

Considering academic literacies as conflicting literacy practices

Abstract

This paper describes a small scale collaborative research project designed to promote undergraduate students' academic literacy through proactive methods of support embedded within the content of an early childhood education module. Two of the professionals involved in the project offer perspectives which relate some findings from the project to their growing understandings of conflicting literacy practices. An early childhood lecturer considers the disequilibrium arising from conflict as a necessary condition for creating knowledge. A specialist subject librarian then uses the concept of knowledge communities as the basis for a discussion of ways in which students and university staff may negotiate conflicting literacies. The paper concludes by drawing parallels between literacy as social practice in early childhood and related understandings of the challenges of learning and teaching academic literacies in higher education.

Introduction

"They don't know how to write essays. They just assemble bits from the internet."

A remark such as this, from an admissions tutor responding to researchers from the recent Nuffield review of 14-19 education¹, indicates concern about standards of academic literacy in Higher Education, in the UK. Sometimes our colleagues, worried about students' abilities to read and write at university, echo this anxiety. Many students attending BA Education Studies and Early Childhood Education courses come to university with diverse experience and sometimes limited academic credentials. In an era of widening participation in UK university study it is important to develop strategies to enable students to approach their studies with confidence and meet the standards required to achieve graduate status. Acquiring generic skills in academic writing and information literacy, however, is not enough. Students need to develop literacy in order to participate in the knowledge community within which they

¹ See <http://www.nuffield14-19review.org.uk/files/documents106-1.pdf>

are working, for example, the multi-disciplinary area of early childhood studies. For students and for university staff this involves the negotiation of differing, and sometimes conflicting, literacy practices.

This paper reports and reflects upon a collaborative research project undertaken, at Anglia Ruskin University², by a specialist subject librarian for education (Alan Bradwell) and two early childhood lecturers (Theodora Papatheodorou and Paulette Luff). One of the two lecturers (Paulette Luff) led the module “Areas of Learning: Language and Literacy”, which was the focus of this research. The module was offered to second year undergraduates taking a combined honours degree in education and early childhood studies. The aim of the research was to explore ways of embedding a proactive system of support into module content and delivery to facilitate the students’ engagement with reading and their development of academic literacy³. It involved the provision of selected key readings (in the form of on-line journal articles), an intervention designed to assess the usefulness of two methods of support (formative tutor feedback and a whole class textual analysis activity) and the use of some innovative research methods to collect data about student’s experiences of academic literacy. These methods of data collection were designed not only to collect data to inform our research about students’ learning but to engage students actively in a consideration of the complexities and conflicts inherent in the learning process. In the short term, the success of the project in promoting students’ academic literacy, was judged in terms of students’ developing skills in writing critical summaries of journal articles and their attainment in the final assessment for the module (comparing this with group attainment in a similar module taken the previous semester and with the scores of previous cohorts of students taking the same module in previous years).

² This research was supported through a fellowship, awarded by the University Centre for Learning and Teaching

³ We began the project with an implicit definition of academic literacy, as student progress with successful information seeking, reading and writing to support their university studies, but no explicit shared definition of the term

Background information

The “Rocks and Fish” study was informed by findings from previous small-scale projects which investigated undergraduates’ learning, referred to here as the “Portfolio of Evidence” and the “Heron” project (Papatheodorou and Lahiff, 2005; Bradwell, Papatheodorou and Luff, 2005). The “Portfolio of Evidence” was introduced in semester one of students’ studies, as part of a module designed to address students’ own learning, and facilitate them to become aware of their learning through the documentation of, and reflection on, the evidence collected. Key findings from the Portfolio of Evidence showed that: many students enter Higher Education with low confidence about their own learning that contributes to their reluctance to engage with the learning process. Group work and more specifically collaborative work was seen by the students as an important factor in building confidence. The Portfolio of Evidence itself was seen as an “end product” rather than as “a means” of facilitating their learning. Reflection was, by and large, used at a surface level rather than as a process of interrogating their experience and previous knowledge and the experience and learning of others, where appropriate, to enhance learning. It became clear that a gap exists between students’ and tutors’ expectations about learning in Higher Education and a gap in students’ understanding of the discourse and language used in Higher Education. Both tutors and students operate in conflicting paradigms about learning and assessment. Whilst we view learning as based on the notion that knowledge is constructed, context-bound and has personal meaning; formal assessment is based on pre-identified and often defined criteria which assume that there is a body of knowledge that is context-free that deserves to be acknowledged in its own right (Papatheodorou and Lahiff 2005).

The HERON project was introduced to provide key reading electronically, so that all students could have simultaneous access to them. The HERON evaluation showed that provision of learning resources, such as electronic access to key readings, although helpful is not enough to enhance students’ academic literacy. Its findings showed that those students who made use of the key readings had expanded their reading further but it was less clear whether the provision of such resources had indeed enhanced students’

learning outcomes. There was an implicit understanding, from the researchers' part, that students needed further support to utilise best the reading resources (Bradwell et al 2005). This echoed the findings of the "Portfolio of Evidence" study (Papatheodorou and Lahiff, 2005), which indicated that support that is integrated in the module content and sustained throughout its delivery is crucial in facilitating students' learning, particularly in raising students' confidence to engage actively with their studies. Some challenges from these two projects are summed up in the following table:

Issues	Conflict between	
	Staff	Students
Confidence	Unacknowledged	Lack of confidence
Group work	to (primarily) facilitate subject knowledge	for (primarily) confidence building
Expectations	Construct knowledge	Acquire knowledge
HE Discourse/language	Being "In the know"	Unfamiliar (thus, intimidating)
Subject specific discourse/terminology	Being "In the know"	Unfamiliar (thus, intimidating)
Reflection	At different levels & through different lenses	Surface use
Resources	Emphasis on utilisation	Emphasis on access
Learning and assessment conflict	Emphasis on learning processes	Emphasis on assessment outputs

A description of the "Rocks and Fish" research project

With this previous work in mind, the "Rocks, Fish and a Slice of Cake project" aimed to explore ways of embedding a proactive system of support within the content of a module (about children's language and literacy learning) to facilitate early childhood studies students' engagement with reading and the development of academic literacy.

The project began with the provision of carefully selected recommended key readings in electronic and print formats. Three relevant journal articles were selected, each one reporting a qualitative research study of relevance to the module. The students were asked to write a critical summary of the first reading (Gillen and Hall, 2001) using written guidelines given during their first year. Following formative feedback on the first critical summary (brief, typed

comments on: academic writing style; understanding of the content of the article; and level of critical analysis). The second reading (Colledge, 2005) was introduced with academic support, in the form of a “jigsaw”⁴ activity. Feedback on the second critical summary was then given, in the same format as before. Students were then asked to critique a third reading (Marshall and Davis, 1999) with no further support. All three critical summaries were handed in as appendices to the module assignment and analysed for evidence of change in quality of academic writing, comprehension of content and development of critical analysis.

In addition to this work on specific journal articles, three data gathering exercises were conducted to provide important background information to the study, through an exploration of students’ perceptions of the challenges they face in their journey towards academic literacy⁵. Drawing from methodology and methods of collecting data used in research undertaken for development and change (Rossi 2005), and named to reflect the playful spirit of early childhood, the following methods were used (i) “Rocks and fish”, (ii) “Timeline” and (iii) “Scotch pancake pieces”. These data collection methods were introduced during teaching sessions and embedded in the module content aiming for students to become consciously and explicitly aware of their own learning and acquire knowledge in the subject matter taught by applying an enquiry-oriented approach. These data collection methods were also teaching and learning strategies which aimed to facilitate: (i) reflection on the subject content and the learning process; (ii) familiarity with the subject discourse, language and terminology (in this case on the topic of children’s development of language and literacy); (iii) clarification of expectations of

⁴ A jigsaw activity involves students being divided into base groups. Each member of the base group leaves to work in one of several focus groups, each of which considers a different aspect of the topic under study. The base group then reconvenes and the members report the findings from their focus group, so that all students gain an overview of the complete topic.

⁵ The three activities were: “Rocks and Fish”, providing a visual representation of obstacles to successful academic reading and writing and how these might be overcome; “A week in the life of an academic exercise”, producing a timeline to illustrate how the first critical summary was approached on a day to day basis from when it was set to when it was handed in; and “Scotch pancake pieces”, a method of showing and discussing the relative difficulty of four different aspects of academic literacy (accessing texts, reading, critical analysis and writing). For further discussion of the methodology for this study, see Papatheodorou et al (forthcoming).

work at Higher Education level; and (iv) group work for both confidence building and subject knowledge.

Once again, the findings from the “Fish and Rocks” academic literacy project have shown that, whilst access to electronic journal articles sometimes represents a significant barrier, access was seen by students as the least important step to academic literacy. Students clearly expressed that the main challenge they faced was becoming critical and analytical in reading and expressing this critical analysis through writing.

Considering the project findings from different points of view

In the next part of this paper, the project findings are considered from two different viewpoints. Theodora Papatheodorou highlights the ways in which conflicts can provide the disequilibrium required to promote learning; and Alan Bradwell explores the topic of conflicting literacies through a discussion of knowledge communities and critical pedagogy. We then conclude by summarising four aspects of our learning from the “Rocks and Fish” project, each with implications for our future work.

An early childhood education lecturer’s perspective:

The “Rocks and Fish” academic literacy project has provided some interesting data, but I will focus here on two sets of data that provided some (unintended) insights into student practices with regard to reading literature and their prioritisation and perceived locus of ownership of learning.

Reading habits and practices

The jigsaw activity and the discussion that followed showed some students frustration because of unfamiliar terminology which interfered with their understanding of the text. For example, they stated that they did not understand the term “intertextuality” which appeared in the following paragraph of the article:

“Recent writing on picture books has focused ...on genre-breaking texts with a high level of intertextuality, such as the Ahlberg’s “The Jolly

Postman” (1986) or Scieszka and Smiles “The True Story of the Three Little Pigs” (1991) ... But there is also potential for variations to be made on the narratives of apparently simple picture books, which rely less on intertextuality for their effect.” (Colledge, 2005: 24)

Yet, the meaning of the term was implicitly given in the following paragraph that appeared in the article five pages later:

“Tammy had a fairly high knowledge of the book’s intertextuality. She alone knew that the jar on page 8 being in a ‘bear book’, must contain honey... Tammy also knew that the book held by Baby Bear on page 20 might be Goldilocks. Articulating this, she was able to make meaning accessible for her partner. In general, though, there was a cultural gap, with white British, black British and Italian children in the class having better grasp of intertextual allusions than did the Bengali-speaking children.” (Colledge, 2005: 27)

When the student was asked to read this second paragraph, the response was “I see... Reading is actually difficult. I think I do not read as carefully as I should”. This observation raises questions of how and why students read; they appear to see reading as the accumulation of information rather than engagement with the text to reach meaning. In addition, their reading is confined within the given reading; one would expect to use the references cited in the given text to expand their reading in order to understand unfamiliar terminology and concepts. Yet, this was not the case.

The jigsaw activity aimed to support students with their learning, but it also became a means for understanding their reading habits. Although, usually students complain about access to resources, the “Scotch pancake” activity (and method of collecting data) showed that students became more aware of the difficulties they experience in reading critically.

Prioritisation and ownership of learning

Students' documentation of the "A week in the life of an academic exercise" revealed two patterns summarised as follows:

Pattern A

*I missed the session - No one told me what to do – Could not download article
- Computer played up – Mum on computer; not able to use it - Task may, may
not be completed*

Pattern B

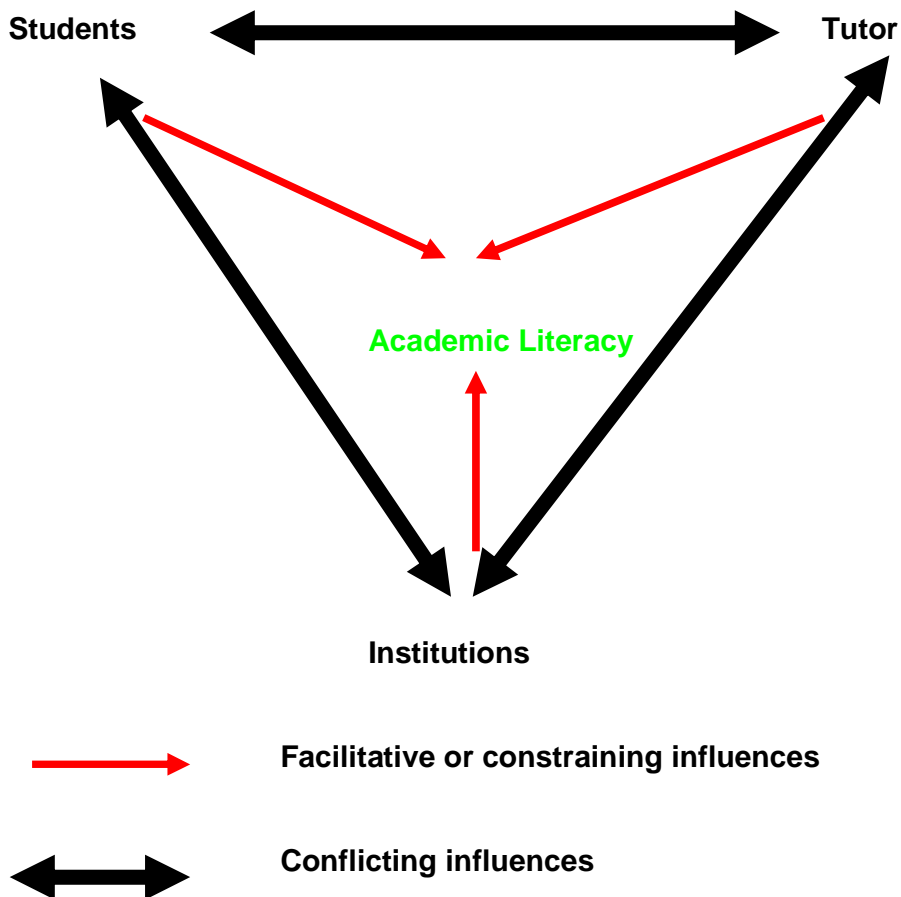
*I worked weekend – Husband ill; worried – Child woke up during the night; not
able to sleep; tired – Decorators arrived; too noisy to study – Furniture arrived
– Task completed; not happy with the result, waiting for tutor feedback*

In both Patterns A and B emphasis is placed on external factors that affect learning, but they also differ in terms of student's perceived ownership of learning. In pattern B, despite external factors, students maintain ownership of their learning, whereas in pattern A ownership is seen as located solely outside the student. Each of patterns the A and B represent two distinct groups of students. Pattern A is representative mainly, but not exclusively, of young post-A level students who arrive with experience from an educational system that is rather prescriptive and highly directive. Pattern B is representative of mature students with work and family commitments. These two groups of students constitute the typical composition of the studentship of our courses, that is, students who represent a wide range of age, academic qualifications, non-traditional qualifications, employment status and family commitments.

Considering Patterns A and B, it becomes apparent that differential and additional support may be necessary for students to understand and negotiate their understanding of previous literacy practices and the new ones that they are exposed to on their entry to Higher Education.

Some conclusions

If we consider that student academic literacy is facilitated or inhibited by the triage of student, tutor and institution, it may be said that there are multiple conflicts at different levels. For example, conflict between students' previous and current experiences; student and tutor expectations with regard to the use of learning resources; conflict between institutional policies of providing centralised learning support and tutor professional judgement that support should be curriculum embedded. A tentative schematic representation of this is indicated in the diagram below, although this simple two dimensional image does not show the multiple and multi-levelled conflicts which may exist in each part of the triangle.



One may argue that such conflicts are counter productive to the activity of learning by creating incongruity and disequilibrium. Yet, consistent with Piaget's view, I would argue here that it is the attempt to resolve incongruity

and disequilibrium that assist learning. Yet, students are constantly receiving masses of information that aim to shield them from such conflicts. It is suggested here that learning support should expose students to multiple conflicts and facilitate them to unpack, negotiate and resolve these conflicts through personal and active involvement and engagement. Otherwise there is a danger, as the poet T.S. Eliot has observed, for knowledge to be lost in information.

The subject specialist librarian's perspective

I begin this section by explaining how my thinking developed leading up to and following on from the Rocks and Fish project. I then link these ideas to categories of data arising from the project in order to start discussing how these categories of data might represent different communities with which the students engage. This in turn is used to raise questions concerning how these communities may compete within the student consciously and unconsciously and what effect this might have on the student's construction of academic literacy. Finally, I ask questions about the place of staff in this discussion – are we neutral figures in this competition between communities to guide the student through any conflict that arises? Or are we intimately involved players in the competition?

My view of the purpose of this project has been influenced by three factors. Firstly, as a professional librarian, the talk given at a conference of the Librarians of Institutes and Schools of Education (LISE) by Savenije (1999) engaged me with the question of whether user education in libraries was a means to acculturate users into library systems designed for the providers' ends rather than the users. Secondly, as a tutor, through teaching educational theory and research on the undergraduate initial teacher training programme at Anglia Ruskin I became aware of students working within and between the two communities of school and university and the tensions arising from this. Thirdly, a growing interest and belief in critical theories of education has led me to consider the purpose of research and scholarship as an exploration of teaching methodologies for their potential to create and maintain oppression.

These three factors led to my interest in Lea and Street's (2000) theory of three models of supporting student writing as: study skills based on student deficit;

academic socialisation based on the acculturation of students into academic discourse; and academic literacy based on the students' negotiations of conflicting literacy practices (although they limit their discussion of these conflicting literacy practices to the students engaging with the different literacies of the subject disciplines within which they will study). I was also influenced by Eraut's (1994) concept of professional knowledge, whereby theoretical knowledge needed to be grounded in practice.

Involvement in a previous project (Bradwell, 1998) and subsequent participation in teaching, which aimed to introduce students to investigating and studying in the school and university communities, led me to consider the importance of communities external to but interfacing with the school and university. My awareness of the significance of this increased through data gathering and analysis for this "Rocks and Fish" project, my subsequent reading and Pilerot's (2006) presentation at LILAC.

Evidence from the project suggesting different categories of factors affecting students' literacy

The first category consists of engagement with the texts of theory and practice. Students identified difficulties of reading the texts and understanding how to be critical in terms of analysis and writing. A second is engagement with formal systems. Students felt, for example a lack of guidance with accessing the texts via the Library and understanding requirements as written in the module guides. A third consisted of factors external to the University. Family and friends might be a positive or negative factor. Social lives could detract from student engagement, whilst talking to fellow students might contribute to learning. Space and time could be a positive or negative. Other work commitments, health, personal and family commitments could work for or against student engagement. A final factor for this paper was intrinsic to the student. They might feel happy, interested, and / or ambitious in their study, or they might experience little motivation, boredom and confusion, or be poorly organised or lacking in confidence.

Categories of data linking to communities

These categories can be linked with descriptions of communities. I am suggesting three for the purposes of this section. One consists of the formal

learning community, which includes: teaching faculty; university regulatory bodies; library and information services; student support services. A second is made up of source learning and future employment communities including: knowledge base of the subject discipline and practice settings of the subject discipline. The third is comprised of informal learning communities such as: peers; family; friends; work; media; and other groups and settings in which students may interact. Bruffee (1999) defines a “knowledge community” as a community that comes together to produce knowledge for a common goal. Olsen and Craig (2001) add a further dimension of a knowledge community being a place of safety to produce common knowledge. Wenger (1998), similarly, describes the “community of practice” as one where people engage in enterprise in a way that achieves common goals through providing a site that resolves potential conflict, supports communal memory, helps introduce newcomers, generates a specific discourse, and makes a job more habitable. Practice is described as a process by which we can experience the world and our engagement with it as meaningful. What is meaningful is negotiated through participation and reification in order to achieve a shared meaning. This shared meaning is a way in which a member of a community gains a sense of identity within that community and for the community as a whole to have a sense of its identity as a community of practice. Pilerot (2006) offers a relevant perspective on such communities of practice in library and information studies.

If these definitions are valid ways to look at communities, then each of the communities that the student engages with will contribute to how and why a student: produces knowledge; feels safe; engages in practice; resolves conflict; generates discourse; and works towards achieving a common goal. It is possible to infer how these aspects of a community might translate into a student studying within their subject discipline. We may see a student feeling safe and confident to engage with theoretical and practical aspects of their subject discipline. We might want them to identify and resolve conflicts in and between the knowledge base and practical setting. These may be in the context of an assignment, such as the reflective journal completed for the Areas of Learning module addressed in this project, whereby the student will construct knowledge and attempt to communicate this through generating a piece of writing that fits with the required discourse of the university, with attainment based on achieving criteria set in the

formal learning community. What happens if we accept that each of the communities, formal, source and informal have the potential to influence the way the student generates their discourse? If each community matches or compliments the others, we might not see much of a problem. But what if one or more is contradictory? The goals clash. The ways of identifying and resolving conflict differ. The ideas of discourse are different. If the clash is between source communities of theory and practice, this could simply be an interesting research project. If the clash is between source communities and the formal learning communities, this might need discussion and accommodation. But what happens if there is a clash between source and / or formal communities and the informal community? If we look at this using the theory of habitus (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990) it becomes a serious issue. This is because the informal communities by their nature are disparate – it will be less easy to come to a systemic solution. We may have students from a strong academic background whose thinking and home life is already in tune with the requirements of the university. We might also have students whose academic background is so limited and their home life so unsupportive that they have to transform their way of thinking to fit the requirements of the university. This might arise, for example, from class, gender, ethnicity or religion. This could have an affect on the student's level of attainment not related to the student's innate ability (if such a beast exists).

This might only be one aspect. A student might feel safe and confident in the university and practice communities. He / she may be able to identify and resolve conflicts in the theoretical and practice elements of the knowledge base. He / she might be able to construct knowledge and communicate this knowledge within the required discourse of the university. The result may be successful entry to the source communities of theory and / or practice. But what if the goals of educational knowledge of their informal community do not match: what if the informal community from which the student comes is, for example, class conscious, sexist, racist, or intolerant of other religions? One result of this might be that a student may gain entry to the source community of theory and practice still with some prejudice. We might counter this, however, by building into the learning programme content that identifies and challenges such tendencies. But is this enough?

If we consider the university lecture theatre, classroom or library as places of social mixing, we will have a mix that appears to be one of differing abilities. But it will be more than that – it can be viewed as a mix of people feeling various levels of safety and confidence in that formal setting which derive from their informal learning backgrounds of family, peers or social community. This mix includes not just the students, but the lecturers, librarians and other support staff. The point here is that, for those already feeling less safe or confident, the social mix in the classroom may act to accentuate this lack of security and confidence. As university staff, we may have an ideal of ourselves as supportive gatekeepers who might work in a way that minimises any adverse effect of the social mix: accepting that students must all become academically literate in their subject discipline, but seeking to provide appropriate, differentiated support to enable all students to achieve to the best of their ability. We may act as bridge between the source communities of theory and practice and the formal learning requirements of the university. We may try to understand the informal influences at play in the students. But, do we understand ourselves in the same terms? Do we engage not only in reflection on how our practice brings together the students with the source knowledge and the learning requirements – do we also engage in reflexion to see how the informal communities in which we exist and have existed influence the way that we act as a bridge?

This was the question asked by Savenijne (1998), in terms of library and information services, and is a central question for university staff engaged in critical pedagogy because, no matter how hard we try to resolve dissonance between the students background and the formal and source communities of student learning, if we have not examined the informal influences on how we form our own discourse, we cannot answer the question as to whether any disadvantage suffered by the student does not arise from ourselves.

Overall conclusions:

The lecturer's and librarian's perspectives offered here are just two possible accounts of insights gained from the "Rocks and Fish" project. Another early childhood lecturer, the students themselves, the course managers or external examiner may see the research, and the associated negotiation of academic

literacy, through different lenses for, as Lemke writes: *“We interpret a text, or a situation, in part by connecting it to other texts and situations which our community or our individual history has made us see as relevant to the meaning of the present one”* (1997: 50).

The “Rocks and Fish” project did not set out to investigate conflicting literacies but, rather, this dimension grew from our examination of the project data and, especially, our subsequent discussions about the nature of academic literacy. Through participating in this project we have become more aware of the challenges and complexities of this topic and of the importance of extending and creating knowledge in this key area of our work. The project was conceived as a small and quite straightforward initiative designed to engage students in reading relevant academic texts, to promote students’ confidence in using these texts in critical, analytical writing, and encourage students to reflect upon their own learning processes. As the project progressed, however, we began to consider the ways in which students approached their learning and to appreciate that we work against and despite conflicting literacies. The different emphases in understanding the project, illustrated above by one discussion informed by constructivism and another rooted in critical pedagogy, provide a useful example of the challenges which students may face in encountering the discourses of the different disciplines within early childhood studies (which include developmental psychology, sociology, social policy and education) and of the varying theoretical perspectives within these disciplines.

The project was conducted as part of a module focusing on young children’s developing language and literacy and there are several strong parallels between reading and writing in the early years and at university. Here we highlight four such examples, with their attendant challenges, as conclusions to this paper.

We have mentioned possible tensions between the formal requirements for academic literacy, as prescribed by university regulations and module assessment criteria, and the ways in which students may express their

engagement with the content of their course and their personal meaning making. In Lea and Street's (2000) terms, this could be described as a conflict between an autonomous view of literacy and literacy as social practice. In the early years similar debates have long raged between those who advocate teaching the mechanics of reading and supporters of apprenticeship models, in the UK this is currently expressed in arguments about the efficacy of synthetic phonics (Johnston and Watson, 2003; Featherstone, 2006; Rose, 2006; Vermees, 2006). Sonnek (2000) offers a possible resolution of such conflicts in higher education, describing how her courses teaching specific skills within the framework of an affective and critical approach to literacy. Our challenge is to understand how academic literacies can develop as meaningful social practices, within the disciplines of early childhood studies, whilst conforming to instrumental institutional demands.

In the early years adults make every effort to protect children from danger and difficulty, arguably sometimes compromising their coping skills for the future (Cunningham, 2006) and there is a tendency for us to do the same in higher education. In our attempts to make the experience of university study run smoothly, we sometimes try to shield students from conflict and yet, as Theodora has highlighted, it is disequilibrium which provides motivation for knowledge creation and promotes the development of new understandings. Our task must be to raise awareness of potential clashes and inconsistencies and to plan subject teaching in ways which will facilitate students' negotiation of conflicts.

The relationship between the language backgrounds of young children and the language practices of classrooms, and the implications of this for educational experience have long been of concern to researchers (Philips, 1972; Michaels, 1981; Heath, 1983). There is a similar risk in higher education that deficit models of student literacy (perhaps exemplified by the opening quotation) will lead to initiatives focused upon changing the students and improving their levels of competence, rather than viewing academic literacies as social processes, embedded and developed in particular learning and teaching contexts (Bloome, 1994; Barton and Hamilton, 1998) We must,

therefore, consider the matches and mismatches between our own literacies and expectations and those of the students, and consider how our teaching may need to change, in order to build effectively on students' existing practices and understandings.

Finally, early years practitioners place great importance upon their role as teachers of literacy, and all professionals involved in learning and teaching must understand more about their students' literacies and the best ways to support these. In every age group, communication, language and literacy are at the heart of learning and teaching processes, with the educator's role being to facilitate the development of scientific concepts (Dewey, 1964; Vygotsky, 1987) and thus provide relevant tools to enable students' creation of formal knowledge as members of a learning community. Whitehead (2004: 207) sums up the challenge for early years teachers which, with small changes of wording could apply equally to those of us working in universities: *“education needs to create bridges between the common sense, everyday shared meanings children have already explored and the specialised meanings framed in literacy and other forms of knowledge.”*

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