still doing, it shows that parents are still instructed the children at home. It's also shows that the poet strying to support that parent's role is to instructs the children at home so that they grow up with a good attitude."

I Lived Here Once

"This story is about a woman who lived in a village and she went away for sometimes than she came back to the village again and the home where she lives. When she came back everything is new the road are much wider now and the work was done carelessly that means the road was not good. And it was very dirty now. The only thing that wasn't new the way was fined and the blue sky. When she came the home where she lives was very strange that there a car outside and the house was paint in white colour and there are two gays playing outside. Than she say hello to the children but they didn't turn their heads or answer. This shows that she was a newcomer now to the home where she lives. I feel sorry here with the woman who came to the village because of not having someone to welcome her. I also feel sorry with her because of the attitude done by the children to her. On the way that children treats her it clearly shows the attitude of the European. This shows that their attitude are quite bad because if they are not know you they won't say hello or Good morning or welcome you. I also feel angry with the people of this village because of their attitude against the newcomer. I also feel sorry here with the women because of the changes had happen. ..this passage shows the conflict between races. I feel sorry here with the other races who came to Europe and the way Europe did to the newcomers. In this shows that the European are selfish because they didn't a new person to be enter their homes. And also shows the conflict between old and young generation. In this passage they young generation didn't likethe old generation maybe the reason for these the older generation treat them badly or maybe they dislike the attitude of the old generation."

(ii) READER 2: MELI

PRE-TASK

Eveline:

"I think that "Eveline" is about young girls of the past and how they play their roles as women. "Eveline" is the name of the young girl who is about to run away with her boyfriend Frank and get married. But didn't go afterwards. This story shows how submissive women were in their society, shows that women had to stay home and not to be breadwinners. Why didn't Eveline go with Frank? Was it because she was afraid of her father? This story talks about women in particular, that their only role is to stay home and do household chores.

PRE-TEST:

BT ad

"The advertisement is advertising service of "BT's Call Return". I think that what they do then inorder for them to get more customers, is that, they must therefore put you in a situation, whereby it makes you realise that you certainly do need their service, and that is when your taking a shower and the phone rings, and you either go and answer it, dripping water everywhere, or you could just ignore it but wonder who it could be. Therefore, the "BT's Call Return", will be able t provide you with telephone number of the last person who called, thus be of great help. The ideas of this advertisement makes me feel that I need their service; and so therefore, I think that the ideas of this advertisement is laid out pretty well and is well-structured. I like the way the writer has presented the idea of this advertisement and the reason for this is because the writer gives you a clear picture of how you desperately need "BT's Call Return Service". In other words, the advertisement is well-structured.

are still instructing the children at home. Third line represent when the children did according to the instruction. its like a star shining in the night. On that attitude your parents must be proud of you. ..this poem also talking about that children are the one who keep the genealogy. It also shows that children are the important thing in the society. I feel very proud because the poet shows that we are children and we are very important in the society. The poem talks about the children are the one who keep the genealogy. And also the children are the one who the parents proud with. Also the important of children in the family children can uplift a family from poorly living to a good standard of living. Not only that but the poet also shows that children are the future of the country because children can keep the traditional culture. Further on children are very important in the church because they are the future of the church. I also feel proud with the parents. Because they show their loving way keeping us(children) from the date of my birth until we are mature enough to control myself. I feel proud with the way that the poet used to represent her message. It's represent its idea in a good way for example he use formal language she use the Tognan goods like Tapa and perfumed oil to make its message clear. I also admire because she shows that parents role at home still doing, it shows that parents are still instructed the children at home. It's also shows that the p[oe]t strying to support that parent's role is to instructs the children at home so that they grow up with a good attitude."

I Lived Here Once

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(ii) READER 2: MELI

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Eveline:

"I think that "Eveline" is about young girls of the past and how they play their roles as women. "Eveline" is the name of the young girl who is about to run away with her boyfriend Frank and get married. But didn't go afterwards. This story shows how submissive women were in their society, shows that women had to stay home and not to be breadwinners. Why didn't Eveline go with Frank? Was it because she was afraid of her father? This story talks about women in particular, that their only role is to stay home and do household chores.

PRE-TEST:

BT ad

"The advertisement is advertising service of "BT's Call Return". I think that what they do then inorder for them to get more customers, is that, they must therefore put you in a situation, whereby it makes you realise that you certainly do need their service, and that is when your taking a shower and the phone rings, and you either go and answer it, dripping water everywhere, or you could just ignore it but wonder who it could be. Therefore, the "BT's Call Return", will be able t provide you with telephone number of the last person who called, thus be of great help. The ideas of this advertisement makes me feel that I need their service; and so therefore, I think that the ideas of this advertisement is laid out pretty well and is well-structured. I like the way the writer has presented the idea of this advertisement and the reason for this is because the writer gives you a clear picture of how you desperately need "BT's Call Return Service". In other words, the advertisement is well-structured.

Electric City:

"This short story is about children of a family and how two of those kids go to work at night, probably part-time jobs, to help their parents. These two kids, are Ani and Harry, and the story mainly focuses on them. The other two, probably younger ones, are Pania and Boo. Ani and Harry both go to school, perhaps high school, but they also have part time jobs at night. Before they went to work, Ani had just come back from the "Electric City" with tall buildings and layers of light patterning the sides of it. I think that the "electric city, controls the power supply or electricity, so without them(electricity), you will find it hard to survive. For example, if they cut off the power, that means phone, T.V and so forth. Ani went to the "electric city" to pay their bills. There is no particular time whereby this story takes place, but perhaps it is set in the future. I feel as if this story is trying to warn us, the generation of today. The writer is trying to say that the future can end up like this, with technology being a great influence in our lives. For instance, some people of today are content if they have no T.V. or phone, but in the future, people need them as if they are essential to us. This shows how technology influences our lives and how they can slowly take control of the world. Therefore, the writer wants us to face reality, and that in order to prevent this from occurring, we, the people of today must act now, to stop this thus preventing the future generation from suffering such problems. I feel that the writer wrote this story using simple language that is easy for everyone to read, but it also holds an important message, which I have already explained above, and that is "TECHNOLOGY WILL RULE THE WORLD SOMEDAY". Even though this story may look easy to read and seems like just any other story, but it has inner meanings, waiting for us readers to interpret. So therefore, I like the ways the writer has presented this message."

POST-SCAFFOLDING TASK 1

Eveline:

"This short story is about a young girl, who is over nineteen, who decides to go off with a young sailor and get married. This young girl is Eveline Hill and her boyfriend is Frank. Frank proposed to Eveline, to marry him and they decide to runaway on a boat to Buenos Ayres. Eveline's father, is greatly against the idea, of Frank courting Eveline, and therefore they must secretly run away, and get married. But in the end, when Frank and Eveline are about to board the ship, Eveline decides to stay home and not go with Frank to their destined home in Buenos Ayres. I have pity for Eveline at first, for she seems that she does not enjoy her life with her father. Her mother has died and also her favourite brother Ernest. She is left with another brother Harry and her ill tempered father. And at the end, she greatly disagreed with her choice to stay home and not to go with Frank. I think that she would have gone with Frank to Buenos Ayres, get married and enjoy life to its fullest. If she did go, Frank will protect, as she has no one to protect her at home, she will make new friends, for back home, all her friends have left, and also I think she deserves to be happy and not to experience a hard life in staying home with her dad. I think that the writer has presented this story quite well, by using simple language, that is easy for everyone to read. But though it seems simple, it has a deeper meaning, and that is "it is important to make the right decision in life for the benefit of one's future". (Mele handed this in immediately after the session - the next day she handed in this other response - probably after having time to think over the story. This is the second response:

"I think that this author is a sexist. He is a male and from reading this story, it seems to me that, female have no freedom. They are expected to stay home and not go to work. Eveline, for instance, was treated without respect at work. Why? Was it because, women were expected to stay home and serve the males? Eveline's mother was also not treated with respect but why? What did she do, that made her not receive respect like any other women. Also at the end, why didn't Eveline leave with Frank? Was she afraid of gaining freedom? Was she scared of what she might have to face? But why was she afraid? From my point of view, I think that Eveline is faced to do things she hated, she has no freedom to do what she wants, and probably its main cause, is the type of surrounding she lives in. This story must be directed towards women, that they have no freedom.

POST TEST 1

BT ad:

"I think that the BT Company uses a picture of a man taking a shower instead of a woman because men are likely to be very busy for they might be businessmen or they might hold very important posts in the society. So because of this, the phone calls are mostly for them, and that is probably why they used the picture of a man. Men are likely to be the ones who will use the BT service and not women. This advertisement actually puts women down. It shows that the BT service thinks that women are not as busy and active as men in business and other important affairs. But it also gives us their point of view about male and female. They think that female are not as important

as male in business affairs and stuff like that. So in order for them to sell their service and make it more popular, they use men and it shows how busy they are and that they should use BT service for it will be very handy for them, especially in their work.

I most absolutely disagree with the person who made up the advertisement. How dare he make women look so low! Women have the same right as men do. There is no difference between them. I think that they are being sexist and that they only go for men and not women. Because they think women have no other roles but cook and stay home, they will think that women won't need their service. But then women need freedom. The freedom to work, the freedom to do whatever they want. The ad is directed towards men and that they need the BT service and not women. This makes me angry and I am very frustrated with who ever wrote this advertisement. He doesn't have to make women look incapable of working in order for them to sell their service, for women are capable of becoming businesswomen just like how men are.

Why use a picture of a man and not of a woman? Is this to suggest that men are more capable and more active in business affairs than women? Probably it's to show that men are always the ones who are busy with business and not women. Definitely not women. But why? Why make women look so hopeless? Look so incapable? Is it to sell their service? Is it to attract attention? Who is this advertisement for? For men? But why them and not women? Do they believe that the woman's place is in the kitchen and nowhere else? But isn't that being sexist? This advertisement clearly says that the roles of women is to stay home, cook and do household chores while men are breadwinners they go and work thus be of importance to businesses and other affairs. But then if the phone rings, where is the wife to answer the phone? This also suggests that the wife is not at home to answer the phone for the husband. But where is she then? If she isn't at home then she probably goes to work and therefore has the freedom to do what she wants, and doesn't stay home to serve the husband for she has other roles just like the husband, besides cooking and staying home."

Electric City:

"This story greatly comments on the way of life of people. It shows how important money and technology is to the people's lives, who are in the story. These two factors greatly dominate their lives and without them, they won't be able to survive. A message that I have learnt, is that, if the people of today won't act to stop such problems from happening, then technology will rule the world someday. So, in order for the future generation to suffer, we must act now, and prevent technology from gaining power to rule the world. Ani and Harry, still both go to school, but then they work at night. This shows that they desperately need money for them to survive in such a society. Even though their father works, but his income is not enough. This situation suggests that money can buy everything. Also since the mother wasn't home to prepare dinner, then I think she has other roles and has freedom to work or do whatever she wants. I greatly disapprove of Harry and Ani, going to work, from my point of view, I don't like school students having to go to school, at the same time, work. I think that because they go to work at night, then they hardly have time to sit down and study, at home. So if they don't study at home, then their school work might not be of satisfaction, and the reason for that, is because they don't get the opportunity to study properly for their tests. For instance, look at Ani, she just studied for her Biology test in the train, on their way to work. Is that how you study for a test? Absolutely not! But nevertheless, I also admire Harry for wanting to skip school, so that he can work, thus let his sister study properly and let his dad rest. This shows how much he loves and cares for his family and that Harry admits that if he gets a job, he is prepared to work as hard as he can, for his family's benefit and welfare.

Why did Harry and Ani have to go to work? Was it because their dad's income is not enough? Why did they have to pay the electric city? Is that the main source of power? Is it that important? Why do you always have to pay the Electric City? Does the mother work? If she does, then doesn't her income help them too? I think that Harry and Ani represent children of the future and that they must work in order for their families to survive in such a surrounding, and that is probably why Harry and Ani had to go to work. The Electric City is probably, the main headquarters for electricity and that you always have to pay in order for you to have some power supply. So when you do have power supply, everything is o.k. But one thing I can't understand, is why does the father have everything counted out? Or in other words, why does he wisely budget their income? Probably it's because they hardly have much money and so he wants every cent to be worthy. Also, from the way the story is written, the author is overemphasizing the roles of the kids. But why? Is it a threat? Probably it's because they are the ones who will suffer, in the future, if their society is so technologicalised.

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POST-TASK 2

Singapore Airlines Ad

"This ad of Singapore Airlines uses a picture of a girl to advertise their service. But why? Why use a picture of a girl and not anything other? Is it because the beauty of the girl will attract attention or what? I think that this picture puts women down. It shows that what women do is that, they serve men and give them pleasure. Women here are like servants, and that they do nothing but do what pleases men. This ad is directed against us, women, that we serve men and we are under their power. We are like dolls that satisfy needs and wants of males.

POST-TASK 3

Frim and Frat

"I think that this cartoon is plainly a mockery. It is mocking at the way we humans live, and I believe that, that was the whole purpose of this cartoon. Why did the cartoonist use frogs? Is it to put humans down? Why does the big frog always talk? Probably its because of its size. Its obvious that it is bigger and being like that suggests that you have more power and authority. But why does the small frog not talk that much? Is it because its small in size and that makes it weak and submissive? But what does the smaller frog represent? A weaker race? A submissive sex? An unable and weak generation? Why does the small frog ask, "Green or brown?" Does he refer to men or women? Black or white people? Old or young people? Educated or uneducated people? Rich or poor people? From my point of view, I think that this cartoon shows how women are submissive to men. Probably the big frog represents men, showing how dominating and very influential they are on women, and probably the small frog represents women, making us to be aware of how submissive and weak they are to men. Also, from my interpretation, probably the big frog represents white people, since it talks alot. This shows that white people always get their say and always wins, whereas with the blackp people, which I believe is represented by the small frog, are weak and don't have the courage to stand up and fight for their own rights. The black people are too afraid of the white people and so just follows the orders and commands of the white. This cartoon could also be talking about old and young people, with the old people as the big frog and the young people as the smaller one. It show how the old people influence the lives of the young ones, and the young ones, not standing up for their own rights. The cartoonists is mainly trying to convey the idea of discrimination and that it can destroy us humans, so we must act now to stop this type of discrimination whereby black and white fight against each others. Also young and old people, how they disagree on certain things and also how men and women are opposing each others. Lastly, from my personal interpretation, I think that the big frog presents how some people are very powerful and has the authority to always have his/her say. While those who are not powerful, not educated, are weak and don't have any other choice but to follow orders thus become hopeless and submissive.

POST TEST 2

Sports Education ad

Target audience: young men who are interested in becoming a football player...This ad is saying that most kids who dump school are black kids, which makes this ad to be unbalanced, for their emphasis falls on the black people. What is being said here about black people is that they ar enot as intelligent as the white people and that the majority of the blacks are not educated or are but they don't finish their education properly. Whereas with the whtie people, they don't dump school, they are well-educated thus much more intelligent than the blacks...

The purpose of this ad is to show how important school is to your future ambition. The langauge used is simple and easy to understand. The picture is a young black football player. But why? Why use the picture of the black man and not have a picture of a white man? Does this mean that football is a sport for only black people? Is this saying that white people are more intelligent and well-educated than the black people thus can get better juobs than just becoming a football player. Does the picture of the black guy suggests that black people are not well educated? Probably yes! Why not a picture of a female. Is it because football is only for males. Why is the headings in bold letters? Is it there to attract attention? And why is the sayings at the bottom are smaller in size? Is it to show its a threat or a warning? I think it is both a threat and a warning. The target audience here are yong black men who are interested in becoming a football player. This ad is saying that most kids who dump school are likely to be the black kids. Because of this, the ad therefore is not blanced, for this ad stresses too much of the black people, thus makes the writer of the ad be a racist. The writer is overemphasizing the black race by using the picture of the black man. Something here is missing. Where do the white people come in? Are they just by-standers? This says tht black people are not as intelligent as the white and that the majority of blacks are not well-educated or are but they don't finish their education properly, whereas with the white people, they are well-educated, and not dump school

thus much more intelligent than the black people. There is something that is said about men and that is football is a sport for them only and not for women. This makes the advertiser, a sexist. Also this ad says that football is not a game for all to play but strictly for young people and not the old ones. This makes the old people look incapable. Why does it say, "develop your body and you could be a football player"? This is probably saying that the black people have better bodies that are required for football than the white men. From my point of view, I disagree with the advertiser. Black people are not dumb and are just as intelligent as the whites. The writer makes the black people look incapable of getting better jobs, and also this shows that the black people do not have important roles like those of the white people. Why is there not a picture of an old man or woman? This means that football players are young. But why not use a picture of a lady? They say that women don't play football? Or are they saying that women don't play sports like men but stay home and serve the family? Probably that's what they believe. Does this picture suggest that men have more freedom? Have more important responsibilities than women? I think it does, that men think women don't play important roles like them but stay home and cook. Why do they say, "develop your mind and you could own the team"? This probably means that if you're well-educated, you can easily own a football team. Does this suggest that the black people are incapable of owning a football team whereas the white people are? I think that they are saying that black people are too poor. Why does the writer say what he/she did at the bottom of the page? I think that this means that education can buy you everything and without it your future is hopeless. But why have the black man in it? It is saying that the black man is not well-educated? Whose view is being presented? Is it a point of view of a black person, a white person, a male or a female? I think that it's a white man's point of view that is being presented and that he is both a sexist and a racist. So therefore I think that the black man, shows that they are the weaker race, which is the message that is being conveyed.

DELAYED POST-TESTS

You the Choice of My Parents

Purpose: comments on traditional marriage and how parents arrange the marriage of their children. Why did the poet write this poem? The poet wrote this poem to criticise the people or parents who still arrange the marriage of their children for them. Does the poet overemphasise a particular idea? To me, the poem seems to be emphasising on how obedient women are to their parents about arranged marriage. Does it present a point of view? The poem presents the point of view of the bride, what and how she feels about her arranged marriage.

Target audience: women who have parents that arrange their marriage for them. What is missing? Where is the groom's say? For he is obviously not saying anything, which means that this poem is the bride herself who wrote it. I dislike the way the parents arrange their children's marriage because it won't be for love but for wealth and fame.

Criticising: Stanza 1. Tone - sarcastic? Yes because she said that he does not know her. The poet uses sarcasm, especially when the bride talks about the groom. For example, "...your brown skin bursting with fresh perfumed oil..." The use of sarcasm here, further stresses the fact that she is protesting about their marriage. What she feels is very different from what the groom feels. For she is hopeless and must obey her parents in marrying the groom but she does not want to. This is proved when it said, "...the dancing has begun I see myself dying slowly to family and tradition..." Here "Dance" and "dying" are totally from the opposite sides. This shows how hopeless the bride's situation is. Why does she always describe his physical features? This is because that is all she knows of him, she doesn't know what his personality is like. Why are his eyes shining? Is it because of greed? Excitement? To me and from my interpretation, I think that his eyes were shining because of greed. "You the choice of my parents". Who does the you refer to? I think that the "You" here refers to the groom because it is he, who were parents want their daughter to marry. But why repeat this phrase? Probably to emphasise and to stress out to the readers, and also to the groom that he is the choice of her parents, the groom is the one man her parents think is suitable for a husband. "Western type education... second-hand car..." Are these important in our society? Yes, education and vehicles are important in our society today, for it brings fame to the family. It makes the family become popular, for this meant that your family is rich. And I think that this is why the parents wanted the groom to marry their daughter, so that their family will become popular and will be considered by others as a rich family for the groom was educated and he has a car. This shows how important education is to our lives and how it brings wealth. "Yet you do not know me, my prince". Why doesn't he know her? I think that the groom does not know her personality nor does he know how she feels, in other words, the groom does not know the real me (the bride) "I fit your plans and schemes for the future". What are his plans? In stanza 3, her duty is to bear him a son and I think that this is the groom's plans - to have a son so that his family line will not end but will be carried on by their son. Also from this line I feel sorry for the bride, for she is being used to give the groom a son. There is no love here, only desire to get what he wants which is a son. "I have no other choice". Why doesn't she have any other choice? Is it because of her parents? Tradition? I think that she has no other choice but marry the groom because that is what her parents want her to do, and so therefore must obey what her parents have told her to do. I also think that

tradition here contributes to her marriage because probably the society that she lives in, have a tradition of parents arranging the marriage of their children and that is also why she has no other choice but to marry the groom.

Stanza 2: "The priest has left the altar now..and the dancing has begun". Tone, happy? Joyful? Excited maybe? What altar is she talking about? The tone here is happiness, for the dancing has begun. But what altar? I think that it is the altar of the church or temple where the marriage ceremony is held at. "I see myself dying". Which part of her is dying? Is it her body? Her soul? Spirit? Or her mind? I think that it is her spirit that is dying. But why is she dying? What has happened to cause her to be like this? She is dying because this is not what she wants. She wants to be married because of love, not because of money or education and this marriage has made her be like this, as in dying. Dancing and dying are opposite phrases and do not go hand in hand because they have opposite meanings. But why are they being used? Because they are to stress out that even though happiness has started because of their marriage, her spirit has withered and no longer alive, "stripped of its wills and carefree spirit".. "Naked..." Why use these strong words? Probably to emphasise that her spirit is dead because of her parent's choice. But why is she alienated from belonging truly. This is because she cannot love him for he does not love her and the family that she will become a member of, will be foreign to her for the groom does not love her just because of the way she is, but wants her to fulfill his wants.

Stanza 3: "I love as a mere act of duty". Why does she love only as an act of duty? Because when you are married, you must love your husband or wife, but she knows that deep down they do not love each other truly, and just doing it because of traditional ways. But why does she feel it's her duty to love him? Because that is what her parents want of her, to love the husband that they have chosen for their daughter. "Changing ...familiar ironwood tree? Why is she familiar with the ironwood tree? I think that it is because, the ironwood tree is probably where she grew up in and she may have used to play there. What does the tree represent? To me, the tree probably represent her homeland, where she grew up in. But why use the ironwood tree? Is it different from other trees? Probably it is and that is why she used it. "My soul is far away". Why is it far away? Because she wants to go home and not get married to the groom. It is against her will to marry him and so her soul has become cold and remote. Where is it at then? Her soul has died. "But when my duties are fulfilled my spirit will return to the land of my birth". What are her duties? To give him a son? To her family? Marry the man they have chosen. How will she fulfill her duties? And what? She will fulfill them by giving them all what they want and being obedient at all times. "My spirit will return..." Why will her spirit return and not her body? Because she will die there and be buried there, and then her spirit will go back home. "Where you will find me no more" But why won't he find her? Because he won't know where to look for he does not know her properly. "Except for the weeping willows along the shore". What does the weeping willows represent? It represents sadness. But what shore? The shore of her homeland. Why is she saying that they are a part of her? Because her life was full of sadness like the weeping willows.

In this poem, women are being represented as weak, submissive, obedient and are used by men to fulfill their needs, whereas men here, are strong and very dominating for they are the ones that make the rules, while women obey them. From my personal view, I don't like the way women here are being treated. They are used to fulfill needs and wants of men. It also shows how important education is to her reputation. It makes you become popular and be stated as rich. Also, tradition here greatly contributes to the way they live and plays an important role in the society, for they are the laws and must be obeyed. The poet here uses simple language to accuse her parents and groom e.g. "You cannot see the real me..I have no other choice". Emotive words are also used like dying, naked, stripped, to stress out her protest in marrying the groom. I also think that women are represented this way so that parents who arrange marriage of their children can be aware of the fact that they are spiritually destroying the love of their children.

I Lived Here Once:

Purpose: Comment on how children of different races react to one another.

Target audience: intended for white people to teach their children to hate and avoid the black kids.

The main ideas of this short story is racism. How the white children hate those of the black. This is shown quite obviously, when the two white kids did not want to talk to the black girl even though they heard her perfectly well. The main character who is the young black girl, is very friendly and shy. She is naive and innocent yet does not know anything about racism, but the two white children on the other hand, are experienced kids who have been taught probably by their parents, guidance or teachers not to be friendly to the black children. This story takes place in the West Indies and his young girl is a native whereas the other two white kids are Europeans. The young black girl is being overemphasised and this makes it unbalanced. The black people here are represented by the young native black girl, who is being ill-treated by the two European kids. This makes the black people to put down, white

the Europeans or white people are always the rulers. Why was this story written? It was written to make the white people or parents be aware of what they are doing. They are probably the ones who teach their children to hate the black children but if they don't teach the kids, then, probably their children have watched them react towards black people and therefore they also follow, what their parents have done. Why was the black girl extraordinarily happy? She probably felt this way because she remembered all her happy times here, the place where she grew up, the place where she belonged to. Why did she think of "Glassy", and not of any other word like beautiful? Probably because the sky looked like glass, clear like crystal. Why was it strange for her to see a car parked in front of the house? I think because when she lived there, they were too poor to afford a car therefore had none. Why didn't the two European kids not turn around when she repeatedly called out to them? Because they did not want to talk to her or have anything to do with her and so therefore did not turn to her. But what were these Europeans doing in the West Indies? They are probably there for business matters, since West Indies is a great place for traders of raw materials. What did it mean by "as if the white blood is asserting itself against all odds?" The black girl means that the white children do not want to know the black children and so keeps away from them. Why did the boy make up an excuse to go inside the house? Because they didn't want the black girl to be there and they wanted to get far away from her. But why were her arms out with longing to touch them? She probably wanted to be their friends and make peace between them. What did it mean by, "That was the first time she knew". Knew what? What did she find out? I think that she finally knows that the white children hate the people of her race. The parents here are not in it except children ("the young black girl facing reality" in her first draft). These children represent the black and white race and how they live. They don't like each others, and this makes the young black girl look weak. From my interpretation, I also think that the black girl is probably uneducated while the white children are. But why are the black people represented like this? Weak and hopeless. Because the author wants to stress out that the white people are not treating the black people properly and not in a civilised way. I oppose to the idea of black people being ill-treated and the author has used a very effective way of showing this. I also think that the black people here, are extending a hand to settle peace between the two races but the white people will not except it, which makes the white people be racists for they are cold towards the black people."

(iii) READER 3: SIONE

PRE-TASK

Eveline

"It is concerned with the frustrations in the lives of ordinary people facing up to important decisions. Life is full of frustration and ordinary people who face important decisions may sometimes take the wrong or right solution. In some cases you can change your decision right up till the last moment and then you have to standby what you thought was right. I like all of the story. The way the writer makes it clear that this is an ordinary girl trying to cope with the frustrations of life. She has a chance to escape from her problems until she has to make one of the biggest choices in her life. I think he uses a girl as the main character because girls are more likely to meet these kinds of frustrations in life (getting harder and harder to make a living. People pick on them. Fathers like sons more than daughters. Things tempting her to run away and get married). The way the writer tells the story so real, it's like I'm the girl living this life."

PRE-TEST:

BT Ad

"It's about one of those little but annoying little problems in life. For example, you put your keys down but don't remember where. So they invented the key beeper so when you whistle it makes a sound and you can find it. Or the alarm clock for heavy sleepers. I think it's quite a good idea but not really that important. Most people don't live alone and some have answering machines. If the phone call was important then the person who called will probably phone later. The first two sentences on the poster tell me that these people have come up with something new for when I can't get to the phone. The writer starts by telling me the problem and then 2 solutions. I don't want to take. Then the writer gives us the idea they came up with. Then the writer tells me "Is a fine new service available to most BT customers" which means to me that only people who are BT customers may get it."

Electric City

It's a story about a family struggling to make a living. About a boy's sense of duty to his family to leave school and work so as to provide from the family's needs.

the Europeans or white people are always the rulers. Why was this story written? It was written to make the white people or parents be aware of what they are doing. They are probably the ones who teach their children to hate the black children but if they don't teach the kids, then, probably their children have watched them react towards black people and therefore they also follow, what their parents have done. Why was the black girl extraordinarily happy? She probably felt this way because she remembered all her happy times here, the place where she grew up, the place where she belonged to. Why did she think of "Glassy", and not of any other word like beautiful? Probably because the sky looked like glass, clear like crystal. Why was it strange for her to see a car parked in front of the house? I think because when she lived there, they were too poor to afford a car therefore had none. Why didn't the two European kids not turn around when she repeatedly called out to them? Because they did not want to talk to her or have anything to do with her and so therefore did not turn to her. But what were these Europeans doing in the West Indies? They are probably there for business matters, since West Indies is a great place for traders of raw materials. What did it mean by "as if the white blood is asserting itself against all odds?" The black girl means that the white children do not want to know the black children and so keeps away from them. Why did the boy make up an excuse to go inside the house? Because they didn't want the black girl to be there and they wanted to get far away from her. But why were her arms out with longing to touch them? She probably wanted to be their friends and make peace between them. What did it mean by, "That was the first time she knew". Knew what? What did she find out? I think that she finally knows that the white children hate the people of her race. The parents here are not in it except children ("the young black girl facing reality" in her first draft). These children represent the black and white race and how they live. They don't like each others, and this makes the young black girl look weak. From my interpretation, I also think that the black girl is probably uneducated while the white children are. But why are the black people represented like this? Weak and hopeless. Because the author wants to stress out that the white people are not treating the black people properly and not in a civilised way. I oppose to the idea of black people being ill-treated and the author has used a very effective way of showing this. I also think that the black people here, are extending a hand to settle peace between the two races but the white people will not except it, which makes the white people be racists for they are cold towards the black people."

(iii) READER 3:SIONE

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PRE-TEST:

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Electric City

Its a story about a family struggling to make a living. About a boy's sense of duty to his family to leave school and work so as to provide from the family's needs.

POST-TASK 1:

Eveline

"The writers concern with the frustrations in the lives of ordinary people facing up to important decisions. That the writer knows what he's talking about. That probably the writer has gone through an experience about the same. The writer has thought about what he was talking about. A writer as I believe meets these kinds of problems in life. No one except journalists or reporters work as a writer. No one is paid to be a writer. Every writer lives on his own money until he writes a book that can be sold and then he is paid. The writer is showing his concern for ordinary people facing up to important decisions. I think that the reason for a girl being the main character is girls are more likely to meet such frustrations and important decisions in their lives than men. Women usually get fed up living alone in their home so the first chance they get to get away from there they usually take. Women are more likely to have a boring life and struggle to make a living. Women are more likely to be picked on like Eveline. I think the writer is on the men's side because the only man in the story that would have saved Eveline and was willing to was Frank. If I was Eveline and had made the choice to stay I would forever sit and think about what would have happened to me if I had gone. Would I have made it in life or would I fail? The writer may be saying (I guessed) that women aren't smart enough to make the right decision when they face important ones and will maybe always panic.

POST-TEST 1:

BT Ad:

"I think the purpose of the text is to sell a service. But not this call return service, but BT. I think that the idea of it is not too important. I don't think that you can buy the return call service, but you can get it free if you're in the BT digital network. So I think the purpose of the ad is to tell us one of the advantages you would have if you used BT service. I don't know why the writer used a man in the ad instead of a woman. Maybe more men live alone in Britain than women, or maybe it's just done to catch the readers' attention. The word "Free" in the heading can also catch someone's attention. Maybe the writer is criticising men who live alone and who have girlfriends that may call at the wrong times. As you read through the ad and you like the idea and you think about buying this return Return Call, until you find out that "it's a free new service available to most BT customers on a digital Network". The writer may also be telling the caller that it does not matter if your friend doesn't answer when you phone. They probably can't get to the phone but they will phone you back up later. I'm quite sure it's helpful but a problem is that in Britain people usually shower for a long time, and the phone may ring more than once during that time. The call Return Service may only tell you who the last person who rung you up was. So you still meet the same problem. Right at the bottom of the ad in small letters it tells us that they cannot tell you the number of a person calling from a Non-Bt Network but telling you the advantage of having the BT Service.

Electric City

"The writer's concern for middle class family struggling to make a living. Working and dividing up their resources for everything that is needed to live a normal life. I feel sorry for Harry for having to leave school. But at least they are getting a lesson on life while they are still young. So they might learn and not make the same mistakes. I have learned to always try to help and try to take more responsibility. The way the writer starts his story really caught my attention. The main character I think is Ani. I think the writer is showing his concern for the children by telling us that they go to school at daytime and work at night. They hardly have time enough to study because straight after school they get to work and try to finish it early. I think that the writer is also trying to tell us that the children are independent. He hardly mentions their parents except that the father works at night and is probably asleep when the children are home. The daughter has to go and pay their power bill and the son can cook for himself. The family is pretty big and probably live on the outskirts of a city. The son is fed up of this kind of life and thinks he can improve their way of living by giving up school and working. To earn money to pay for things that we may take for granted. I think that the writer is pointing out that Harry may feel like it's his duty to provide for the family. That he can work and let Ani stay home and carry on with her studies. I also think that the writer maybe criticising some government or other rich people. That maybe the government maybe wasting too much money on things that are not really needed e.g. (street lights on streets where people don't walk but maybe again I am wrong. I think that the writer has told us that this family has divided up all of their money from work to pay for each thing in their household. And lots of things can disrupt these things.

really put all of the blame on her husband. I think that one idea for women in this passage is tell them not to take that kind of treatment. Stand up for yourselves but try not to hurt tradition. I also think the writer is criticising males by giving us the idea of the man showing up with his fine car and destroying the female's life. Also of the parents choosing his and we all know who is the boss in the parents. I think the writer is criticising men by writing things about them and not the whole truth, by not telling all of his thoughts and how he got to marry her. The thing I think is not shown is the people and the man's parents, thoughts. The people may object to it and so may the boy's parents but like it goes they too have to follow tradition."

I Used To Live Here Once:

"I think the main purpose of this text is to entertain. Why is the writer using a female in this story? Who does she represent? Well I think that the writer is biased and is criticising white Europeans living in foreign countries. The writer I think is telling me how Europeans ruin lots of things as well as are racists by telling us of how things have changed from what the character remembers. eg. The roads being widened and trees being cut down and left lying there. Also of how the character called to the children and they ignored her. I think the female may represent the native people of that country. She remembers her country as being beautiful and the home she once lived in. It was strange to her for from her memory was the vision of her home. She may have been away and the only way to see her home was through her memory. The car may represent new technology that is strange and new to people who have and always known the old ways.

The children I think may represent the next generation of people. I think the writer may be against white Europeans a little. I really can't make up my mind on what the female knew at the end. At first I think it's her ghost after she's dead going back to the place she loved the most. That would explain why the children didn't speak to her, but there are children who know not to speak to strangers. So I picked this answer. "She knew for the first time that this could never be her home again. Too much had changed. She knew it was better to keep the memory of her old home safe in her memory and for the first time she knew things can never be the same forever except in our memory."

(iv) READER 4: TAI

PRE-TASK 1:

Eveline

"I think the story is about a girl named Eveline. She made a promise with her mother that she's going to keep the home together as long as she could but she didn't, she went out with a fellow. I think the story is all about girls' behavior. I feel great when I've read the story. I know a better information about it. Girls will be treated nicely if they do the right thing but if they don't I don't know what would happen. In the story if Eveline gets married probably the people will treat her with respect then e.g. She went out with a guy and what would the people say about her maybe bad words. I got a lesson from the story, to obey your mother and don't do the things that Eveline does i.e. she went out with a guy. People will treat you with respect if you do the right thing especially girls even boys. The way the writer wrote the story is good enough. He uses mixture words e.g. simple and complex. He did not mention the setting of the story."

PRE-TEST 1:

BT Ad:

(heads her response with the word 'VACANCY' in bold capitals)

"This is a vacancies from a company called BT Customers. I think this is a good idea for us to think about. In the text there is a part in it says What it's like you've just got into the shower and the phone rings. What do you do? Whether you concentrate on your shower and ignore the phone or answer the phone. If you ignore the phone you'll have to spend your time wondering who it was and this makes me think more about these two things. I enjoy reading the text. It is a good idea. These ideas make me to think more about the text. I feel that this is a good company (BT Customers) They want to get the people's attention in the phone call. According to the passage it says that if you don't want someone to know your phone number all you'll have to do is dial 141 followed by the number you've called to etc. Some of us want to know the secret and so they want this company. I feel that if the company give more information about the phone call they will get a better result, and I feel good for the ideas presented. The way that the writer has presented the ideas is fairly good. He used mixture words eg simple and complex words. He does not mention the figurative language eg he does not include simile in the passage.

Electric City:

"I think the story electric city is all about expenses. According to the story the girl went to town to pay the electric city and she paid it with money and in my opinion that electric city is an expenses. I feel good when I read the story it gives me more information about what happened in it. Harry said that he is old and school for kids. I'm not happy with this idea. School is important it doesn't matter whether you are kids or not. In the university I think you haven't seen a kids there and so in my opinion school is not for only kids but for all of us(some). We get so many information in school and it helps us preparing for our future career. The way the writer presented the story is fairly good. It gives us more information about the story. He uses simple and complex words."

POST-TASK 1:

Eveline

"I think the story is pretty good. The story is about a girl name's Eveline. She disobeyed her mother e.g. she made a promise with her mother before she died that she's going to keep the promise. The promise that she made was that she'll have to keep the home together as long as she could. But somehow she wanted to skip away from home with her boyfriend Frank. I feel good about the ideas. It gives me a lesson. Sometimes it happens in our individual life. Relate to us nowadays that sometimes we do a lot of things to displease our parents. According to the story Eveline never kept the promise that she made with her mother before she passed away. She ends up unhappy because of what she was doing. Her mother was displeased about what Eveline was trying to do. In a case we sometimes do it but we should all know that our mother loves us and she's trying to make us good but we can't use our time wisely. This idea gives me a lesson to obey your mother even your father all the time for they tried to do their best. Maybe Eveline try to make her the best. Our mother loves us more than anything. In my opinion and my feeling towards the story it is a good idea we learn from so many things from it and we should follow in a good way. In order for us to get a better future we should obey our parents. The way the writer has presented the ideas is pretty good. He uses mixture words like mixture of simple and complex words. He does not mention the figurative language like simile. Anyway this is a good idea. I read the story and I get a lesson from it. This is a good story it helps me in my everyday work."

POST-TEST 1:

BT Ad

"I think the advertisement is to sell a service. As I look at the heading "can't get to the phone, we'll get it for you" it means to me that there is someone will get it. I think the first paragraph will generalize the heading of the text in order for us to know what it is about. I think the reason why the writer presented this idea is to sell the service. I think like this because I try to give meaning to the heading I've mentioned above. I think the kind of people that the writer aims for is male and female but in my thoughts this advertisement is especially for female, because of the picture's a male and the writer try to get all these women's attention. This text is an advertisement. The ideas in the text is good. This is a good way of trying to sell the service. I feel that the writer wants us to give an answer for the question. Why did the writer be writing about this text? To sell the service of the BT Customer's. What could be a reason for the writer's presenting the ideas? He suggest the way of work. Why did the writer use this kind of male pictures in the advertisement? Maybe he wants to attract female's attention. What about if the writer was female instead of male? Maybe he choose male as a helper of female. Where is the setting of this text? Unknown. How did the writer set out this text? I think the reason that the writer choose male in the picture he try to increase male's standard of living as a helper of female. According to the story "can't get to the phone, we'll get it for you" It means to me that if the female can't get it the male will get it."

Electric City:

"In my opinion, I think this story ..is all about expenses. According to the story Ani went to pay the electric city it means to me that she went to pay it and that is an expenses. I think that this story is well done because it set out in a proper way. ..the reason why the writer presented this idea's to show a family conversation e.g. between Ani and Harry. ..the writer aim's this story to a family or teen-ager even young kids. It is to show a conversation between sister's and brother's. I decide to read this text as I look at the heading I wonder what does it mean's electric city and I want to get the reason of this heading. I think that this story aim's for teenager's because it mainly talks about the children. As I read I always want to read the most interesting part and the main event of the story. I feel happy as I read the story because I like the way a brother & sister talk. I think that this story could be real. As I read I found out in the part of the story say's "school for kids". I'm not happy with this idea. As we all know that school is important and it doesn't matter whether you are young or old. In the university it is hard

to see young children there and that's the reason why I disagree with the ideas. Why did the writer use electric city as the heading of this text. Probably that he thinks this is the most important part of the story and he uses it as the heading then describe it. How did he set out this information? I think he get information from other people. What could be a reason for the writer's choice in presenting the ideas? The way of life in a family. Why he use Electric City as the heading instead of other words. Where is the setting of the story? Unknown. Is he try to say something or give a message, probably yes, What is the message? To live happily. What is the purpose of the story? To be good in your way of life.

POST-TASK 2:

Singapore Airlines Ad:

"In my opinion, why did the writer use woman's as the picture of this advertisement? or Why did the writer not use men's. I think more and more about this and I get an idea's of why he do this. Maybe he use woman's because he try to attract men's attention of he is looking down at us. Why did the writer repeat this girls in love with you. Probably that this is the main theme of the advertisement. When I first read this advertisement I wonder why did the writer use female instead of male. Why he didn't use male. I wonder why he keep on repeating the same thing, this girls in love with you. In my imagination and my thought that every men's fell in love with this girl. When I read this advertisement I found out two things, i.e. female and Singapore Airlines. I'm not happy with this ideas of using female's as the pictures of this advertisement. It seems to me that the writer try to sell the girl, and as I read I found out that this advertisement is to sell the service of Singapore Airlines and if the reason why the writer mentioned woman in this advertisement is just to sell the service, why he did not use male instead of female."

POST-TASK 3:

Frim and Frat

"This is a cartoon and it is a conversation between Frim and Frat(frogs). In my opinion the writer of this cartoon tried to expressed the way of life inhuman beings. As we all know that we are all in the big family of humanity and we are equal whether you are black or white etc. In this cartoon the writer tried to emphasize the way of human discrimination. Why would the writer be writing about this topic? In my thoughts that the writer wants to give us a message. What is that message? To look as we are equal to everyone here on earth. Who might be the reader that the writer is writing this topic for? All of us human beings. Why do you think so? Because in my imagination the writer is trying to emphasize human in this cartoon. I think to myself that this is a good idea why? Because it mainly talks about the way of life in human. I'm not feeling well with these ideas of human discrimination. I know that this is not a good standard. If they keep on doing this I think it will come to a time that they will fight against each other. In my interpretation, we are all in the family of humanity and we should do well to everyone and count everyone as equal. My purpose for reading this text is to get a better ideas of what was happened in this text. Why did the writer be writing about topic? I think he want to give a message? What is that message? He wants us to love each other and be good in our way of life. In this cartoon the writer is trying to emphasize humans. Why do you think like this? Because he mainly talks on humans way of life. What could be a reason for the writers choice in presenting or showing this ideas. Is there are a particular point of view. The writer suggest about the way of life in humans. This is an example of human's way of life. This is a low standard of living. Why did the writer chose this kind of pictures? Maybe he represent frogs as an example of human. Why did he present frog's rather than man. I think he wants to present frogs. Maybe he likes it. What does he meant by the frogs will rule the earth. Just my imagination that if people or nation fights against the other and then they will destroy themselves, then the frogs will rule the earth. How does he present this ideas? In a good way. He point it directly to human. How does he present this ideas? In a good way. He point it directly to human. Why didn't he chose other kinds of pictures? I think he really likes the pictures. Do you think that this is the best medium? In my opinion if he try to emphasise human why didn't he present human as the pictures. In what way does he present human in this text? In a very low standard."

POST TEST 2:

Sports Education Ad

"I think that this advertisement is pretty good. The purpose of the advertisement to stay in school and try to develop your body and mind. What could it be about? This advertisement is about a black man sitting in a room. The title is to develop your body and develop your mind. What does this mean? In the last paragraph it says stay in school and there's no telling what you might shape up to be. To my imagination I relate the last sentence to the information above and I think the writer means that if the men stay in school it will develop his body and mind and so there's no telling what you might shape up to be. Why would the writer be writing about

this topic? Maybe the writer wants to express the way of becoming a good player. Who might be the reader that the writer is writing this topic for? Male, why do you think like this? Because they are the football player. Why did the reader make a short information..he make the picture to cover all the passage given? I think that he is trying to get the people's attention by making the picture bigger. Why did the writer highlight the above information? In my imagination that's the moral of the advertisement. the way that the writer presented the ideas is pretty good but the things that I want to ask is who is the author of the advertisement? Unknown. Why would the writer be writing about this text? To give a message what is that message? To stay in school and try to get something, to develop your body and develop your minds according to the text, it means to me to learn something in school so that you can develop your mind and you will come to a better standard in the future. Why does the writer choose a black man instead of a white man? Maybe he thinks that the black man is a good player. What could be the reason's for the writer's choice in presenting or showing the ideas? He suggested about man. Why didn't he represent women? Maybe he was in a sort of racist. What were the things he tried to emphasize? To stay in school and learn something for the better in the future."

DELAYED POST-TEST

You the Choice of My Parents

"The poem is about a tragic story of a young girl who was given to a stranger to marry. This young man has money 'I quote second-hand car and fame is well known western type education". What is the purpose of this poem? Arrange marriage should be forgotten as a thing of the past. Why would the writer be writing about this topic? So that parents read it and give their children the right to choose their own partners. Why do you think so? From the story the person married the man chosen by her parents. Who might be the readers that the writer is writing this topic for? All of us human beings but especially for parents and children. Why do you think so? Because in the poem the parents choose their daughter's husband. In my opinion the person feels trapped and sees no way up "I have no other choice". She is ordered by her parents to marry the groom without informed her. Also she feels sad and lonely "naked on the cold and lonely waters of a family shoreline" not only that she married to a stranger but she does not even know a new husband and family. To me I feel anguish when I read the poem. I feel sorry for the bride Why? because she does not agree with the arrangements made by her parents, and sees no way up eg I have no other choice. In our society today parents should give their children the right to choose their own partners. Today young people should be allowed to choose for themselves so that the marriage should be based on something solid i.e. love. The writer emphasizes the way of parents treat their children. Why does the bride say "I have no other choice" She meant that her parents ordered her to marry the groom This is justified by culture. How does the writer present the ideas? he presents it fairly. Does the writer emphasize a particular person? Yes the writer emphasizes the fact that the bride does not like the groom. What could be a reason for the writer's choice in presenting the ideas/message in this way? Is there a particular point of view. The writer suggests about life and marriage. From the poem parents chose the husband instead of choosing her own partners. There is a conflict between - parents and child i.e. the bride married the groom but she doesn't like him why? because she did not choose her own partner's it is her parents choice. How did the writer present parents? Parents are very dominant, strict. How did he present woman? They have no way up "I quote I have no other choice" and sees no way up. Does the writer present the ideas fairly or he overemphasize a particular person. He presents it fairly and he emphasizes parents i.e. choice for their children and also the bride i.e. she did not agree with the arrangements made by her parents i.e. to marry the strangers.

I Lived Here Once:

"What is the purpose of the story? Children behavior. This story is about a girl who walked around enjoying herself then she saw two children under the mango tree, she called to them but they didn't answer. Who are the target audience? Children. Why do you think like this? Because the story is about children. Why would the writer be writing about this topic? To give an example of how the children from other country treated children from one other country "the girl talked to the children under the mango tree but they walked away. How do you feel about the ideas? The ideas is pretty good according to the story. Who is the main characters? The little girl. How do you feel about her? I felt sorry for her. In a sense that she want to know about the two guys but they walked off. In my opinion this is a good girl why? She want to talk to other's and perhaps to introduce herself to them and to know them well. She feel lonely. Why? She walked around by herself and she talked to other guys but they did not talk to her. Perhaps she feel anguish also. How are ideas being presented? In a good way. Why would the writer be writing about this text? To give a message what is that message. To love each other and be friends to everyone and don't ignore them like what the boy do. "His expression didn't change" Is the writer biased or neutral in a way he presented the ideas. Neutral. He overemphasize girls. Why? I think because that the main character of the story. How has the writer presented women? belittle women, because the boys don't want to talk to her. How has he presented men? bad attitude. He ignore the girl when she talked to him.

Why did he chose women as the main character instead of men? Is he looking down at us or whatever. In my imagination the writer is not looking down at women but he tried to expresss the women's way of life and how they behave to other people. Women behave well. Why didn't he presented old people. Because the story is for children not for older people.... He overemphasize the main character."

(v) READER 5: VAI

PRE-TASK 1

Eveline

"This story mainly is based on how a young girl Eveline is forced to make a decison to stay with her family or to run away with a sailor and get married. She strives to make up her mind, in the end she stays because of a promise to her mother to keep the family together. I think it was wise of her to stay. She promised her mom that she would keep her family together and so she did. Even if she did run away with the sailor it wouldn't of been wise because you know what might have happend if she ran off with Frank. I think if he really loved her he would of stayed with her no matter what but he chose to go. Plus if he is a sailor he wouldn't be at home much. I think the writer was very thorough in getting his ideas across to us. He made us think twice if it was good or bad that Eveline stayed. He writes from experience I guess because you can really feel what the character is feeling.

PRE-TEST 1

BT Ad

"I think this advertising company is trying to advertise its ability to get the last person that phoned you but you probably were too busy to answer the phone. It's showing that if you are too busy to answer the phone just call BT and they will give you the person that last phoned you. I think it's great if your'e single or if you don't have an answering machine. I also think it's great because it's free for who would give up an opportunity like that! I think the writer did an excellent job. Well explained and expressed."

Electric City

"This story is just about how Ami and Harry go to school but Harry wants to quit to get a job. It just shows how the city is illuminated by electricity and that is why it's called electric city. It also emphasises that the father always has to pay the electricity."

POST-TASK 1:

Eveline

"I think this story is about Eveline a young girl and how she faces two important decisions in her life. She is torn between the man she loves and a promise sworn to her mother to keep the family together. She struggles but in the end she chooses to stay with her family. I didn't really like the way they described the father and how he as overbearing and domineering because the description the author gave was what you call an overdose description making fathers look all mean and too powerful but not all are like that. A lot of daughter will feel the same that the author really put down the fathers when there are millions of fathers that are opposite. Another idea I didn't like was the way the writer ended it. His purpose for writing and the message I get is that family is first that's very true but to a limit. We all have our lives to live and if we let people rule our lives all the time will end up no where. You got to stand up for what you believe in. The writer showed that Eveline was kind of chickening out of marriage and saying that women don't know how to choose but they do now-a-days they really do! I think the main audience the writer aimed for was someone like Eveline.

POST-TEST 1:

BT Ad

"My interpretation about this advertisement is that a line service named BT is trying to sell their service using a catching heading and a man in a shower. Vainly trying to emphasize that if you're too busy to answer the phone than they will do it for you. What I don't get about one of their ideas for selling the service is their picture. Who is this man supposed to attract? If the main target audience were business men I don't think they'd be attracted to the advertisement. Because like all people we just look at the pictures and those we find interesting we'll read. It explains what the picture mean't at the bottom in small words but who will read that? If the picture isn't interesting

than what's the use of reading the rest of the information. It may attract women's attention but is that what this service wants only women using their lines. I like the way the writer displayed his ideas he had a catching heading especially the word "free" in the heading it will surely turn all eyes on it. He had a unique way of explaining the condition you've always in like in the shower and you can't get to the phone it gives you a very good reason to use this BT service line. Plus he emphasized very clearly that it was for free so it would not hurt if you tried!"

Electric City

"I think this story mainly talks about these two children who have a father who is always paying the 'electric city' that's what he calls it, the house where you pay your power bill. I think this story was to give a message to children who think their dad has weird names for things. But what they really don't know is that there's true meaning in their weird names. Like Ami and Harry could never get why their father called the power house the 'Electric City' and they finally realised that from one house of power ignites a whole city up. And that is why he called it 'Electric City'. I didn't really like the way he wrote his writing because he wrote it in a way that it was hard to understand. If he wanted people so much to get his message wouldn't he have written it in simple text? And why didn't he? Didn't he know that only smart people would get his meaning? If it was for only father's then why didn't he make it in simpler terms so the uneducated father's would understand or if it was for children why didn't he make it easy for us to understand?

POST-TASK 2:

Singapore Airlines Ad

"I think this advertisement is mainly made to sell the service of the Singapore International Airlines. The heading is a very attractive heading. I mean if you read the heading it would of attracted your attention because it sort of doesn't make sense or it makes you want to read the rest. I didn't really like the way they used women in advertising it probably a message saying women are users sort of like things. The main audience in this advertisement I think would be men because the use the opposite sex to advertise the airlines. I like the way they displayed the rest of the text and how the writer wrote it is sort of written in a poem like way that adds a sparkle to this advertisement. To give my honest response the writer must of been really smart this advertisement is perfect.

POST-TASK 3:

Frim and Frat

"I think this text is about two frogs who have a conversation about how we humans are always discriminating ourselves that by the rate were going we will definitely die. I didn't like the way the writer said that we were discriminating against each other. We're not always discriminating against each other in fact leaders today are trying to make amends why then did the author say that we were? I kind of think that the author is biased or hates leaders of today. Mainly due to the older frogs comments. In a way it kind of degrades our leaders of today. But I think that the authors did a great job in drawing the cartoons and making frogs criticize humans because we understand it more when other characters are put in besides ourselves. The question at the end was really good it gave meaning to the whole text. When the frog said "Green or Brown" it meant a lot of things could have been racism, dominating men and weak women it has a lot of lessons in this text.
(see her taped comments).

POST TEST 2:

SPORTS/EDU Ad

I think this advertisement tries to encourage you to go to school. It has used the heading 'Develop your body and you could be a football Player. Develop your mind and you could own the team'. This heading really encourages you to go to school I mean you could become a good football player if you had the body and developed it but if you developed you're mind you could own the team. Meaning if you went to school you'd become someone way better than what you can without it. This text mainly goes to teenagers that are schooling. Even if it was do you think black people will be offended? Yes! I do because advertising a black person in the advertisement is like saying or scolding him that being a football player is good but if you gone to school you could have owned the team.. It's sort of telling everyone he's a dropout and that because he never went to school he never achieved anything. It's like telling me if I don't watch out I'll end up like him! To all the black people it must hurt because not all blacks are dropouts. The author was very biased in choosing who to advertise it. He really was against blacks. I must say

that his heading was really excellent because the majority of kids think sports or other jobs and activities are number one thing in life. Mainly boys they are offered professional jobs at a young age and neglect school but that doesn't last long. His words will influence a lot of young kids that if they go to school they'll become better. His example of football was really good because that's what young kids are into now-a-days. If you're not a player you're a fan! To make this advertisement more becoming and influencing they should have put a white guy in to balance racial criticism by people reading the advertisement. To blacks seeing a black person in an advertisement presented that way wouldn't really be influenced by the advertisement more offended that a white wasn't in instead of a black. I think it was good to use a male because the words fitted it perfect because a lot of young men are drop-outs because they don't give enough attention to school. If you put a girl in there it would ruin it. Because then you'd have to change the heading because girls don't play football and are not really into sports. Then it wouldn't make an impact on the boys because they'll just look at it as a thing for entertaining whereas the advertisement now a lot of boys will take it seriously because they will think not of the boy but of what if it was I the drop-out?"

DELAYED POST-TEST:

You the Choice of my Parents:

"I think the soul purpose is to inform and relay a message to us. The way she relays her purpose is unique she makes us feel like the girl who is betrothed to the man. She makes us feel her purpose. I think she mainly targets this poem to young girls who are forced to marry men and though the author has used the Tongan way it is for all the girls whom are forced to marry. I also think it's for the parents too, it kind of gives a message to the parents that their daughter is feeling loss. And gives them an idea of how their daughter feels. The main idea is to give people a knowledge on how young girls feel about arranged marriages and how the culture is like in Tonga. The way the author has used our customs and traditions has given this poem an interesting flare. Making the poem interesting and so true to all those girls that are betrothed. In this poem she relates to women as them being very obedient and submissive and humble and the parents overbearing and powerful. It shows that young girls are helpless and trapped of their freedom and that they have no other choice. Yes all or most girls in that condition would be obedient because after all your parents did and sacrificed for you the least you can do is owe them some respect. I think it was fair that she related girls like this because it is true the girls have no other choice because if they rebelled it would hurt their parents. So the way the author wrote and presented women in this poem was very fair and true. I don't think the author was biased on if the girl was black or white or brown because the author was just trying to related how things are done in her way. And to readers it is not biased but respected by them. Although I'm a bit troubled on why she didn't represent the boy's feelings. I mean I'm sure the guy is hurting also not only the girl. Why didn't the author represent the guy's view? I'm sure he was feeling like the girl why didn't the author mention the guy. Because maybe sometimes the guy has no choice and has to marry a rich girls or royalty etc. I think the author was biased on that part about not showing the boy's sight of view."

I Used to Live Here Once

"In this story the main purpose I think is to inform people about how some people are treated unfairly because of their colour. The author really makes her purpose obvious and emphasizes it alot during the story. This is where I think the author is a bit biased. I think the target audience is to the people who are not white. It's to all people who have and is being treated unfairly. The main idea in this story is about how non-white people are treated unfairly. I think in this story the way the writer has presented non-white people is fine for the non-white people. But how about the white won't some of them feel unjustly judged. The author has no right to degrade the white people because in the whole story the children sort of represent white people and they were rude. So if someone read this story they'd think of all the whites being rude. The author was a bit biased in saying whites are all like that just because your not white. It also shows that whenever white people are there there is bound to be changes wherever they go. This is true because in our own country white people want to build and when they want one place their going to have it and they don't care what resources are in there way. I didn't really like the way the author presented her ideas and the way she wrote it was hard to understand. She should have made it simpler.

(vi) READER 6: MELIA

PRE-TASK 1

Eveline

"This story is about a girl - Eveline. She lived with the father and a friend because her mother and brother were already died. When she was young the father loved her and treated her nicely. But after the death of her mother,

her father became more strict and their relation was not quite well. And one day she thought of a decision - To marry Frank(boyfriend). This was a very hard decision for her because of her father. She thought about that; what would her father do or something like that. At last her decision wasn't right. And then at the end of this story there was an accident happened to her. She was so helpless. ..I feel sorry and sad of Eveline. I feel sad because of how she met so many problems in her life. If we compare her life to us(girls) we are poor, and we may feel lonely. I also feel sorry for her. This is about the decision she made; to marry Frank. I like her choice but I was sorry of the thinking of her about the father. Poor her, if it was me, I would kill myself. I don't like any father like Eveline's father. I like the ideas and especially the decisions and Eveline's life. I feel I like to read the whole text. I like the ways the writer has presented these ideas. The writer used so many explanations about the main character(Eveline). Also used direct speech but mostly is the explanations. I love to read the explanations about the main character's life. When she grew up. How the parents treated her and the changes after her mother died. I like this to compare it to myself.

PRE-TEST

BT Ad

This text is about a special way of the BT's solution. It talks about what would happen when you have got into the shower and the phone rang. There were two ways you have to do. The first one is that you race down stairs to answer it or the second one is that you ignore it. And then you would spend the next half an hour thinking about who called you last. But in this text it tells me that the BT's solution; call return would give you concentration. When you couldn't get to the phone, the BT's solution had a special number for you to dial(1471), and then you would find who called you last. It also gives me a number to dial(141 followed by the number you'd call) if I didn't want someone to know my number. My personal response to the ideas is that I feel comfortable and like it when I read this text. For example: Dial 1471 and you would find who called you last. I think this is a very good idea for us all. If we are busy outside or anywhere, then this example will help. We may enjoy ourselves there because we know that there is a special way to know who called us last when we were busy outside. The other idea is that if we don't want someone to know our numbers, then there is a number to dial to: 141 followed by the number we are calling. This idea will help us a lot. We don't anyone to know our numbers, so we can dial to the above-mentioned number. I feel happy about this idea because I have to do whatever I want because no-one will know my number. The last idea is that what are you going to do when you have got into the shower and the phone rings. I feel funny about this but the BT's solution has a good way for knowing who called you last. This is a very nice idea. I like it. My critical response to the ways the writer has presented these ideas is that I feel happy about the ways. The writer gives us clear informations and uses simple words and its easy for us readers to understand. The writer also uses pictures and it's a nice picture. This text is like a slogan. The picture tells us readers to do what the writer wants to tell us. The other way is that the writer writes the words well shown or in block letters and in a line to point directly to the fact and that is the aim of this text. The writer wanted us, readers to know that the BT's solution may help you when you can't get to the phone. I love these ideas very much and I want it to be happen in this country.

Electric City

"This text is about an old man who called the charged of the electrical stationeries; "electric city". Ani and Harry knew about this. They were talking about what would the old man called it during in his work. They knew that the others might laugh at him when he would talk about electric city. These two were still in school. While they were in the train they had a little quarrel. Harry wanted to leave school because he thought that he is too old, school is for kids only. But Ani wondered what would the parents do when they heard Harry's idea. Harry didn't worry about them because he already went to the video shop for an interview. While they were in the train they could see clearly at the lights, there were so many lights. So, Ani and Harry thought that these lights were what the old man means: Electric City. And then the trainstop and they got out to where the commuters wait. My personal response to the ideas in it is that I feel funny about the ideas. For example, is the old man. He thought that everything which about electricity, he called it electric city. The other idea is about Harry's idea. I feel ridiculous about Harry. He thought that school is for kids. I don't think this idea is right. Maybe Harry didn't like being in school. He wanted to do work but he must finish from school and then do some work. Harry didn't worry about the parents. They would be angry at him for his idea but he didn't worry them, especially the mother. I don't feel I like his idea. He was a lazy young man. My critical response to the ways the writer has presented these ideas is that I feel lazy and don't like/want to read the whole text. The writer didn't use pictures to let me want to read but he wrote too many notes. It's too long but there wasn't any ideas which is good. I mean he/she didn't write more details and more reasons for electric city. The reasons wasn't enough. The other critical response is that I feel funny about the ways he has presented these ideas. First he talked about electric city and the old man. Then he moved to another idea, the idea of Harry. And then he talked about electric city again. The writer must write the first(old

man) idea, everything about it must write at first and then go the next idea. Step y step.

POST-TASK 1:

Eveline

"This text is about a girl, Eveline. She lived with her father because the mother had died. Now, her father threaten her not like before of during the mother alive. So, she thought of going away from home. Eveline wants to marry Frank, her boyfriend but the father hates Frank. Eveline had to make her own decision. But at the end of the story she wasn't marry Frank. She stays at home with her father. I felt sorry for Frank. Why? Because Eveline's father hates him. I felt angry for Eveline's father because of how he had threaten Eveline. He must have had threaten her as a feamle or as a child. Eveline must do what she wants. I also felt sad for Eveline, because she wants to marry Frank for respect but at the end she stays at home. In this text, I was so surprised when I came to th last paragraph. Before I thought that Eveline could marry Frank but it wasn't. I think that the writer wrote this text for us girls in this century. Maybe because there are so many same problems as Eveline in these years or generation. This story is useful for us all, especially the students. We have to obey the father and do what he says. No matter if he's a strict man but try to be more friendship with him.

2nd Draft: "This text is about Evelien. The author is a male, who is James Joyce. The main character is a female, who is Eveline. Because she is the main person who the author writes about. There ar also minor characters. They are Frank; Eveline's boyfriend, Eveline's father, brothers and the neighbours. We all know that Evelien(19yrs old) has a problem. And I think the author knows that this problem is the same thing happen to us youths in these century. The writer writes about Eveline as an example for us, especially female to follow. He wants to tell us about obedient. This is a very important behaviour for us all to have. We have to obey our father, no matter what. If he had threaten us badly or unfair, we have to obey. I feel sorry for Eveline because she made a wrong decision. She wants to marry Frank; for respect and to start a new lfie, because she sees that the neighbours are going away from their homes, so she wants to leave home too. But at the end of the story she stays at home with her father. The other idea is about Frank. In this story it says that Eveline's father hates Frank. So, I feel sorry for Frank because Eveline's father hates him. In these days there are so many prblems like this. And that causes the chidlren to run away with her boyfriend or with his girlfriend. Then the parents may be sorry later, ut it's over. I can see here of how the author presents his ideas. He wants to promote male; to show how powerful they are, and he tries to p[ut down our values; female. This idea appear in the story. How he tells us about the relationship between Eveline, the fatehr and Frank. At the end of this story the daughter stays at home with the father and not marry Frank. This shows of how powerful male are. But, us female we have to obey male.

POST-TEST 1

BT Ad

"This text is about the BT(British Telecom) solution. It is about when you are in the shower and then you heard the phone rang. We all know that there are obnly two ways you have to do. First is that you race down stars. But in this text the BT's solution had a something Call Return for you. It is free. You may enjoy in the shower and then go down stairs. There is a phone number for you to dial to. After dialing you may hear the number of person who called you last. ..this advertisement there were so many ideas in it. One is about the important of BT's solution. I think this is a very nice idea to be happen in Tonga. The other idea is about this service. But for myself we have to pay for it because it is a hard work for the BT's solution to do it for us. This is an easier way of knowing who called us last. I like the ideas of the writer. Because if I am in the shower and the phone rings I don't know what to do. But I know now, so I have to enjoy myself there and then use the BT's solution: Call Return. When I first reading this I was in a big confused. I don't know what does BT stand for. And also why the writer writes about this. The other thing is about the layout. Why did the writer used a photo of a male but not female. Maybe the male has more good appearances than the female. And also why did the writer used the shower but not any place outside the house. Maybe the writer used the shower because that is the main area that we are during the phone rings. One idea is maybe the writer used male in the shower because us female we are not in the shower. This shows that the writer thought that us female are passive. Only male are bathing but not us female. I think the target audience is us all especially old people. Because they have to walk down the stairs very slowly so that they might not fall or something like that. They may stay in the shower for a long time nd then use the way of the BT's solution; call Return.

Electric City:

"This text is about an old man who called the charges for every electric equipments; electric city. Ani was the one

man) idea, everything about it must write at first and then go the next idea. Step by step.

POST-TASK 1:

Eveline

"This text is about a girl, Eveline. She lived with her father because the mother had died. Now, her father threaten her not like before of during the mother alive. So, she thought of going away from home. Eveline wants to marry Frank, her boyfriend but the father hates Frank. Eveline had to make her own decision. But at the end of the story she wasn't marry Frank. She stays at home with her father. I felt sorry for Frank. Why? Because Eveline's father hates him. I felt angry for Eveline's father because of how he had threaten Eveline. He must have had threaten her as a female or as a child. Eveline must do what she wants. I also felt sad for Eveline, because she wants to marry Frank for respect but at the end she stays at home. In this text, I was so surprised when I came to the last paragraph. Before I thought that Eveline could marry Frank but it wasn't. I think that the writer wrote this text for us girls in this century. Maybe because there are so many same problems as Eveline in these years or generation. This story is useful for us all, especially the students. We have to obey the father and do what he says. No matter if he's a strict man but try to be more friendship with him.

2nd Draft: "This text is about Eveline. The author is a male, who is James Joyce. The main character is a female, who is Eveline. Because she is the main person who the author writes about. There are also minor characters. They are Frank; Eveline's boyfriend, Eveline's father, brothers and the neighbours. We all know that Eveline (19 yrs old) has a problem. And I think the author knows that this problem is the same thing happen to us youths in these century. The writer writes about Eveline as an example for us, especially female to follow. He wants to tell us about obedient. This is a very important behaviour for us all to have. We have to obey our father, no matter what. If he had threaten us badly or unfair, we have to obey. I feel sorry for Eveline because she made a wrong decision. She wants to marry Frank; for respect and to start a new life, because she sees that the neighbours are going away from their homes, so she wants to leave home too. But at the end of the story she stays at home with her father. The other idea is about Frank. In this story it says that Eveline's father hates Frank. So, I feel sorry for Frank because Eveline's father hates him. In these days there are so many problems like this. And that causes the children to run away with her boyfriend or with his girlfriend. Then the parents may be sorry later, but it's over. I can see here of how the author presents his ideas. He wants to promote male; to show how powerful they are, and he tries to put down our values; female. This idea appears in the story. How he tells us about the relationship between Eveline, the father and Frank. At the end of this story the daughter stays at home with the father and not marry Frank. This shows of how powerful male are. But, us female we have to obey male.

POST-TEST 1

BT Ad

"This text is about the BT (British Telecom) solution. It is about when you are in the shower and then you heard the phone rang. We all know that there are only two ways you have to do. First is that you race down stairs. But in this text the BT's solution had a something Call Return for you. It is free. You may enjoy in the shower and then go down stairs. There is a phone number for you to dial to. After dialing you may hear the number of person who called you last. ..this advertisement there were so many ideas in it. One is about the important of BT's solution. I think this is a very nice idea to be happen in Tonga. The other idea is about this service. But for myself we have to pay for it because it is a hard work for the BT's solution to do it for us. This is an easier way of knowing who called us last. I like the ideas of the writer. Because if I am in the shower and the phone rings I don't know what to do. But I know now, so I have to enjoy myself there and then use the BT's solution: Call Return. When I first reading this I was in a big confused. I don't know what does BT stand for. And also why the writer writes about this. The other thing is about the layout. Why did the writer used a photo of a male but not female. Maybe the male has more good appearances than the female. And also why did the writer used the shower but not any place outside the house. Maybe the writer used the shower because that is the main area that we are during the phone rings. One idea is maybe the writer used male in the shower because us female we are not in the shower. This shows that the writer thought that us female are passive. Only male are bathing but not us female. I think the target audience is us all especially old people. Because they have to walk down the stairs very slowly so that they might not fall or something like that. They may stay in the shower for a long time and then use the way of the BT's solution; call Return.

Electric City:

"This text is about an old man who called the charges for every electric equipments; electric city. Ani was the one

who went and paid for this charges. Harry was with her talking about this family problem. Why? Because of the misunderstanding of the old man. Maybe this man didn't educated at all. That's why he called electric city. Harry and Ani were knowing about this and they were so confused on how the old man would call it during at work. The others might laugh at him. One day they were discussing some learning because they would have a test. Then after it they started to talk about the old man. When they were in the train they could see the lights, so many and then they thought maybe that is why the old man called electric city. In this text there were so many ideas in it. I can see here on how the writer writes about young and old people. Maybe he wants to tell us how important to educate is. Why? Because we have to know what to say about changes or whatever. The writer likes to talk about students (Ani and Harry). This is a very important part for us all. We have to know how to treat others. We have to do not make fun of the un-educated people. I felt sorry for Harry's idea, of leaving from school. He must go to school to prepare his target for the future.

When I first saw this topic I was in a bit confused. I was so worry about what would the writer may writes about. Also I don't understand the topic; Electric City. Then I thought that maybe the writer loved the electric city (road etc) and so writes about this topic. When I read this story I thought that the target audience could be the uneducated people. Why? Because, the old man didn't know the word for the electric equipments in the house. He used to call it the electric city. This is so funny. The writer writes about the misunderstanding of old people. But mostly it's about the un-educated people. One idea is Harry. This boy thought of leaving school. Because he thought that school is for kids. Then, for myself, Harry was a poor boy. He must go to school in order for him to know more. Not like his father. I can see here of how the writer writes about female, male, young and old people. He writes about female (Ani) and promote female. This is very true, female are the most educated kind of people. Old people can't understand things, this is also true. About Harry, he wants to leave from school, he wants to go and work. Maybe the writer writes about these things because there are so many problems like that happen in these days. In comparison it is very true about male and female. The writer seems like the young (female) and hates the old people (especially male). The last idea is about the relationship between the young students and old people. Harry and Ani had a conversation of talking about the old man of how he used to call electric charges and all those kind of things. This is because the kids educated and they understand things but old people don't understand what they knew (children). This kind of problem happen now a days. I felt sorry for the old man because of calling electric city.

POST-TASK 2:

Singapore Airline ad

"The layout of this advertisement is a picture of a female and some writings about the Singapore Airlines. On how the writer has presented these ideas is not good or it is unfair. Why? Because the writer used a female photo. So I knew that the target audience is male. Why did the writer used female photo? I think maybe the writer thinks that us female are passive. Also we are mainly the attracted kind of people. It's caused by our appearance and our clothes or whatever. These things attract the life of male. They will go and use something which belong to female. One idea is that the writer used a picture of a female because us female is the most servant in every business. We are the one who do the serving. So the writer put down our values; female. In this advertisement the writer used big, block letters and repetition to tell us readers about their main message or what the author wants to tell us about the service. The author used also simple words, so it's so clear and easy for us readers to understand. We can read and see that the writer used words that mean about King's feast (banquet) in the sky. This is just to tell us that how the girl works is like working or living in the sky. I felt sorry for us female. Why? Because I can see here, in this advertisement on how male make fun of us. The author must used a photo of a male but it wasn't. Us is like servants and it is very true. We have to care for others but male don't dare to worry about what we have done. Our body or the appearance is like some food to attract the mind of the others (especially male) to come and use the Singapore Airlines. The author used Singapore Airlines because it is kind of service that fly around the world. So the more the male will use this Airline the more the service will advertise the female. Then the Singapore Airlines will get more money.

POST-TASK 3:

Frim and Frat

"The purpose of this cartoon is to tell us humans about what we did. We all know the reason why the writer wrote cartoon. It is to reveal a problem. Sometime it is to make fun of people who had a problem. And the writer didn't use the main people but just use funny pictures. Then the words they used is about the main people the author talks about or wants us readers to know what happened to that kind of people. I am so confuse of why doesn't the writer

used the real photos of people he/she makes fun of. This kind of writing is mainly about important people in the country or about women or men. In this cartoon the writer used photos of frogs. They are animals and they couldn't talk but the writer here imagine that these kind can talk. But it's refer to someone, humans. This text is about humans. The humans did things and that can destroy themselves. So the writer here wants to tell us humans that we did things to destroy us. The writer wants to make fun of us humans. This is show when the frog said that they would rule the earth. For myself I felt funny of this little conversation because the frogs couldn't rule the earth. What about humans? I think that they will do what frogs will tell them to do. Humans will like servants of all frogs. They will change; frogs can do what people(humans) do and then human will do what frogs usually did. This time frogs are like the King, because they will rule the earth. I think the writer is angry at humans or group of people, that is why the writer used frogs to rule the earth. But we all know that the writer used frogs pictures so that the target people might not let the writer to a problem. Writers of cartoon are very smart. They just used something to refer to.

POST-TEST 2

Sports/Education Ad

"The purpose of this advertisement is to promote the black football players. They are the main people who did good in football games. This advertisement is easy for us readers to understand. The writer used simple and in block letters, so it is very clear for us to know what the message the writer likes us to know. The target readers are the young black people. Why? Because the photo is a photo of a black student sitting on a chair in a sport's room. So the writer here likes to praise the young black people. Then these kind of people knew that they are the best football players and then they will continue on doing their best. They will compete with one another so that one of them may appear in another advertisement. About what is given here is the strong of black people. So it is not balanced,, because the writer used black photo only. I think the writer must use a white photo and a black photo also. This means that only the black, young people can do better in football. But this advertisement caused the white young people to try hard. Sometime the writer of an advertisement praise a particular kind of people and then it caused them to be happy. So later their football players may think of how attract they are and then they become not to care about exercises and all those things. This thing lead them to be a bad football player. One thing is that the writer used a black, young photo for this advertisement, so the white people may angry at this and then they will try their best. Sometime they can beat the black people just because they want a white person to be appear in an advertisement. There is something missing here and it is about black people. It is about them. The writer must used words that tell them they are the best but it wasn't - it was just a photo of a black, young football player. Then we know that only the young people, especially black can do better in football or they are the hero of football. But what about female. Maybe the writer thinks that male can do best but they don't know. Female can do better than male if they will participate. In this country male are the most kind of people involve in football. We hardly find a female involve in the team. But I think female can do better. The writer look down on us female and we can't do anything.(NO WAY) The writer used phrases or a sentence to tell about the picture. In this advertisement it is talking about staying in school. When we stay in school and there's no one knows what might happen to us in the future. No one knew about it. We may surprise in some dayus when we become a hero or a star in football. So the writer wants to tell us about the important of staying in school. The sport's master may train or teach us and then we become a master in sports, especially football. There is an affect of staying in school to our future.

DELAYED POST-TEST

You the Choice of My Parents

"The poem has written by a Tongan. The purpose of this writting is to promote the powerful of parents. When I saw the title I was so confused. Then I thought wha t might be the poem about. I reread the poem then I became to understand it. The arget audience are the parents, because in the poem parents were the ones who chosen the husband of their daughter. But the daughter seems hate her husband. She did good things just for obedience. The writer likes to tell the parents of today that they chose but their daughter/son might be in danger and sad. This is very sad. So the parents are the target readers. They have to make their daughter choose her a husband who she will find peace. But in this poem the parents looked for the wealthy they might be, second-hand car. They didn't know that their daughter doesn't like her husband. The writer represented less about female(Yong). It seems that female have weak and have to do what the parents told them no matter if they don't like or want to. This tells us of how weak the children are, especially the daughters. The main idea is about the weakness of children - daughters. I think that they have to fight with the parents that they don't want to marry him or they don't want to do that and that. I don't like the way the writer has presented the ideas about parents. I could see here of how powerful they are. They do what they want no matter their daughter will be sad or whatever. The writer used Tongan language so I think this poem has written to compare to us in Tongans. This kind of problem happened in Tongan today.

Today the parents looked for beauty and wealthy but I think it's better to look for the behaviour no matter if poor or not beauty. Male are not being represented. I think maybe because today parents couldn't find them (male) a wife and they couldn't choose them a person they must marry with. Maybe because the male have to do what they want and the parents can't control them what to do.

I Used to Live Here Once

"When I first looked at the title I can understand what might be the story about. And then I think what might be the story about. So I think it might be about someone who lived in a place once or not always. I reread the story and I understood it. The purpose of this story is about the misunderstood of female. We all know that the main character is a female. I think the target audience are the adults, because in the story it says that the girl came near the two young children. This is the third time she says hello to these two but they didn't answer her back. So I think the older girl have to do something better so that she might become friends with the younger ones. So I think the adults must read this poem so that they can learn and know what to do when they would meet young some day or a place where they couldn't meet before. The main idea is about living somewhere and go to other place where you were there once. We all know what might be the feeling we will have. The other thing is about the treating of young ones. We have to do something which they will like and enjoy. On how the writer presented the female is not fair. Why? Because the female (she) in the story called three times (hello) to the two young children; a boy and a girl but they didn't hear or say anything. I felt sorry for the girl who says hello because she called 3 times but no one answer. Then the boy seems to know her and then told the little girl to go inside the house. It is because of the older girl. The boy must welcome her because she lived there once and now she came to visit them again but they ignored her coming. The parents of the two young children were not represented and I think maybe because the parents didn't want to see the older girl. But I think it's more wisely for them to be outside the house so that they will see the girl coming and welcome her to their home. I compare the story and the title. They are linked. Why? Because of the last part. "I used to live here once". That means that we lived there but only once, so we don't see the kind of people living there and their behaviours. We would return and could see the differences of being there at the last time and the time you were there now. The house, road, car, children and all those things are changes.

APPENDIX 8

SAMPLES FROM THE 1995 TONGA SCHOOL CERTIFICATE ENGLISH EXAMINATION RESPONSES

TSC ENGLISH EXAMINATION SCRIPTS - November 1995

Six months after Phase 3, my six co-readers among the others who participated in the entire study, sat the Tonga School Certificate Examination. I was able to secure my six readers' original scripts for the literature section. The format is to answer three sections choosing from prose and non-fiction, poetry, and drama. Three starters or leads must be answered for each section. Some of these students studied the same texts or chose similar starters, starters which obviously direct to a definitive response. Markers mark using a guideline(c.f to Melia's in p.306) of Focus, Knowledge, Understanding, and Appreciation. You can make your own conclusions as to how these readers have positioned themselves or are positioned in these scripts. In particular, to see which practice dominates their interpretation and whether there are any traces of their training:

Five of them chose the Fiction/Non-fiction option of which four(Lote, Meli, Sione and Tai) used the same novel, The Pearl¹¹: Vai used a different one and Meli used another novel, Jane Eyre to answer one of the leads. Melia is the only one who chose the poetry option. No one opted for Drama and a few chose Short Stories. The numerals beside each name is the mark out of five given by the marker.

The Pearl by John Steinbeck

(i) I learn a lot about a different culture..

I learn a lot about a different culture from this book. Firstly the doctors culture was very bad because he was selfish for example when Kino got the pearl the doctor tried to steal it. Not only that but the Spanish culture is no need the sharing. If you didn't work you won't get any money. Their culture was very unsatisfied for me because they exploited the Mexicans Indian's race inorder to gain their rich. Not only that but they didn't show any love to the Mexican Indian. They only need them to do their work. For Kino's race they just enjoyed their culture like sharing, living poor but satisfied and also their culture was above it the loving toward wives and children. This is clearly shown in Kino's character and his attitude toward his wife. The thing that I have learned from this loving is important than having riches. Not only that but poor and feel satisfied brings generosity and unselfishness. Therefore I learnt from this that life must be share if you are selfish you must share it.

(Lote) 2/5

In the story Kino was a Red Indian men. The doctor was from Spain. Kino and his family were poor, they live in a brush house, they have no money and were non-educated etc. The doctor were rich, he was educated, live in a good house better than Kino's house. When Coyotito stung by the scorpion, Kino took him to the doctor but the doctor refuses to give any medicine because he knew that Kino had no money and he is a red Indian man but he was a spain. When he(doctor) realised that Kino got the pearl of the world he poisons Coyotito and pretends to save his life again. In my opinion, if Kino was from Spain the doctor maybe will give medicine to Coyotito but because they are not in one society and they own different things.I learn a lot from this story to help other people no matter if they get money or not. We should tolerate other's but not like the doctor, he just only come to Kino to save Coyotito because of money. We should help each other and we should know that we are all one in humanity and we are in the family of God. *(Tai) 1.5/5*

¹¹ The Pearl is the most popular book studied at both F5 and F6 level

I learn a lot about a different culture from this book. The cultures I learnt are the Spanish and Mexican Indian. The book was set in a village consisting of two races. The first was the Spanish living in their brick houses and how they were so greedy that they took advantage of the other race's illiterate. The culture of the Mexican Indian who were the poor race. They lived in brush houses. Making their living by fishing and looking for pearls so as to get money for their basic needs. I also learnt of the conflict between these two races. I think that this conflict or anger at each other was brought in by people like the Doctor. People who are selfish and greedy. People who use their powers of persuasion and education to manipulate small families like Kino's. The doctor uses his knowledge of medicine to trick the people and so, satisfying his greed. When Kino brought his son to the doctor to be cured he was turned down because he didn't have any money. I think that maybe if the doctor was of Kino's race and grew up in a culture of love and unselfishness she wouldn't be so mean and blackhearted.

(Sione) 4.5/5

(ii) I would give this advice to a character....

I would give this advice to a character in this book and this advice is to Kino. "You should not be greedy and you should throw the pearl back into the sea." Kino and Juana were very poor and yet they were happy and content with their simple and poor lives. But then Kino found the "pearl of the world" and he began to dream. He began to become ambitious. He wanted a new harpoon, a rifle, new clothes, education for Coyotito and to be married to Juana in a church. This shows that Kino began to become greedy and want material things. He has changed because of what he sees in the pearl and becomes materialistic. He moves his love and adoration from what he once cherished, his wife Juana and son, Coyotito to the pearl. As a result, the pearl made Kino kill 4 men, made intruders burn their house and wreck his canoe, made people lie and the pearl trackers to kill his one and only son Coyotito. Therefore, I want to tell Kino not to be greedy, because if he wasn't greedy in the first place, their lives would have not been troubled and happenings would have taken place.

(Meli) 4.5/5

I would like to give this advice to a character in this book which is the doctor. The doctor's character was so bad. For example he was a lazy doctor. Not only that but he was always greedy for money, he also selfish, not only that but he was too fat. These above characters are shown when Kino got the pearl and he wanted to get some money from the pearl so he pretended in healing Coyotito so that he had some money from it. Not only that but his greed is clearly shown in his action. He didn't what the condition the patient will be at he just want money. Not only that he mistreated the Mexican Indian because they were poor. For example "haven't I got any other cure insect bite on some little animal." This clearly shows his attitude toward Mexican Indians. The reason why I like to advise this character because I like him to be a good doctor, active, love the patient and also ignore the amount that he will get but made important the life of a patient. Not only that but I like this doctor to be not racist because racism can bring war, killing, stealing and even fight between races. This doctor I want to advise him to be active in curing the patient but not in greedy. Lastly I want this doctor to be eat the right amount and right food because that's why he was lazy he was too fat.

(Lote) 3/5

My advice to a character in the book that is Kino to put his priorities right and don't be greedy for money because money is the root of all evil. He chose to sell the pearl in the city and leave Juana and Coyotito in the care and he went down to kill the trackers before they take the pearl. But he killed the trackers. Coyotito has been shot by one of the trackers and he died. If Kino put his priorities right, to stay in the cave and protect his family but leave the pearl because it is one of the worldly treasures perhaps Coyotito would not die. Also that he is greedy for money. The reason why he went to kill the trackers in order to protect the pearl to sell it in the city to get money. I learn a lesson from this story to always put human life before any worldly treasures, and don't be greedy for money or other things because it will lead to trouble. We should know that human life is more important than any other things in this world. Hence, don't be like Kino to put the pearl first before his family.

(Tai) 4.5/5

When Brian Robeson was forced into a world he dislikes he is haunted in the Canadian North woods with a secret! His anger and hatred from the divorce just makes it even worse. Him and his friend were riding in the area beside the wall when he sees his mother kissing another man and not his father. He is mad and furious with his mom. I would distinctively tell him that even though your mom wasn't supposed to do that no one is perfect. Your mother has her weaknesses and you can't hold that feeling always in your heart or you will hate forever. When Brian's mother gives him a hatchet he thinks its a little boys toy and that his mother is old fashioned. But later on in the story it was the hatchet that saved him from starving. The hatchet cut him a nice spear. It was also the hatchet that gave him his fire he couldn't just break it with his bare hands. So my advice would be even though your mum may give wierd stuff she knows whats best for you! Last of all when Brian gets attacked by a moose and a tornado after that. He is bruise and hurt and torn between self-pity and physical pain. I would just say to him life goes on and if we choose to wallow up in our sorrows all we would be doing is wasitng time. Self-pity accomplishes nothing.

Different novel (Vai) 5/5

(iii) This book has an important message for youth...

This book has an important message for youth. The message I have taken is to count everyone equal. I think that youth all over the world should abide by that mesage. It was because the doctor didn't count Kino and his family and people that he didn't cure Coyotito. It is from an attitude of counting someone who is different form yourself, from which racism and sexist evolves. Racism in Tonga is not a big problem because it is in the nature of every Tongan the spirit of love and friendship. The only problem in Tonga is the youth are too proud of themselves. They are so proud of who they are and what school they go to or which village they come from that they forget that we are all Tongans. It is from their honour that conflicts between schools, villages and boys big. Last year there was a fight between Toloa and Liahona high schools. The beginning of the fight was because of a rugby match between the two schools, and when one team lost they began to start a fight. I thought that rugby matches between schools was for the purpose of friendship and not hate. It's with this I conclude that if we bring our honour and proudness and use it for something useful it would be much better. If we bring out our Tongan nature of loving, friendship and unselfishness, as well as counting everyone equall, I think that then, Tonga will be a better and safer place.

(Sione) 3.5/5

This book has an important message for youth, and that is "MONEY IS THE ROOT OF ALL EVIL."

Youth of Tonga loves to have money, all human want money, but the author here, is trying to emphasise the fact that money is the "ROOT OF ALL EVIL." This story is about a poor Mexican Indian couple by the name of Kino and Juana, and their only son Coyotito. They were poor and they owned no valuable possessions except an old canoe and an ugly brush house with no furniture. There came to a time, where Kino went diving and found the "pearl of the world." When he found the pearl, it made him become obvious and people all of a sudden interested in him, plain as he was. But why were they interested in him for? "FOR THE MONEY THAT THE PEARL WILL BRING!" At the end, Kino murdered 4 men, the pearl traders lied to him about saying that the pearl was valueless, he lost his only possession the canoe, his house was burnt down and pearl trackers were out looking for him and eventually they accidentally killed his son. The pearl represents money and Kino represents the human race. The pearl was wall beautiful and serent, shimmering in the majestic of the sun's rays. This is how money looks like, but money itself is not bad, it brings out the evil side of human. "GREED, MURDER AND DISHONESTY", is all that money reflects from human. The author is trying to stress out the point that, "MONEY" may bring "FAME, WEALTH and LUXURY", but it can never buy love and bring back the dead Coyotito. Therefore the youths of Tonga, and in the whole world, should try and avoid putting money as their one and only loved possessions for it brings nothing but "UNHAPPINESS".

(Meli) 5/5

This book has a message for youth which is education is the mean for his/her become independence. Education is always seen by the oppressed as a mean or tool for becoming independent. For Kino it is the same he dreams of Coyotito going to school and freeing them from the life of bondage and oppression under the Spanish. For example "my son will go to school, my son will learn to write and know about writing. These thin will make us all free because Coyotito knows then we will knows." It seems to me here that parents which are Kino & Juana are very relying on their son's education. Therefore the important message for youth is to be educate because parents and relative are relying on their education. (Lote) 3/5

The message in the story is to put our priorities right. In our country, youth should put their priorities right. Nowadays, youth choose their spouses from intelligent people, handsome/beautiful etc. but they should choose wisely. The youth of today should know about Kino's story and learn a lesson eg Kino put the pearl first before his family and he ended up losing Coyotito. So young people of today must choose wisely and don't be greedy. Some of the youth married to a rich family because they think of money but they face many problems.

The lesson that I get for all the youth of Tonga even other countries to put our priorities right. If they plan to get married look for the right one but don't fall in the worldly treasure like money.

(Tai) 4.5/5

This book has an important message for youth. Brian Robeson a young thirteen year old boy is fresh from a divorce feeling hurt and angry. He is torn between two parents and is on his way to his father when suddenly the Pilot has a heart attack. It is at this point that Brian realizes he has to fend for himself. The plane crashes into a lake in the North Canadian Woods. He survives and realizes that he himself is his greatest asset.

Alot of teenagers take for granted how important life is so they play around and eventually end up killing themselves. He(Brian) realizes that being your greatest asset even more when he faces near-death situations. One time he came across a bear and thought that the bear might attack him but it didn't. Another time was when after nearly being beaten half to death by a moose and then faced with a tornado that life was precious.

There are alot of us teenagers that unwanted and hopeless but somewhere along the line that life is precious and that we should be like Brian and think that we are our greatest Assets!

(Vai) 5/5

(iv) This poem captured my attention...

This poem captured my attention when I read and it helps me to think thoughtfully. The poet is asking us readers about what's wrong with 'civilization'. But it could be wrong depend on how we give its answer. According to the civilised girl she thought that civilization were only make up and dress up but she forgot that there are deeper meanings; to respect the people, traditions and customs and then this lead her to loose her sense of identity. It captured my attention because nowadays there are same problems like the civilised girl in the poem. She was trying to act the western way of dressing up and end up in confusion, "where am I going, forward, backward or still..." and lost her sense of identity too, "Who am I? Melanesian, Caucasian, or Half-caste.." Wow! She did things and she didn't know even herself and this was the main stanza in the poem that captured my attention.

(Melia) 3/5

(v) An incident that forced a major character to make a decision...

The narrator is in this story wanted to invite his pakeha friend who is Jerry Simons to go to his home in Waituhi for a hockey tournament. He asked him but Jerry said no and when he told Jerry about his sister, "I have a terrific sister..and a mouth that is just waiting to be kissed.." Jerry seemed to go with his friend just because of how this incident had forced him to make the decision. He thought he would go because he was a kind of boy that wonder about girls. So they went and he had expected a hockey tournament but when he arrived there he was a loser, "..I feel bloody stupid.." and then he changed and gain a friend and this is shown of how he wonder about girls, "..do you think she likes me.." Jerry was a character that was easy to cheat just as how the narrator cheated him for his sister -

Mere who is seven years old. Therefore this was the main incident that forced Jerry to make the decision either to go to Waituhi or stayed in Wellington.

Short story

(Melia) 2.5/5