# Discipline and Learn

## Bodies, Pedagogy and Writing

Megan Watkins

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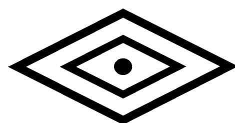

SENSE PUBLISHERS
ROTTERDAM/BOSTON/TAIPEI

A C.I.P. record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

ISBN: 978-94-6091-697-7 (paperback)
ISBN: 978-94-6091-698-4 (hardback)
ISBN: 978-94-6091-699-1 (e-book)

Published by: Sense Publishers,
P.O. Box 21858,
3001 AW Rotterdam,
The Netherlands
www.sensepublishers.com

*Printed on acid-free paper*

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## DEDICATION

To Gwen, who was the first to discipline me and from whom I first learned.

To Greg, who would probably like to discipline me and from whom I'm always learning.

And

To Declan, who I hope I have disciplined well and who seems to love learning.

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# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book has had a long genesis. It started life as a doctoral thesis, the data from which I drew on to write a number of articles and a book chapter, and so I want to acknowledge each of the following and to thank the publishers for permission to reproduce sections from each of these within this publication: Watkins, M. (2009). Deleuze, habit and the literate body. In Masny, D. & Cole, D. (Eds). *Multiple literacies theory: A Deleuzian perspective* (pp. 31–49). Rotterdam: Sense Publishers; Watkins, M. (2008). Teaching bodies/learning desire: Rethinking the role of desire in the pedagogic process. *Pedagogy, Culture and Society, 16*(2), 113–124; Watkins, M. (2007). Disparate bodies: The role of the teacher in contemporary pedagogic practice. *British Journal of the Sociology of Education, 28*(6), 767–781; Watkins, M. (2006). Pedagogic affect/effect: Embodying the desire to learn. *Pedagogies*, *1*(4), 269–282; Watkins, M. (2005). Discipline, consciousness and the formation of a scholarly habitus. *Continuum: Journal of Media and Cultural Studies*, *19*(4), 545–557; and Watkins, M. (2005). The erasure of habit: Tracing the pedagogic body. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education, 26*(2), 167–181. Each of the articles cited can be accessed via http://www.informaworld.com. The images in Chapter 3 are reproduced with the permission of the New South Wales, Department of Education and Training.

Despite having published from my doctoral thesis, I was not satisfied that I had presented the study as a whole or the theoretical framework underpinning it in the detail it really required. They were only ever given very partial treatment in these condensed formats and so I want to thank my publishers at Sense and in particular Peter de Liefde for committing to this project and the tolerance shown as I revised it for this publication. While largely drawn from data collected during my doctoral studies, the book has also been informed by continued research into the relationship between embodiment, affect and learning, much of which has been undertaken within the productive interdisciplinary research environment of the Centre for Cultural Research (CCR) at the University of Western Sydney (UWS). I want to thank colleagues at the CCR who assisted me during various stages of preparing the manuscript for publication: members of the Institution, Governance and Conduct Group, and in particular Tony Bennett, Greg Noble, Brett Neilson and Fiona Cameron who provided feedback on Chapter 2 and also Reena Dobson, Michelle Kelly and Sally Leggo whose assistance proved invaluable in the final stages. I am also grateful to Wayne McKenna and the College of Arts at UWS for providing support and showing commitment to this project. Thanks also to the examiners of my doctoral thesis: Chris Shilling, Ghassan Hage and Erica McWilliam whose comments where invaluable for rethinking aspects of my theoretical framework and to David McInnes, my supervisor and now colleague, who first introduced me to Silvan Tomkins's work on affect. A number of other people also provided thoughtful feedback on various chapters including Jay Johnston, Judith Kempthorne, Caroline Moir, Cate Poynton and Alison Lee. Leanne Harrison deserves particular thanks for artwork on the classroom designs

and Marie-Louise Taylor for being such a patient and attentive copyeditor. Of course there would be no book without the principals, teachers and students in the two schools in which I conducted my research. The six teachers, however, deserve a special mention. They not only allowed me into their classrooms to observe their practice but were always on hand to answer questions and provide me with copies of students' texts and other materials vital in researching this topic.

Finally, I want to thank those a little closer to home. My mother and stepfather, Gwen and Keith Poole, who were always on hand to provide childcare assistance and numerous other forms of support affording me the time and space to write during my doctoral studies. My son Declan unknowingly provided a great deal of assistance in formulating key arguments for the book. Observing him as he made the transition from home to childcare to school as a young child gave me invaluable insight into the process of pedagogic embodiment. Finally, I want to acknowledge my partner Greg Noble's immense contribution to this book. He performed various roles: intellectual sparring partner, critic, editor and unswerving supporter. Without him it simply wouldn't have been possible.

INTRODUCTION

# DISCIPLINE AND LEARN

> **discipline,** *v*. [a.F. *discipliner* (12th c. in Hatz.–Darm.) or med.L. *disciplinare*, f. L. *disciplina* DISCIPLINE sb.]
>
> a. *trans.* To subject to discipline; in earlier use, to instruct, educate, train; in later use, more especially to train to habits of order and subordination; to bring under control.
>
> Oxford English Dictionary (1989, p. 735)

A vivid memory I have from my years as a high school history teacher in the outer western suburbs of Sydney, Australia, is looking at students and thinking that some just didn't know *how* to learn. I remember standing in front of the class, watching their bodies fidget, having great difficulty assuming the stillness and degree of focus necessary to complete what they were doing. This was not the case with all students. There were those who settled into work quickly, demonstrating an ability to apply themselves. Restlessness and difficulty concentrating seemed more of a problem for the less able students, but I still wondered why there was such a marked contrast in the application to work that these students displayed. Part of the problem was a difference in ability. Study of history at a secondary level requires students to read and write with reasonable proficiency; skills that are assumed competencies by this stage of education. While students continue to develop their literacy skills in high school, it was quite clear that many of the students who were experiencing difficulty had not yet acquired a good grasp of the mechanics of writing, such as spelling, punctuation and basic syntax, despite being in their eighth year of school. This made the construction of the various types of texts they were required to write an almost impossible task for some. It became clear that to address this problem I would have to place a much stronger emphasis on teaching writing rather than simply the content of my subject.

It was at this point in my teaching career that I embraced what was then the fledgling genre-based approach to writing, a technique that focuses on teaching the structural and grammatical features of the key text types of schooling (Cope and Kalantzis, 1993). Despite finding the approach useful, I remained frustrated with the way many students continued to experience difficulty with writing, despite my best efforts to teach them. After a number of years teaching and developing expertise in the field of literacy education, I was appointed to a literacy consultancy position in the Department of School Education working in primary and secondary schools in the western suburbs of Sydney. I visited numerous classrooms and observed many lessons and continued to see those same restless bodies I had seen in my own classroom years before. It began to occur to me that in the years I'd spent trying to improve students' writing I'd ignored the role of the

body in learning. My focus and that of the approach I had been working with had been curriculum content; the structure and grammar of the texts students were expected to write. While this is fundamentally important, especially given its neglect within education for some twenty years[i], the way the curriculum was to be implemented was given far less attention. Pedagogy seemed to be collapsed into curriculum with the focus on *what* was taught rather than the practicalities of *how*. Rather than an outright neglect of pedagogy, however, it was more a matter of its reshaping. There was a move away from the craft of teaching – or what Durkheim (2002, p. 2) refers to as the 'savoir faire of the educator' – towards a greater emphasis on student-directed learning, resulting in a reduced role for the teacher. This shift has considerable implications for the ways in which the body is configured pedagogically. I realised the reasons why a number of my own students had trouble settling down and concentrating was that they lacked the discipline to do so. While I was quite strict in terms of classroom management and provided a considerable degree of teacher direction, I only saw my junior secondary students, aged 12–14 years, for three, 40-minute lessons a week and so my impact was minimal. Also, by this stage of their education, students seemed to have already acquired a particular set of work habits. The ways in which they conducted themselves in class and their overall approach to learning appeared quite engrained, dispositions formed largely during the seven years of their primary education. This seems a formative period in terms of students' academic demeanour, a time during which certain dispositions to learning are acquired that are as much corporeal as they are cognitive.

Yet this bodily aspect of learning and its impact on cognition receives little attention within educational theory and practice. While students' bodies may figure as a classroom management issue, learning is generally conceived in cognitive terms; the corporeality of the process is largely ignored. This is particularly the case within the current educational paradigm in which the tenets of progressivist education favouring student-directed learning and limited teacher direction prevail (Cope and Kalantzis, 1993; Reese, 2001)[ii]. While the high point of progressivism may have passed and there is now a perceived need for a more explicit approach to teaching than was the case during the 1970s and 1980s (Board of Studies, New South Wales, 1994; Board of Studies, New South Wales, 1998; National Curriculum Board, 2009), there seems little understanding as to how this is achieved. The practices many teachers employ still bear the stamp of progressivism, with student-directed learning now very much a part of the commonsense of teaching. The more strict disciplinary codes characteristic of instructional pedagogies are largely viewed as anachronistic (Burbules, 2003 p. 194). This is particularly the case in the early years of school where the existence of a romantic notion of childhood seems to prohibit a more interventionist style of teaching. Instead, emphasis is placed on establishing a learning environment with minimal regulation to allow students the "freedom to learn" (Brady, 2006; Nolan, 2006; Silberman, 2006). The teacher's role is to facilitate, rather than to direct, learning (Watkins, 2008). In practice this is realised through a predominance of group-based and independent learning activities over

whole-class instruction, which the increased use of IT in classrooms has seemed to exacerbate. These less teacher-directed methodologies result in a far more relaxed disciplinary code framing classroom practice and a greater tolerance of talk and movement than is the case with teacher-directed approaches.

Crucial to this book is the argument that while there are different types of learning, successful academic engagement requires that students develop a form of bodily discipline conducive to applied intellectual effort. Different pedagogic modes are informed by different conceptions as to how this is achieved and exert differing degrees of disciplinary force upon students' bodies. This book has a different take on discipline than is captured by the usual talk of classroom management. It includes the formation of self-discipline internalised by students but shaped by the discipline inherent in a teacher's pedagogy. Discipline, however, is typically construed as a form of subjection in contemporary educational thought and practice and this negative meaning is often used as a rationale for de-emphasising the teacher's role and promoting student-directed learning. Yet the etymological roots of discipline are not found in subordination. Originally, to discipline meant to instruct, educate or train, with the implication that learning was dependent upon a teacher directing a student's acquisition of knowledge and skills. This earlier meaning has an enabling quality that is generally lost within current usage. Where this meaning is retained is in learning a sport, with training and discipline understood as necessary aspects of sporting achievement. In learning a sport, however, the role of the body is foregrounded. Within the academic realm the body is deemed relatively insignificant. The focus is on the mind with training viewed more as an impediment to creative and spontaneous thought, as if there is no requisite training for scholarly endeavour. The ways in which discipline can capacitate students' bodies and minds with the potential to be both transformative and emancipatory is rarely considered within current educational inquiry (for exceptions to this see: Slee, 1995; Millei, 2010; Parkes, 2010). A truly transformative and emancipatory education, however, needs to embrace the kinds of discipline that underpin educational success.

## DISCIPLINE AS ENABLING

Discipline is generally only conceived as possessing reproductive tendencies. Little thought is given to how the processes of reproduction may also prove enabling. Reproduction theorists view schooling as one of the key mechanisms through which social inequality is maintained, although there is considerable variation as to how this is approached. In the 1970s Bowles and Gintis espoused the quite crude principle of correspondence, focusing on schools as essentially instruments of economic reproduction. Other perspectives are more concerned with the complexities of how reproduction is realised through socio-cultural means (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; Willis, 1977; Apple, 1979). None of these approaches, however, seem to give any attention to the enabling potential of pedagogy and the role discipline may play in this. Rather, what tends to preoccupy reproduction theorists is broad socio-structural outcomes. There is very little

examination of the practices involved in attaining these and the resources they may provide students. These analyses characteristically focus on the relative achievements of students in relation to their parents' income, occupation and other variables (Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Bourdieu, 1998a; Teese, 2007). While such forms of inquiry are valuable in foregrounding the inequalities embedded in educational systems, they tend to obscure the enabling processes of schooling. By not focusing on practice, they fail to capture the ways in which economically advantaged children actually get the competencies that are inequitably distributed and the ways in which teachers can work against inequality at a classroom level. This is not some simple romanticising about the power of teachers to change lives that has become a staple of Hollywood movies, but a realistic assessment of the possibilities of engaged pedagogy.

There are, of course, exceptions to this neglect of pedagogic practice both within and outside the broad spectrum of scholarship dealing with educational reproduction. Bernstein's work on the linguistic codes governing schooling examines reproductive processes in more detail and why they are inequitably distributed (Bernstein, 1971, 1973, 1975, 1990). Through an investigation of classroom practice and the language of schooling, Bernstein was able to identify the different patternings of language underpinning working class and middle class discourse; what he termed restricted and elaborated codes. To Bernstein, there are distinct parallels between the elaborated code used by middle class students and the discursive structures of academic writing. As a result he felt working class students were disadvantaged because the restricted code framing their patterns of speech impeded their ability to read and write. There has been considerable criticism of this argument. There are those who claim Bernstein's work denigrates the language and culture of the working class (Labov, 1972); those who challenge the linguistic efficacy of his notion of code (Tannen, 1982); and those, such as Bourdieu (1994), who critique Bernstein's work on the basis that it fetishises the discourse of the middle class (Harker and May, 1993). I wouldn't argue that education unfairly valorises middle class culture, but I do assert that it is through educational institutions that the middle class maintains its monopolisation of important socio-linguistic competencies. Despite these criticisms, Bernstein's work has proved influential within the sociology of education (Singh, 2002; Fritz, 2007; Au, 2008; Maton, 2009) and literacy pedagogy (Cope and Kalantzis, 1993; Hasan, 1999, 2002; Nash, 2006). His central concern in investigating classroom practice, however, is language. His notion of pedagogy is framed almost entirely by the linguistic. The corporeality of learning – the various disciplinary techniques that teachers use and the ways in which they impact upon students' bodies – is not his focus. This is not so much a criticism of Bernstein's work, given it falls outside the parameters of his inquiry, but it serves to highlight how the body is often ignored in studies of pedagogy.

Emerging from the same politically progressive tradition as reproduction theory, critical pedagogy does make allowance for the enabling potential of education; yet is does so by conceiving discipline in negative terms. Theorists such as Giroux (1988, 2004) and McLaren (1989, 2003), who found reproduction theory yielded little scope for articulating any transformative role for schooling, proffered an

alternative theory of education. They assigned teachers a radicalised role to "empower students both as individuals and as potential agents of social change by establishing a critical pedagogy that students can use in the classroom and in the streets" (McLaren, 1989, p. 221). Yet, despite the visionary rhetoric underpinning critical pedagogy, there seems little substantive account of how these ideals are realised at a classroom level (Heilman, 2003). This is particularly the case with Giroux and McLaren's work. As Gore (1993, p. 34) comments, "… their approach is centred on articulating a 'pedagogical product' rather than pedagogical practice, that is, a social vision for teachers' work rather than guidelines for instructional practice". The same cannot be said about all those working within the field of critical pedagogy. Freire (1972, 1985) and Shor (1992), for example, are concerned with explicating the ways in which critical pedagogy is actualised within classroom practice. What characterises the pedagogy they advocate, and which is implicit in the more abstract accounts of Giroux, McLaren and other theorists working in this field, is an underlying progressivism premised on the recognition and liberation of student voice rather than the formation of specific new capacities. Although acknowledging the need for teachers to maintain a certain degree of authority in their role of empowering students, the methodology underpinning critical pedagogy is essentially student-directed, framed by a limited degree of disciplinary force. Freire (1972, pp. 46–47) draws on these pedagogic principles in his critique of traditional, teacher-directed learning, or what he terms "banking education":

1. the teacher teaches and the students are taught;
2. the teacher knows everything and the students know nothing;
3. the teacher thinks and the students are thought about;
4. the teacher talks and the students listen – meekly;
5. the teacher disciplines and the students are disciplined;
6. the teacher chooses and enforces his (sic) choice, and the students comply;
7. the teacher acts and the students have the illusion of acting through the action of the teacher;
8. the teacher chooses the program content, and the students (who were not consulted) adapt to it;
9. the teacher confuses the authority of knowledge with his own professional authority, which he sets in opposition to the freedom of students;
10. the teacher is the subject of the learning process, while the pupils are mere objects.

Here, Freire casts students in a passive role with the heightened degree of disciplinary force generated by teacher-directed pedagogy conceived solely in negative terms. While acknowledging that traditional teaching methods are potentially repressive, such a possibility is not unique to teacher-directed learning. Although not undertaken in such an overt manner, progressivist pedagogy can exhibit similar tendencies (Sharp and Green, 1975; Walkerdine, 1984; Kalantzis, Cope, Noble and Poynting, 1990; Sriprakash, 2009). Moreover, it 'throws the baby out with the bathwater'; it ignores the significant social powers conferred upon those, such as academics, through the attainment of traditional literacies.

## DISCIPLINE AND LEARN: THEORETICAL INFLUENCES

While also acknowledging its ability to repress, discipline can enable; enskilling bodies to perform in various ways. While a range of theorists and conceptual resources are drawn upon to examine this perspective in the context of schooling, emphasis in this book is placed on Foucault's notion of discipline, Bourdieu's conceptualisation of the habitus and Spinoza's monism and approach to affect and desire. Each of these contributes to a rethinking of the body and its role in learning, highlighting the impact of pedagogy and its ability to capacitate. As with the generally negative stance on discipline within educational theory, Foucault's work has a similar emphasis. He is often lauded for his take on the enabling potential of power, especially in his later work on technologies of the self (Foucault, 1990). However, this 'positive' conception of discipline is largely rhetorical and subordinated to a concentration on discipline as primarily negative. This is clearly evident in his juxtaposition of the terms 'discipline' and 'punish' in his seminal text of the same name. Here in this book, however, the productive possibilities of discipline are highlighted, as the title *Discipline and Learn* conveys. While making an obvious reference to Foucault, this book does not simply provide a Foucauldian analysis of the body and learning. The conceptual tools that are drawn upon owe much to his genealogical method and analysis of temporal and spatial schemas. However, in focusing on the enabling aspects of discipline, a mechanism is required for articulating the ways in which disciplinary force not only circulates and is embodied but accumulates as a form of agency in relation to individual practice. In the context of schooling and with the focus here on literacy, it needs to demonstrate how teachers' practice impacts upon students' bodies and the extent to which different forms of embodiment assist in the difficult process of learning to write. Bourdieu's notion of *habitus* is helpful in this regard because it provides a means for negotiating the social/individual nexus, the relationship between pedagogic practice and student outcomes. Despite its benefits, there are aspects of Bourdieu's concept that prove problematic in analysing the role of the body in learning, such as his emphasis on the unconscious and largely corporeal nature of the habitus. In making little allowance for the intervention of consciousness, Bourdieu's habitus provides a far too deterministic interpretation of practice. This is evident in his application of the concept to education. In *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture* and *State Nobility*, Bourdieu only seems to account for the reproductive, as opposed to transformative, processes of schooling. As with Foucault and discipline, this book takes the kernel of Bourdieu's generative conception of habitus and gives it centre stage in an analysis of pedagogy.

In examining the role of the body in learning and especially learning to write, it is also important to give consideration to the role of the mind. Rather than viewing the two as separate, following Spinoza, it is useful to think of them as a single substance operating in parallel in the determination of practice. It is not so much that the habitus needs to make allowance for the intervention of consciousness but rather to view consciousness as itself embodied, with practice understood as a dialectic of bodily habituation and mindful reflection. This is the position taken in

this book, that the body is not simply a corporeal entity; it is also invested with reason using embodied understanding as the basis of scholarly endeavour. Infused with a Spinozan monism, the habitus not only informs and guides, but responds to the workings of consciousness in the process of negotiating being in the world[iii]. While Bourdieu does take account of consciousness in his logic of practice, it functions more as an epiphenomenon rather than an integral, and integrated, aspect of action. To Spinoza the mind and the body act in concert, but it is only through the body and its capacity to be affected that we come to know the world. Affect functions as both force and capacity with pedagogy and the discipline it generates carrying varying intensities of affective force. A Spinozan interpretation of habitus, therefore, not only allows the dispositions resulting from the accumulation of bodily affect to shape practice, it also allows the embodied consciousness that is produced from this corporeal engagement with the world.

Central to the accumulation of affect and the formation of a scholarly habitus is the role of the teacher. Although students begin school with different dispositions to learning, the disciplinary force generated by their teachers' pedagogy can have a considerable impact. It may prove enabling, investing their bodies with the capacity to learn. As Elias (1982, p. 328) writes, "No society can survive without a challenging of individual drives and affects, without a very specific control of individual behaviour". The form of "control" Elias intends is not disempowering but rather, by training the body for scholarly endeavour, a student can be empowered to learn. Indeed, it is only through conceiving "control" as empowerment that the unequal distribution of certain capacities and their links to relations of power can be understood. A complementary effect of the formation of a scholarly habitus seems to be an increase in the desire to learn. This tallies with Spinoza's notion of desire. As he explains, "It is clear that we neither strive for, nor will, neither want, nor desire anything because we judge it to be good; on the contrary we judge something to be good because we strive for it, will it, want it and desire it" (Spinoza, *Ethics*, 111, P9, S). If students possess the necessary bodily disposition it is more likely they will apply themselves to their work framed by a desire for academic achievement. It is this I feel that was missing from those restless bodies I'd witnessed in my classroom years ago.

## ORGANISATION OF THE BOOK

While this book raises questions about the nature and cultivation of the desire to learn, in particular the extent to which it is derived from the accumulation of bodily affect, its central concern is the relationship between discipline and the formation of a scholarly habitus in the process of learning to write. To do this, the body is explored from three different perspectives; as bodies in theory, bodies in text and bodies in practice, organised as three different sections within the book. The first of these sections comprises two chapters. Chapter 1, Conceiving the Body, surveys different conceptualisations of the body: the phenomenological perspectives of Husserl and Merleau-Ponty, the early sociological account of Mauss, and its more recent treatment following Foucault's rediscovery of the body as an object of

socio-cultural concern. These various theorisations are assessed in terms of their usefulness in understanding the role of the body in learning with consideration given to the need within education for an approach that embraces both the body and the mind. These concerns are also addressed in Chapter 2, Pedagogy and the Mindful Body, but focusing more specifically on the work of Bourdieu and Spinoza. In light of this analysis, a reconceptualisation of Bourdieu's notion of habitus is proposed, drawing upon Spinoza's psychophysical parallelism which frames the empirically based chapters in Section 3.

In Section 2 the focus shifts to bodies in text, the ways in which bodies have been configured textually and the implications of this for pedagogic practice. Emphasis is given to the temporality of bodies, how they are shaped historically, a perspective often neglected within socio-cultural analysis (Shilling, 2005, p. 14). As with schools in most Western English-speaking nations, those in Australia have experienced considerable change since the beginnings of public education in the nineteenth century. The move from traditional to progressivist teaching techniques, and factors such as the rise of educational psychology, have left their mark on approaches to pedagogy and the body of the learner. These shifts are explored through an analysis of English Syllabus documents within the New South Wales education system, which drew on trends from both the United States of America and the United Kingdom to inform its earliest syllabus in 1905 through to those of more recent years.

In Section 3 emphasis is placed on bodies in practice. It provides an ethnography of two very different primary schools conducted over the course of a year examining the pedagogic practice of a kindergarten, Year 3 and Year 5 teacher in each. The specific focus is the disciplinary techniques employed by these teachers: their organisation of the pedagogic space, involving classroom design, ambience and the use of this space; classroom regimen, where noise level, movement and student composure are considered; and their implementation of the writing curriculum, focusing on lesson content, duration and each teacher's overall approach. This analysis not only highlights the impact of the teachers' practice on their students' ability to write, but also students' overall disposition for academic work and the extent to which they have acquired a habitus for learning. In the concluding chapter, Disparate Bodies, there is a return to the issues raised in Chapters 1 and 2. The corporeality of learning is reconsidered in light of the examination of bodies in practice with a call for a reassessment of the role of discipline in the process of learning to write and in the formation of dispositions to learning in general.

## AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF CORPOREALITY AND LEARNING: THE BACKGROUND TO BODIES IN PRACTICE

Despite growing scholarship within the field of education on the role of the body in learning, much of this remains at the level of theory or textual analysis without close examination of bodies in practice. Yet to fully grasp what bodies do and how they come to be, close observation is required. This is not so much to obtain a true

and accurate account, as ethnographies need to be understood as always culturally, spatially and historically situated (Kenway, Kraak and Hickey-Moody, 2006). Yet ethnographic methods and especially those of observation can reveal the minutiae of practice that may otherwise remain obscured. In investigating bodies and learning within a classroom context, these techniques proved insightful in capturing the impact of particular spatialities and regimens and revealing the different ways in which pedagogy disciplines bodies and promotes different dispositions to learning. Six audio-taped observation sessions were conducted in each of the six teacher's classrooms. Extensive observation notes were compiled and teaching stimulus material and student work samples were also collected over the course of the study. The observation lessons were generally undertaken twice a term during the first three of the four school terms. This was not always possible given demands on the teachers' time, but on average each observation lesson was 1½–2 hours in length and so a total of 10–12 hours of each teacher's classroom practice was observed with some of a longer duration[iv]. At the conclusion of the classroom observation period towards the end of the school year each teacher was interviewed about their teaching background and aspects of their pedagogic practice. Both school principals were also interviewed at this time to gather additional background information on each school.

The two primary schools investigated, here called Westville Public School (PS) and Northside PS, are very different schools having comparatively diverse student populations in terms of socio-economic background, ethnic mix and geographical location[v]. Westville PS is located in an outer western suburb of Sydney. The socio-economic status (SES) of the children attending the school is very low, which is reflected in its classification as a disadvantaged school receiving additional government funding[vi]. While there is a spread of household types, a number of students live in public housing with either one or both parents unemployed. Students are drawn from a diverse range of ethnic and language groupings, with 38 percent of the population from a language background other than English (LBOTE). The highest non-Anglo ethnic group is Filipino followed closely by other Pacific Islander students of mainly Samoan and Tongan backgrounds. Students from a variety of other nationalities and ethnic groups are represented at the school: Korean, Vietnamese, Sri Lankan, Indian, Pakistani, Turkish, Croatian and Serbian. In addition, the school has a high Aboriginal population of 7 percent, compared to the national average of 2 percent.

Unlike many schools in the area, it has a pleasant environment with much time and money devoted to landscaping and overall 'beautification' of the school grounds. At the time of the study the student population was 577 with a staff of 21 classroom teachers and nine support staff in the areas of learning difficulties, English as a Second Language (ESL), Library, Aboriginal Education and Community Liaison. With a few exceptions, particularly at an executive level, the staff was young and relatively inexperienced. In the year of the study there had been a complete turnover in the senior executive at the school with the appointment of a new Principal and Deputy. The new Principal was quite candid in her assessment of the school. At the time of her appointment, she had been informed

that Westville was “a cutting edge school” especially in its approach to literacy but she felt this was not the case; a view backed up by the school’s continued poor performance in external standardised literacy tests. Although the Principal displayed a genuine admiration for her staff’s commitment to their students, she felt welfare needs were given precedence over academic concerns, an ethos seemingly generated by the disadvantage of its student population.

The second school involved in the study was Northside PS, located in a northern and higher SES suburb of Sydney. Established in 1928, the school has three imposing two-storey brick buildings and a number of demountables on a well-maintained site. Northside is considered one of the top primary schools in NSW based on its results in external standardised literacy tests, with a number of its students regularly awarded scholarships to prestigious high schools within the private system and places at selective state high schools. This impressive performance is assisted by the school having Opportunity Classes (OC) in Years 5 and 6, drawn from gifted and talented students from schools within the district. This contributes to what the Principal referred to as the school’s “very good reputation both in perception and reality” and the “very positive and very strong ethos” of its staff. In contrast to Westville, the staff at Northside were much older and far more experienced. Nothside was also much larger than Westville. At the time of the study its student population was 870 with 42 teaching positions. There were also ESL and Library support staff. The recent growth in the student population was largely due to an increase in high and medium density housing in the area, placing considerable pressure on Northside to accommodate rising student numbers. The school had also witnessed a dramatic increase in its LBOTE population, which at the time of the study was 75 percent from mainly Chinese backgrounds and countries elsewhere in East Asia. There were also many students from Korean, Indian and Sri Lankan backgrounds. While the rapid rise in the LBOTE population resulted in the need to employ ESL staff, the initial language difficulties that the ESL students experienced did not significantly affect the school’s external test results, which the Principal described as “considerably well above the state average”.

Initially this was not intended as a comparative study of the two schools. I assumed that major differences in teaching methodology would occur *within* each school and relate to age, experience and the level of class taught. While there were variations, there were also distinct similarities in relation to the pedagogic practice and overall educational philosophy of the teachers within each school. It also became clear that, despite individual differences, students from the three classes in each school displayed marked similarities in relation to their dispositions to learning. In contrast, there emerged quite distinct differences *between* the schools and the collective pedagogical philosophy and practice of the teachers in each site. The reasons behind this and the part played by a process of pedagogic embodiment are explored in detail in Section 3. Prior to this, different ways of conceiving the body and the theoretical framework used to analyse the teachers’ practice is discussed in Section 1.

# SECTION 1

# BODIES IN THEORY

CHAPTER 1

# CONCEIVING THE BODY

> Many people have to be persuaded that studying too is a job, and a very tiring one, with its own particular apprenticeship – involving muscles and nerves as well as intellect. It is a process of adaptation, a habit acquired with effort, tedium and even suffering.
>
> A. Gramsci (1973, p. 42)
>
> Our understanding itself is embodied. That is, our bodily know-how and the way we act and move can encode components of our understanding of selfand world.
>
> C. Taylor (1999, p. 34)

Education is not merely a cognitive process: it also has a bodily dimension. This point is captured by Gramsci who highlights the extent to which bodily discipline is necessary for academic success. The bodily nature of education is perhaps most obvious when children commence school. Much of the first few months of kindergarten are devoted to a form of corporeal induction whereby children's bodies are attuned to the temporal rhythms, spatiality and comportment of schooling. As time progresses there is an ongoing refinement of these disciplinary procedures as students' bodies also assume the regularities of literate practice: the spatiality of the page, desk and chair and the grip and movement of the pen – some more successfully than others. Yet, despite the undeniable corporeality of schooling, it seems to be taken for granted within mainstream education. Even in the primary years, the formative period of *pedagogic embodiment*, there seems little acknowledgement of the need for the apprenticeship to which Gramsci refers[i]. Rather, the body is relegated to the realm of classroom management and considered secondary to the role of the mind in learning.

Despite widespread interest in the body across various disciplines, mainstream educational practice and scholarship tend to give it little attention (Evans, Rich, Davies and Allwood, 2005; Evans, Davies and Rich, 2009). In contrast, from the early 1980s, the body and processes of embodiment have figured significantly within social and cultural theory (see for example: Turner, 1984; Frank, 1991; Shilling, 1994 2005, 2008; Williams & Bendelow, 1998; Crossley, 2001, 2006; Blaikie, 2004; Howson, 2004; Fraser and Greco, 2004 Blackman, 2008;). While this focus on the body has been influenced by many disciplinary areas and theoretical perspectives, in particular feminist thought and phenomenology, it is to Foucault that a great deal of the credit can be given for this recent interest. Much of the application of Foucault's work in the area of body studies, however, draws on the Foucault of *Discipline and Punish* rather than his later work around

technologies of the self. As a consequence, it tends towards an examination of disciplinary coercion, which, while valuable in highlighting the body's social malleability, falls short of assigning it any agentic capacity. Yet, the body is much more than the product of institutionalised structures or even broader social experience. As Taylor (1999, p. 34) points out, "Our understanding is itself embodied". For a productive theorisation of bodies and schooling, conceptualisations of the body need to provide much more than these very partial accounts of embodiment. Consideration needs to be given to how *embodied data* acquired through engagement in the world is fashioned as a type of modus operandi for action.

This chapter examines various conceptualisations of the body which are useful for understanding its role in learning. They tend to coalesce, however, around these distinct orientations that emphasise either structural constraint or agentic capacity, though with the latter receiving far less attention. Despite their differences, these perspectives on the body share a similar resistance to engaging with notions of mind and consciousness. To some extent this is understandable given their focus is the corporeal basis of being. Yet an implicit rationale underpins this work; namely the rejection of Cartesian dualism and its privileging of mind over body. A focus on the body at the expense of the mind, however, doesn't correct this theoretical imbalance; it merely inverts it. In theorising the role of the body in schooling a more viable ontology is required. It isn't sufficient to simply divert attention to the corporeal, as seems the preoccupation within social and cultural theory. Gramsci quite rightly points out that education has both a bodily *and* an intellectual dimension. Both, therefore, require consideration. Indeed, as this and the next chapter will argue, it is the interplay of mind and body that is fundamental to understanding pedagogy not only in the context of schooling but as a broader cultural process influencing subjectivity and everyday practice.

## CHALLENGING DESCARTES: THE PHENOMENOLOGIES OF HUSSERL AND MERLEAU-PONTY

Despite the wealth of scholarship dealing with various aspects of the body, its intellectual treatment has a long yet generally unsatisfying history. Western philosophy has coupled the body with the mind as a binary opposition and, as Grosz (1994) points out, such dichotomous thinking generally results in a hierarchising of terms. Traditionally, the body is subordinate to the mind and this somatophobia has dominated its intellectual treatment (Spelman, 1982; Meynell, 2009). Such a perspective has its roots in classical philosophy, but it is the work of Descartes that has more firmly left its mark on the modern era. Utilising Aristotle's *a priori* category of substance, meaning not simply prior to but existing separately, Descartes devised a metaphysics that conceived of mind and matter as distinct. While, he did allow for mind/body interaction, referring to them as "substantially united", he was never able to thoroughly explain this relationship despite assigning both mind and body the status of substance (Curley, 1998). The form of interaction Descartes intends, however, is unidirectional, a movement from mind to body.

To Descartes the mind is the seat of reason overriding bodily affects and quelling desire. The very act of thinking, encapsulated in his dictum *cogito ergo sum* or "I think therefore I am", defines the self for Descartes and so he sees the mind as possessing the will to determine action. To Lloyd (1994, p. 39), however, "The price to be paid for Cartesian purity of consciousness is the separation of self from world". Despite this, Descartes' metaphysics have tended to dominate Western thought, developing into a commonsense logic whereby action is simply viewed as a function of will or mind over matter.

Contemporary social and cultural theory has reacted sharply against this understanding of action, questioning the very notion of self as simply pertaining to mind. While Foucault provided much of the inspiration for the intense scrutiny of the body from the 1980s, exemplified in the work of Turner (1984) and Featherstone, Hepworth and Turner (1991), it is with the diverse theoretical perspectives of phenomenology and sociology at the beginning of the last century that the body becomes a focus of study quite distinct from the mind. Husserl, the founder of phenomenology, first made the distinction between *korper*, the physical body, and *leib*, the lived body (Welton, 1999, p. 4). This distinction allowed the body to be viewed as much more than a physical or natural phenomenon: it became both a cultural entity and a product of history. The preoccupation of Husserl's phenomenology, however, is far from a study of corporeality. He felt the task of phenomenology was to study things as they appear in consciousness. In doing this, phenomenology had to deal with notions of consciousness, mind and the self. It had to confront Descartes' *cogito*, which to Husserl was erroneously conceived.

To arrive at the point where Descartes concludes, "I am only a thinking thing, that is to say, a mind, an understanding, or reason", he explains he had to, "efface from my thinking all images of corporeal things, or since that can hardly be done, I shall at least view them as empty and false" (Descartes, *Meditations* III). In his pursuit of philosophical truths, it was thought or rather doubt, which provided the only certainty. To Descartes, the sensate body was variable and uncertain, an unreliable basis for ontological proof. Indubitability was only achieved by separation from the physical world. Such a position was anathema to Husserl who could not conceive of being without world. His project was to insert the *cogito* back into the world through a reformulation that questioned Descartes' notion of a pure act of consciousness. Husserl concluded that thinking had to be about something. Each *cogito* required a *cogitatum* (Husserl, 1977, p. 33) and it is this intentionality of thought that implicates the world. To arrive at a point of pure consciousness, which Husserl still deemed possible despite his critique of Descartes' method, one had to bracket off experience, a process referred to as the *phenomenological epoche* (Smith and Woodruff Smith, 1995, p. 11). From this position the world could be held at bay and pure consciousness attained. Yet while Husserl could not venture a philosophy which divorced being from world, the phenomenological epoche essentially had this effect. In actuality Husserl was an idealist. His notion of

self maintained the Cartesian separation of mind and body privileging the former in a phenomenology of intentional consciousness.

It was Merleau-Ponty who breached this divide with a radical interpretation of Husserl's philosophy. He claimed that "the whole Husserlian analysis is blocked by the framework of acts which imposes upon it the philosophy of consciousness. It is necessary to take up again and develop the *fungierende* or latent intentionality which is the intentionality within being" (Merleau-Ponty, 1975, p. 244). To Merleau-Ponty, being and acting in the world couldn't simply be explained by a process of conscious acts. He viewed the self as much more than a mind, seeing subjectivity as embodied. He sought to excise the distinctions between mind and body, self and world or redefine them "as relational, intertwined and reversible aspects of a single fabric" (Crossley, 1995a, p. 47). Merleau-Ponty saw the body as both acting and being acted upon in a seamless, generative process. Unlike Husserl, where the subject is present in the world but somehow disembodied, with Merleau-Ponty the subject becomes a *body-subject* and is not merely present in the world but is of the world. There is a symphysis of *flesh*, the flesh of the body and the flesh of the world (Merleau-Ponty, 1975, p. 138).

As a form of bodily consciousness, Merleau-Ponty's notion of the body-subject is also an attempt to override the mind/body dualism that pervades Husserl's phenomenology. As a result, he diverges considerably from Husserl claiming he was "pushing Husserl further than he wished to go" (Merleau-Ponty, 1964a, p. 72). With Merleau-Ponty, emphasis is finally given to the role of the body in the constitution of subjectivity. His conception of self has both a psychical and bodily dimension with consciousness no longer maintaining exclusivity over understanding. Subjectivity becomes not simply a function of consciousness but of bodily practice. Understanding, therefore, is both cognitive and corporeal with the mind and body possessing learning potential, the latter in the form of what Merleau-Ponty terms *motor significance*. Understanding is also not autonomously derived. In Merleau-Ponty's use of the term, consciousness is intersubjective, forever reliant on "the living relationship and tension among individuals" (Merleau-Ponty, 1964b, p. 90), an important point in relation to education.

Merleau-Ponty, however, neglects to provide an account of the nature of the relationship between body and mind, and their interaction with the world. While these dimensions of existence are evident in his work, they seem to dissolve into an amorphous mass or "single fabric" (Crossley, 1995a, p. 47). For the purposes of phenomenology, which Merleau-Ponty (1999, p. vii) views as "a philosophy which puts essences back into existence", the fluidity of being seems a useful concept. As the basis for explaining individual practice, however, it is only a starting point, a way in which to begin theorising the relationship between body and world. Merleau-Ponty provides considerable insight into the corporeal dimensions of existence, but he is still faced with the ongoing quandary of how best to deal with the binaries of being. While recognising a distinction between mind and body, individual and world, his work essentially blurs and, at times, collapses these categories, particularly in his use of the term *flesh*. This dilemma is evident in his repeated use of the chiasmus, a rhetorical device inverting word

order to create the effect of counterbalance and interconnectedness, as in "We choose the world and the world chooses us" (Merleau-Ponty, 1999, p. 454). This may be interesting wordplay but it doesn't explain much about the nature of the relationship between individual and world. Merleau-Ponty may have abandoned Descartes' ontology but he seems to have only moved partway towards providing a satisfactory substitute.

## MAUSS AND TECHNIQUES OF THE BODY

An emphasis on the body can also be found in the early sociology of Mauss, in particular his seminal text *Techniques of the Body* published in 1935. Mauss was interested in the socially acquired nature of bodily comportment. He made use of the much older term *habitus* to refer to the habitual nature of practice but wanted to instil it with a sociological quality[ii] While individuals may possess a particular gait which appears unique, Mauss recognised a commonality across individual practice; an embodiment of the social as a form of *practical reason*. Bourdieu later adopted this notion of habitus but whereas Mauss generally applies it as a descriptive category for individual action, Bourdieu reformulates it as an explanatory concept providing an overall rationale for practice. There is also some variance in Mauss and Bourdieu's understanding of the social. Mauss uses it as a term to denote broad, undefined social experience; to Bourdieu it implies the institutionalised structuring of social experience encapsulated in his category of *field*. While Mauss and Bourdieu may differ in their conceptualisation of the social and its effect on the body, they share a common cause of theorising the body as a sociological phenomenon. This contrasts markedly with the largely philosophical perspective of Merleau-Ponty who, as Turner (1996, p. 78) claims, provides "an individualistic account of embodiment…largely devoid of historical and sociological content". Turner's criticism, however, requires some qualification because there is an underlying sociology to Merleau-Ponty's work. This is evident in his emphasis on intersubjectivity and his ongoing difficulty with Husserl's notion of intentional consciousness which, to Merleau-Ponty, privileged individuality over world. Clearly the world is present in Merleau-Ponty's account, but its sociological content is never thoroughly explicated.

Mauss, on the other hand, takes note of the socially reproductive nature of the habitus. While dealt with in a fleeting manner, he classifies the reproduction of bodily techniques in terms of gender and age exemplifying how practice is rarely natural. To Mauss, bodily practice is learned through on-going social interaction. He states that "In all [these] elements of the art of using the human body, the facts of education were dominant. The notion of education could be superimposed on that of imitation" (Mauss, 1979, p. 101). Learning here is understood as mimesis. Through close observation of a particular activity individuals 'borrow' what they consider successful and make it their own. But there are various types of imitative behaviour, which are indicative of different pedagogies. To many, what Mauss intends here is a form of imitation that is pre reflective; it lacks conscious intent with individuals simply mimicking what they see without conscious

acknowledgement. Through repeated performance the activity is embodied as habitus which is similar in some respects to Merleau-Ponty's *fungierende*, the intentionality of being. While differing in their sociological force, both these notions are forms of bodily know-how displacing conscious intent.

Although generally interpreted in this way, Mauss's work can actually be read quite differently with *techniques of the body* implying an initial conscious response, at least in some forms of imitative action. This is evident in his frequent reference to training in which he discusses a number of instances where bodily techniques have been modified in this way. He recounts, for example, how the teaching of swimming had changed from when he first learnt the sport. Mauss was apparently taught to open his eyes under water only after he had learnt to swim, a practice which proved difficult especially when diving. As an adult Mauss observed how the technique had changed, with children being taught to control their instinctive reflex of closing their eyes in the water and to feel at ease opening them prior to learning to swim. The result of this was an improved diving technique. In another example Mauss discusses how Maori mothers instruct their daughters in the acquisition of *onioni*, a particular way of walking. He quotes from a study by Elsdon Best who describes how mothers drilled their daughters in this accomplishment: "and I have heard a mother say to her girl: 'Ha! Kaore koe e onioni' (you're not doing the onioni) when the young one was neglecting to practice the gait" (Mauss, 1979, p. 102).

These examples suggest that while Mauss was largely focusing on the role of mimesis in the social reproduction of bodily techniques, consciousness had an important part to play. Although this isn't made explicit, his references to training are very often accompanied by some mention of the use of language. This is generally on the part of the trainer but it can be assumed that a series of questions and answers would be used to clarify aspects of technique. Much of what is discussed as part of the instructional process may retreat to the unconscious but, "By being expressed in language thought processes can become perceptual contents available for consciousness" (Grosz, 1994, p. 30). The techniques of the body to which Mauss refers are socially acquired but not simply as a result of subliminal habituation. Bodily techniques do become habituated and certain aspects of individual corporeality are obviously acquired without conscious reflection through immersion within a particular milieu. But Mauss's work provides important pedagogic insights, not only into the socially acquired nature of bodily techniques – the body's receptivity, malleability and capacity to *learn* – but also into the body's ability to be *taught*, which denotes a quite different pedagogic intent. As Mauss (1979, p. 116) points out in one anecdote, "I can tell you that I'm very bad at climbing trees, though reasonable on mountains and rocks. A difference of education and hence of method". Mauss's tree climbing ability suggests it was a childhood-learnt behaviour whereas mountaineering was a skill he was explicitly taught; the difference in pedagogy resulting in a difference in the level of skill he attained.

The *taught* rather than *learned* nature of bodily techniques allows for a re-evaluation of the often neglected role of consciousness in recent sociological

analysis. What is generally missing from discussion of Mauss's work is the process whereby actions develop into habituated technique; an examination of the pedagogy involved rather than simply the end product. His reference to "drill", "practise" and "training" in relation to some techniques suggests not merely an unconscious adoption of bodily facility but conscious attention by both trainer and trainee to the acquisition of technique. According to Strathern (1996, p. 12), however, "Mauss did not link habitus with personne. Habitus calls to mind the unconscious, and personne the conscious aspects of ourselves". The focus in *Techniques of the Body* may be socially acquired bodily know-how, but this does not necessarily negate conscious intent. As Mauss (1979, p. 122) stresses at the end of the essay: "It is thanks to society that there is an intervention of consciousness. It is not thanks to unconsciousness that there is an intervention of society". While bodily techniques may be socially acquired they are open to conscious manipulation otherwise education and training would have little effect.

What Mauss seems to grapple with in *Techniques of the Body* is an appropriate term for the kind of corporeal intuition of which he writes. While he decides upon the term *habitus*, he wants it to be understood as involving "the techniques and work of collective and individual practical reason rather than, in the ordinary, merely the soul and its repetitive faculties" (Mauss, 1979, p. 101). For Mauss, habitus is not simply socially acquired habit; it possesses a kind of rationality which is corporeal rather than simply cognitive. Habitus, therefore, need not be considered unconscious simply because it involves the social reproduction of the body. Rather, Mauss seems to be suggesting there is a conscious element in the development of what later becomes habitual. Strathern (1996, p. 12) recognises this in his own discussion of the Maori *onioni* when he explains that "teaching and learning are at first fully conscious. It is only afterward that the learned pattern becomes an unconscious part of bodily routines". It is not that Mauss fails to give emphasis to consciousness in *Techniques of the Body* because he is dismissing it, or fails to recognise its role; it simply isn't his prime concern. In many respects, particularly if Mauss is read as early twentieth century sociology, the conscious aspect of practice is probably understood. Mauss wants to examine what was largely ignored at the time, namely the importance of the body in understanding practice. Perhaps this is why Mauss uses the word *techniques,* which tends to denote purpose and skill rather than habit and routine. As he points out, what he ultimately wants is a term that signifies "skill, presence of mind and habit combined" (Mauss, 1979, p. 108). He may have assumed consciousness would be taken for granted, not anticipating its neglect within more recent theorisation of the body. The problem with Mauss is that he doesn't clearly articulate the role of consciousness in the acquisition of techniques of the body. This is a shortcoming not only in theories of practice more generally but also in conceiving the role of the body in learning.

## FOUCAULT – REDISCOVERING THE BODY

While both Mauss and Merleau-Ponty have had considerable influence on theorisation of the body, it is Foucault's work that led to a rediscovery of the body

in the 1980s provoking a plethora of studies from different disciplinary areas on various aspects of corporeality. Foucault's notion of the body can be understood in different ways and has generated quite diverse theoretical perspectives, evident for example in the contrast between the work of Bryan Turner (1984, 1996, 2008) and Judith Butler (1990, 1993). While to some extent the body as discursive construct is a constant within Foucault's work, nevertheless there is a broadening of what he understands by *discourse*. In his earlier work, the term simply denotes the linguistic but is reformulated in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* to include the extralinguistic or material conditions of discourse which he defines as "institutions, political events, economic practices and processes" (Foucault, 1972, p. 49). Discourse, therefore, comes to encompass much more than language and, through the associated concept of *discursive formation*, is intertwined with the socio-historical relations within which language operates. From a Foucauldian perspective *discourse* evolves into a metaconcept, but in becoming such a bloated category it tends to create theoretical confusion blurring the relationship between language and material practice with the latter often only configured textually, relinquishing its substantive quality. From such a perspective the body is viewed as primarily discursive or, as Gibbs (2002, p. 336) points out, "a body of words", losing sight of the embodied nature of being.

It is this notion of the body as discursive construct which underpins Butler's work, with subjectivity conceived in terms of a process of *iterative performativity*. Butler (1993, p. 13) defines a performative as "that discursive practice that enacts or produces that which it names". In this quite liberal application of speech act theory, Butler's aim is to demonstrate the materiality of language; but materiality is not simply in the saying, it is a process of doing, a point of particular poignancy in relation to pedagogic practice. Her recourse to speech act theory simply conflates the two and, as Turner (1996, p. 28) points out, "The lived body drops from view, as the text becomes the all-pervasive topic of research". This is disappointing because the notion of *iterative performativity* has considerable application in theorising the pedagogic body. As an essentially linguistic concept, however, it provides little insight into the ways in which pedagogic practice can result in different forms of embodiment. Of course language has a role to play, but so too does the myriad of disciplinary techniques that teachers employ that are not specifically linguistic but which are fundamental to the production of particular student bodies.

Hunter (1991, p. 47) also critiques the notion of *discourse* as a metaconcept, arguing that:

> language or discourse plays no fundamental or general role in these groups of relations. It is the techniques of living themselves – the open-ended ensembles of behaviours, forms of calculation, social relations, norms, architectures, trainings – that give rise to the forms of human agency and capacity characteristic of different departments of existence. And it is the role of linguistic (mathematical, etc) notations to function as instruments deployed according to the highly various 'logics' of these instituted ensembles.

Hunter is of the view that Foucault actually leaves behind his focus on discourse in his work on technologies of power and the self and instead concentrates on *dispositifs* or apparatuses, the ‘ensembles’ to which Hunter refers. This perspective largely underpins the application of Foucauldian theory in various sociologies of the body as in the early work of Turner (1984) and Shilling (1994). Yet while there is a definite shift in Foucault’s work which tends to downplay the role of discourse in relation to subject formation, Hunter’s relegation of language to simply a product of the logics of practice may be taking it a bit far. Hunter’s intention may be to mark out a space with which to theorise material practice, but he seems to suggest that it somehow lies outside the discursive. While subjectivity is largely a product of everyday experience, analyses of practice also need to recognise the materiality and performativity of language. At the same time, this must not be conflated with the materiality and performativity of the body; an individual’s physical presence in the world or what Shilling (2005) refers to as “corporeal realism”. It is this perspective on the body that is Foucault’s focus in *Discipline and Punish*, a text which has tended to dominate analysis of the body within education.

## FOUCAULT, BODIES AND SCHOOLING

In *Discipline and Punish* Foucault examines the disciplinary techniques of power within institutionalised settings with a particular emphasis on the development of prisons. This text is significant in its analysis of how spatiality and particular regimens shape the body to maximise its functionality for purposes of social control. As Foucault (1977, p. 138) explains discipline “…dissociates power from the body; on the one hand, it turns it into an ‘aptitude’, a capacity which seeks to increase; on the other hand, it reverses the course of the energy, the power that might result from it, and turns it into a relation of strict subjection”. In *Discipline and Punish* Foucault is centrally concerned with the body’s propensity to acquire routinised traits through the imposition of spatial and temporal schemas, a notion of embodiment overlaid by a rigid social determinism. Any enabling potential of disciplinary power is directed towards social utility rather than individual agency. This passive conceptualisation of embodiment has tended to dominate sociology of the body (Shilling, 2005, p. 1) and is similarly evident within education. Jones’s (2000) study on the dynamics at play in learning to write is one such example. Jones’s focus is the contradictory nature of disciplinary power. She discusses the joy and sense of satisfaction a child feels in mastering the mechanics of handwriting but interprets this newfound bodily facility as a form of submission to “the meticulous controls of pedagogy”. Jones seems to downplay the inherent pleasure of literate practice and the potential a child acquires in gaining control over a pen and composing text, in deference to what she terms “the strict subjection” of the pedagogic relation. While the power imbalance in favour of the teacher and the socially reproductive nature of pedagogy are not in dispute, it is these negative aspects of pedagogic practice that are often emphasised within educational theory. They are very much the mainstay of sociologies of education

(Gillborn and Youdell, 2000; Apple, 1995; Goldstein, 2005; Saltman and Gabbard, 2011), critical pedagogy (Giroux, 1983, 1988, 2004; McLaren, 1989, 2003; Kellner, 2003; McLaren, Martin, Farahmandpur and Jaramillo, 2004; Giroux and Giroux, 2006; Monchinski, 2008) and Foucauldian analyses of education (Goodson and Dowbiggin, 1990; Gore, 1998; Besley & Peters, 2007; Dussel, 2010). While the latter may give these issues a different gloss, with a focus on subjection of the body as opposed to the mind, the recurrent theme of pedagogy as social control is similarly foregrounded, rarely engaging with its enabling potential. Students are generally cast as supplicant bodies rather than agents with the potential to act competently in the world.

Jones's work is also interesting for its treatment of the socially regulative nature of pedagogic desire and the ways in which it operates within the teaching/learning relation. In recounting her own experience of learning to write she explains that "Via perfect writing, I desired to deliver the perfect mind to my teacher. The predictable and painstakingly even shape of my words signalled my willingness to conform, to be controlled which pleasured my teachers" (Jones, 2000, p. 53). Jones's willingness to please may be an act of conformity but not, as she seems to suggest, mindless obedience. The desire which drives Jones to write well and please her teachers results in a disciplining of her body endowing it with a capacity for literate practice (Watkins, 2008). Yet, Jones seems to view this manipulation of her desires in a negative light. While possessing the potential to be abusive – as in any unequal power relationship – this desire to please is what motivates Jones to succeed. Conforming to her teachers' desires does not lessen Jones's pre-existing sense of self; rather it leads to the acquisition of particular dispositions constitutive of her own subjectivity. Subject formation does not occur autonomously, it is an intersubjective process. Cultivating Jones's desire to write well may be an act of coercion, but it also shows her teachers exercising their pedagogic role of assisting their students attain the skills and knowledge they require for academic success. Minimising the teacher's role does not reduce the socially reproductive forces at play in a classroom; rather, a lack of effective teacher intervention can leave them unchecked. Jones's disciplined body, evident in her mastery of the pen and scholarly comportment, is a necessary precursor for academic endeavour. Illegible handwriting and an unruly body may suggest a form of resistance against the conformities of schooling but they also impede learning. A lack of self-discipline and a failure to acquire socially valued skills leaves one susceptible to more insidious forms of institutionalised control, what Willis (1977, p. 3) terms *self-damnation*. What Jones learns becomes part of her bodily make-up, a fluid set of dispositions equipping her with the capacity to succeed.

The disciplinary techniques of institutionalised schooling are generally viewed in a negative sense, with contemporary perspectives on learning advocating a greater degree of personal freedom and fewer restrictions upon the student body (Brady, 2006; Nolan, 2006; Silberman, 2006; Nash, 2009; Levine and Munsch, 2011). Yet, in frequenting almost any social space bodies need to conform to particular rules of motility; schemas which, while somewhat flexible, dictate speed, comportment and spacing between animate and inanimate bodies. These schemas,

or *carnal genres*, may appear restrictive but they actually equip bodies with a type of intuition with which to negotiate the world. Movement in public space is structured around rules such as keeping to the left or right, queuing for service, turn-taking to enter and leave buildings and maintaining a certain personal space. These develop as carnal genres because they are functional, ensuring the efficient and safe movement of bodies in social space. A similar perspective is presented by Goffman who analyses the bodily routines used to maintain public order (Goffman, 1972). In a school context these 'rules' are more rigidly enforced, but this is necessitated by the concentration and particular use of bodies. In class, students are constantly told to 'sit still', 'put up your hand', 'don't call out', and in the playground, 'don't run', 'line up properly' and 'don't litter'. The myriad of instructions given to children are designed to elicit a particular behaviour which when habituated constitutes a discipline that invests their bodies with the capacity to act in a manner both effective and efficient for schooling. As Foucault (1977, p. 211) explains, "The disciplines function increasingly as techniques for making useful individuals", yet in *Discipline and Punish* where the focus is on disciplinary power as social control, he neglects to adequately address the agentic aspects of this utility.

Another Foucauldian account of bodies and schooling pertinent to the perspective taken here is the earlier influential study by Kamler, Maclean, Reid and Simpson (1994) who examine the relationship between discipline and the formation of a corporate classroom body. While their focus is the degree to which gender differentiation becomes evident in the first month of school, they devote considerable time to examining how learning to be part of a class group is integral to becoming a school student. In their study of a class of 27 kindergarten students in an Australian regional government school, they document how the students' teacher painstakingly "tames" her class into the rituals of school. While Kamler *et al.* draw extensively on Foucault, they also make use of Bourdieu to capture how this disciplining of the young students' bodies develops into certain dispositions of behaviour or a "school habitus". Beyond the actual acknowledgement of its embryonic formation in the first weeks of school, there is little or no consideration given to how these dispositions within the habitus might enable students to perform academically. Despite a useful connection between Foucault's concept of discipline and Bourdieu's habitus, Kamler *et al.* typically concentrate on the socially deterministic, as opposed to agentic, aspects of disciplinary power. One of the ritual practices of schooling they investigate is the learning of songs. They compare the use of song in pre-school kindergarten classrooms, where they see the purpose as simply pleasure, to its function in the more formalised structure of school proper, where it is used on a regular basis throughout the day as a classroom management technique. On various occasions the teacher in this study has her class sing in unison and perform accompanying actions. Kamler *et al.* (1994, p. 107) see singing prior to school as a vehicle for pleasure but on entering kindergarten feel it is "transformed into a technique of power, whereby the teacher can get the group to look at her and be subject to her disciplinary gaze". Undeniably this is the teacher's intent yet it is not simply a technique to foster "a collective student body"

important in terms of the development of a school habitus. It is equally important on an individual basis as this discipline predisposes students to the regimen of academic work, listening and watching attentively and completing tasks in line with the teacher's instructions. Rather than pleasure being lost from these activities, as if the students were somehow leaving behind an idealised stage of childhood, it simply functions differently, or with an added dimension. Pleasure isn't only derived from the song itself; it is also linked to a sense of identification, "one of the most powerful and ubiquitous modes of social responsiveness" (Tomkins, 1962, p. 444). In following their teacher and other classmates in these activities, the students' pleasure is not diminished. Rather, through a desire for recognition and sense of belonging, they are learning a new social ethic as they move in time to the songs.

Kamler *et al.*'s central concern in examining the development of a school habitus in the first month of school is gender. Although not a focus here, their findings on gender differentiation provide useful insights into the formation of a scholarly habitus more generally. While Kamler *et al.* see gender as highly significant they point out that it only becomes a relevant category in certain aspects of classroom practice as it is often "sublimated" within what they refer to as the "androgynous corporate body" (Kamler *et al.*, 1994, p. 75). Gender is most obvious when it comes to issues of behaviour and discipline. Here Kamler *et al.* observe an imbalance because girls tend to be acknowledged in class for quietness and obedience whereas boys are singled out for poor behaviour, such as being rowdy. As a result, boys are highly visible whereas girls assume a certain invisibility within the class. Kamler *et al.* view this differential treatment of girls and boys as a matter of concern, yet in their analysis they tend to focus on the girls and interpret their internalisation of the teacher's gaze as problematic. The disciplinary techniques the girls embody are seen as a form of regulation promoting docility and disempowerment, but there is something of a contradiction in this analysis. The girls may be positioned to be quiet and still but, in the process, are acquiring a habitus for learning that is empowering rather than the contrary. The docility they exhibit and receive recognition for actually functions as a precursor to literate practice: sitting quietly, following instructions and completing work independently. On the other hand, through their visibility the boys tend to have poor behaviour reinforced and the teacher's "taming" is less successful. Boys tend to develop the appropriate dispositions for schooling much later than girls (Connolly, 2004; Keddie and Mills, 2007; Logue, 2007; Ponitz, Rimm-Kaufman and Brock, 2009) and this could partly explain the problems many experience at a later date in relation to literacy (Doctoroff, Greer and Arnold, 2006; Moss, 2007; Sullivan, 2009).

Within education considerable attention is given to boys' weaker literacy performance in comparison to girls, yet this is often attributed to a supposed 'feminised curriculum' and boys having been positioned as more interested in 'technical' subjects (Alloway, Davies, Gilbert, Gilbert and King, 1996; Rowan, Knobel, Bigum and Lankshear, 2002). Little consideration is given to the corporeality of literate practice and how girls and boys may embody different

dispositions to learning both prior to and in the first years of school. Often, as in Kamler *et al.*'s study, the enabling aspects of the ways in which girls are positioned are obscured by a focus on the discursive rather than material aspects of bodily practice. Yet as Foucault explains, docility can be productive, it need not be understood as disabling. In lectures published after his death as *The Hermeneutics of the Subject* he discusses the importance of docility to the Stoics who viewed it as a crucial quality in the cultivation of the self (Foucault, 2005, p. 338). This does not mean that the girls in Kamler *et al.*'s study were not disadvantaged in other ways by their teacher's actions. The girls may have been empowered by a discipline which predisposed them to literate practice, but the emphasis their teacher gave to rewarding quietness may have also encouraged them to be less assertive than the boys. Either way the discipline that students embody is of a far more complex nature than what Kamler *et al.* portray and their use of the term "androgynous corporate body" tends to mask a more subtle gendering of embodied dispositions that occurred within the class.

The aspect of disciplinary power that Foucault (1977, p. 176) finds particularly insidious and which is of particular relevance to a discussion of bodies and schooling, is its panoptic quality. In describing the spatial (and temporal) dimensions of panopticism, Foucault shows how the architecture of modern institutions distributes individuals in space in such a way as to enable a "new physics of power". Institutions such as schools can do this because their "analytical arrangement of space" produces an "axial visibility" which allows for the hierarchical observation that orders and corrects human movement and engenders the internalisation of reformed behaviours as second nature. This "architecture and geometry" involves "channels of power" which run along what might be called vectors operating in this field of visibility (see Section 3 – Bodies in Practice for an empirical account of vectors within classrooms). Foucault analyses this disciplinary "cage" in terms of sequestration, constraint and subjection but it could be argued that these *vectors* and the regimens associated with them, are potentially enabling. In classrooms such vectors are not simply the trajectories allowing observation from a position of authority; they are also lines of intersubjective engagement. These vectors are fundamental to the production of carnal genres, the particular ways of behaving motivated by specific institutions (Foucault, 1977, pp. 200–208). In a sense, panopticism contributes to the durability of embodied discipline giving it the potential to function as a technology of the self rather than simply a technology of power. Disciplinary power can be pedagogically productive, not only because it aids classroom management but its panoptic quality gives it the potential to function as a form of embodied social conscience or corrective mediating behaviour. In habituating the carnal genres of schooling, students also acquire a set of ethical dispositions that guide their behaviour as a member of a larger social group. Their bodies become infused with an understanding that effective social participation generally depends on a disciplining of their own bodies in terms of how they affect others. This discipline, therefore, has a broader social good beyond a delimiting form of governance.

While important pedagogically for the development of a social ethics of the body, these effects of disciplinary power are enabling in other ways more specifically related to academic performance. As is evident in Gramsci's comment that opened this chapter, studying has its own particular apprenticeship. This process of induction into scholarly labour begins very early in a child's life, prior to schooling. The ability to sit at a desk for even short periods of time and concentrate on a task can be quite difficult for many children. Simply sitting at a table is a learned behaviour. Anyone having closely observed the stage when children move from a highchair to sit at a table to eat will understand this. Much of what is taken for granted in everyday practice requires learning. Once learnt, however, it tends to become naturalised to the point where the initial learning process is forgotten. Elias (1978) has explored this phenomenon in relation to the development of social etiquette, what he terms the *civilising process*, whereby individuals and societies over time implement particular "rules" governing social behaviour which are learned and then assume a taken-for-grantedness within everyday life. Elias's focus is the mundane: using a fork, sneezing into a handkerchief and not farting in public. This notion of a civilising process also has applicability for the learned nature of scholarly comportment. While much time is devoted in kindergarten to enculturating children into the practices of school life, this need not only be understood from a classroom management perspective. Such practices are also important in developing a *scholarly habitus*, a naturalness about sitting at a desk to read and write and work independently. It is this learned behaviour, this civilising process, which constitutes an important part of the apprenticeship of academic learning. As Elias (cited in Shilling, 1994, p. 164) explains, "…in the development of civilised bodies, the boundaries between consciousness and drives strengthen. The civilised body possesses self-controls manifest in 'morals' or 'rational thought' which interpose themselves between 'spontaneous and emotional impulses, on the one hand and the skeletal muscles, on the other', and which allow for the deferral of satisfaction. This prevents impulses from expressing themselves in action without the permission of these control mechanisms".

Practice is essentially governed by desire, but it is the nature and formation of this desire that is important in a study of pedagogy (Watkins, 2008). In assisting children acquire a desire for academic endeavour and literate practice; they firstly require a certain scholarly habitus, a bodily disposition which engenders that desire. The bodily dimension of writing involving sitting and labouring to construct a text, which is essentially habituated technique in proficient writers, is generally taken for granted. To write and write well, however, is not simply a matter of will. Bodies need to be attuned to the dynamics of writing which requires a certain bodily discipline that curbs other desires, "the impulses" to which Elias refers. This discipline eventually attains the status of a disposition generating an ongoing desire to write.

Many children enter school already predisposed to write. To teachers they are either seen as 'natural' learners or their early success is related to a combination of

social class and parental involvement. While the latter explanation is no doubt true, a blanket concept such as ‘class’ does not provide much insight into what it is that constitutes the readiness for academic learning. What these children possess may appear as natural due to its habituation, but what they have acquired prior to entering school is a particular habitus for learning. They are comfortable sitting at a desk and have considerable bodily control when completing work. The ease and early success experienced by many children who have attended childcare for a number of years prior to commencing school can be partly attributed to this bodily preparedness for the classroom (Raban and Ure, 2000; Dockett and Perry, 2001; Barnett and Hustedt, 2003; Fantuzzo, Rouse, McDermott, Sekino, Childs and Weiss, 2005; Magnuson, Ruhm and Waldfogel, 2007). In childcare centres, days are generally highly structured with time devoted to indoor and outdoor activities; much of the former either sitting at work tables completing puzzles, craft or sitting on mats listening to stories and singing songs. These regularities of practice are over time embodied by children and so they develop a somatic familiarly for the desk and chair; the basic hardware of scholarly labour. This formative period for the embodiment of scholarly posture does not signal the beginnings of a passive approach to learning. It is the necessary precursor to the self-discipline required for independent learning and academic work. In children whose bodies are accustomed to sit at a desk and concentrate for sustained periods, their body in a sense disappears as they begin to habituate a scholarly posture. It doesn’t receive their conscious attention and they are no longer aware of its role in what they do. We use our bodies in virtually everything we do but over time we attain a level of ‘disengagement’ from each and every task, without which it would be impossible to function or to increase the complexity of our actions (Leder, 1990). What is familiar and habitual is assigned to the unconscious, generally only resurrected by consciousness if modification is required. This *disappearance* of the body reduces cognitive load, resulting in a greater capacity for conscious thought (Leder, 1990).

To write effectively children need to habituate the biodynamics of literate practice. This entails not only mastering the appropriate writing technology, initially an implement such as a crayon, pencil, pen or even a keyboard, but also the ability to sit at a desk for sustained periods of time and concentrate on producing text. Children need to feel ‘at one’ with what they are doing, a sense of flow or naturalness about the actions they perform. Their use of the pen and their posture when writing must become a part of their being (Watkins and Noble, 2011). As Merleau-Ponty (1999, p. 91) explains, “those actions in which I habitually engage incorporate their instruments into themselves and make them play a part in the original structure of my own body”. This process is also referred to by Foucault (1977, p. 152) who discusses it in terms of *body-object articulation* whereby “Discipline defines each of the relations that the body must have with the object that it manipulates”. To Foucault the point at which the body and object work as one is attained as a result of a disciplined body. It is only through the incorporation of this bodily know-how, and disengagement from the very physicality of writing, that children possess the necessary cognitive capacity to focus more directly on the content of their work; the form and function of what

they write. For learning in general this process of disengagement is ongoing, whereby what is learned retreats to the unconscious only to be accessed at point of need. Through the habituation of this scholarly technique children acquire a practical ability to write as well as a bodily disposition for learning. It is this generative capacity of disciplinary power and its agentic function that Foucault and much application of his work tends to downplay.

## THE PROBLEMS WITH FOUCAULT'S BODY

In *Discipline and Punish,* Foucault (1977, p. 215) explains that,

> "Discipline" may be identified neither with an institution nor with an apparatus; it is a type of power, a modality for its exercise, comprising a whole set of instruments, techniques, procedures, levels of application, targets; it is a "physics", or an "anatomy" of power, a technology.

Foucault, however, rarely gives individual bodies agentic discretion over this technology, rather it is institutionally engendered. It may not be directly identifiable with any particular institution, but it is manifest in the particular procedures and routines which they employ and from which they ultimately seem to benefit. According to Foucault (1977, p. 167), institutions harness certain aspects of disciplinary power which he categorises as: cellular, the manipulation of spatial distribution; organic, the coding of activities; genetic, the organisation of time and; combinatory, involving the grouping of individuals. Despite the usefulness of these categories in analysing the different forms and functions of disciplinary power, Foucault tends to invest the procedures themselves with the capacity to discipline. Crossley (1996, p. 107) similarly notes this problem, although specifically in relation to discipline imposed spatially stating, "Space is not an (external) object-like force which imposes itself on the body from without. It is a lived and shared dwelling whose 'effects' cannot be understood or accounted for independently of the human action which animates them". Crossley highlights the ways in which Foucault downplays the agency of individual bodies' utilisation of space, which is indicative of his response to the array of disciplinary techniques he documents.

In critiquing Foucault's treatment of the disciplinary tendencies of spatial organisation, Crossley draws largely upon Merleau-Ponty referring to the ways in which he sees the body in an "active relation to its environment" (Crossley, 1996, p. 106). Yet while Foucault is far too determinist, limiting agency in terms of the disciplinary procedures he describes; Merleau-Ponty seems excessively subjectivist, endowing the body with the capacity to exact what it deems useful from its surroundings. Crossley points out that Merleau-Ponty clarifies this in that the body is empowered to do this as a result of "acquired schemas and habits", but doesn't explain how these are acquired and in what way they provide impetus for action. There is no account of the process or pedagogy whereby bodies develop the ingenuity to manipulate their environment. Crossley attempts to address this in his own work through his notions of carnal sociology (Crossley, 1995a) and reflexive

embodiment (Crossley, 2004, 2006) in which the body is both active and acted upon. He is justifiably critical of the tendency within sociology of the body to concentrate on the latter at the expense of the former (Crossley, 2007). While not specifically addressing the issue of pedagogy, in highlighting both these perspectives Crossley at least intends to erase the theoretical gap of conceptualising how it is that forces enacted upon the body are *encoded* and function to affect individual action, a process Foucault neglects.

Foucault acknowledged his lack of engagement with the agentic aspects of discipline in one of his last interviews commenting that "Perhaps I've insisted too much on the technology of domination and power. I am more and more interested in the interaction: between oneself and others in the technologies of individual domination, the history of how an individual acts upon him/herself in the technology of the self" (Martin, Gutman and Hutton, 1988, p. 19). Foucault's later concept of *technologies of the self* seems to provide something of a balance to his perspective on discipline. His understanding of technologies of the self, however, does not appear to act in concert with his notion of disciplinary power. In fact, his technologies of power and the self seem conceptually quite distinct. The former operates as an external force investing the body with a certain social utility whereas he defines the latter as allowing, "individuals to effect…a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection or immortality" (Foucault, 1990, p. 18). This seems to suggest an internal force of will, the conscious mind determining action. Foucault can conceive of the body as socially constituted, a product of the play of disciplinary forces, but he seems unable to view these as individually agentic and so gives the mind, rather than the body, the capacity to effect change in fashioning the self. Given its usual omission, this apparent insertion of the mind within a technology of the self is pleasing, but without addressing the nature of the mind/body relation in determining action an unhelpful dualism remains. Foucault simply suggests subjectivity is a process of interaction between techniques of power and the self; a position left under-theorised and which only provides a partial account.

Despite these unresolved gaps in Foucault's theorisation of the body, his work proved instrumental in spawning a wealth of interest in the topic as a distinct area of intellectual concern. Within sociology, his work influenced the development of a sub-discipline related specifically to the body as the locus of inquiry. Despite Mauss's insights during the 1930s and 40s, the body was largely neglected within sociology, considered either a topic of primarily biological concern or an area where theorisation tended towards a form of individualism lacking a sociological focus (Turner, 1984). This latter criticism was often directed towards ethnomethodology and symbolic interactionism, as in the work of Garfinkel (1967) and Goffman (1959, 1972). Their notion of the social as an instantiation of individualised ritual practice was generally viewed as sociologically naive. The social, of course, can be understood in different ways from the product of institutionalised structures to an aggregation of individualised action. Yet in

theorising bodies and practice there are pitfalls in emphasising one over the other resulting in a pendulum swing favouring either structure or agency. This is clearly the case in comparing the conceptualisation of the social within the work of Turner (1984, 1992) and Frank (1991). In Turner, whose *The Body and Society* provides one of the first examples of a specific sociology of the body, there is a clear bias towards structure. Following Foucault, Turner's frame of reference is quite clearly the body as a product of social control. To Frank, however, who critiques Turner's take on the body, the focus is agency. Frank makes some attempt to incorporate social structure in his account but it seems to function as mere setting. Its central role in the development of bodily capacity and subject formation is never developed. The social, however, is not simply structure or agency; it is both. In the main, social structures, or rather structuring, allows for individual agency. This is not simply theoretical pragmatism but rather an acknowledgement that the social and the individual cannot be understood as distinct entities. It is the nexus that needs to be theoretically expounded, not simply the poles.

In the introduction to the second edition of *The Body and Society* Turner accepts and responds to criticisms of his 1984 edition referring to the "lopsided development of the sociology of the body" (1996, p. 32) that emphasised structure over agency. For Urry (2000), however, the sociological debates around structure and agency are simply unhelpful and he feels different logics need to be embraced. He wants to see "the ordering of social life as contingent, unpredictable, patterned and irreducible to human subjects" (Urry, 2000, p. 16). Like Latour (2005), similarly keen to reassemble the social, Urry wants to acknowledge the impact of objects on human agency: desks, chairs, computers, etc, and to incorporate both the animate and inanimate, human and material, in what might be conceived as 'social'. Importantly, Urry views agency as embodied, but in his account of the ways in which objects contribute to this he tends to overstate their role, claiming that "Agency is to be seen as an accomplishment and this is brought about through various objects …" (Urry, 2000, p. 78). Yet, it is not so much the objects that achieve this but an individual's ability to use them, which is generally dependent on the acquisition of skill often requiring the guidance of others. Urry does not adequately account for the pedagogic relations involved in the use of things, which cannot simply be explained in terms of "the forming and reforming of chains or networks of humans and non-humans" (Urry, 2000, p. 78). Such an explanation tends to erase the often difficult task of object use and mastery, as in a child's use of a pen. The pedagogic process requires further elaboration in Urry's account and, so too, Latour's (1992) as it is far more complex than a matter of human/object engagement. Agency is embodied but embodiment is a function of a particular pedagogy; a process that inevitably raises the issue of power and so structure and agency. Within sociology of the body, however, not only is the issue of pedagogy generally neglected, so too is agency. For Turner, research on the body has concentrated on a limited number of areas and has failed to treat adequately issues relating to embodiment and bodily practices, a view Shilling (2005, 2007) shares. Despite these criticisms, problems with Foucault's notion of the body derived from his emphasis on technologies of power within *Discipline and Punish* remain. There

is still limited treatment of the more agentic aspects of embodiment within recent scholarship and in particular their empirical explication.

## PHYSICAL CAPITAL, HABITUS AND PEDAGOGIC EMBODIMENT

Sociology of the body likewise tends to give little consideration to schooling and embodiment[iii]. An exception to this can be found in the work of Shilling who, while writing more generally on the relationship between the body and society (1994, 2005, 2007, 2008) also explores the role of the body in schooling (1991, 1992, 2004, 2010). Shilling's work draws on a range of theorists but of particular interest here is his discussion of Bourdieu. Shilling refers to the selective application of Bourdieu's work within the sociology of education, namely the widespread use of his early work on social reproduction, which, while utilising the notion of cultural capital, tends to neglect its embodied state as habitus, the set of socially acquired dispositions that generate individual practice (Shilling, 1992). Since making this comment, however, there is now far more engagement with the notion of habitus within educational research to the extent that Reay (2004) bemoans its habitual use especially as she feels its explanatory power is often taken as given. Rather than a concept at the service of the data, Reay is of the view the opposite is the case. Given this, close examination of the embodied dimensions of habitus and the impact of schooling upon its formation tends to receive minimal attention. Although not focusing specifically on habitus, Shilling aimed to redress this oversight by examining how embodied capital is an important aspect of schooling, which, through conversion into economic or symbolic capital, possesses a similar capacity for the reproduction of social inequality.

In his earlier work Shilling favours the term *physical* as opposed to *embodied* capital and tends to focus on how individuals make use of their bodies in relation to sport and leisure activities. In the school context his work is primarily concerned with social class and gender differentiation in the teaching of physical education (PE). This is an important field of inquiry, especially in relation to how it impacts upon the academic sphere and employment post school, but neither Shilling nor other theorists in the area of body studies in education (Wright, 2004; Evans, 2004; Evans, Rich, Davies and Allwood, 2005; O'Loughlin, 2006; Skattebol, 2006; Hills, 2007; Burrows, 2010; Lee and Macdonald, 2010, Vander Schee and Boyles, 2010) consider physical capital from an academic perspective; the school's role in the embodiment of dispositions to learning. Literate practice and the capacity for academic endeavour are not obviously seen as forms of physical capital, yet they are embodied. Notions of *embodied* and *physical* capital, however, seem to have different orientations. Embodied capital is a term which gives emphasis to process whereas physical capital seems to stress product or the end result of a process of embodiment. Although making reference to "production" in the titles of his early work on physical capital and schooling (1991, 1992), it seems product rather than production is Shilling's focus. The actual production of physical capital is given minimal treatment, examined predominantly in terms of the development of

particular sporting skills, preference for physical activities and also as bodily representation, such as through dress.

Although drawing on Bourdieu, Shilling makes little use of his notion of habitus. While he mentions the term and acknowledges its embodied nature, he seems to attach minimal significance to its role in the production of physical capital. This may be due to Shilling's critique of the concept which he details elsewhere (1994, 1997). Shilling is not alone in his criticism of Bourdieu's construct (see for example: Giroux, 1982; Gartman, 1991; Aboulafia, 1999; Bohman, 1999; Margolis, 1999; King, 2000; Crossley, 2001; Lahire, 2003; Adams, 2006; Bennett, 2007; Reed-Danahay, 2007). To many, the habitus is overly socially determined ruling out any possibility for individual transformative action. As Shilling (1997, p. 747) explains, "As operationalised in Bourdieu's work the habitus makes it impossible to separate out action from structure, as the two are inextricably entwined, or to account for social change as the two are mutually regenerating". While there are problems with Bourdieu's notion of habitus, which are taken up in more detail in Chapter 2, it does possess a certain functionality for theorising a socially informed yet individually agentic understanding of practice. Bourdieu does conflate structure and agency within the habitus, but this is intentional on his part. The habitus is intended as a mediating device wherein structure is individuated, bridging the structure/agency divide. His success in achieving this, however, is debatable. Shilling also draws on Giddens's structuration theory and Archer's morphogenetic approach to resolve issues of structure and agency. Interestingly, however, he is critical of these theorists for failing to engage with the corporeality of practice and their "undersocialised" view of agency that places too great an emphasis on the role of consciousness in the determination of action, pointing out that,

> For structuration theory and the morphogenetic approach to incorporate a greater somatic component would require a view of the embodied dimensions of agency that is shaped by the social system but is no mere reflection of it, that possesses a creativity able to affect the reproduction or transformation of social structures; and that is subject to change over time.
>
> (Shilling, 1997, p. 748)

What Shilling sees as a weakness in Giddens and Archer is actually one of the strengths of Bourdieu's work. The habitus allows for what Giddens and Archer do not; the capacity for a socially embodied form of action. Shilling's critique of the adequacy of the habitus to affect change may be valid but the value of its socially embodied nature should not be dismissed. In more recent work Shilling (2010) appears to acknowledge this. As is the position presented here and elsewhere (Watkins, 2005a), Shilling similarly places emphasis on the role of pedagogic embodiment[iv]. Unlike a notion of physical capital that highlights externalisation, with embodiment, and the pedagogy that guides this process, internalisation and embodied dispositions or habitus are foregrounded. Bourdieu, however, actually rejects the idea that the habitus is immutable and considers this a misinterpretation of his work (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, pp. 132–137). To Bourdieu the habitus

does possess the capacity for change; the problem is that the impetus for this is located in social structures not within the individual. As Bourdieu (1998b, p. 122) explains, "… rupture cannot result from a simple awakening of consciousness; the transformation of dispositions cannot occur without a prior or concomitant transformation of the objective structures of which they are the product and which they can survive". As such, Bourdieu leaves himself open to the criticism that the habitus is overly deterministic and lacks any transformative potential. A way out of this would be to give greater emphasis to individual reflexivity as a socially acquired capacity, but this would entail a re-examination of how the habitus deals with notions of consciousness and a reassessment of the mind/body relation, the possibility of which is taken up in the next chapter.

## NEGLECTING THE MIND: SOCIOLOGY AND ANTI/ANTE THEORY

In general, the theorisation of practice within sociology seems overly preoccupied with issues of structure and agency at the expense of an adequate conceptualisation of the mind/body relation. If mentioned, it is often in terms of an anti-Cartesian stance which, as little more than critique, is hardly a viable alternative. As a result, tacit reference is given to the mind, as it seems anathema to conceive of consciousness as integral to the shaping of action. Shilling (1997), for example, is critical of what he terms "the theoretical weight" given to consciousness by Giddens and Archer but is equally critical of Bourdieu for failing to infuse the habitus with a greater potential for initiating change which, it could be argued, is due largely to its lack of a conscious component. In analysing theories of practice Shilling has termed perspectives either "under" or "over" socialised which, while a useful description, does not in itself provide a way out of the theoretical pendulum swing between structure and agency. A useful intervention seems to be some engagement with the nature of the mind/body relation, but this is generally left to philosophers to explore. Consequently, issues of structure and agency overshadow debate around the role of the mind and body in determining action. Within sociology a focus on the body is seen to remedy this situation but what this seems to produce is a *mindless* ontology which, in pursuing an anti-Cartesian line, has simply inverted Descartes's dualism. Shilling's (1997, p. 748) request for "a view of the embodied dimensions of agency that is shaped by the social system but is no mere reflection of it" may be more effectively met with a reassessment of the mind/body relation which views consciousness as functioning dialectically with embodied aspects of subjectivity. While socially constituted, individual action is not simply a result of bodily determination. To a considerable extent, everyday practice functions below the level of consciousness, and much can be theorised from a purely bodily perspective, but individuals also possess a reflexive capacity that allows them to modify and refine what they do. So, although arguing against a Cartesian dualism, there needs to be some recognition of the heuristic distinction between mind and body if a balance is to be found between the "over" and "under" socialised notions of agency to which Shilling refers and which Bourdieu attempts to address in his notion of habitus. This interface between structure and agency,

mind and body, is where theorisation about the nature of pedagogic practice should be centred. Given its usual cognitive bias, educational theory has much to learn from sociologies of the body, but it will be of minimal use without an accompanying reconceptualisation of the mind/body relation.

This counter-Cartesianism within social and cultural theory which neglects the mind seems to function as a kind of anti-theory, but in being *anti-Cartesian* it has also assumed a position of being *anti* the mind and conscious intent. This *anti-theory*, however, could also be interpreted as a kind of *ante-theory* operating as a prior, or preliminary stage of reconceptualising the mind/body relation in the wake of Cartesianism's rejection. It seems an almost necessary intellectual exercise, given the body's neglect within the Western philosophical tradition, to focus attention on its role in the processes of being. Yet, there seems to be an implicit rationale that doing this provides a kind of epistemological correction to its previous neglect, as if focusing on the body and embodiment will somehow excise the mind/body binary. While analysis of subjectivity as an embodied concept is an important field of inquiry, failure to engage with notions of consciousness means it only provides a partial account of human practice with the theoretical gap around consciousness remaining. As discussed, attempts to bridge this gap within sociology tend to be narrowly conceived in terms of structure and agency with the epistemological links between this opposition and the mind/body relation rarely considered. In attempting to resolve the structure/agency divide, the nature of the mind/body relation is also an issue yet; it isn't factored into the equation except in terms of the rejection of Cartesianism. Debate around human embodiment, therefore, tends to concentrate on notions of structural constraint and bodily inscription on the one hand and phenomenological engagement and social interactionism on the other. Attempts to link what is done to the body and what the body does are generally undertaken without reference to the mind and conscious understanding. There is also minimal theorisation of the intersection of these perspectives; a space of particular pedagogic concern which necessitates engagement with issues of conscious intent, not as the sole determinant of action but as an integral aspect, along with corporeal competence, in explaining human practice.

## ATTEMPTS TO BRIDGE THE DIVIDE

Crossley's attempt at bridging this theoretical divide was referred to in relation to his critique of Foucault, but he draws on a number of theorists to examine how embodied aspects of existence guide practice. Together with Foucault, Crossley makes particular use of Merleau-Ponty meshing structuralism[v] and phenomenology to provide a more balanced account of the corporeal bases of being. He tends, however, to give greater emphasis to Merleau-Ponty and his concept of the *body-subject*, a notion intended to counter Descartes's dualism. As Crossley (1995b, p. 135) states, Merleau-Ponty "shows how the field of perception and the field of action are articulated, how they function together in a mutually transformative fashion and thus how action is always oriented to a present situation which it will accommodate and transform". This account of action, however, also seems to

discount the role of consciousness. The body's interaction with its surroundings is never presented as problematic. No account of reflexivity, the thinking through of the possibility of a bodily mismatch with circumstances and the need to consciously adjust behaviour is required. Instead there is an assumed ongoing complementarity. Crossley, however, still finds Merleau-Ponty's conceptualisation of the body-subject valuable because it equips the body with not only a social past of acquired traits but also a social present; namely, how these traits function as a set of competencies for effective action, something he finds lacking in Mauss (Crossley, 1995b, 2004). While to some extent this is a valid criticism in that Mauss doesn't engage with the immediacy of intercorporeality and spatiality, he does refer to training and drill and so at least there is an implication of the pedagogic; the process whereby agents are taught to utilise their bodies more effectively and for specific purposes. Despite Merleau-Ponty's insights into the productive interrelationship of body and space, he also neglects to provide a detailed account of the processes whereby agents develop and, in some cases, explicitly learn bodily capacities for social competence. In other words, Merleau-Ponty also takes the pedagogic for granted. The acquisition of particular competencies is understood as primarily a process of immersion, a view Crossley (2004, p. 52) largely shares, whereby agents simply assume bodily know-how as a result of being in the world. While Merleau-Ponty also explains acquisition in terms of habit, there is similarly little emphasis on its formation or the central role of pedagogy in this process (Merleau-Ponty, 1999, p. 144).

Pedagogy is much more than a process of unconscious osmosis or repetition. It requires recourse to consciousness, often as a result of the intervention of other more capable bodies and minds. The process of learning, even at a bodily level, involves degrees of reflexivity or conscious reassessment of the effectiveness and suitability of particular actions (Noble and Watkins, 2003). Crossley does point out the weaknesses in Merleau-Ponty's treatment of bodily interaction and sees Goffman as providing a more thorough account of how agents modify their behaviour to maintain face and the requirements of appropriate social performance. He adds, however, that Goffman "is clear that such observance belongs to embodied action itself and not to any separate act of intellection: that is action follows rules without the mediation of conscious or otherwise 'mental' processes" (Crossley, 1995b, p. 138). Crossley's own position on the role of consciousness is unclear. He seems to want to deny its role in the determination of action in his interpretation of Goffman but endorses Merleau-Ponty's comment that "mindedness and embodiment of human life are inseparable" (Crossley, 1995b, p. 142). While I'd agree in part with Merleau-Ponty, what he means by mindedness requires clarification, particularly given its implications for pedagogy and learning. Mindedness here does not relate to consciousness or specifically cognition but to a bodily mindedness or intuition. Crossley's notion of reflexive embodiment has a similar meaning because the reflexive doesn't involve recourse to consciousness but rather operates as a pre-reflective bodily corrective or, as Crossley (2004, p. 51) explains, "a way of knowing both body and world for the practical purposes of using both to modify the former". In his account of the reflexive body techniques

of circuit trainers, however, Crossley (2004, p. 49) refers to their acquisition of particular routines as "more or less a constant process of adjustment and self-monitoring". Yet to Crossley this doesn't entail conscious intervention, rather he sees immersion in practice as guiding this process. Surely, however, for newcomers learning routines and the fact that an instructor is on hand to offer advice to all those participating in the circuit classes, conscious awareness has a role to play. The pedagogy here does not simply entail a dialectic of body and world but of body and mind as they mediate the world, with the mind retreating when proficiency is attained. The automaticity of the circuit trainer's routine is achieved through a process of bodily incorporation. Conscious awareness necessarily fades as bodily intuition takes over but it remains "on call" if required; a process examined in Chapter 2. While consciousness seems an uncertain category for Crossley, his use of both phenomenology and social interactionism ensure he provides a more agentic perspective on human embodiment and action than is evident in much sociology of the body. His attempts to reconcile the structure/agency divide in his notion of reflexive embodiment, however, shows an ambivalence towards the issue of conscious intent.

Another theorist keen to bridge the structure/agency divide is Giddens. Whereas Crossley attempts to do so in relation to human embodiment and action, Giddens tends to ignore corporeality, viewing action more in terms of the function of a thinking and purposeful agent. Giddens's contribution to the debate is the concept of structuration, which focuses on the duality of structure. To Giddens (1979, p. 5), structure is "both the medium and outcome of the reproduction of practices". He rejects the notion of structure as constraint, viewing it instead as a set of rules and resources; the inherent properties of social systems that are in turn constitutive of practice. In terms of this fundamental interrelationship between structure and agency, Giddens has much in common with Bourdieu but, whereas Bourdieu uses the habitus to mediate structure and agency, Giddens has no such mechanism. Instead, he explains that "structure enters simultaneously into the constitution of the agent and social practices and 'exists' in the generating moments of this constitution" (Giddens, 1979, p. 5).

Giddens's use of the term *constitution*, however, is misleading. Given his lack of engagement with notions of embodiment it is difficult to ascertain the ways in which structure *enters* the agent and functions as an enabling capacity to generate practice, except in terms of a conscious monitoring of activity. In Giddens's account structure does not sediment into corporeal dispositions as with Bourdieu's notion of habitus. Instead Giddens (1979, p. 40) refers to "stocks of knowledge" that appear to be the accumulation of agents' social experience, of which they may not be conscious but can draw on to guide behaviour.

Giddens (1984, p. 49), therefore, makes a distinction between what he terms *discursive* and *practical* consciousness. The former involves verbal expression, the latter simply tacit awareness, which an agent *knows* but cannot verbally recount. Giddens's understanding of practical consciousness though avoids the body and its own learned behaviour which, as habituated practice, is generally and necessarily below the level of consciousness. Giddens wants to retain some ongoing form of

consciousness but in doing so provides a particularly *unpractical* account of practice. Consciousness at various levels or "states of intensity" is crucial for understanding what agents do, but so are inscribed patterns of behaviour of which we may not even be tacitly aware (Searle, 1997, p. 5). The apparent "naturalness" of the corporeal is easy to discount. It is this "hidden" nature of embodied facility that is all but ignored in theorising the pedagogic; a process understood as almost exclusively cognitive. Giddens's neglect of the body and any acknowledgement of the role of unconscious bodily intuition could be a result of his intention to counter structuralist theorisations of practice given he feels, "the pressing task facing social theory today is not to further the conceptual elimination of the subject, but, on the contrary, to promote a recovery of the subject without lapsing into subjectivism" (Giddens, 1979, p. 41). From Giddens's perspective, any lapse in the workings of consciousness by allowing a corporeal unconscious to assert a role in determining behaviour seems to work against what he understands by agency, thereby contributing to "the conceptual elimination of the subject". But with the disembodied agent of structuration theory acting essentially on the basis of conscious intent, Giddens gives his own theory of practice a subjectivist slant; the very position he is keen to avoid. In *Modernity and Self-Identity* Giddens (1991) does attempt to engage far more with the bodily dimensions of subjectivity, yet he still gives little emphasis to the processes of embodiment. Instead, his central concern is ontological security which involves a kind of psychological monitoring of individual practice drawing heavily upon the work of Goffman and Laing.

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

A focus on structure or agency – or alternatively, attempts to bridge this divide which invariably reveal a structural or agentic bias – tend to dominate theorisation of the body. A fundamental shortcoming is the inadequate treatment of its ontological underpinnings. Cartesianism is summarily dismissed, but the gap resulting from its demise is all but ignored, seemingly filled by the concentration given to explicating the corporeal. Yet debates around emphasising either structure or agency may in fact result from this failure to engage with notions of consciousness and the nature of the mind/body relation; an issue of particular poignancy for understanding the role of the body in learning. In the next chapter an attempt is made to correct this imbalance by proposing an alternate ontological framework that incorporates notions of body and mind with the intention of providing a firmer foundation on which to theorise the pedagogic.

CHAPTER 2

# PEDAGOGY AND THE MINDFUL BODY

> We learn bodily. The social order inscribes itself in bodies through this permanent confrontation which may be more or less dramatic but is always largely marked by affectivity and, more precisely, by affective transactions with the environment.
>
> P. Bourdieu (2000, p. 141)

> Reason is not seen as a transcendent or disembodied quality of the soul or mind; rather, reason, desire and knowledge are embodied and dependent, at least in the first instance, on the quality and complexity of the corporeal affects.
>
> M. Gatens (1996, p. 110)

The focus in Chapter 1 was to survey various past and present theorisations of the body, especially phenomenological and sociological understandings. Emphasis was also given to work within education largely involving applications of Foucauldian theory. Despite the benefits of this scholarship in demonstrating the ontological significance of the corporeal, there is little interest in articulating a role for the mind in determining practice. While there needs to be a much greater appreciation of the bodily aspects of learning, this should not be undertaken without also acknowledging the role of the mind. Although Bourdieu may feel that "We learn bodily", this is not exclusively so; cognition figures substantially in the process. The problem is that the mind and body are presented as separate entities, with the former seemingly devoid of any corporeal instantiation. Yet this need not be the case. Drawing on the work of Spinoza, Gatens (1996, p. 110) points out that "reason, desire and knowledge are embodied". Rather than distinct from the body, consciousness can be conceived as reliant upon "the quality and complexity of corporeal affects". This chapter returns to Bourdieu's notion of habitus to explore this relation. While the habitus is a productive conceptualisation of the relation between social structure and bodily action, it nevertheless achieves this by displacing the question of human consciousness. This chapter proposes a reformulation of Bourdieu's habitus drawing upon the insights of Spinoza's monism. In doing this, it provides a foundation for a theory of *pedagogic embodiment* that considers the role of the body *and* the mind in determining action.

## BOURDIEU – LOSING CONSCIOUSNESS

Despite Schinkel's view that sociology's overuse of Bourdieu's term *habitus* renders it now in a state of "having been innovative" (Schinkel, 2007, p. 707), it

arguably provides the most effective means of bridging the structure/agency divide. Bourdieu (1990, p. 53) defines the habitus as:

> systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organise practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them.

His intention in devising the habitus was to counter both the subjectivist and objectivist tendencies within social and cultural theory, dissolving the binarism that underlies both sociological and philosophical inquiry (Bottero, 2010, p. 4). Wacquant (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 19) refers to Bourdieu's theorisation of the social as "monist" as "it refuses to establish sharp demarcations between the external and the internal, the conscious and the unconscious, the bodily and the discursive". Bourdieu may be monist to the extent that he captures the simultaneity of structure and agency in the operation of the habitus, but this still rests on a dualism of mind and body. Bourdieu's "partial" monism is made possible through his focus on embodied practice; a view grounded in a "practical non-thetic intentionality" which he explains,

> "has nothing in common with a cogitatio (or a noesis), [it] is rooted in a posture, a way of bearing the body (a hexis), a durable way of being of the durable modified body which is engendered and perpetuated, while constantly changing (within limits), in a twofold relationship structured and structuring to the environment" (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 144).

This bodily intentionality is *lodged* within the dispositions of the habitus acquired through the repeated experience of everyday life. These dispositions operate in a virtual sense whereby schemas of action inscribed within the body take command and guide practice when prompted to act. The possibility of any recourse to consciousness, either prior to or during activity, is generally not a matter for the habitus. Given the concept's fundamental role in determining practice the only conclusion to be drawn is that neither conscious intent nor reflection is integral to action. To obviate the need for conscious intervention, as in the case of a situational disjuncture, Bourdieu (1990, p. 61) points out that "the habitus tends to protect itself from crises and critical challenges by providing itself with a milieu to which it is as pre-adapted as possible".

Apart from the problem of fetishising the habitus – seemingly providing it with its own in-built reflexivity – Bourdieu only ever deals with the concept as if it was already formed. The actual development of dispositions within the habitus, as in the case of young children beginning school, is not considered[i]. The pedagogic dimension of the habitus receives minimal discussion in Bourdieu's work. In his early analysis of education, pedagogy is viewed specifically from the perspective of "social reproduction" (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). While an important aspect of pedagogy, it is only one dimension of its overall impact. In focusing on this, Bourdieu fails to capture the enabling potential of the process. As his critics point

out, if the dispositions within the habitus merely replicate given social structures, the concept is simply a cog in the process of social reproduction and Bourdieu's sociology is overwhelmingly structuralist in orientation (Giroux, 1982; de Certeau, 1984; Gartman, 1991; Crossley, 2001; Sweetman, 2003; Adkins, 2004; Adams, 2006; Bottero, 2010). Bourdieu, however, is adamant this is not the case, stressing that the "Habitus is not the fate that some people read into it" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 133). Rather, Bourdieu sees it as "an open system of dispositions that is constantly subjected to experiences" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 133). Yet this doesn't tally with the propensity of the habitus to avoid incompatible contexts, and its overall resistance to change. Even if some compromise is found between these two positions, with the habitus understood as a more flexible concept, the impetus for change is located *outside* the individual with agency dependent not only on the external but also on forces which have a sustained impact upon the habitus. It is only through iteration that a dispositional inclination is attained. This process, as detailed by Bourdieu, goes partway towards explaining the logic of practice and is critical in understanding the importance of habituation within the pedagogic process, but the problem remains as to how to conceive of a socialised subjectivity which has some in-built mechanism for individual autonomy, without a resultant slippage into subjectivism.

As it stands, to Bourdieu, the habitus already provides the requisite degree of autonomy; though he does concede that at times there is a need for conscious intervention or, what he terms, *strategic calculation*. This mode of action, however, is not really accounted for in his overall logic of practice because it is only at "times of crises" that "rational choice" may intervene and, even so, this is only an option for "those agents who are in a position to be rational" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 131). As far as Bourdieu is concerned, consciousness is an aberration. It only intercedes at "times of crises" and is neither a part of everyday practice nor an aspect of embodied subjectivity. Instead, consciousness is conceived as quite separate from the somatic in its sporadic intervention in practice.

Wacquant may perceive a monist intent in Bourdieu's work, but his theorisation of habitus is still hampered by an underlying dualism. Bourdieu may not draw sharp demarcations between the various modalities of human existence but, at the same time, he is not even-handed in his treatment of their role in the formation of subjectivity and the determination of practice. One of the key strengths of Bourdieu's habitus is the conceptualisation of subjectivity as embodied. His understanding of embodiment, however, is still very much framed in terms of the anti-Cartesian stance of much sociology of the body. That is, Bourdieu's notion of embodiment is almost exclusively corporeal. Rather than incorporating the conscious mind within his conceptualisation of practice as also embodied; it is marginalised in deference to the intentionality inherent in bodily schemas. Instead of providing a monist ontology, Bourdieu inverts Descartes's dualism virtually effacing conscious intent from the processes of being and doing.

This exclusion of consciousness in the theorisation of the habitus is significant. The concept has generated much debate, yet commentary seems focused on its success or otherwise in bridging the structure/agency divide. Despite

acknowledgement that the habitus may function as a useful heuristic for explicating the individual/social nexus, there is considerable criticism of its failure to adequately account for agency. Turner (1992, p. 90), for example, comments that the habitus is not dissimilar to Durkheim's account of social facts and that Bourdieu's work in general is a form of "disguised structuralism". This criticism is interesting in its failure to elaborate reasons that could account for the deterministic tendencies of the habitus that relate specifically to issues of the mind/body relation and Bourdieu's neglect of consciousness. There are some exceptions to this such as Margolis (1999, p. 76) who "cannot see how to ensure the theoretical contribution of the habitus without a reasonably detailed account of the cognizing process of social life". Aboulafia (1999), Bohman (1999) and Jenkins (1992) share similar views. In general, though, Bourdieu and his critics display ambivalence towards consciousness. Bourdieu attributes minimal significance to its role in everyday life, and his critics seem to contain their critique within the confines of attempting to resolve issues of structure and agency, generally by altering the structural component of the equation or reframing notions of the social.

The agentic function of consciousness is generally downplayed as a result of an anti-Cartesian backlash (see Chapter 1 for discussion of this point). In contrast, it is a central concern of neuroscience and, through interdisciplinary dialogue, (Damasio, 1994, 1999; Brook and Mandik, 2004; Steinberg, 2006; Immordino-Yang and Damasio, 2007) there is renewed interest in some areas of philosophy (Searle, 1997; Bennett, Dennett, Hacker and Searle, 2007). The humanities, however, still seem to view consciousness as something of a theoretical pariah with little attention given to its ontological significance. It is generally conceived as a purely cognitive phenomenon, the preserve of a unified, thinking, yet disembodied, subject prompted to act as a result of rational and calculated thought. Affect, emotion, desire and the body are all categories typically considered antithetical to reason and consciousness. Bourdieu may have rejected this epistemological stance in focusing his attention on the role of the corporeal in his logic of practice, but he has tended to limit the impact of corporeality and the effect of the sensate to the realm of the body and habituated action. Their role in the working of consciousness is not considered. While broadening a sociology of action to incorporate socially acquired bodily schemas of practice, a Cartesian separation of body and mind is still evident in Bourdieu's work.

## CONSCIOUSNESS – A VIRTUAL CONSTANT

It could be argued, however, that consciousness is a virtual constant of everyday life, not simply as Bourdieu sees it, as strategic calculation, but, as a set of capacities, which allow for various levels of reflection to impact upon practice. This may be as banal as what to wear on a particular occasion or reassessing the family budget. Such matters may not require the degree of intellection envisaged by Bourdieu but they do involve consciousness and a form of reflexivity with the potential to engender more sophisticated degrees of reflexive thought. Conceptualisations of consciousness, as Greenfield (2000, p. 168) points out, are

often premised on an unnecessary and false assumption that it is "either on or off, there or not there". She suggests it is better to view consciousness as a continuum – "not as a sudden blinding light but as a dimmer switch" (Greenfield, 2000, p. 168). Consciousness can be considered a polymorphous state, having various forms or, to be more precise, levels moving from basic wakefulness through to awareness, attentiveness and on to degrees of reflection which involve complex thought. As a result, it is variable, changing in intensity from one moment to the next.

In terms of understanding pedagogic practice, the role of consciousness must be considered, particularly as it pertains to complex thought. In learning to write, its role is clearly evident. Before the mechanics of handwriting are routinised to the point of habituation, children first exhibit a mindful focus on the formation of letters and spacing between letters and words. If this conscious attention is not initiated by children themselves, their teacher is generally quick to intervene. What results is a play of consciousnesses between teacher and student, and also among students themselves, which is an integral aspect of the teaching/learning dynamic. Once a degree of competency is attained, there is little need for much conscious monitoring of handwriting. Accordingly, greater cognitive processing, and degrees of reflexivity, can be devoted towards choice of words and the sense and flow of sentences, much of which must also be habituated for children to produce more sophisticated textual forms.

What is evident within school-based pedagogy, and which can be effectively extrapolated to the pedagogy of the everyday, is how consciousness operates in a dialectical and complementary relation to the habitus. Consciousness is not anomalous in terms of what we do; rather, it is an immanent aspect of practice. A distinction needs to be made, however, between the pedagogy of the everyday and institutionalised pedagogy, as in the case of schooling. While there is a dialectic in relation to the habitus and consciousness within all forms of pedagogy, the ratio of habituation and consciousness may vary between the everyday and schooling. In the latter, learning is concentrated. Specific skills and knowledge must be acquired within a shorter timeframe, and with additional restrictions. Schooling does not have the luxury of the time and organisation of the everyday and so habituation must be orchestrated and conscious awareness heightened. This can be achieved through a teaching methodology that emphasises the repeated and detailed treatment of certain skills and knowledge, together with a combination of explicit teaching and focused and sustained learning. Schooling *condenses* the everyday. This is a process many progressivist educators deride as artificial, and so work against, without fully realising the need for, and appropriateness of, this process.

Pedagogy has both a cognitive and corporeal dimension, as does practice per se. Bourdieu's notion of the habitus, however, focuses on the latter and does not acknowledge the importance of consciousness as a factor in determining action. Despite allowing for consciousness in terms of strategic calculation, this lies outside the habitus and the realm of the corporeal. The concept itself is devoid of any conscious intent and so consciousness is disembodied within Bourdieu's theory of practice. Consciousness, however, need not be understood as separate to the body. As Searle (1997, p. 184) explains, "we ought to think of the experience

of our body as the central reference point of all forms of consciousness". Consciousness, therefore, can be understood as embodied and reliant upon the corporeal affects resulting from day-to-day experience. Much of this ongoing flow of sensation may not be registered overtly by consciousness but, depending on its intensity and recurrence, may still have the capacity to function as a *somatic marker* alerting the mind to act. Damasio (1994, p. 174) refers to somatic markers as "a special instance of feelings generated from secondary emotions". He explains that "these emotions and feelings have been connected, by learning, to predict future outcomes of certain scenarios". An accumulation of affect, therefore, has the capacity to function as a somatic marker, which has implications for habituation and learning.

While a considerable proportion of practice is routinised, and individuals function, as Bourdieu explains, with a socially embodied "feel for the game", this is not the totality of what constitutes the logic of practice (Bourdieu, 1998b, pp. 80–81). There is rarely one logical choice or move in a game. A *feel* for the game involves considering the array of options and instantaneously deciding on the best one, such as looking for the best kicker or fastest runner. In terms of writing, this could involve how best to construct a sentence, the choice between active or passive voice, for example. Although giving it a more sociological slant, Bourdieu seems to draw on Merleau-Ponty's notion of the *body-subject* here, which emphasises the complementary relationship between body and space. Yet, as with Bourdieu, Merleau-Ponty's concept neglects the potential tensions within practice which require conscious evaluation and not simply a reliance on bodily intuition. While the two are interdependent, they are not one and the same. As Damasio (1994, p. 133) points out, even though we possess "the means to respond adaptively at an automated level…consciousness buys an enlarged protection policy".

## CONSCIOUSNESS, AFFECT AND EMOTION

Damasio's understanding of consciousness is not distinct from the body. It is reliant on bodily affects and their emotional states. He explains that "feeling your emotional states, which is to say being conscious of emotions, offers you flexibility of response based on the particular history of your interactions with the environment" (Damasio, 1994, p. 133).

When Damasio refers to emotions, or feelings, however, he is not referring exclusively to states of mind. While emotions are essentially cognitive they are derived from bodily affects. Emotions, at least initially, result from the conscious registering of these affects. This important distinction is also made by Massumi (1996, p. 221) who points out that emotion and affect "Follow different logics and pertain to different orders". In her discussion of Massumi's work, Boler (1996) explains how he sees affects as "intensities" and emotions as "qualified intensities" adding that "In some sense, affect is similar to a preliminal / prediscursive and uncapturable dimension of experience, while emotion is an identified intensity, or recognised affect".

Boler (1996), however, is not happy with this distinction. She sees emotions as "inscribed habits of inattention" that need to be understood as "frequently imperceptible, less fixed and qualified". What Massumi appears to be capturing in the distinction he makes, particularly with his reference to "different orders" and "different logics", is how affects and emotions relate to different modalities of being. This should not be understood as a form of dualism. Rather, Massumi is referring to what pertains to the mind, namely emotions, and the body, that is affect, as having an ontological correspondence, similar in a sense to Spinozan parallelism. Affect and emotion are at the same time different and similar: different in the sense that they belong to distinct modes of existence, but similar in that emotion is substantially a product of affect or, as Damasio (1994, p. 159) puts it, "Feelings [by which he means emotions] offer us a glimpse of what goes on in our flesh".

Boler does not seem to want to make this distinction. Her conceptualisation of emotions as "inscribed habits of inattention" seems to locate them, along with affects, in the realm of the corporeal, with an implied resistance to any conscious expression. The distinction she draws between affect and emotion seems to focus on the longevity of their bodily effect; that is, affect is more fleeting whereas emotion is generally sustained. Affect, however, also has the propensity to be inscribed in the body, lodged in flesh as traces of experience. Although in this sense, it is as an accumulation of affects, or, as Spinoza would term it, "affection" resulting from the repeated impact of similar encounters with, and in, the world (Deleuze, 1988, p. 48). In explaining Spinoza's notion of affect, Deleuze (1988, p. 49) makes reference to its two aspects: force or "*affectus*" which refers to the passage from one state to another; and affection or "*affectio*" the state of the affected body. Spinoza, therefore, understood affect as both process and product. Affective force or *affectus* can reside in the body as *affectio,* over time forming the dispositions which Bourdieu views as the habitus.

It is in relation to this that Massumi, no doubt, views affect as autonomous. While affect can receive conscious attention as emotion, it may not. Even without instantiation through consciousness, affect could still possess the capacity to direct behaviour, or at least, provoke a response. In these instances, it could be viewed as autonomous. Such an example is provided by Massumi in his discussion of Hertha Sturm's experiment of children's reactions to viewing different versions of a film with the aim of generating different affective responses (Sturm, 1987 cited in Massumi 1996). As an initial bodily sensation, however, affect in itself is generally far too ephemeral to be viewed as much more than a combinatory element in inducing individuals to act in particular ways. By and large action is conditioned by, or rather learned through, the repetition of similar affects. This is also the view of Tomkins (1962, p. 181) who, while acknowledging that humans possess innate affective responses, stresses the impact of learning on affect. To exemplify this, Tomkins refers to the affective response of crying in infants and how, over time, this response is considerably weakened through social conditioning to the point where few adult males cry in public. Tomkins is not simply referring to the outward display of the affective response, that is the act of crying, he explains that "We also learn to change some of the internal components of the innate affective responses" (Tomkins,

1962, p. 182). Humans, therefore, may possess affective predispositions, but how affect operates in relation to subject formation and its role in shaping action is a function of pedagogy in its broadest sense. In ascribing affect autonomy, Massumi neglects the role of the pedagogic in human response. What appears as a singular affect may in actuality be an assemblage of previously experienced sensations, perhaps even having received conscious mediation in the past.

Boler also has difficulty with Massumi's notion of "the autonomy of affect", yet her criticism is quite different. Boler suggests that viewing an affect as autonomous is not dissimilar from psychoanalytic notions of the "preliminal or prediscursive" (Boler, 1996, p. 12). This view, however, seems to narrow the domain of the unconscious to the psychical and fails to acknowledge that it is equally corporeal. Given Boler's description of emotions as "inscribed habits of inattention", it doesn't seem her intention to make such a distinction because the term itself suggests that emotions function within the realm of the bodily unconscious. Boler, however, does not adequately distinguish between affect and emotion; instead there is a blurring of categories. While emotion may possess corporeality, what is not clear are the ways in which this is distinct from that of affect. As it is understood here, affect denotes the sensate, the initial bodily reaction to ongoing encounters with the external. In contrast, emotion involves conscious awareness of bodily affects. A similar distinction is made by Nathanson (1992, p. 49) who uses *affect* to describe "the strictly biological portion of emotion". Once receiving conscious attention, emotions may lay dormant ready to be reactivated again and again given inducement by affect. From Boler's perspective, the *location* of dormant emotions produced through this iterative process seems to be the body. This may be why she refers to emotions as "inscribed habits of inattention", but this definition obscures the necessary conscious recognition involved with emotion. As Lupton (1998, p. 33) points out, "There is a world of difference between a physical feeling and an emotion, even where the embodied sensation may be the same". To explain this further Lupton cites Miller's work on the emotion of disgust where he points out that "Disgust is a feeling *about* something and in response to something not just raw unattached feeling. That's what the stomach flu is. Part of disgust is the very awareness of being disgusted, the consciousness of itself" (Lupton, 1998, p. 33, original emphasis).

Boler does not intend to deny consciousness – indeed a focus of her work is consciousness raising – rather, it seems she wants to merge affect and emotion. Making an analytic distinction between the two, however, is important because what pertains to emotion and affect, like mind and body, consciousness and unconsciousness, have different pedagogic implications. As mentioned previously in relation to Massumi, this recognition of the different modalities of existence is not about maintaining a dualist ontology but rather accounting for the different aspects of being. Also, simply conflating affect and emotion provides little insight into the workings of consciousness. As Nathanson (1992, p. 114) explains, "Consciousness itself is a function of affect". It is the actual recognition of an affect – as an emotion – which is the most basic form of consciousness (Greenfield, 2000, p. 161). Boler perhaps feels no real need to make a distinction between affect

and emotion given her work is about considering the important role of emotion within education (Boler, 1999). In particular, she is concerned with how *feminine* emotion has been devalued in preference to *masculine* reason, and how emotions can function as a powerful pedagogic resource. I would agree with Boler on this point. Emotion is not only a significant aspect of thought, it actually provides the foundation for reason and rational judgement. Such a view of the interrelationship of emotion, affect and reason relates very much to the Spinozan framework of knowledge discussed later in this chapter and resonates with Tomkins's point that "Out of the marriage of reason with affect there issues clarity with passion. Reason without affect would be impotent, affect without reason would be blind" (Tomkins, 1962, p. 112). Here, however, the emphasis is not the pedagogic significance of emotions but pedagogic embodiment and the formation of academic dispositions for learning. As a result, there is a need to acknowledge the difference between affect and emotion and articulate how the former functions in relation to the corporeal and the psychical, the unconscious and consciousness, and to consider their respective pedagogic effects.

## THE EMBODIED MIND

The blurring which occurs with the categories of affect and emotion is also evident in dealing with notions of consciousness and unconsciousness. What the terms *consciousness* and *unconsciousness* actually denote varies considerably. Not only is there fractured understanding resulting from the disciplinary disjuncture between the sciences and humanities, but their almost exclusive association with the mind is now challenged with some acknowledgement that each has a corporeal dimension. Within the sciences, consciousness has been predominantly studied as an embrained, as opposed to embodied, phenomenon with notions of mind equated substantially with the brain. Dennett (1998), for example, uses the terms *mind* and *brain* interchangeably, as though they were synonymous. Within philosophy, consciousness has tended to be a very loaded term evoking the ghost of Descartes and humanist notions of an all-knowing, unitary self. Consciousness is conceived as *self*-consciousness involving reasoned reflection and a notion of mind as transcendent, divorced from bodily experience. Although this perspective and its related ontology have lost considerable theoretical traction, this hasn't seemed to provoke a reassessment of the nature of consciousness itself. Instead, it has been left to languish as a philosophical concept with a kind of theoretical ambivalence towards it in many areas of the humanities.

Despite this, in both the sciences (Varela, Thompson and Rosch, 1993; Damasio, 1994, 1999, 2003; Oyama, 1995; Feldman Barrett and Lindquist, 2008) and philosophy (Searle, 1997) some inroads have been made into rethinking consciousness as an embodied aspect of human existence with the mind viewed as "embodied, in the full sense of the term, not just embrained" (Damasio, 1994, p. 118). Attention is now drawn to how the mind is shaped through experience. Given the emphasis assigned to genes and natural predisposition, resulting from the current fashion for genetic determinism, the contribution of the experiential on the

formation of mind is often downplayed. While genes may be important in determining certain aspects of bodily make-up and an individual's propensity for particular diseases, many neuroscientists such as Greenfield (2000) want to stress how the uniqueness of mind is directly attributable to individual experience not a pre-programmed capacity. Greenfield and Damasio share the view that experience does not necessarily have a direct effect on the brain; rather its impact is felt via the body through the skin, musculoskeletal system and in Greenfield's case, the hormonal system.

It is interesting, therefore, to ponder how such embodied notions of mind, and, in particular, the conscious mind, might be articulated with Bourdieu's understanding of the logic of practice and the autonomy he assigns to the role of the habitus in accounting for agency. If consciousness is a product of bodily experience it seems worthwhile to incorporate its function within a theory of practice rather than treat it, as Bourdieu does, as an epiphenomenon to the processes of being and doing. This acknowledgement of the importance of consciousness in understanding practice does not run the risk of resurrecting Cartesianism; rather, with consciousness as an embodied concept it possesses an oppositional logic to dualism in that mind and consciousness are a product of experience, rather than distinct from it. Practice may be a product of habituated response but it also involves degrees of conscious reflection. These embodied processes of habituation and consciousness operate as a dialectic. Not only do some activities which were initially conscious become habituated over time, but this habituated practice may also be reflected upon and perhaps modified, as in the case of children correcting poor writing. This example may seem trivial but the processes involved – the movement between the habitual and consciousness – are evident in practice in general. Even practice that has become embodied without recourse to consciousness is open to conscious reflection. Bourdieu may allow for this in terms of strategic calculation, which intercedes when there is a misfit between habitus and field, but conscious intervention is a possibility in the course of any activity. It may not result from a self-directed act of intellection; rather, it could be predicated on outside intervention. This is evident in such cases as a teacher drawing attention to a child's poor writing or their inability to sit still. Such a comment by a teacher may trigger the child to make a conscious decision to change what they're doing at that time and, if the intervention is consistent and effective, may instil a type of *habitual consciousness* in the child to self-correct; a habit for reflexivity (Sweetman, 2003).

The understanding of practice proposed here does not involve such a tight fit between Bourdieu's notions of habitus and field nor a singular causal relation. Instead, while individuals tend to perform almost automatically within specific milieus with which they are familiar and in which the processes of bodily enculturation have occurred, there is still the ongoing possibility of degrees of conscious reflection to modify behaviour, even within the context of the familiar. Also, rather than a "crisis situation" always resulting from the disjuncture between habitus and field, practice, with an ongoing recourse to consciousness, can be understood as far more seamless than that which Bourdieu proposes. As such, there is the possibility of a reasonably fluid movement across fields; even those with

which we may have little or no experience, depending of course on the particular make-up of an individual's habitus. Such a view of practice can provide some explanation as to why some working class children confronted with what is largely the middle class culture of schooling still manage to succeed. It also frees pedagogy from the treadmill of social reproduction allowing it to be understood as a potentially enabling process. This enabling potential, however, is very much dependent upon the ability to habituate certain practices – one of these being the propensity or disposition for conscious reflection. This seems a contradiction in terms as the very process of habituation seems to rule out the intervention of consciousness. Yet, with consciousness understood as embodied, there is no longer a contradiction. Thought can be triggered by a dispositional tendency, functioning in a similar way to Damasio's notion of a somatic marker.

While this process of habituation is markedly different from what Bourdieu proposes, it doesn't require discarding the notion of habitus. Rather, it involves breaking down Bourdieu's implicit dualisms of body and mind, consciousness and unconsciousness, and refashioning the habitus so it becomes a truly embodied concept with consciousness, and the potential for reflexivity, corporealised. Bourdieu does view the mind/body relation in a non-dualistic sense in terms of the unconscious, but when it comes to consciousness he seems to retain the binary relationship pointing out that "The very structures of the world are present in the structures (or to put it better the cognitive schemes) that agents implement in order to understand it" (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 152). He explains, however, that these cognitive schemes "are not forms of consciousness but dispositions of the body [or] practical schemas" (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 176). The mindful state of unconscious understanding, or what Giddens views as "practical consciousness", is corporealised by Bourdieu. The unconscious, however, needs to be understood as an amalgam of the psychical and the somatic.

The unconscious, as it is used here, is quite distinct from psychoanalytic understandings of the unconscious (Sullivan, 2006, p. 7). The Freudian unconscious is conceived as a purely psychical phenomenon and a realm not simply below the level of consciousness, but, particularly in relation to Lacan, unable to be accessed by consciousness and quite distinct from the body. The terms *consciousness* and *unconsciousness* can be understood in various ways. Bourdieu has been able to transcend a solely mentalist notion of the unconscious through his incorporation of bodily habituation. Despite this broadening of the term to include the corporeal, Bourdieu views unconsciousness as quite distinct from consciousness. He retains the latter exclusively within the psychical domain. The possibility of conscious reflection attaining a dispositional status is ruled out. This theoretical impasse is unfortunate, given Bourdieu is able to conceptualise the unconscious in such a productive sense as both "mindful" and bodily. With the embodied notion of consciousness proposed here, however, no such clear distinction is made. Unconsciousness is not radically differentiated from consciousness; rather, it is placed in a chain of intensities similar to the grades of light in Greenfield's "dimmer switch" analogy. For this reason, and to mark its differentiation from psychoanalytic understandings, it is perhaps better understood as non-consciousness, which denotes inattention or action that is not

reflexive. Given this, the movement between non-consciousness and consciousness is not difficult to conceive. What is required, given the corporealisation of these states, or intensities, is an ontological framework which, while recognising the role of bodily experience, does not simply collapse the category of mind into body but retains an analytic distinction between the two. In many respects this can be found in the work of Spinoza.

## SPINOZA AND PSYCHOPHYSICAL PARALLELISM

Despite Wacquant's reference to Bourdieu's work as monist, it is evident from the sharp distinctions Bourdieu makes between consciousness and unconsciousness and his separation of the former from any bodily instantiation, that an underlying dualism is apparent in his work. With Spinoza, however, the dualistic tendencies of the mind/body relation are erased with a monism that identifies thought and extension as attributes of a single substance. Despite the inherent dualism in language whereby the very act of naming seems to maintain the binary distinction between mind and body, Spinoza (Spinoza, *Ethics*, II, P7) proposes a parallelism whereby, "The order and connection of ideas is the same as the order and connection of things". Thought and extension, and the finite modes of these attributes, namely individual minds and bodies, "are not separate entities but distinct expressions of the same reality" (Allison, 1987, p. 85). To Spinoza, the mind and the body act in concert or, as he states, "the order of actions and passions of our body is, by nature, at one with the order of actions and passions of the mind" (Spinoza, *Ethics*, III, P2D).

This contrasts markedly with Descartes's dualistic account that sees the mind and body as separate substances. Despite this substantive distinction, which would seem to rule out any causative relationship between mind and body given a substance is by definition existentially autonomous, Descartes, unlike Spinoza, allows for mind/body interaction. What is significant about the notion of interaction informing Descartes's account, however, is the hierarchising of mind over body and the latter's exclusion in terms of understanding self and world. To Descartes (*The Principles of Philosophy*, Part 1, 8) "thought is known prior to and more certainly than anything physical". The impact of the world upon the body is best resisted as it only serves to cloud the mind's capacity for rational thought.

Descartes identified two modes of thinking: *the intellect* through which reason is attained, and *the will*, which is a free unbound capacity for choice. While to Descartes the will is infinite, the intellect is not. Herein, he contends, lays the basis of human error; namely, acting simply in response to will which is not informed by the perception of the intellect. With the mind and body substantively distinct, it is quite feasible, or in fact requisite within Descartes's metaphysics, that the mind can be all-knowing. Yet, as Lloyd (1994, p. 39) explains, the dilemma of the Cartesian self "resides in its status as self-contained substance. This is the source of its supposed autonomy as knower; but, at the same time, it is the source of its separation from the world it purports to know". In contrast, Spinoza (*Ethics*, II, P23) explains that the mind only comes to know itself through the body never

viewing the order of understanding proceeding from mind to body. Instead, it is the human body "which provides the focal point from, and through which alone the human mind can perceive its world" (Allison 1987, p. 107). It is the body's interaction with the world, its capacity to be affected by other bodies, which provides the basis of human understanding. This focus on the external world has led Spinoza to be viewed as a materialist (Curley, 1988). Yet, while there is a material grounding to his philosophy, Spinoza should not be read as simply inverting Descartes's idealism rather, the parallelism governing the attributes of Spinoza's single substance ensures equal weight is given to mind and body. Dualisms, as such, are avoided within his metaphysics. To Grosz (1994, p. 13), however, Spinoza's *psychophysical parallelism* is problematic. While she rejects Cartesian dualism, she insists Spinoza fails to explain "the causal or other interactions of mind and body". Indeed Spinoza (*Ethics*, III, P2) writes that "The body cannot determine the mind to thought; neither can the mind determine the body to motion nor rest, nor to anything else".

In response to the ontological positions of Descartes and Spinoza, Grosz (1994, p. xii) proposes an alternative similar to the Mobius strip, which she suggests is able to capture "the fluid interface between mind and body, the internal and external". Yet, this notion of interaction between mind and body maintains the dualism which she is keen to avoid. It seems only through the kind of parallelism proposed by Spinoza, where there is no question of interaction, that any form of dualism and its concomitant ontological problems are evaded. Parallelism renders the idea of *interaction* unnecessary. The relationship between mind and body is not one of interaction or reciprocity between separate entities. Rather, it is one of coexistence, with the mind and body being isomorphic in nature, or in Spinoza's words (*Ethics*, III, P2D), "the mind and body are one and the same thing which is conceived now under the attribute of thought, now under the attribute of extension".

In some respects Spinoza's psychophysical parallelism is not very far removed from some contemporary theorising within neuroscience. Greenfield, who holds the view that the mind is the personalisation of the brain resulting from individual bodily experience, points out that the brain and the body work in concert (Greenfield, 2000, p. 176). Yet, by this she does not intend a simplistic notion of mind/body interaction but that "the brain and the body must have a form of communication that is more related to feelings and not dependent upon the fast zaps of simple electrical signals buzzing up and down the spinal cord" (Greenfield, 2000, p. 176). Her answer is hormones, but from a Spinozan perspective, these bodily chemicals that are related to sensation provide further affirmation of the ontological parallelism of body and mind.

While there is a bodily basis to Spinoza's conceptualisation of self and human understanding, his parallelistic approach to the mind/body relation acknowledges the equally important role of the mind. Despite the distinct corporeality of his philosophy, Spinoza was undeniably a rationalist. Knowledge of the world may be attained through the impact of bodily affects, yet to Spinoza this form of understanding is "mutilated, confused and without order for the intellect" (Spinoza,

*Ethics*, II, P40S). This kind of understanding, termed *opinion* or *imagination* by Spinoza, is merely the lowest level within a hierarchy of knowledge. Imagination, or the bodily basis of understanding, requires the order of reason for considered or, in Spinoza's terms, *adequate* thought. Spinoza, like Descartes, placed reason at a premium. Where they differ is that Descartes viewed reason as a product of an all-knowing mind, separate from world and bodily influence. To Spinoza the foundation of knowledge is premised on what Descartes rejects, namely the world and its impact on the body.

## A SPINOZAN HABITUS

Spinoza's parallelistic treatment of the mind/body relation and his embodied notion of reason have much to offer contemporary social and cultural theory which, in its rejection of Cartesianism, has embraced the body but generally excised the mind. In particular, it is useful in reassessing Bourdieu's notion of habitus. As it stands Spinoza resonates throughout Bourdieu's work. Bourdieu makes use of Spinoza's term *conatus* or *striving to be* in relation to how social structures "perpetuate their social being" (Bourdieu, 1998b, p. 19). Bourdieu's main debt to Spinoza, however, can be seen in the emphasis he places on the body and the processes of social embodiment in understanding practice. The habitus as the key construct within this theory of practice is essentially an accumulation of bodily affects, which over time have sedimented into dispositions. These dispositions function like a set of virtual genres of practice which, given the nuances of a particular situation, are triggered into action. The habitus's capacity to retain bodily affects, in essence the process of embodiment, is also referred to by Spinoza, who writes that "The human body can undergo many changes, and nevertheless retain impressions, or traces, of the objects and consequently the same images of things" (*Ethics*, III, Post. 2). The difference here is that, unlike Bourdieu, Spinoza is not simply considering embodiment as a corporeal process. Given his parallelistic ontology, it is simultaneously a cognitive process, hence his reference to bodily traces as also being "images of things".

As already discussed, Bourdieu does not totally exclude the mind. He acknowledges the impact of embodiment on cognitive structures, but to Bourdieu this does not mean consciousness. Rather, he is referring to the unconscious mind, fusing it with the bodily unconscious, the realm in which the habitus functions. As such, Bourdieu generally excludes consciousness from his logic of practice and in doing so only provides a partial account of what guides human activity. His focus is the automatic which is an essential and, at times, all pervading aspect of practice. As Pascal writes and Bourdieu (2000, p. 2) cites, "we are as much automatic as intellectual". Pascal also points out that "Custom is the source of our strongest and most believed proofs. It inclines the automaton about the matter". The mind, though, does not remain in automatic mode. It is also inclined to reflect upon activity, which may lead to a modification of behaviour. The kind of customary knowledge Pascal refers to is similar to what Spinoza terms imagination but, as with Spinoza, he identifies other kinds, or levels, of thought, namely those involving reason and the intellect. Reason need not be understood as a separate or

compartmentalised notion of thought as Bourdieu seems to suggest; only activated at times of crisis. Rather, thought operates as a more fluid phenomenon. While for much of the time the mind and the body function in a habitual way, there is also the ongoing potential for reflection. This is particularly the case during the process of teaching and learning where there is a constant slippage between habitual and reflexive modes of thought; generally, the greater the aptitude for a particular activity the less the reliance on the reflexive. It remains, however, as a virtual corrective, often interceding even if not required, if individuals have developed a dispositional proclivity for the reflexive mode. Reflection, as it is used here, does not necessarily typify higher levels of reason but it surely falls within the parameters of the rational. Reason is neither transcendent nor disconnected from the everyday; it is simply a point along a continuum of different modes of thought. It is an essential aspect of human activity yet one which Bourdieu has difficulty incorporating within his theory of practice.

Bourdieu's habitus, therefore, requires reassessment. It is a far too useful theoretical concept to discard. It requires a more comprehensive treatment of the processes of embodiment whereby consciousness and unconsciousness are understood as being derived from a corporeal base. This is where a Spinozan reading of Bourdieu's habitus is useful. Infusing the habitus with Spinoza's parallelistic monism ensures the construct has the theoretical flexibility to not simply explain the habitual aspects of practice but to embrace a dialectic with consciousness which allows for degrees of reflexivity to be taken into account in terms of understanding the nature of practice. With the habitus conceived in this way, it has a far greater application to theorising the pedagogic which needs to be understood as encompassing both the cognitive and the corporeal dimensions of being.

## VYGOTSKY, SPINOZA AND PEDAGOGIC AFFECT

Central to theorising the pedagogic within a school context is trying to ascertain those practices that are most effective in equipping students with the skills they require for academic success. The focus here is learning to write and one of the key theorists in this field is Lev Vygotsky who investigated the relationship between thought and language development in the Soviet Union in the early twentieth century. Vygotsky detailed the importance of teacher direction upon student learning. He theorised the notion of a Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD), which refers to the gap between a child's actual development determined by independent problem solving and their potential development achieved when assisted (Vygotsky, 1996, p. 187). The form of assistance Vygotsky intended was not simply that which results from peer collaboration. This is very much the interpretation of Vygotsky's ZPD within 'whole language' and progressivist applications of his work (Berk and Winsler, 2002). Although peer support can be beneficial to learning, in outlining his theory of the ZPD, Vygotsky was detailing a particular pedagogic approach that is considerably divergent from the student-directed learning that underpins contemporary progressivist-inspired approaches. Vygotsky was a fierce critic of the progressivist free education movement

prevalent in the Soviet Union during the 1920s (van der Veer and Valsiner, 1991, p. 53). He claimed that "Instruction is one of the principal sources of the schoolchild's concepts and is also a powerful force in directing their evolution; it determines the fate of [their] total mental development (Vygotsky, 1996, p. 157).

Vygotsky did not base his understanding of the ZDP upon a theory of affect yet, before his death, as Werstch (1985, p. 189) explains, he clearly demonstrated an interest in its role as an "integrating and motivational force for consciousness". The effectiveness of the teacher-directed pedagogy underpinning Vygotsky's ZPD is understood here as pertaining to a heightening of pedagogic affect and, as such, a heightening of consciousness, an effect which is not as potent with less teacher-directed pedagogies. Being a psychologist, Vygotsky's focus was mental development. His theoretical perspective, however, was in sharp contrast to the biological determinism that governs Piaget's theory of child development (Vygotsky, 1996, p. 45). While acknowledging an innate component, Vygotsky viewed development as primarily a social process; namely that a child's intrapsychological processing is a function of prior and similar processing on an interpsychological plane (Wertsch, 1985, p. 60). It was children's mental development and, in particular, the relationship between thought and language which was Vygotsky's central concern. In relation to this, he began to demonstrate some interest in the impact of affect on consciousness (Wertsch, 1985, p. 189) and was keen to counter the dualism that he believed underpinned psychology, commenting that "the tragedy of all modern psychology … consists in the fact that it cannot find a way to understand the real sensible tie between our thoughts and feelings on the one hand and the activity of the body on the other hand" (cited in van der Veer and Valsiner 1991, p. 355).

Affect seemed to provide a solution to this problem and Vygotsky found Spinoza's monism a much sounder ontological basis from which to theorise the impact of affect on consciousness and children's overall mental development. Due to Vygotsky's premature death his theorisation of the role of affect was never elaborated and, to many, there is evidence that he finally felt that Spinoza did not provide the answer. Followers, such as Leontev and Ileynkov, pursued these ideas in what is now termed Activity Theory; an approach aimed at studying the relationship between human activity and consciousness (Cole, 1997). Given the significance that Vygotsky attached to instruction, it is interesting to contemplate how he would have theorised the relationship between pedagogic practice and affect and, in turn, how this impacts upon consciousness as an embodied phenomenon. Although much of his own work seems to confirm the cognitive bias within education, Vygotsky's interest in Spinoza's monist ontology indicates a certain unease with this position. As Wertsch (1985, p. 200) points out, "Following Spinoza, Vygotsky argued that investigations are often misled in their attempts to understand the relationship between mental and neurophysical phenomena because their analyses are based on the false assumption that they are dealing with two substances rather than with two attributes of the one substance".

Education's preoccupation with the mind at the expense of the body has major pedagogic repercussions. With consciousness understood as an embodied

phenomenon, in line with the logic of Spinoza's monism, the body as well as the mind can be seen as an object of pedagogic concern with a view towards a parallelistic conception of the mind/body relation. Although not utilising a Vygotskian approach, there are similar concerns here, namely to theorise the affective impact of a teacher's practice in terms of a Spinozan notion of habitus, or how classroom activity affects students' bodies and minds. In many ways, this is a function of the disciplinary force generated by a teacher's manipulation of the classroom environment and their particular approach to curriculum implementation, all of which possess considerable pedagogic affect.

## RETHINKING PEDAGOGY AND THE ROLE OF THE BODY

With mainstream educational theory locked within a Cartesian paradigm giving emphasis to the mind and viewing learning as a purely cognitive process, theorisation of pedagogy tends to suffer from an impoverished ontological framework. Little attention is given to the function of academic dispositions that predispose learners to the regimen of schooling and academic work (Watkins and Noble, 2008). If considered, these dispositions are understood in cognitive terms as concentration, persistence and interest generally linked to a Cartesian notion of free will, with a view that a child will succeed if he or she 'puts their mind to it'. Yet a propensity for learning, particularly that associated with institutionalised education, has probably more to do with how a child's body has been regulated prior to school and the extent to which they have embodied abilities such as sitting still, working for sustained periods of time and following instructions (Watkins and Noble, 2010). Bourdieu does not specifically refer to this form of pedagogic embodiment, but it relates very much to his understanding of the structuring of dispositions within the habitus and clearly shows the need for a more detailed understanding of the role of bodily habituation in learning. Habituation does not simply relate to the unconscious as a bodily phenomenon, it also has a psychical dimension. In fact, without the ability to make knowledge and skills automatic, cognitive processing would become overloaded and learning an impossibility. While this is not a call to resurrect traditional pedagogic practices, such as those where students' learning experiences were dominated by the numbing overuse of drill and practice, it suggests there needs to be a better understanding of how certain skills and knowledge are best learned and the implications of this for the programming and delivery of curriculum.

In a sense, there are similarities between the role of habit in learning and Spinoza's account of the impact of affects on the body. He considered, "the more an affect arises from a number of causes concurring together the greater it is. A number of causes together can do more than if they were fewer. And so, the more an affect is aroused by a number of causes, the stronger it is" (Spinoza, *Ethics*, V, P8 & D). The logic here is simple yet the implications profound, especially in relation to pedagogy. While Spinoza is not directly referring to the impact of the habitual on learning, the crux of his proposition is specifically related to this application, namely that repetition intensifies affect. Pedagogically, this is significant as it indicates that

iteration leads to acquisition, a point Butler (1993) argues though more in a discursive as opposed to material sense of the body. From a teaching perspective this would suggest a need for a systematic and consistent pedagogy and, in relation to learning, the importance of practice and sustained effort.

While habituation has an important yet generally neglected role in the processes of teaching and learning, it does not account for the entirety of how individuals function in the world. Also, it tends to minimise the degree of agency involved in human practice, a criticism levelled against Bourdieu's habitus. Similar criticisms are voiced by progressivist educators and proponents of critical pedagogy with the process of habituating skills and knowledge through drill and practice considered ineffective pedagogy that only encourages low-level skill development and a lack of critical thought. If drill and practice was all there was to education this would be a valid criticism, but the ability to habituate certain skills and knowledge is essential for learning and academic success. What is troubling, and ultimately inequitable, is that the habituation of academic dispositions and relevant skills and knowledge is not evenly distributed. Generally children from low socio-economic backgrounds have habituated dispositions that are unsuited to schooling and academic work (Nash, 2005). Of course other children may have failed to acquire these necessary *traits* as well. While there is a significant class basis to this failure to acquire what can be given the umbrella term *academic dispositions,* there are other groups of children whose poor academic success may also relate to this factor, such as boys experiencing difficulty with literacy. This suggests that the teacher's role is central. They need to understand the dispositions of each student's habitus and scaffold learning appropriately. For learning to be ongoing and productive it needs a dispositional foundation achieved through the habituation of certain knowledge and bodily capacity.

While habituation is crucial, learning would be a particularly passive activity if it were simply a process of inculcating the abilities to function automatically. Learning also involves conscious reflection. While there are certain skills and knowledge which may be acquired relatively unconsciously, learning also involves reflection. What is important about conscious processing, be it learning something new or in applying previously acquired knowledge and skills, is its effectiveness in modifying behaviour. Spinoza (*Ethics*, V, P9D) points out that "because the mind's essence, that is, power, consists only in thought, the mind is less acted on by an affect which determines it to consider many things together than by an equally great affect considering one or few objects". In effect, the mind needs to focus on a limited number of things at any one time to be effective and, it is concentrated and sustained thought that heightens the degree and effect of reflection. This is significant in a number of ways, many of which relate to the pedagogic centrality of the teacher and their methodological approach.

Firstly, it suggests teachers need to provide activities that encourage the development of sustained thought in learners. While it is important to provide variety, it is essential that this is not undertaken at the expense of allocating ample time and depth of application to learning. Activities need to be structured around key skills and learning outcomes. Variety can be offered within these parameters

providing there is concentrated application of key knowledge and skills. Yet, to cater for what is often considered the short concentration spans of children, they are inundated with a variety of brief learning activities. While these may function as an effective short-term behaviour management technique, the brevity of these activities fails to allow them to develop a detailed understanding of curriculum content. As a result, it tends to compound the problems that students experience, which may not even be cognitive. Instead, they may relate to a failure in having habituated the appropriate bodily dispositions for schooling. Constant change and limited application only serve to reinforce this lack of bodily discipline.

Secondly, to intensify the effectiveness of cognitive processing as much understanding as possible needs to be processed automatically. This means that as much knowledge as possible needs to *reside* in the realm of the unconscious in a virtual state ready to be retrieved when required. Tomkins (1962, p. 115) also stresses the necessity of habituating knowledge, stating: "This capacity to make automatic or nearly automatic what was once voluntary, conscious and learned frees consciousness for new learning". This dormant bank of knowledge and skills has a complementary relationship with consciousness, with the two states functioning dialectically. The repercussions of this for teaching methodology are significant. To ensure students can master more sophisticated tasks it is necessary that they have achieved a certain level of automaticity with regard to prerequisite understanding. This is recognised in areas such as learning to read, where certain phonological, syntactic and semantic knowledge needs to be processed automatically if adequate comprehension and reading beyond the literal is to be achieved. This suggests the need for iteration to assist the habituation of required and at times foundational skills and knowledge. In the area of writing the need for certain kinds of knowledge, such as lexicogrammar, to become habituated is not well recognised. While proficient writers play with text through the manipulation of lexicogrammatical forms, little is understood, pedagogically, about how best to attain these skills, particularly in the early years of school. Since the mid 1990s there has been a greater acceptance of the need for children to develop a more explicit understanding of grammar and textual form, yet the theorisation of the pedagogy to support this is limited (Board of Studies, New South Wales, 1994; Board of Studies, New South Wales, 1998; National Curriculum Board, 2009). It seems that as with reading, the more knowledge that can be processed automatically from basic syntactical understanding and sentence construction through to literary and rhetorical forms, the more a writer can concentrate on composition. The effectiveness of conscious intervention depends on its dialectical relationship with the bodily and psychical unconscious; the location of previously habituated skills and knowledge. Consciousness is not only a part of the initial phase of a considerable amount of learning – that is, when attention is first drawn to a new concept or skill – it also intervenes in the habitual, and, through ongoing, heightened degrees of reflexivity, modification of both understanding and practice can occur.

Learning, however, and practice in general, is not simply premised on the workings of the mind/body relation, it is also dependent on interaction with the

environment; that is, the potency of affects generated by other minds and bodies which is discussed in more detail in the empirical treatment of these issues in Section 3 – Bodies in Practice. Consciousness shouldn't *only* be understood as an embodied phenomenon, it should also be seen as intersubjective, its power to act not simply a result of accumulated bodily affects but a function of the intervention of other consciousnesses. In relation to learning in the early years of school, this suggests the importance of key others: parents, classmates and, in particular, the teacher. The teacher has a central role, not simply in structuring the classroom environment and designing activities for learning which are appropriately scaffolded, but for actively intervening in the learning process. This entails ensuring students are aware of what they are doing, that is, reflecting upon and evaluating their efforts to the point where they habituate not only knowledge and skills but also the capacity for reflexive thought. This process is not undertaken autonomously by the child. It is constantly reinforced by the teacher and the classroom activities they devise, which of course also involve the contribution of all students in a class.

In much contemporary theorising of pedagogy, this form of intervention is seen as interference in a child's learning, yet such a view fails to acknowledge the intersubjective nature of learning, and also that the teaching/learning relationship is not an equal one. This does not mean that the relationship is unidirectional with the teacher simply directing the child's learning, but it does acknowledge a power differential, which is not simply a function of the teacher's institutional position but, rather, a result of their greater understanding. The teacher, therefore, through their own accumulated knowledge and skills, has a responsibility to guide and support a child's learning. In practice, the teaching/learning process is dialectical. The teacher may direct their students' learning, but, so too, the students' learning will, and should, direct the teacher's teaching. Being is intersubjectively determined and quite obviously so in the context of schooling. While reference is made here to the intersubjective play of consciousnesses, primarily in relation to the teacher and student, intersubjectivity is also fundamentally an unconscious phenomenon, in both a psychical and somatic sense. While these notions of intersubjectivity are discussed further in later chapters, it is an area of inquiry that requires more detailed analysis, particularly as it pertains to the cultivation of pedagogic desire, both a teacher's desire to teach and a student's to learn.

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

A prime concern in theorising the pedagogic is to reconsider certain ontological presuppositions of teaching practice. The critique of Cartesianism which pervades contemporary social and cultural theory has had little impact on educational theory and practice. The tendency to simply invert Descartes' dualism and concentrate on the body as the locus of understanding may shatter the paradigmatic dominance of Cartesianism, but its virtual erasure of consciousness means it provides a less than viable alternate ontology. Bourdieu's belief that we "learn bodily" is only partially correct. The conscious mind is also integral to determining what we do. Spinoza's

mind/body parallelism is a useful way to think through not only the mind/body relation, but consciousness and unconsciousness, reflection and habituation and the intersubjective torsion between one embodied consciousness and others. Spinoza's parallelistic monism effaces dualistic understandings yet allows for an analytic distinction between mind and body, essential in terms of theorising the pedagogic. While the mind and its capacity for conscious reflection are prominent within Spinoza's ontology, the corporeal basis of understanding is always foregrounded. Spinoza, therefore, allows for what Bourdieu only positions marginally; that is, an embodied notion of consciousness and a view of reflection which is not separate to everyday practice but simply a particular level of understanding linked to our ongoing engagement in the world. Infused with a psychophysical parallelism, the habitus provides a more comprehensive notion of practice wherein there is an ongoing dialectic between consciousness/non-consciousness and reflection/habituation, determining what individuals do and how they do it. In relation to pedagogy, this dialectic provides the means for understanding how knowledge and skills are acquired and are then, in a sense, *naturalised*, embodied, yet available for conscious evaluation and modification. The pedagogic body, therefore, needs to be understood as not simply shaped by the external, nor capacitated by its ability to retain affects, but rather, as *mindful*; that is, where these affects form the basis of conscious understanding and where embodied reasoning is integral to how we learn.

# SECTION 2

# BODIES IN TEXT

CHAPTER 3

# TRACING THE BODY

> The school is the agency by which the child's growing proceeds under helpful conditions. Hence it supplies him (sic) with material to work with. It supplies experiences that enrich his store of experiences. It encourages the formation of habits, muscle and nerve habits, thought habits and emotion habits.
>
> New South Wales Department of Education (1922, p. v)

In the previous section a range of positions on the body and the processes of embodiment were examined in relation to their efficacy in understanding the role of the body in teaching and learning. In this section, there is a shift in emphasis from this theoretical examination of the pedagogic body to an investigation of the pedagogic body in text; the ways in which the body has been conceived over time in syllabus documents which guide teaching practice. To date, it is the learner who has been the focus. There has been reference to the teacher's effect upon a learner's habitus, but in many respects the teacher's role has yet to be detailed. This is best explored by examining what teachers do in their classrooms, how they interpret, organise and deliver the content of curricula. But prior to an analysis of bodies in practice in Section 3, it is helpful to examine what informs what teachers do in classrooms, in particular the syllabus documents they are required to implement. The aspect of pedagogic practice this book investigates is the teaching of writing in the primary years of schooling specifically as it pertains to three groups of students: those in kindergarten (aged 4/5 years); Year 3 students (aged 8/9 years) and Year 5 students (aged 10/11 years). While a range of factors affect what and how teachers choose to teach writing, such as their own education, age, experience and the needs and ability levels of their students, syllabus documents provide something of a yardstick of pedagogic practice at any given time and are useful in revealing the institutional stance on how a subject should be taught.

The syllabus documents to be examined here were all issued by successive New South Wales (NSW) Education Departments in Australia. The NSW education system's treatment of curriculum and pedagogy has much in common with not only the UK and US systems of education, but also approaches in other Western OECD nations (Sofer, 2007). Comprehensive public education in NSW dates from 1880 and the state now has one of the largest government school systems in the world. The English syllabus documents examined here begin with the first in 1905 to the most recent issued in 1998[i]. The reason for examining a century's worth of syllabuses is not simply to highlight the changes in the approaches to teaching writing over this period but to document two dramatic shifts: firstly, in the ways the pedagogic body has been configured historically and, secondly, in the decentring of the teacher within pedagogic practice, a position now further

exacerbated by the impact of ICT (Information and Communication Technologies) on learning at all levels of education (Brabazon, 2002). While the point has already been made that education is generally understood as a cognitive process, analysis of particular syllabus documents reveals that the body has not always been ignored. At one time, bodily habituation was considered an essential aspect of the learning process, which necessitated a greater teacher-directedness than is now the case within contemporary education in Australia and many other Western nations. This is evident in the extract from the 1922 *NSW Course of Instruction for Primary Schools* shown at the beginning of this chapter. Education is grounded in "the formation of habits; muscle and nerve habits, thought habits and emotion habits", with the school and the teacher bearing the responsibility for a child's acquisition of these capacities. In tracing the body, it is revealed that while habit formation was once a central pedagogic tenet, through the impact of developmental psychology commencing in the 1950s, its influence begins to wane. With a resultant change in pedagogy, the body appears to have been reformed with new postures of learning emerging framed by the progressivist disciplinarity of teaching.

## THE HABITUATED BODY OF LEARNING

The first syllabus document issued after the *Public Instruction Act* of 1880 in NSW, and in any Australian state, was the 1905 NSW *Course of Instruction for Primary Schools*, which replaced the government's *Standards of Proficiency*. This first syllabus is interesting because it was grounded in what was then referred to as the *New Education* (Barcan, 1965, p. 206) incorporating the latest progressivist trends from the UK and US (Meadmore, 2003, p. 372). Representatives from the NSW Education Department travelled overseas to investigate innovative practice to inform the writing of the new syllabus (Legislative Assembly, New South Wales, 1904, p. 116). They hoped to infuse the document with progressivist ideals and establish a clear break from past monitorial notions of education (Barcan, 1965, p. 212). It was claimed in the *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction* for 1904 that,

> The syllabus, besides providing for a progressive course of instruction, is designed to give practical application to the principle of the correlation of the subjects of study, to make "the self-activity of the pupil the basis of school instruction", to bring the work of the teacher into closer touch with his home and social surroundings, and to make the school a powerful agent in the intellectual, moral and social development of the child.
>
> (Legislative Assembly, New South Wales, 1904)

Despite this reference to the "self-activity of the pupil" being the basis of school instruction, a line that also appears in the preface of the resultant Syllabus, the progressivist ideal of student-directedness is not really evident in the 1905 document. While the adoption of the principles of *New Education* may mark

something of a shift from previous pedagogic models, in actuality the teacher was still central to classroom practice. There is an underlying ethos in the Syllabus acknowledging a child's uniqueness and individuality, which is a clear break from the past, but this is coupled with a realisation that the school, and therefore the teacher, should retain the responsibility to direct learning. The Syllabus (New South Wales Department of Public Instruction, 1905, p. iii) states,

> By [the school's] influence upon character it should cultivate habits of thought and action that will contribute both to successful work and upright conduct, and, by the kind of instruction it imparts, it should prepare the pupils for taking up the practical duties of life and give them tastes and interests that will lead to activities beneficial both to themselves and to the community.

These lines suggest a pedagogy that promotes the capacitation of bodies. While there may be no explicit reference to the body of the learner, it is implicated in the school's requirement to "cultivate habits" in their pupils. The acquisition of habits, be they of thought or action, is a bodily process but one, particularly in relation to school-based pedagogy, which also requires conscious attention at least in the initial stages of habituation. This is also evident in the Syllabus's discussion of what it terms "the securing of correct speech":

> The teacher's object should be to form in the children right habits in speaking. The correct pronunciation of the vowel sounds, the correct use of the aspirate and final consonants may be made habitual with children if due attention be given to the correction of errors of this whenever they occur.
>
> (1905, p. 21)

While the intention of altering a student's accent is now thankfully a long forgotten objective of English teaching, the process involved in attaining this goal shows an understanding of the importance of the relationship between habituation and reflection in learning. For students to "correct" miscreant vowel sounds, and other indicators of an *uneducated* accent, it was the responsibility of the teacher to bring these to a child's attention. Through constant reinforcement, whereby the child was made aware of any *error*, it was felt they would in time habituate the correct pronunciation. These repeated corrections, would not simply be registered by a student's conscious mind; there is an affective dimension to this reinforcement resulting in a bodily acknowledgement of the teacher's comments. In time consciousness would probably be bypassed with a slip in pronunciation functioning like a *somatic marker* to self-correct. The habituation of *educated* speech would not only leave a psychological imprint; a physiological change would also be evident with the tongue, oral cavity and teeth habitually realigned to produce the desired accent. This alteration in the child's linguistic habitus is dependent upon the extent to which these speech patterns became engrained.

Although this habituation of correct pronunciation may not appear as a form of capacitation from a contemporary educational perspective because of its devaluation of a child's home accent, of interest here is how the 1905 Syllabus viewed habit

formation as a pedagogic goal. This bodily basis to its notion of learning is evident in the preface, which places emphasis on the cultivation of habits of conduct. These make the usual connection between the body and classroom management – the need for students to acquire the necessary self-control to conduct themselves appropriately – but, significantly, reference is also made to the relationship between discipline and "successful work". These lines acknowledge that bodily discipline is required for effective learning and that academic success is dependent upon students having acquired a particular orientation to their school work. This does not simply refer to general good behaviour but to scholarly diligence. While reference is made to "habits of thought" this is not simply a psychical capacity, rather it is an embodied disposition acquired as a result of the habituation of certain work practices associated with schooling, namely sitting and working at a desk for sustained periods of time to complete tasks of increasing complexity. What appears as *thought* is equally a bodily process; the function of what is understood here as a *mindful body*.

A Foucauldian analysis drawing on the notion of technologies of power would no doubt interpret these lines from the NSW 1905 Syllabus quite differently. The school's intention to "cultivate habits of thought and action" could be read as a form of institutional control leading to the production of docile bodies. This power inscribed within students' bodies, however, need not simply be understood as disabling. Docility is not necessarily a sign of passivity (Watkins and Noble, 2010). This form of control has the potential to capacitate bodies. Foucault also makes this point in his work around technologies of the self, but it is generally overshadowed by a focus on discipline as a technology of power. This first syllabus issued by the NSW Department of Education is relatively brief. It does not detail any particular teaching methodology but its intention that teachers approach the delivery of their lessons in a systematic way to ensure the habituation of required skills in their students is clear.

In the next syllabus document issued in 1916, specific pedagogic guidelines are more evident providing a clearer indication of how they impact upon the body of the learner. This syllabus used the same preface as the 1905 document with few changes. It therefore endorsed the idea that schools should cultivate "habits of thought and action" in their students. The 1916 Syllabus is clearer as to how this is to be achieved including extensive notes on the teaching of each subject and addenda outlining approaches to teaching specific aspects of the curriculum.

The document is an interesting mix of quite different pedagogic approaches reflected in its competing discourses of traditionalism and progressivism. It vacillates between practices that impose very little disciplinary constraint upon the body of the learner to those which are far more restrictive, yet there is an even clearer indication of the adoption of progressive educational ideals. This is apparent in the greater freedom given to students in allotting time for a free choice period and in the freedom, at times, to choose topics for written composition and oral expression. In terms of its guidelines on teaching methodology it states: "All artificiality should be studiously avoided, and the child's self-confidence sedulously preserved. Neither gesture, action, nor speech should be taught. Let them come naturally" (New South Wales Department of Education, 1916, p. 29). The advice to teachers here is to avoid intervention, to allow students to express

themselves freely, unhindered by social convention. While not referred to specifically until the 1922 Syllabus, these directives seem to borrow heavily from Montessori teaching methodology.

## THE MONTESSORI METHOD AND MUSCULAR EDUCATION

The *Montessori Method,* published in English in 1912, became hugely influential at this time with education systems internationally adopting its techniques (Feez, 2010). Maria Montessori's movement towards the development of a scientific pedagogy emphasised teacher observation of students over intervention. Montessori claimed that,

> The origins of the development both in the species, and in the individual lie within. The child does not grow because he (sic) is nourished, because he breathes, because he is placed in conditions of temperature to which he is adapted, he grows because the potential life within him develops making itself visible, because the fruitful germ from which his life has come develops itself according to the biological destiny which was fixed for it by heredity.
>
> (Montessori, 1966, p. 105)

From Montessori's perspective the role of the educator had to be rethought: "In our system [the teacher] must become a passive, much more than active, influence and her passivity shall be composed of anxious scientific curiosity, and absolute respect for the phenomenon which she wishes to observe (1966, p. 87). Yet, despite this insistence that a teacher needed to limit the degree of influence they exerted on a student's learning, there are stark contradictions in the Montessori Method in that certain techniques actually required considerable teacher direction. This is particularly the case in relation to the role of the body in learning. While the use of stationary desks and chairs was frowned upon within a pre-school setting, referred to by Montessori as "proof that the principle of slavery still informs the school" (1966, p. 16), she nevertheless considered certain forms of bodily regimentation a crucial aspect of learning. To her, bodily capacitation, at least in the pre-school years, was not borne from sitting quietly at a desk performing what she considered to be passive activities, but through the formation of habits acquired through physical activities which equipped the body with the corporeal competence to perform specific tasks. Montessori (1966, p. 311) pointed out that "it is a difficult thing to arouse an activity that shall produce a motion unless that motion shall have been previously established by practice and by the power of habit".

In the early years of pre-school Montessori advocated what she termed *muscular education* to assist in the development of physiological movements. This involved children performing certain exercises on a repetitive basis to aid walking, breathing and speech. Muscular education also extended to a kind of *domestic gymnastics* where the fine motor skills required for tying laces and fastening buttons were refined through repeatedly performing these tasks, using specifically designed teaching materials (1966, p. 145). The pedagogic goal was to develop what

Montessori termed *muscular memory*, a form of bodily know-how required for successfully performing certain tasks (1966, p. 277). Yet Montessori extended this approach beyond rudimentary physical activities. She recognised the need for children to develop a *muscular memory* in learning how to write. She designed a range of preparatory exercises for children to master prior to beginning writing, organising these exercises into three groups. The first of these involved students tracing and colouring to develop the muscular control necessary for holding and using a writing implement. The second set of activities sought to unite visual recognition and muscular memory by having students use the index finger of their right hand to trace over sandpaper letters. Prior to this, the teacher would indicate the sound of the letter beginning with the vowels. Montessori explained that "As soon as we have given the sound of a letter, we have the child trace it and if necessary guiding the index finger of his right hand over the sandpaper letter *in the sense of writing"* [original emphasis] (1966, p. 276).

The intention here seemed to be a maximisation of affect so that students gained a visual, tactile and muscular sense of each letter, in addition to the initial phonic signal provided by the teacher. Over time children simultaneously acquired a mental recognition of each letter, the directionality required in reproducing it and an understanding of letter/sound correspondence. This last skill is the focus of the third set of Montessori's preparatory writing exercises. Children were presented with sets of cardboard letters of which they were familiar. Under the guidance of a teacher who initially modelled the exercise, children grouped combinations of vowels and consonants to make simple words. After children had repeatedly completed these exercises Montessori reported that there is a "spontaneous explosion into writing" (1966, p. 286). Rather than recognising the considerable teacher-directedness involved in students reaching this point, whereby they have habituated the necessary psychophysical skills required for writing, Montessori (1966, p. 291) explained that "We have come to accept the phenomenon with calmness and tacitly recognise it as a *natural* [my emphasis] form of the children's development".

Yet there is no *naturalness* about the particular regimens required for literate practice that Montessori developed. Her method entails a specific disciplining of the body to the point where it is invested with the necessary capacity for children to commence writing. What appears as a "spontaneous" act is instead the end product of the accumulation of motor proficiencies that are finally, and perhaps tardily, applied. It may be because so much emphasis is placed on the physicality of writing within the Montessori Method that children's move into writing is viewed as "natural". Very often what involves bodily capacity, particularly within the academic realm, is assumed a function of natural development rather than the result of instruction. The Montessori Method of teaching writing is a process involving the embodiment of the shape and phonic quality of letters coupled with the movements and dexterity to produce them. In contrast to mainstream teaching methodology contemporaneous with Montessori's approach, the latter was indeed progressive. Montessori, however, seemed blind to the extent to which teacher direction was integral to her technique.

The degree to which Montessori's teachers actively engaged in children's learning, manipulating materials and consciously drawing attention to aspects of the tasks they were performing, seemed to increase dramatically, particularly as children were approaching school age. Even Montessori's dislike of rows of desks and children sitting quietly seems to subside as children leave the pre-school years with her pointing out that "To seat the children in rows as in the common schools, to assign to each little one a place and to propose that they shall sit thus quietly observant of the order of the whole class as an assemblage – this can be attained later as the starting place of collective education" (1966, p. 93). While wishing to delay this form of comportment, there is an acknowledgement of the need for a certain social ethic to underpin schooling which allows for effective classroom management. Montessori's view of pre-school education, however, is generally informed by a romantic notion of childhood which colours how she interprets the methods she employs. She insisted that schools "must permit the free, natural manifestations of the child" (1966, p. 26) but qualifies this by stating that "the liberty of the child should have as its limit the collective interest. We must therefore check in the child whatever offends or annoys others, or whatever tends towards rough or ill-bred acts" (1966, p. 87).

The Montessori Method can be considered 'progressive' in the emphasis it places on the liberty of children and its principles of a non-interventionist teaching style, but both of these points require qualification particularly as progressivism is a quite broad educational philosophy encompassing approaches with similar ideals to Montessori but many which are far more libertarian (Kalantzis and Cope, 1993, pp. 45–54; Reese, 2001). Montessori's view of the liberty of the child is conditional on how they conduct themselves as part of a group. Also, as Montessori placed emphasis on a child's manipulation of teaching materials rather than overt instruction, the social constructedness of her techniques is masked. The *naturalness* and *spontaneity* of learning promoted by her techniques is somewhat of a fallacy. Her method is grounded in the acquisition of certain bodily disciplines requisite for undertaking a range of tasks. The teacher is not a remote figure here; rather, their direction is integral to the child's formation of the dispositions essential for effective learning.

What appears to be a contradiction of teaching styles within the 1916 Syllabus – the insistence on one hand that teachers resist intervening in the learning process similar to that advocated by Montessori, and the more dominant recommendation of habit-forming exercises involving drill and practice on the other - is a reflection of the qualified progressivism of the time. While the Syllabus provides evidence of a trend towards giving greater licence to students, at the same time it acknowledges that learning has a bodily basis, which is premised on the habituation of certain skills instilled through teacher direction. This is evident in the approach to handwriting in the Syllabus. Students did not commence handwriting until the second grade and emphasis was placed on drill and practice: "Much time and trouble will be saved in the long run if pupils are practised in these forms so thoroughly in the beginning that their work becomes automatic" (New South Wales Department of Education, 1916, p. 26).

To assist in this process the letters of the alphabet were classified according to their particular characteristics with children concentrating on certain strokes, lines and loops and the directionality associated with each letter. Although taking a very different approach to the Montessori Method, the emphasis here was likewise the acquisition of *muscular memory*. Students' initial conscious attention to forming each letter would have eventually waned through repeated practice, resulting in the embodiment of their graphic representation. The benefit of attaining a level of automaticity in relation to handwriting as early as possible ensured children could give greater attention to their written expression. Handwriting was viewed as a means to an end not an end in itself. It may also have assisted in the acquisition of a dispositional inclination to scholarly work. As students sat at a desk and repeatedly practised forming letters they may have also habituated the postures of academic work. This is a form of *muscular education* that Montessori neglected because she considered sitting at a desk a form of unnecessary bodily restraint rather than a way of acquiring the appropriate postures for academic engagement.

## THE CULTIVATION OF HABITS AND A PERSONAL CULTURE

In the 1922 Syllabus the focus on habit formation was even more pronounced. A new preface was written which strengthened the emphasis given to bodily habituation referring to "muscle and nerve habits" as well as "thought habits and emotion habits" as opposed to "habits of thought and action" in the earlier syllabuses. The new preface reinforced much of what was detailed in the first two syllabus documents but concludes with the statement that,

> By the time a pupil reaches [Sixth] Class the habits upon which the mechanical processes of schooling depend should have been acquired. In the Sixth Class the value of the teaching will be shown not merely by the body of useful knowledge acquired, but also, and mainly, by the intelligence which has been exercised in acquiring it, and by the degree of personal culture that has resulted from it.
>
> (New South Wales Department of Education, 1922, p. vii)

By the time a child completed their primary/elementary education there was an assumption that the formative aspects of scholarly embodiment would have been acquired. What the Syllabus foregrounds is not so much a child's acquisition of knowledge, though this is of course important, but the way in which the child had acquired it. The pedagogic goal was not simply for a child to acquire a body of knowledge but a *knowledgable body*: that they had habituated the skills necessary for academic success. While the Syllabus considered this a form of "intelligence", it is actually premised on the capacitation of the learner's body to undertake academic labour. The corporeal is actually intertwined with the cognitive in the term "personal culture". From a Bourdieuian perspective, this term not only denotes cultural capital or knowledge but embodied or physical capital, acquired

by the body and inscribed as dispositions within the habitus. The aim, therefore, was for the child to have acquired habits, through the direction and active intervention of the teacher, which would ensure ongoing learning and self-development.

The 1922 document also included prefatory notes for each subject. For English, as in other subjects, habit formation was emphasised, stating:

> …habit-forming is an important part of education and its laws should be observed in all teaching.

Hence

> (A) Desirable connections should be fixed into habits in the pupils by well-planned exercises, but no wrong connection allowed to develop into a habit which has later to be eliminated.
>
> (B) Whatever should be done at all times the same way should be made a habit, eg, pronunciation, writing, spelling, punctuation, capitalisation.
>
> NOTE – The Syllabus indicates that it is expected that certain matters of form shall be fixed as habits before pupils leave certain classes. Pupils will of course have *begun* to form these habits much earlier.
>
> (1922, p. 2)

This opening statement indicates the significance the Syllabus attached to the role of habituation in learning. Its advice to teachers was to design activities that encouraged habit formation. While students may have exhibited some indication of having made "desirable connections" independently, it was the teacher's responsibility to ensure that these inclinations became fixed as habits. All the routine aspects of writing – handwriting, spelling, punctuation and capitalisation – are listed as skills to be habituated. This demonstrates an understanding that the practice of writing involves different capacities, some that can be habituated (which are itemised) and some that cannot (which require reflection). While to some extent there is a neat distinction between these mechanical skills and other aspects of writing such as style, it is not so clear cut. The movement between a reliance on habituated skill and reflection is also dependent on the task itself and the expertise of the writer. Over time, given greater competence and the repeated completion of similar tasks, more complex syntax and variations of style may also be habituated. This is partly discussed in the Syllabus in terms of the writing of personal letters where it states that by the fifth grade "correct forms should be a fairly fixed habit" (1922, p. 10). There is, however, always the possibility of a recourse to consciousness to reassess even mechanical aspects of writing if this is necessary. Effective writers, even beginners, are constantly moving between these two *states* in the process of refining their writing skills. What is significant here is the recognition of the need to ensure that certain skills became habituated within the primary/elementary years of education with reflection also instilled as an habituated aspect of the writing process.

To achieve all this by the end of the sixth grade, the Syllabus suggests commencing the teaching of handwriting in the first grade, a year earlier than in the previous syllabuses. It asks teachers to have students "Practice on Montessori lines to gain power of control" encouraging a focus on muscular memory (1922, p. 4). As students moved into the second grade, handwriting classes emphasised the practice of correct letter shapes and individual writing drill. By the time students reached the fourth grade it was assumed that many would have reached a satisfactory standard of handwriting and could undertake free choice work during writing lessons. In addition to stressing correct letter shape, though allowing for individual style, the teaching of handwriting also emphasised the need for correct posture: the correct sitting position, placement of paper, distance from desk and pencil and pen grip (1922, p. 57). The insistence on a particular sitting position and other physical requirements of writing was to ensure a student's whole body was habituated to the writing process.

A new syllabus was issued in 1925 yet, apart from minor revisions to the preface and more detailed elaboration of formal language work, it remained largely unchanged. This document includes the same prefatory note on English as the 1922 Syllabus accentuating the importance of habit formation. As in the 1922 Syllabus, it refers to the "capitalising habit" and how this can be fixed in students through the "systematic use of dictation" (New South Wales Department of Education, 1925/1929, p. 48). A similar procedure was encouraged with both punctuation and spelling: "… the use of the apostrophe in contractions and simple forms of the possessive should be made habitual" and "Spelling should be passed over to the unconscious mind as fully as possible and to do this effectively the greatest care should be exercised to prevent wrong forms from being impressed on the mind" (1925/1929, pp. 49–51).

Once habituated this knowledge was not simply relegated to the psychical unconscious awaiting recall to the conscious mind. The process of attaining a level of automaticity with these aspects of writing was predicated on the synchronous relationship between mind and body. The body and mind act in concert in both the habituation and retrieval of knowledge and skills. The writers of the 1922 and 1925 Syllabuses seemed attuned to this. They understood the importance of having students achieve automaticity with routine aspects of writing early in their schooling so that they could then devote greater attention to the more complex and creative aspects of writing in later years.

This strong emphasis on the role of habituation in learning is continued in the next Syllabus issued in 1941. Despite a long interval in the issuing of syllabus documents, no doubt a result of the crises in international and domestic affairs over that time, the educational philosophy underpinning the new syllabus was similar to that of previous years. The preface was revised but its opening paragraph states that "[schooling's] immediate aims are the inculcation of right habits – physical, mental, moral and co-operative (New South Wales Department of Education, 1941, v). The reference to "muscle and nerve habits, thought habits and feeling habits" found in the 1922, 1925 and 1929 syllabuses is repeated and the prefatory note stating that habit-forming is an important part of education remains unchanged

(1941, p. 2). Also, although more detailed in its elaboration of curriculum content, the 1941 Syllabus is a similar mix of progressivism blended with the formal training of basic skills. If anything, there is the emergence of a stronger emphasis on progressivist ideals. This is the first syllabus to include a kindergarten curriculum and, in its instructions for teaching poetry in the early years, holds the romantic view that,

> Over-discussion and over-teaching should be avoided, as poetry is a thing of the spirit and of the emotion as well as of the intellect, and too much analysis may cause its beauty to vanish. It is questionable whether teaching has a plan at all in these tender years, discussion, talk, conversation of the intimate but informal type are invaluable.
>
> (1941, p. 5)

These comments are balanced, however, by the guidelines on the teaching of writing at this stage, which once again refer to the Montessori Method but state that "Good writing depends upon the teacher; steady insistence upon her (sic) part and the development in the pupils of *the will* [my emphasis] to write well will make for sound progress" (1941, p. 7).

The kind of qualified progressivism found in previous syllabuses is also evident here. While the syllabus might state that "the process of growth is inherent in the child", it also stresses that "the teacher and the school create conditions that foster this growth" (1941, p. v). These conditions did not simply refer to the choice of curriculum content but the "right habits" which schooling aimed to instil in the child. This is evident in the reference to the teacher's role in students attaining good writing skills. The notion of "will" here is not used in a free, unbound sense but rather is dependent on teacher guidance and reinforcement for its formation. While this conception of will may have been understood as a function of mind, given the emphasis on the habituation of writing skills, "the will to write well" has an obvious bodily dimension, linked to the dispositions of a student's habitus. Will, or desire, essential in understanding the pedagogic process, is therefore not simply a mindful phenomenon, it is equally corporeal.

The inculcation of "right habits" referred to in the preface does not only include those related to academic achievement, there is also mention of moral and co-operative habits. Instructions to teachers on how to conduct free reading time, for example, states that,

> Pupils, although free at times to select and use the wisely provided materials, should be definitely trained to know that perseverance and concentration are necessary, that materials must be selected and wisely used in a purposeful manner, and replaced tidily and in good condition. Furthermore, all children must be trained to know definitely that no one is free to interfere with the liberty and comfort of others in the classroom.
>
> (1941, p. 8)

Once again emphasis is placed on the need to discipline students' bodies, yet here it is not solely for academic purposes. Although "perseverance" and "concentration" are obviously essential in terms of scholarly labour, discipline is viewed here more in terms of the need for students to develop a social ethic of co-operation, the basis of effective classroom management. The insistence on training demonstrates that the intention was for students to embody these traits of self-control and mutual respect coupled with a diligence for work so that good behaviour became a *technology of the self*, an aspect of their personal culture. Free choice time was not viewed as a period when discipline lapsed; rather, it was a space in which students exhibited the extent to which they had acquired the bodily dispositions necessary for independent work.

## THE PSYCHOLOGICAL TURN

Although there are some exceptions, the trend following 1941 was for most syllabuses to have at least a ten-year period of implementation. The next syllabus, issued in 1952, is no longer titled a *Course of Instruction* instead it is termed a *Curriculum for Primary Schools*. This name change is significant as it represents a shift in pedagogic stance. The title *Course of Instruction* placed emphasis on the teacher and what was to be *taught*, while the term *curriculum* refers to a course of study and what is to be *learned*. In a sense, the 1952 Syllabus is a precursor to later syllabuses that adopt a far more student-directed pedagogy. While the 1952 Syllabus is not much different from its predecessor, overall it does have a more progressivist slant. This discursive shift is particularly evident in two new sections of the preface. The first is entitled *Social Education*, which is something of a misnomer given its privileging of the individual over the social. It states that "While the curriculum recognises the complementary nature of the individual and the social obligations of the child's living, it seeks to emphasise the needs of individuality as an immediate concern" (New South Wales Department of Education, 1952, p. vi). There are references to the needs of the individual in previous syllabuses but in the 1952 Syllabus these are foregrounded. Interestingly, this greater focus on individuality coincides with a movement away from the emphasis given to habit formation. While habit still receives a mention in the 1952 preface, its role is somewhat qualified in a new section entitled *Character Education*, which states that "Habits of health, physical and mental are matters of deep concern, but it should be fully appreciated that the good life is not a mere series of habitual responses. Well-founded ideals and attitudes must finally provide the motive force of right thinking and right action" (1952, p. vii). Here the habitual, conceived in terms of its contribution to character formation, is downplayed in preference to an idealist ethic of rational action. It is the mind that is privileged with the bodily aspects of practice, signified by the habitual, assigned a secondary role.

This is also the case in relation to the role of the habitual for academic endeavour. The introduction to the English curriculum within the syllabus no longer includes a detailed statement on the importance of habit formation.

Instead it states that "The general plan in this course in English centres round retaining and developing the likely interests of the child in everything around him, and in providing conditions by which his ideas and powers of self-expression may grow abreast of each other" (1952, p. 61). While there are references to cultivating a child's interests in earlier syllabuses, the teacher is always presented as a more significant figure fashioning, rather than simply facilitating, a child's potential. The teacher still retains an important role in the 1952 Syllabus but it is tempered by a pedagogy placing less emphasis on habituation and more on arousing a child's desire to learn. This shift in emphasis represents a move away from a pedagogy acknowledging the bodily aspects of learning to one approaching a position where the body is subsumed by the mind. In the latter, learning is understood as a cognitive process with learning difficulties assessed primarily in psychological terms. While there are still references throughout this syllabus to drill and practice, for the first time the impact of developmental psychology is evident. In outlining the approach to teaching reading, for example, the syllabus declares, "Modern research has shown that the child is not ready to begin formal reading before he has attained a mental age of at least six years" (1952, p. 83). This represents a shift in emphasis away from the impact of instruction to a focus on developmental stages where teaching is seen to have minimal effect until a child has reached a certain level of development. While it is true that a child must have attained a certain skill level before they are capable of more complex tasks, how the requisite ability is attained is a key pedagogical issue. Different positions concerning this point result in quite markedly different teaching methodologies. The more the focus is on development as a process of biologically determined maturation, the less the emphasis on teacher intervention. Vick (1996, p. 117) makes a similar point about the effect of educational psychology on the role of the teacher claiming that "by the mid twentieth century the centre of educational knowledge, in so far as such a thing existed, had become psychology and it was this …which formed the theoretical base from which pedagogy began to draw. And psychology put the subject of pedagogy, 'the learner', rather than the pedagogue at the centre".

Although the impact of educational psychology is minimal at this time, after 1952 syllabus documents begin to embrace this theoretical perspective far more obviously. What becomes evident is a pedagogic trend towards student-directedness with the teacher's role greatly diminished. The pedagogic effects of this psychologising of the child are not simply felt in terms of a decentring of the teacher; there is also a de-emphasis in the role of the body in learning. Academic achievement becomes largely a function of mental capacity with age itself assuming a specific cognitive dimension as a category of normative development. Learning is increasingly understood as a process of innate psychological ability. The need for students to habituate certain skills and to acquire dispositions conducive to learning begins to wane. The 1952 Syllabus seems a transitional document with the influence given to psychology beginning to displace the previous emphasis on bodily habituation. The impact of psychology in this document, though slight, is evident throughout. It

features in sections detailing the reading curriculum and strategies to cater for individual student needs. In previous syllabuses the assistance that was given to students experiencing reading difficulties was to provide easier reading material, a more carefully graded approach and, as in the 1941 Syllabus, increased emphasis on "the establishment of right habits" (New South Wales Department of Education, 1941, p. 177). In the 1952 Syllabus there is a move towards psychological assessment. "Backwardness" is attributed to "mental or emotional factors", "experiential background" or "specific reading disabilities"; the latter framed largely in cognitive terms as a function of developmental delay (New South Wales Department of Education, 1952, p. 87). Emphasis is given to the early diagnosis of specific disabilities through the use of psychometric testing to determine the most appropriate form of remediation (1952, p. 104). While the body is not absent in the strategies that are suggested, it is conceived more as an adjunct to the mind; a kind of biological prop to cognitive processing. Reading difficulties are seen to result from eyestrain, speech defects and uncontrolled eye movement rather than inappropriate habits. The social constructedness of the body, evident in the previous emphasis on habit formation, is downplayed. The need for the bodily habituation of specific dispositions of learning has been forsaken for an increased focus on psychological reinforcement and a belief in innate stages of cognitive development. The inability to concentrate on reading – signalled by apathetic behaviour, yawning, irritability and nervousness – is said to be remedied by checking the student's social and emotional condition and by encouraging interest in other activities such as craftwork and drawing (1952, p. 104). The previous imperative to instil right habits is no longer considered a precondition of learning. Rather than providing a broader perspective on the nature of learning, educational psychology begins to operate as a new regime of truth (Walkerdine, 1984, p. 197) with the resultant displacement of the body bringing the dualist ontology underpinning education into sharper focus.

After the 1952 Syllabus there is a considerable change in the design and intent of curricula. The 1952 document is the last comprehensive primary school syllabus in NSW to provide curricula for all subjects taught from kindergarten to sixth class. All following documents are either subject specific or devoted to a particular area of knowledge and skills within a discipline, such as the next English syllabus in 1961 which was devoted to spelling and handwriting. In the nine-year interval following the release of the 1952 Syllabus the influence of psychology within education had become more firmly entrenched. The impact of Piaget's notion of developmental stages, evident in the 1952 document, has by 1961 become something of a truism with developmentalism permeating pedagogic discourse. A recurrent term in the spelling and handwriting document is the notion of *readiness*, which assumes that certain knowledge and skills are linked to particular stages of cognitive development (Sharp and Green, 1975, p. 42). Children needed to exhibit a *readiness* to learn prior to the commencement of any formal instruction. Development, therefore, was seen to precede instruction with the impact of premature instruction considered an impediment to

learning: “Research indicates that readiness for formal instruction in spelling emerges during second grade” (New South Wales Department of Education, 1961, p. 6). This point is preceded by the statement that “A premature insistence on formal spelling, letter by letter, before the child has developed some degree of independence in reading, may well lead to a confusion detrimental to both subjects” (1961, p. 6). The advice to teachers was to ensure that they could recognise “the teachable moment”, the point at which it was appropriate to introduce a new aspect of work. The implication was that the impetus for learning resided within the child. Developmentalism, therefore, was marginalising the teacher, positioning them, as “Other to learning” (Vick, 1996, p. 117).

As a result of this *psychological turn* within education the pedagogic body was also constituted as “Other to learning”. Up to this point English curricula in NSW had given considerable attention to the processes of pedagogic embodiment in relation to the routine aspects of writing such as spelling and handwriting. Even in the 1952 Syllabus, clearly influenced by Piagetian concepts, there is reference to the need for drill and practice in these areas of the curriculum. By 1961 the role of habituation within learning is even more diminished. It is viewed as a rudimentary skill requiring considerable supplementation or recast in purely psychological terms as a cognitive function with its corporeality obscured. The pedagogy underpinning spelling began to rely less on habit formation and far more on students developing a “desire to spell” (1961, p. 7). Teachers were advised that children would only develop the power to spell when they “want to spell correctly” (1961, p. 5). An understanding developed that the automatic recall of words was not simply premised on repeated enunciation and memorisation but on a view that language needed to be “relevant” with the syllabus declaring: “The ability to recall underlies all correct spelling, but this should not be confused with mere memorization. Correct spelling requires an exact reproduction of a word but mechanical memory is not enough. The words presented should be meaningful and as closely allied as possible to the child’s immediate and vicarious experience” (1961, p. 6).

While it is pedagogically effective to make connections between what is already known and what is to be learned, the insistence on relevance here, framed in terms of a child’s own experience, tends to reduce learning to a process emanating from an essentialised notion of desire. This is reinforced in the document’s advice to teachers “to keep in mind that children will develop the power to spell when they *want* [my emphasis] to spell correctly” (1961, p. 5). The role of the teacher in cultivating a desire to learn, particularly using a pedagogy aimed at students habituating certain dispositions to learning, had by 1961 been largely repudiated. The desire to learn which had once been understood as both generated externally and possessing a bodily dimension is now conceived as an internal, psychical force. With pedagogy demonstrating an epistemological coherence with developmental psychology the teacher assumed a less interventionist role and the corporeality of learning slips from view.

This shift in emphasis away from the body to an almost exclusive concentration on the mind is evident in the changes to the teaching of spelling. While in the past the aim was for students to acquire a *spelling habit* instilled through drill and practice, the 1961 Syllabus calls for students to develop a "spelling conscience". Although this was said to be derived from a student's general habit of thought, it was not termed a habit. Instead it was considered an "attitude" that "produces a sensitivity which instantly recognises correct form and refuses to be satisfied with a doubtful spelling" (1961, p. 7). Interestingly, this function was previously performed by what was termed a *habit*, which required little or no recourse to consciousness unless a difficulty arose. Reconfigured as an attitude, what was once habitual is now infused with rationality, able to make conscious decisions about how to spell. The use of the term "spelling conscience" not only signals a privileging of reason over other forms of understanding, it also suggests a particular moral stance emanating from within the student rather than as a result of teacher direction and guidance; reminiscent of a Cartesian sense of will devoid of external influence.

This reduced focus on the habitual and bodily aspects of learning is also evident in the 1961 document's approach to handwriting. Of all areas of the English curriculum it would seem that handwriting was one that needed to maintain a strong emphasis on bodily habituation, yet, here too the impact of developmentalism is evident with the body framed as a biological entity and the bodily capacitation of students viewed more as a function of natural development than the result of drill and practice. This is illustrated in an appendix to the document entitled *What Research has to Tell the Teacher*. Rather than a matter of debate, the information in this appendix carries the force of scientific truth:

> Scientific studies have thrown some light on the development of the handwriting movement…The writing movement itself gains in continuity, with increasing maturity…Because the adult writes with a more continuous movement, letters and words are units but the young child, writing letters and words as a series of more nearly separate strokes, gradually achieves continuity in the writing movement along with his natural development. This suggests that speed in writing should never be forced beyond the child's capacity to cope comfortably with the extra demands.
>
> (1961, p. 127)

While in the conclusion to this appendix it indicates that research is never definitive, developmentalism is clearly the dominant paradigm resulting in a reduced focus on habit formation and so less a need for teachers to oversee and direct this process. As with spelling, teachers were advised to consider a student's *readiness* for formal instruction in handwriting as it was "the concept of a developmental age rather than a chronological one [that] has special significance" (1961, p. 128). Readiness, in relation to handwriting, was conceived in terms of "mental maturity, visual maturity and motor development" (1961, p. 129). While in the past these capacities were seen to be cultivated by regimens of training, here

there is an assumption that these skills develop naturally and so teaching is organised around recognising “teachable moments”: the point at which students demonstrate they have attained the necessary stage of development for instruction to commence. Teachers were advised that their instruction, to perfect handwriting should not be too burdensome: “Practice consists of provisional trials which should be restricted in length as the period of child life from six to twelve years is characterised by restlessness and high fatiguability” (1961, p. 129). The process of students inculcating academic dispositions of self-control and bodily discipline to counter this *fatigue*, what earlier syllabuses prized as a key role of teaching, was not considered appropriate here. Instead restlessness was understood as behaviour indicative of a particular stage of development which would subside with maturity. Pedagogy, therefore, was modified to make allowance for this with the teacher minimising drill and practice and similar forms of *constraint* but maximising encouragement and a child’s seemingly inherent desire to learn.

The next syllabus document issued in 1967 was the first to deal exclusively with the subject of English. The psychological turn, evident from 1952, is firmly entrenched by this stage with the concept of *readiness* now considered “a general principle of teaching” (New South Wales Department of Education, 1967, xiii). The 1967 document is particularly significant as it is the last syllabus to make reference to the role of habit formation. While its contribution to the pedagogic process is greatly diminished, it is still considered a relevant aim of teaching. The notion of habit it uses, however, is primarily cognitive similar to the way in which it is conceived in the 1961 document. As such, it is often coupled with the term *attitude* denoting a particular way of thinking. This is the case in the *Statement of Guiding Aims and Underlying Principles* of the Syllabus where there is a section entitled *Attitudes and Habits* which comprises a list of what ethical behaviour is seen to constitute. In this section it states that “The development of right attitudes and habits requires skilful and sensitive teaching. There will be fruitful occasions for explaining to children, and helping them to understand, what the good demands” (1967, p. xii). Habits were not seen to derive from the repeated performance of particular acts or ways of doing but were solely constituted from ways of thinking, a conscious understanding of what ethical practice involved.

This conception of habit, which tended to efface its corporeality, is also evident in other sections of the Syllabus more specifically related to English curriculum, such as listening, use of voice and word recognition in reading, termed here aspects of the “Language Arts”. To improve students’ listening, a range of activities are suggested but the syllabus specifically encourages the use of modelling where “The teacher will influence the child by his (sic) own listening habits. He who listens attentively, will increase the quality of listening in his classroom” (1967, p. 56). Habit here is not something acquired by students through the process of iteration, coupled with a regimen of teacher reinforcement; rather it seems simply reliant upon mimesis. There is the assumption that students will mimic the teacher’s own listening habits and, through this, acquire their own. While habits can be acquired through what is

generally unconscious mimicry involving immersion within a particular milieu, if formed in this way it requires a saturation of the skill to be habituated, something of an impossibility within a classroom context. Further, children would have already acquired certain habits in this way prior to school, which may require modification through concerted effort. The technique of modelling referred to here is not premised on the student being required to behave repeatedly in a particular way until they are invested with the same trait, a process implying bodily practice. Rather, the student *habituated* good listening skills through a desire to be like the teacher, which involves a purely psychical notion of desire. This conception of habit is based upon a desire to imitate, something of considerable pedagogic importance, but it fails to result in the habituation of particular skills without a student iteratively performing the requisite behaviour. Where practice is referred to, it is generally understood as a function of mind. The syllabus states that "The development of efficient listening habits results from conscious practice" (1967, p. 57). There is a need, at least initially, to consciously register that one is listening in the process of attaining effective listening skills. Within a classroom context, however, practice eventually renders consciousness superfluous, with attention eventually solely devoted to the content of what is being listened to, rather than the act of listening itself. Through practice a dispositional tendency to listen is acquired. This involves bodily discipline and self-control rather than an ongoing conscious reminder to be attentive. Given the impact of developmental psychology, however, concentration and the ability to listen are understood as purely products of mind. Resultant automaticity is psychologised and the notion of habit is virtually disembodied.

## THE BODY REFORMED

The 1967 Syllabus was short-lived. By 1974 it had been superseded by a radically new curriculum representing the point at which developmental psychology was at its peak in influencing curriculum design. This new curriculum was no longer conceived in disciplinary terms as English but as a Curriculum for Language. This name change reflects the overall intent of the document to present learning from a psychological perspective as an individualised phenomenon resulting from natural development rather than formal instruction. The Syllabus states that "Language learning is individual" (New South Wales Department of Education, 1974, p. 5). Any notion of the social is conceived merely in terms of interaction, with the emphasis on personal experience. The role of the teacher was reduced to that of a facilitator merely providing students with "opportunities" to use language: "The child's language best develops where opportunities are given for him (sic) to use it – with others in social situations, in personal and creative expression, in discovering and recording knowledge – rather than through language exercises remote from his experience" (1974, p. 3).

Development was seen to be independent of instruction. Formal teaching was no longer presented as the modus operandi of classroom practice. Rather,

this curriculum decentres the teacher and rearranges the pedagogic space into a site of independent learning. The Syllabus does point out that "There will be times when specific instruction is necessary to meet developmental needs and difficulties or to focus on some point of interest" (1974, p. 4). In general though, whole class teaching was presented as almost anachronistic, with the formal instruction that was provided conducted more on an individual or small group basis. This is the impression given by the photographs included in the Syllabus (see Plate 1.), a new addition to the standard, densely written design of previous documents. In line with this move away from formal instruction is the noticeable change in terminology used to refer to the learner. Previous syllabus documents had usually favoured the term *pupil*. In this syllabus it is most often *the child*. In relation to contemporary educational discourse *pupil* is definitely an outmoded term with *student* or *learner* more generally used. This nomenclature is significant in that a *pupil* is one who is instructed whereas a *student* is one who learns or is undertaking a course of study. The implication is that a pupil's ability to learn is reliant upon a teacher, while a student is far more independent and less reliant upon teacher assistance. This shift in terminology is emblematic of the pedagogic shift away from formal instruction to a far greater emphasis on student-directed learning. In relation to its use within an educational discourse representative of the dominant paradigm of developmental psychology, the term signifies a view of learning as a process of natural development.

The 1974 Syllabus adopts this perspective stating that; "Language learning is a part of the child's total development". Accordingly, teachers were advised that "The integration of language learning activities is recommended, as language learning cannot be separated effectively into discrete lesson segments. These activities arise from the child's personal experiences in the whole field of the curriculum" (1974, p. 2). Given this view, which discouraged the separate treatment of aspects of language – reading, writing, spelling and grammar, the Syllabus failed to specify curriculum in these areas. Instead, this very brief document (comprising 16 pages compared to the 150 pages of the 1967 Syllabus) provides a range of guidelines to teachers on how to encourage children to use language for a range of purposes: "Language learning occurs as a series of related experiences in which one use of language leads naturally to others" (1974, p. 4). This curriculum avoids any demarcation of content for specific year groups. There is no mention of a grading of knowledge and skills as this is considered unnecessary given that children will progress through the sequenced stages of cognitive development at their own pace. As Walkerdine (1984, p. 171) points out, commenting on the impact of developmental psychology on education: "If knowledge becomes naturalised the facts (social phenomena) can become of secondary status to concepts, so that content is subsumed in process. Knowledge as a social category is thereby marginalised in favour of knowledge as both individual production and competence". The impact of this naturalisation of knowledge on the

*Plate 1*

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learner's body was overwhelming. It signalled the total erasure of habit formation from the curriculum and the disappearance of the body as a pedagogic entity. The very notion of habit formation as a pedagogic goal was inappropriate from the perspective of a pedagogy grounded in developmental psychology as it involved a form of external imposition upon the 'naturally' occurring stages of development. A disciplined body, particularly in the early years of schooling, was not considered *natural*. Instead, the *passivity* that it engendered was seen as detrimental to

learning. The pedagogy espoused by the 1974 Syllabus promoted "active learning", encouraging a more flexible organisation of classroom space so students were able to interact more freely.

Classroom design underwent considerable modification at this time with the traditional organisation of rows of desks facing a blackboard at the front of the room replaced by groups of desks scattered around a classroom and portable black and white boards favoured over the larger static model. A spatiality promoting disciplinary control was transformed into a space in which new postures of learning emerged characterised by less bodily restraint and more ease of movement. Less restraint was also evident in the apparent greater tolerance for talk. Within this syllabus there is a privileging of talk over other aspects of the language curriculum. It was given such precedence that reading and writing were simply considered its "natural extension" (1974, p. 15). In a sense, the 1974 Syllabus provided a *talk curriculum* with the choice of the word *talk* over previous terms such as *spoken English*, *spoken expression* or simply *speaking,* an indication in itself of a less disciplined approach. In contrast to the more formal terms of previous syllabuses, which suggested speech required a certain refinement in line with social convention, and hence required formal instruction, *talk* is a term which denotes the natural free flow of conversation which may require encouragement but is more likely to be 'stifled' by an instructional pedagogy. Talk, in the 1974 Syllabus, was something to be promoted. It was a term that suggested activity and therefore learning. Quiet, on the other hand, was seen to represent passivity and a failure to engage in the learning process.

This was the position taken in a support document to the 1974 Syllabus entitled *Shooting Down the Myths*. Given the radical nature of the new curriculum, which involved such a dramatic departure from conventional teaching practice, teachers needed to be given assurance of the effectiveness of what the Syllabus advocated. *Shooting Down the Myths* aimed to discredit a range of practices which the new syllabus considered outmoded, one of these being the insistence on quiet in the classroom. In doing this, the document pointed out that while "Continual excess noise is never productive. No noise at all is probably worse". It also states that "The majority of the time will probably be characterised by a steady murmur as children work in groups or individually" (New South Wales Department of Education, Directorate of Studies, 1977, p. 17). Talk was viewed as the medium through which learning occurred. Establishing parameters regarding appropriateness could have inhibited its productive function. Self-control and discipline in this regard were seen to result from maturation. With this emphasis on natural development, the body now seemed to be understood almost exclusively in biological terms, and, as with the mind, any form of capacitation was conceived as pertaining to a developmental norm. The focus, however, was quite clearly cognitive development and so it was assumed that children would eventually develop an *understanding* of when talk was inappropriate, "By recognising and using everyday events which require certain forms of social behaviour, the child becomes aware of and practised in the behaviour which is expected of him (sic) in these situations" (New South Wales Department of Education, 1974, p. 13). Consequently, it was simply through a conscious awareness

of what was appropriate that children would modify their behaviour. Simple recognition replaced the need for habit formation instilled through a pedagogy that emphasised bodily discipline.

This emphasis on education as a purely cognitive process is also evident in the approach to writing in the 1974 Syllabus. Although writing ability was seen to flow naturally from effective talking and listening skills, the Syllabus pointed out that "Writing is a complex task". Progress, however, was considered a function of encouragement provided by the teacher, coupled with the development of a child's thinking skills said to involve the ability "to generate, organise and express ideas" (1974, p. 15). These skills were seen to relate to particular stages of development and so their *acquisition* was viewed more as a function of mental growth, aided by an enriched classroom environment. It was felt that formal instruction could hamper this *natural* process. The Syllabus also aimed to boost a child's enthusiasm for writing by removing the need for correctness. It stated that "Writing will be most rewarding for the child when he (sic) is encouraged to write without the inhibition of an overemphasis on formal skills and when his work is willingly accepted by the teacher …" (1974, p. 15). There was no need for the habituation of the mechanical aspects of writing. This de-emphasis of formal skills was extended to the teaching of grammar. The 1974 Syllabus did not require that grammar be taught at all and the accompanying *Shooting Down the Myths* document argues that "Training in formal grammar does not improve pupil's written expression. In fact, it could hinder it" (New South Wales Department of Education, Directorate of Studies, 1977, p. 10). The ability to write was viewed as dependent upon individual cognitive development and so writing pedagogy was reformulated through the influence of developmental psychology into a process of cultivating a child's desire to write. Teacher input was not directed towards students inculcating particular knowledge and skills and a discipline of body and mind, but towards providing uncritical encouragement which, it was assumed, created the necessary supportive environment for learning to thrive. Emphasis within syllabus documents shifted from a view of learning that was dependent upon bodily discipline to one that required psychological support.

The 1974 Syllabus demonstrates a distinct move from teaching to learning, a thorough bifurcation of the pedagogic relation. It is not surprising that a new syllabus was not issued until 1987 as there was no longer any need to specify externally derived curriculum content. The focus was on individual learning needs and it was a teacher's direct contact with a student that could best determine what these might be. The notion of a syllabus functioning as a teaching manual irrevocably changed after 1974. While the syllabuses issued in 1987, 1994 and 1998 returned to a format at least resembling the pre-1974 documents, teachers' approaches towards implementing syllabus content becomes far more diversified given the use of an increased range of documents plus departmental and commercially produced support material.

## LOSING THE HABIT

While the next syllabus to be issued in 1987 included a new writing syllabus for primary school, it was in fact a document outlining the teaching of writing from kindergarten to Year 12, hence its title, *Writing K to 12.* The only other English-related syllabus issued in NSW prior to this was a document entitled *Communications* which placed emphasis on reading and talking and, despite providing greater curriculum content than the 1974 Syllabus, was based on a similar educational philosophy drawn from developmental psychology. In *Writing K-12* developmental psychology was still the dominant paradigm but there was some variation in terms of its application. Although this curriculum is still characteristically progressivist, it is not the same unbridled progressivism that is evident in the 1974 Syllabus. While it does not signal a return to a teacher-directed pedagogy, *Writing K-12* suggests more teacher involvement in students' learning. This involvement, however, still tends to take the form of encouragement and is far from an explicit instructional pedagogy. This is evident in a section entitled *Conditions for Learning Language* where, even though the teacher's responsibilities are specified as a series of imperatives, the force of these commands is neutralised by what the instructions require the teacher to do:

> Teachers should – provide students with examples of language, how it looks, works and is used by
>
> - flooding the room with labels, charts and books
> - having students spend time each day responding to this stimulus material.
>
> Teachers should provide opportunities for students to identify what it is that they next want to learn
>
> - create a learning environment that allows such language development to occur.
>
> (New South Wales Department of Education, 1987, pp. 18–19)

While ostensibly the responsibility here lies with the teacher, the pedagogic realisation is a transfer of responsibility to the student. Even in the first example where the teacher's instruction is concerned with the teaching of the structure of written language, a particularly complex matter, the teacher's role is merely to facilitate learning by providing students with appropriate material. The indication is that it is the students who determine its relevance for their own learning. The teacher does not provide this material in a staged and systematic way; it is simply among the variety of stimulus material available for use within the *learning environment*, which the teacher has created. In a section of this document devoted to explicating their role, teachers are referred to as "the architects of the learning environment" (1987, p. 48). The use of the term "environment" is in line with the metaphors of growth that proliferate both this and the preceding syllabus. The term is suggestive of a pedagogy in which student learning results from natural

development in a rich and vital environment, indicative of the dominance of developmental psychology. Teachers, it suggests, could assist their students' development in writing by *tending* the learning environment: flooding the classroom with stimulus material, ensuring that classroom organisation facilitates student interaction and providing support when required. Teachers were "architects" in the sense that it was their responsibility to construct this environment, manipulating the learning context rather than intervening in their students' learning. The students' bodies, therefore, remained unconstrained to ensure freedom of movement and an active approach to learning.

As with the classroom organisation depicted in the 1974 Syllabus, photographs in *Writing K-12* show classrooms arranged in groups of desks with space allotted for independent work or informal group activities. In many photographs (see Plate 2.), the teacher is absent, with students working independently or in groups. Students are often shown sitting or lying on the ground, or in a relaxed pose. Where teachers are depicted they are never shown addressing a whole class but are either working one-on-one or involved in informal group discussion with students. With a range of different activities occurring at any one time in a classroom, learning was presented as an active process in which students' minds were not encumbered by a regimented body but were instead given the *freedom*, through the construction of a relaxed and stimulating environment, to develop unhindered. In this way, the Syllabus states students "grow towards independence in writing" (1987, p.7). In a trend paralleling the increased influence of developmental psychology, the need for a disciplined student body waned. Yet, whereas this notion of the pedagogic body is absent from the 1974 Syllabus, in *Writing K-12* there is some sense of a more disciplined body resurfacing in its revised handwriting curriculum. As a complement to students learning to spell, teachers were instructed to "teach fluent, automatic handwriting" (1987, p. 140). In syllabuses prior to 1952, in particular, this would suggest a pedagogy designed to instil certain habits. It would require students to practise the formation of letters or, as a preliminary to this, mimic the shape and directionality of letters through a range of different activities. In *Writing K-12*, however, the approach to teaching is more cognitive than corporeal. It points out that,

> Students learn to handwrite by:-
>
> - inventing marks: they create their own marks and manipulate them, exploring the limits of these marks as well as exploring their own capabilities
> - forming hypotheses and testing them: they make guesses about what might work and they test their guesses. Inventing their own marks and testing these to see how well they communicate involves children in comparing their inventions against the teacher's model. As a result, children gradually revise their understandings and refine their handwriting skills.
>
> (1987, p. 187)

Learning to write is presented as a process of deductive reasoning, a matter of trial and error to determine the appropriate signification. While this may be an aspect of learning to write, it is more a feature of the pre-writing that children exhibit in the years prior to attending school. By the age of 5 or 6 years when children commence school there is a need to acquaint them with the standardised shapes of letters as soon as possible to ensure a smooth transition from pre-literacy to literacy so they acquire the capacity to produce text effectively. To some extent this is recognised in another point: "It is crucial that teachers show students how to produce the foundation movements and how to form the letter shapes of the NSW Foundation Style" (1987, p. 187). It would seem that teachers first needed to allow students to explore their own potential as sign makers without the inhibiting influence of teacher intervention. What was not recognised, given the continued influence of developmental psychology and its conceptualisation of language acquisition, is that writing is not an individual process. It may be performed by individuals but, as with any semiotic, language is social. Individual production and contextual variables ensure its heterogeneity, but its pragmatic nature does not discount that it is social. An instructional pedagogy seemed necessary therefore to ensure students acquired an understanding of the shape of letters and the directionality involved in how to produce them. Yet, this understanding is not simply mindful, it is also bodily. The pedagogy of demonstration referred to in the syllabus seems to give token consideration to the former and totally neglects the latter. Demonstration is still predicated on a notion of readiness, which could prove inequitable for children with little exposure to written text and its production prior to school. It is this form of experience, rather than any natural predisposition, which is more likely to influence *readiness*. Teacher demonstration, when it occurred, did not seem to be undertaken in any ongoing way with students then iteratively performing the movements that the teacher had modelled. Instead, three broad types of "handwriting learning experiences" were specified: self-discovery experiences, guided exploration experiences and self-direction experiences (1987, p. 187). The first involved the undirected pre-writing activities mentioned above. Guided exploration involved teacher demonstration, while the third category involved students applying the advice supplied by their teacher to refine their skills independently. Learning to write is conceived more as a function of mindful intent than bodily know-how. The Syllabus actually states that "teachers must help students progress on the basis of positive self-image and achievement" (1987, p. 186). If the mind was predisposed to write then the body would act accordingly. This was the assumption in the one reference to habit in *Writing K-12*. Teachers are advised to "encourage students to make it a habit to write and read every day" (1987, p. 19). Habit formation it seemed was a student responsibility that would result from mere encouragement. The need for students to embody a disposition for literate practice was not considered necessary.

The next primary school English syllabus was issued in 1994. It provided the first truly comprehensive English syllabus for kindergarten to Year 6 in NSW since 1952. This syllabus was much-anticipated, not only for this reason but because the effectiveness of progressivist pedagogy was now being questioned (Reid, 1987;

1. THE NATURE OF LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE LEARNING

1.1 Through language — through talking, listening, reading and writing — children learn about themselves, other people and the world. In using language for communicating, investigating and expressing, they make meaning for themselves and share meaning with others.

16

*Plate 2.*

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Knapp, 1989; Gilbert, 1990). Disquiet over the ability of progressivist approaches such as whole language and process writing to equip students with adequate literacy skills had surfaced in the mid-1980s; debates that continue today (Milburn, 2004; Norrie, 2005; Gannon and Sawyer, 2007). Around this time a number of education and linguistics academics had formed themselves into a group named the Literacy and Education Research Network (LERN) to lobby the NSW government prior to the release of *Writing K-12* for the inclusion of a more explicit approach to the teaching of language, with a stronger focus on grammar and textual form. *Writing K-12* was released with minor modifications, the most notable being the replacement of a statement that did not require schools to teach grammar with one suggesting that it was important to do so at point of need (New South Wales Department of Education, 1987, p. 52). LERN, however, in conjunction with the Disadvantaged Schools Program (DSP) in NSW government schools decided to produce their own curriculum support material for *Writing K-12*. Despite their explicit treatment of textual form and insistence on the need for students to acquire metalinguistic knowledge, an approach quite different to *Writing K-12*, these materials attained the approval of the Education Department. The approach to language these materials adopted was termed the *genre approach,* which drew heavily on Halliday's systemic functional grammar and a view of genre as text type, based on research conducted in the 1980s by Martin (1987) and Rothery (1986). This approach, particularly its systematic treatment of text, proved very popular with teachers and it was adopted as the model of language for the 1994 K-6 English Syllabus[ii].

The 1994 Syllabus, therefore, marked a distinctive break from the psycholinguistic notions of language that had influenced English syllabuses since the 1950s. Language was now considered "a social phenomenon" as opposed to the psycholinguistic perspective of being *individual* (Board of Studies, New South Wales, 1994, p. 4). Yet, while the 1994 Syllabus had discarded many of the progressivist ideals drawn from developmental psychology, its influence persisted in the pedagogy it proposed to support its more explicit approach to language. While a stronger focus on the teaching of textual form emerged, there was no accompanying resurrection of the need for students to habituate the knowledge and skills underpinning the discipline of English. The ability to write was still perceived as a cognitive process with the bodily aspects of learning remaining obscured. Habit was a term that continued to be displaced by a focus on *attitudes* and, in the 1994 Syllabus, the term *values* was also added. Progressivist discourse permeates this document with students merely "provided with opportunities" to learn rather than being specifically taught, and with lessons still conceived as "learning experiences". This may appear a shallow criticism with these terms now simply representative of contemporary educational discourse, but it must be remembered they were originally used in relation to a pedagogic practice which discouraged teacher intervention and promoted learning as a largely student-directed activity. With a period of twenty years in which this was the dominant pedagogy, the inclusion of a more explicit approach to language does not erase the pedagogic approach these terms denote. Also, this more explicit approach is largely

presented in the syllabus as a set of student outcomes. They are not contingent upon specific teaching objectives and, with no statement provided on the role of the teacher to mark any change from previous practice, the pedagogy the syllabus is advocating is at best unclear. Instead what the document details is a smorgasbord of strategies, lists of activities that teachers can use in the classroom or, as the Syllabus states, "students should be made aware [of]". There is no indication as to how these activities should form part of a systematic teaching program. Instead, the Syllabus states that "[Students] should be introduced to a range of strategies and encouraged to experiment until they establish those methods that best suit their individual learning styles" (1994, p. 208). The emphasis given to each strategy, therefore, is not determined by the teacher, but by the student and so gauging their potential effectiveness seems more the latter's responsibility. This pedagogy is essentially progressivist with a focus on a kind of naive eclecticism where the more varied the approaches used, the better equipped a student is assumed to be.

Learning to spell, for example, is presented as primarily a cognitive process with the teaching aims still reflecting the psychological influences evident in the other post-1952 syllabuses. The main aims in teaching spelling are "to develop in students:

- an understanding of the importance of spelling in the communication of meaning
- the ability to use a variety of spelling strategies in their own writing
- a positive attitude towards themselves as spellers and towards using conventional spellings in their own writing" (1994, p. 208).

There is an appeal here to a sense of reason in that if students possess an appreciation of the importance of spelling they will strive to be good spellers by using the strategies they have been made aware of in classroom activities. The ability to use these strategies effectively, however, is not premised on rational intent nor, as the third point declares, "a positive attitude", it is more a function of psychophysical habituation, wherein these strategies are made automatic with the conscious mind generally bypassed. The pedagogy to support this habituation has a bodily basis emphasising rhythm and routine. A positive attitude towards spelling and any application of reason are not ends in themselves but are probably more dependent upon a habituated skill base.

A pedagogy similar to that underpinning the 1994 Syllabus is also found in the current Syllabus issued in 1998 (Board of Studies, New South Wales, 1998). This document is a revision of the 1994 Syllabus, omitting its controversial embrace of functional grammar but retaining its focus on the teaching of text types. As with the 1994 Syllabus, it promotes an explicit approach to the teaching of English, with syllabus content organised as lists of staged learning outcomes. It is intended that these outcomes form the basis of a teacher's program yet the teaching reliant on the attainment of these outcomes, namely what an explicit approach to the teaching of English actually entails, is not specified. Instead, the syllabus simply provides curriculum content itemised as outcome indicators, supposed evidence that a broad outcome has been achieved. The pedagogy involved in students meeting these

outcomes is far less explicit. Pedagogy is atomised into a diverse range of strategies with no apparent overarching philosophy to guide practice.

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

As Rose (1996, p. 183) writes, "…'the body' is itself a historical phenomenon. Our current image of the lineaments and topography of 'the body'…is an outcome of a particular cultural, scientific and technical history". The pedagogic body has undergone considerable transformation during the years in which it has been subject to the processes of institutionalised education. During the period examined here its role in learning has been slowly effaced. In the years prior to the psychological turn midway through last century, the need for pedagogy to instil bodily dispositions conducive to learning was readily accepted. It was recognised that learning required discipline which provided the necessary foundation for academic work. The body also figured in the emphasis given to the formation of habits that targeted routine aspects of literate practice, such as spelling, handwriting, punctuation and syntactic knowledge. As education embraced developmental psychology, however, the body began to slip from view and was reformulated as a natural entity. Learning was perceived as a function of cognitive development and so habit formation was considered an inappropriate and generally unnecessary pedagogic goal. Yet, learning to write is a long, arduous process. It requires a particular discipline and the habituation of a complex set of knowledge and skills which then allows a student to give more mindful consideration to the production of text. Contemporary pedagogy, however, still operates within an ontological framework that privileges the mind and ignores the corporeality of the learning process. These aspects of the learning process are rarely given consideration and the supposition that learning is a function of cognition remains largely unchallenged.

# SECTION 3

# BODIES IN PRACTICE

CHAPTER 4

# SUPPLE BODIES: CULTIVATING A DESIRE TO LEARN

> You're taking the kids on a journey and who knows where you're going to go.
>
> Kindergarten teacher, Westville PS
>
> There's not that proper development any more and for me personally; I like those structured steps where you actually wean them off and gradually push them on.
>
> Kindergarten teacher, Northside PS

This is the first of three chapters drawing on a year-long study into classrooms in two schools to investigate the ways in which teaching engenders different bodily dispositions to learning. In this chapter, the focus is on how children learn to write in their first year of school and the particular forms of conduct they embody through the pedagogies their teachers employ. Children arrive in kindergarten with differing abilities but, by and large, their existing habitus is quite malleable. Their first year at school is a formative time in terms of its impact upon their bodies and minds, and the degree to which they develop a disposition for literate practice and academic engagement more generally. As supple bodies they are more amenable to change and so pedagogy plays an important role in ensuring students acquire the embodied capital upon which academic success depends. This chapter provides a comparative ethnography of two kindergarten classrooms examining the practice of two teachers who, as is evident from the quotes above, possess quite different educational philosophies and teaching methodologies. Their respective pedagogies appear to generate varying degrees of disciplinary force, an effect compounded by each teacher's distinctive classroom design and teaching/learning regimen. Drawing on the Spinozan notion of affect discussed in Chapter 2, the following analysis examines each teacher's practice and the extent to which its affective impact capacitates students in the process of learning to write. The chapter begins with a discussion of Narelle Stevenson and her kindergarten class at Westville PS, a school in Sydney's economically disadvantaged outer western suburbs.

## THE KINDERGARTEN TEACHER AND STUDENTS AT WESTVILLE PUBLIC SCHOOL

Narelle was in her fifth year of teaching. She was 38 and had entered the profession later in life having left school early to work in various jobs before gaining entry to university as a mature-age student. In the years since completing her training, she had taught in numerous schools as a casual teacher and had only

just secured a permanent position teaching kindergarten at Westville PS. KS, Narelle's class at Westville, was very large for kindergarten with 28 students[i]. It had a 40 percent language background other than English (LBOTE) population of mainly Samoan and Indian students, with one Turkish and one Vietnamese student. KS also had eight Aboriginal students, the highest number in any class at the school. As is the case in most state primary schools in NSW, KS was not streamed for ability. A range of ability levels was evident, from children arriving at school with limited spoken English to those with some knowledge of letters and sounds and the ability to write their name. In teaching KS, Narelle explained how she placed emphasis on being a positive role model: "You work hard and through your enthusiasm that flows through to the children". In relation to teaching writing she added, "I think being positive is the most important thing 'cos I've had kids that will just scribble nearly the whole year and then all of a sudden they'll just get it. But if you discourage them early I don't think they're going to feel successful". Given the emphasis Narelle assigned to the psychological nature of learning, her focus on positive reinforcement and developmental readiness, she was clearly influenced by a progressivist philosophy of education. As with most teachers, however, Narelle's practice was quite eclectic and in certain areas of her teaching she differed markedly from the stereotypical 'whole language' model of immersion pedagogy. In teaching reading she stressed the need to drill her students in phonics, yet this degree of regimentation and use of habit-forming techniques were not evident in any other area of her practice.

## LIMITED BOUNDARIES AND SPACE TO LEARN

When teachers are assigned a classroom at the beginning of a school year, the organisation of this pedagogic space is bound by a range of factors: size, aspect, availability of resources. Within these constraints teachers organise the space to give it a particular character which reflects their educational philosophy and teaching style. Where they position their own and their students' desks, how they organise teaching resources and display students' work, where they locate and the extent to which they use black or white boards, all possess a disciplinary function given their affective impact upon students' bodies. Narelle's classroom was very large, 11 metres by 8.5 metres. If available, kindergarten classes are often located in larger or double classrooms in Australian schools due to the range of activities they engage in, requiring desks, adequate floor space and additional discrete learning and play areas. This was the case with Narelle's classroom (See Figure 1) which was spacious and well resourced with its own toilet/washroom and bagroom. There were distinct areas within the classroom that were designated specific learning spaces: desks arranged in splayed fashion in front of a large blackboard; a sitting space marked out with gaffer tape for teacher-directed floor activities; a play area where toys, games and puzzles were stored; a computer desk for individual computer use; and a reading area with bean bags for free reading and reading group activities.

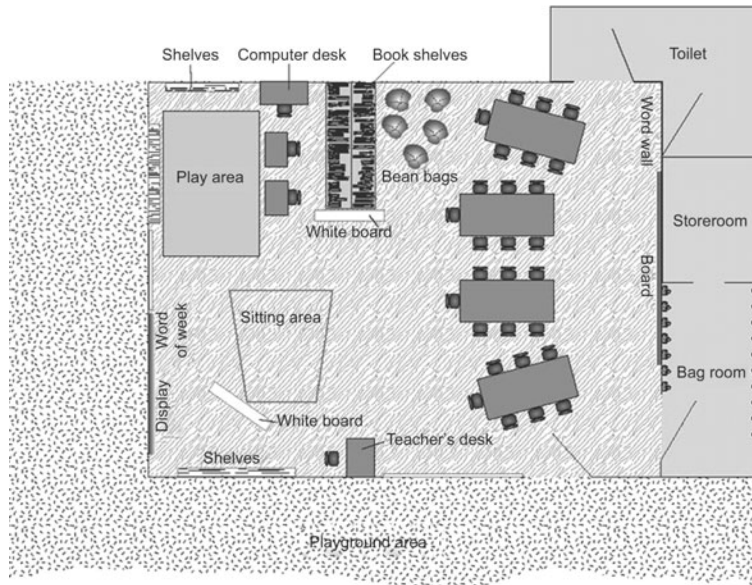



*Figure 1*

Narelle pointed out, "I need a big classroom. I think ideally every classroom should be that big for kindergarten to Year 6. Kids need space. They also need boundaries". There is a suggestion here that despite wanting to provide students with a comfortable environment with plenty of room, the process of learning within a school context necessitates restrictions upon students' bodies and an unfamiliar structuring of activity. Despite an understanding of the need for boundaries, Narelle tended to arrange her classroom space in terms of accommodating students' existing habitus explaining, "… kids come into school, they've had four or five years of being able to watch a DVD, run around, play with their toys, listen to a CD, get on a computer. All of a sudden they get into kindergarten; they can't just sit there from 9 till 3 listening to one person talk. It's impossible so I think they need a lot of variety". Narelle was attuned to the difficulties many kindergarten children face in coming to terms with classroom routines, yet her solution to the problem of home/school transition rested largely upon replicating the variety found in the home environment within the classroom. To a certain extent restrictions were imposed upon the students' bodies in Narelle's room through the use of a contained sitting area for teacher-directed activities, the use of desks and the compartmentalisation of the classroom into various discrete learning spaces. Each of these areas imposed a differential disciplining upon the students' bodies resulting in a range of learning postures some more, and some less, conducive towards acquiring a disposition for academic work. To KS, learning was presented as an activity that

occurs in a range of places, not only sitting at a desk or on the floor listening to the teacher. This is of course the case. While learning may not be dependent upon a specific context or spatiality, the utility of a pedagogic space can contribute to certain types of learning, such as that involving academic work and specifically writing. Learning to write, for example, requires a certain bodily control and degree of concentration. It demands a particular posture that ensures the activity is undertaken in an efficient manner. Bodies need to be invested with the discipline to sit still and work at a desk for sustained periods of time to complete the often tedious process of mastering the mechanics of handwriting: a skill habituated through repetition (Foucault, 1977, p. 152). The embodiment of this discipline is akin to Elias's notion of "the civilising process" in that students' bodies are "civilised" for scholarly labour, a process empowering them to learn (Elias, 1978).

In Narelle's classroom the spatial design evoked a homely atmosphere of ease and comfort more conducive to play than work. While it is important for children to feel that school is not an alienating experience, particularly in kindergarten, there is also an expectation that it is a place of learning quite different from home. This situation was complicated by the existence of multiply coded spaces within the room. While Narelle designated certain areas 'work spaces', such as the gaffer-taped sitting area and the desks, these sites were also used for play, and so the boundaries imposed during teacher-directed activities tended to dissolve when teacher supervision was reduced. For students who had already acquired the necessary disposition for academic work, this multiple coding of sites may have posed less of a problem. This is often the case with children who have had some experience of pre-school education where routines similar to school and the practice of sitting at desks to draw, trace and write have already been instilled. To children without this experience, or a home environment where sitting at a desk to complete play activities and concentrate is not evident, a pedagogic space such as Narelle's classroom may simply confirm their existing habitus. These observations about the utility of the spatiality of KS's classroom should not be read as a rationale for a return to the rigid design of a traditional classroom with limited space and rows of desks, but rather to focus more attention on the kind of bodily skills children need for effective learning in the early years of school. In learning to write it is essential that children acquire the necessary bodily discipline to allow them to focus their attention on acquiring this skill. In kindergarten much time is devoted to socialising students into school and classroom routines. As Narelle pointed out: "You start from day one teaching them little things about this is what we do at school. This is what we do when we need to line up, this is what we do when we're going outside and you have to teach that specifically". While such regimentation to acquire the *carnal genres* of schooling is necessary for effective classroom and playground management, less emphasis is given to the ways in which a similar discipline is needed for learning. This is compounded in the early years of school by a romanticised notion of childhood that often pervades early childhood education (James and Prout, 1990; Gittins, 1998; Robinson and Jones Diaz, 2006) in which adult intervention is considered detrimental to a child's own maturation process. Such a perspective, however, has the potential to inhibit the

formation of the appropriate corporeal dispositions for learning and lead to an embodied reluctance to engage in academic work in later years.

The size and design of the pedagogic space within Narelle's classroom also made supervision difficult, with a resultant impact upon bodily discipline. During group work and free time, the most frequent pedagogic modes in Narelle's classroom, students were located in a range of different sites around the room. This made supervision difficult and children were left to rely on their own self-discipline to monitor their behaviour. This does not present a problem if students already possess a disposition for academic work, but in kindergarten this is something many children are yet to acquire. The dispersed arrangement of desks and learning sites reduced the room's panoptic potential. Panoptic power possesses immense pedagogic affect. It need not only be viewed in the negative sense Foucault intended; it can promote self-supervision and greater attention to an assigned task, over time equipping students with the discipline to work independently. The degree to which the utility of a pedagogic space allows for the effective supervision of students, especially in the first year of school, does not necessitate the serial arrangement of desks but rather an awareness that many students require as much assistance with the bodily routines of learning as with those related to school organisation. The arrangement of a pedagogic space with a view to panoptic force as a positive feature may assist students in acquiring these particular carnal genres of learning.

As well as the positioning of her students' desks and various learning sites within the classroom, Narelle's placement of her own desk is significant. Traditionally the teacher's desk was placed at the front of the room in a central position near the blackboard (Walkerdine,1984, p. 156), reflecting the instructional nature of traditional pedagogies in which the teacher's body acted as a vectorial force within the room. Discipline was not self-derived, it was dependent upon a teacher directing and supervising activities until students had embodied the necessary discipline to apply themselves to their work. Narelle's desk was located at the side of the room, where she placed books to be marked and prepared teaching materials. This location seemed to represent a decentring of her position within the classroom. It was a spatial design suggesting disciplinary force did not emanate from the teacher but was already invested in students' bodies. The relocation of the teacher's desk to a far less central position within the room is characteristic of the student-directed nature of progressivist pedagogies (Walkerdine, 1984, p. 157). This arrangement is said to allow for a more active approach to the learning process in contrast to what is viewed as the passivity of 'chalk and talk'. The so-called passivity of students' bodies within more traditional pedagogies is generally considered representative of a passive mind, yet it may actually be indicative of a disciplined body in which corporeal governance allows for a highly engaged and therefore 'active' rather than passive mind (Watkins and Noble, 2010).

CHAPTER 4

# A REGIMEN OF TALK AND NO CHALK

While pedagogic spaces possess differing degrees of disciplinary force, it is the utilisation of these spaces which amplifies its affective impact upon students' bodies: the degree of movement allowed, the level of noise permitted, the use of different learning spaces and the overall classroom routine. All of these factors are constitutive of a disciplinary apparatus that has a formative impact upon the nature of a student's pedagogic embodiment. In line with the progressivism that informed Narelle's teaching methodology, the classroom regimen she imposed was relatively relaxed. While she was strict about the need for routine – a structuring of the school day in terms of when and where activities were undertaken and lining up to enter and leave class – within these parameters considerable license was given to students' movement around the room, talking and use of free time. Narelle made full use of her classroom. In addition to the arrangement of different learning spaces around the room, the walls were covered with a plethora of teaching materials, primarily displaying groups of words organised around different themes: family, school, activities, days of the week, songs, nursery rhymes, as well as a 'word of the week' chart. Narelle was a great advocate of 'environmental print', a strategy associated with the immersion philosophy underpinning the whole language approach (Kuby and Aldridge, 1997). Rather than simply displaying words around her classroom, Narelle had devised what she termed a 'word walk' as part of her teaching routine. After a letter and sound drill, which was generally the first activity of the day conducted in the gaffer-taped floor space, the class walked around the room visiting various sites where words were displayed, chanting these lists and responding to Narelle's questions. This was a highly motivating activity as students seemed keen to leave the more restrictive space on the floor and move about the room. Yet, despite Narelle often rearranging children so they had a better view of the words on display or to limit disruption, it seemed the same children sought the prime positions and participated more actively. Many students repeated the words but did not watch as Narelle pointed to them on the charts. As a result the aim of this exercise, to increase students' sight word vocabulary, was not met as effectively as it could have been. The continual movement of this activity was a distraction for many. The students' ability to concentrate, dependent to a considerable extent on their own corporeal governance, was an assumed skill and not understood as a learned capacity that required training for this type of lesson to be effective.

Movement was a feature of Narelle's classroom regimen, as is evident from the various locations where activities were conducted (see Appendix 1.). She frequently moved students to different sites in the room when a new activity was undertaken. Generally, however, with the exception of the morning 'word walk', whole class activities alternated between those conducted on the floor and those at the desks. Group activities could be undertaken in various locations with different groups working on the floor, in the bean bag area, at the desks or even just outside the classroom on the asphalt playground area. Time allocated to activities varied considerably ranging from 5 to 55 minutes with the morning sessions comprising

seven to nine different activities and the mid-morning session, between recess and lunch, involving four or five. On average, activities were 15 to 20 minutes in length with the exception of two longer activities: a reading group session of 40 minutes and a group writing task of 55 minutes. The actual writing component of the latter varied depending on each child's interest and application. Some finished quickly and then commenced drawing, reading or playing educational games.

The issue of the number and duration of activities is returned to in the discussion of curriculum implementation, but these factors are significant here in how they relate to movement within the classroom and their impact upon regimen. Given the number and frequent change of activities, children were not settled in any one spot for very long periods of time. Their bodies were frequently required to adjust to a new environment and to refocus their attention on a new task, often self- rather than teacher-directed given Narelle's preference for group work. Throughout the course of the year there did not appear to be any graduated move towards children spending longer periods of time on activities, particularly those requiring them to sit at a desk and concentrate on a specific task. The emphasis was clearly on movement. As writing time was generally self-directed with children choosing topic and length; the less able students tended to make an attempt to write and then left the desk area to engage in other less taxing activities. This is not to say that Narelle did not provide assistance. She continually moved from student to student and desk to desk offering advice and positive reinforcement, yet those who spent longer periods of time at their desks tended to be the more capable students who were comfortable sitting at a desk and appeared to find writing pleasurable. One of these children was a boy named Reuben who had arrived in kindergarten already able to write his name and several words. His handwriting was very mature for his age with quite small, well-formed letters. He was an Anglo-Australian boy, quite reserved and well behaved, interested in school and well liked. Narelle referred to him as her "top student". Reuben was frequently observed as one of the last students to leave the desk area during writing time. On one occasion later in the year he not only completed his assigned task, but, rather than move to the floor or bean bag area, left his desk only to sit at another desk in the play area and recommence writing. Reuben clearly already possessed a disposition for writing and academic work. This was evident from his first weeks at school with the self-governance he possessed providing him with the necessary control and diligence for literate practice even when other students in the class failed to display a similar level of application.

While the design of a space may in itself possess a certain disciplinary force (McCarthy, 2005), it is how a space is used that is perhaps of greater importance. This is also the case with the use of objects within a space. Sitting at a desk is obviously more restrictive than sitting in a bean bag or lying on the floor and it necessitates a different posture, one that is far more constrained than that which many children are used to. In Narelle's class it was not simply that most students did not spend much time seated at a desk but that when they did they did not seem to do so comfortably. Activity and movement seemed to pervade every aspect of the classroom regimen. Even when working at their desks, children's bodies were

still moving, not only swinging on their chairs and playing with equipment but constantly getting up and down to move around the room to talk to other students, ask Narelle questions, or, less frequently, to access environmental print. Although at times Narelle did correct her students' posture – most notably at the beginning of handwriting activities – generally movement was not checked.

It was not only that KS were constantly moving when working at their desks; there was also continual noise. This didn't worry Narelle. She felt talk was good and was pleased when students asked each other how to spell or find a word and ran around to show each other. Yet, there was no time during writing sessions in which children worked quietly and independently; time in which they could think carefully and reflect upon their own work rather than ask or talk to a friend. Movement and talk were indicative of the classroom regimen and most children embraced this mode of behaviour as standard practice. This is not to say that students shouldn't talk to their classmates. The often prohibitive classroom regimen of traditional pedagogies stifled useful collaborative talk, but ongoing student interaction, especially when writing, does not allow for the quiet and degree of control needed to produce text effectively. This is especially the case in the early years when students are yet to habituate foundational skills such as forming letters and words. Constant interruptions to concentration can affect the flow of writing.

## LEARNING MOVES

While generally only viewed from a classroom management perspective, both a teacher's organisation of a pedagogic space and the rules and routines of their classroom regimen contribute to a student's disposition to learning. The body, however, receives little attention in discussion of the design and implementation of curriculum. In the following analysis of the ways in which Narelle implemented the English curriculum, the focus is on the embodied dimensions of how she approached the teaching of handwriting and written expression. Narelle commenced each day with a brief letter/sound drill of approximately 5 to 10 minutes. The use of drill and the degree of teacher direction it demands were not typical of Narelle's overall pedagogic approach. Her practice tended to be dominated by the use of rotational, small group activities. This is exemplified by Narelle's approach to teaching handwriting, such as in one 30-minute session when students were divided into four groups. Each group undertook a different activity aimed at refining their fine motor skills. These included playing with play dough, threading beads, painting down strokes with a brush and water and a guided drawing session conducted by Narelle. In this last activity, students had to watch Narelle and copy the strokes she drew to complete a picture. Groups only spent 6 or 7 minutes engaged in each task before moving. These frequent changes tended to dilute the effectiveness of each task. Children became unsettled as they participated in each group activity, aware they would have to move on. This unsettledness was not conducive to the accumulation of bodily affect crucial for the development of self-governance.

Together with students' bodies tending to lack control due to the pedagogic mode which Narelle employed, the affective impact was also reduced as a result of the children's lack of application to the self-directed activities: the bead threading, play dough manipulation and brush strokes. Children such as Reuben, and others who already possessed some rudimentary handwriting skills, seemed uninterested in these activities. Even those who had limited experience with writing tended to be more focused on talking to their friends and only sporadically engaged with the materials. The exception to this was when children engaged in the brush strokes task; an activity they found quite fun especially since it was conducted outside on the asphalt play area. This location presented problems for Narelle as she periodically had to check students' disruptive behaviour and interrupt her guided drawing group. It was in this last group, however, in which Narelle directed the activity, that children were quiet, sat relatively straight and concentrated intently on following what Narelle was doing. Here, as the students mimicked Narelle's strokes, they were learning to focus on a set task, employ the grip and assume the posture required for handwriting. Given this degree of application and its absence in the self-directed groups, it seems unusual that Narelle did not have all the children sitting at their desks engaged in the same activity. She could have spent more time on guided drawing and begun to focus on certain strokes and the directionality of specific letters, similar to the technique she used with letter/sound correspondence. With handwriting, however, there is a different affective impact with the focus being the acquisition of a muscular and perceptual memory of letter shapes. Instead the effect of Narelle's teacher-directed writing activity was nullified by its brevity. As soon as the children had assumed the appropriate posture and begun to concentrate on their set task, they were required to adopt the more relaxed disciplinary stance of manipulating objects either on the floor or at another desk.

The pedagogic affect associated with this writing session, which was intensified for the duration of the teacher-directed activity, seemed to have had little accumulative effect given the greater frequency and combined longer duration of the other activities. Narelle did not seem confident in teaching this aspect of the curriculum and, with little guidance offered in the syllabus, she seemed to flounder. Despite a growing emphasis on the use of computer keyboards and touch technology, handwriting is still a skill that needs to be habituated with a reasonable degree of proficiency before the end of kindergarten. Without this, students' ability to compose text is impeded as they need to devote most of their conscious attention to forming letters rather than writing words and relying on embodied memory to perform the more mechanical work. Narelle seemed aware of this when remarking: "It stunts their writing if they can't form those letters and you know it's such an effort for them to do it. It might be all in their head but if they can't put it on the page it's really hard for kids". Yet with an emphasis on rotational group work, which worked against the cultivation of muscular memory, Narelle's students did not seem to be learning to write as effectively as they might.

This is evident in the three examples of students' work chosen by Narelle as being representative of the work of high achieving, average and low ability students shown below. These work samples show the students' writing at different intervals throughout the year: within the first couple of months, at mid-year and towards the end of their time in kindergarten. The texts are not from specific handwriting lessons but from the various daily writing activities the children undertook and so provide samples of handwriting not simply copied by students but produced without assistance. Arguably, these more accurately reflect the students' writing capability. Although dealing with aspects of handwriting throughout the year, Narelle did not introduce handwriting books until towards the end of the school year. Students were familiar with the letter shapes they practised periodically, but there seemed no imperative to 'cement' this understanding in the same way as with letters and sounds in learning to read. Narelle felt it was more important for students to start writing straight away placing emphasis on the cognition of letters and sounds over the bodily skill of handwriting. While students may have developed an automatic understanding of letter/sound relationships, the following work samples suggest the same degree of automaticity was not attained in reproducing letters graphically.

The first set of work samples were written by Reuben, the high achieving student referred to earlier. In the first of his texts (Figure 2a), written early in the year, Reuben shows considerable control in his writing. The letters are well formed and quite small, unusual for a child of his age. He includes narrow but uniform spacing between words and concludes his sentence with a full stop. He has illustrated his work with a detailed picture of himself, clothed, with facial features and also arms with hands and fingers. In the other texts from Reuben's corpus of work, however (Figures 2b – 2d), the same degree of control is not evident. This may be partly explained by the increasing complexity of the content of his texts as Reuben begins to give more attention to 'what' his writing is about, rather than 'how' he writes. Yet, given the marked difference between the first text and the three later texts, the latter showing much larger and less carefully formed letters, it would suggest that despite possessing a good control of handwriting on arriving at school, Reuben was giving far less attention to this aspect of his work as the year progressed. Considering the relaxed disciplinary codes that operated in Narelle's classroom, it could be that Reuben felt no obligation to give much attention to his handwriting. This may not have been a conscious decision; it was probably just symptomatic of Narelle's pedagogic approach and the particular classroom regimen she had established. In the second set of texts by Kelly, a student

*Figure 2a*

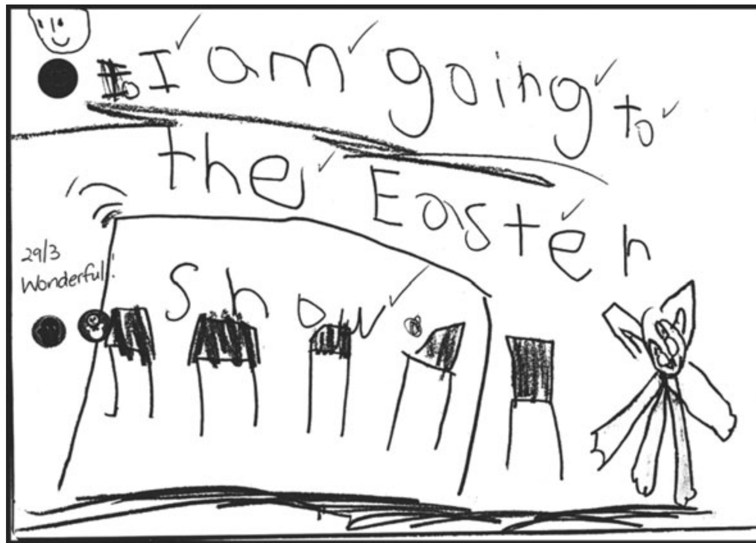



*Figure 2b*

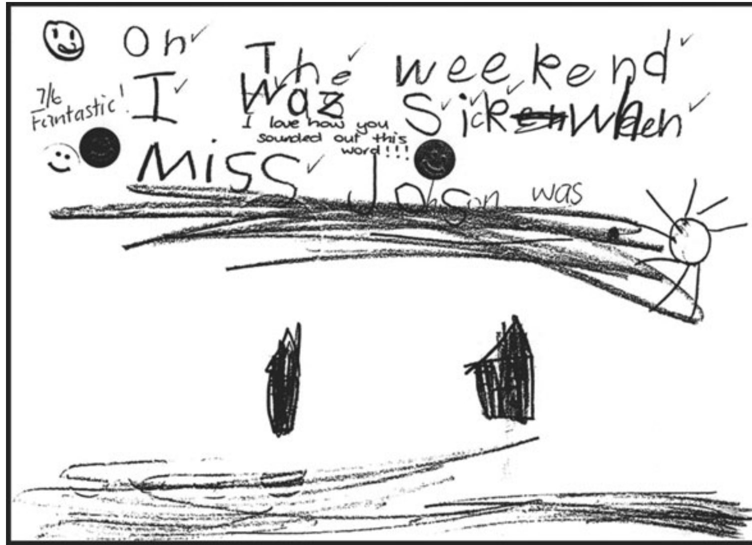



*Figure 2c*

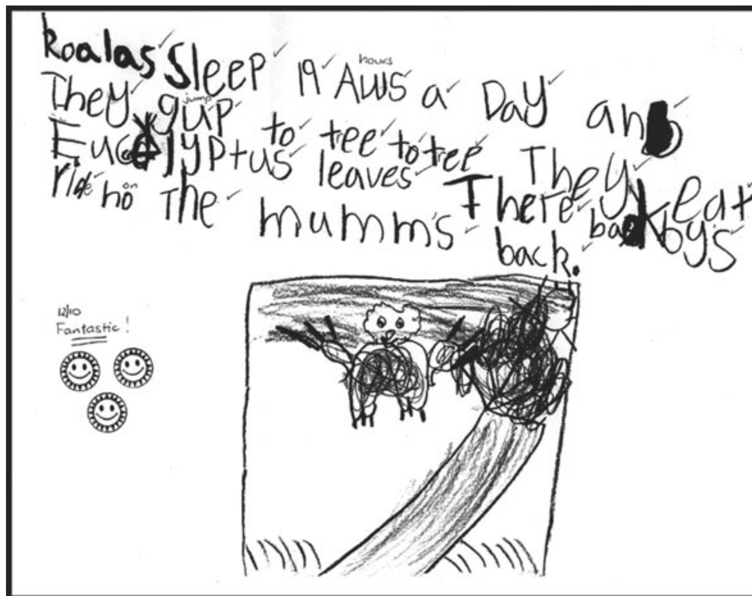



*Figure 2d*

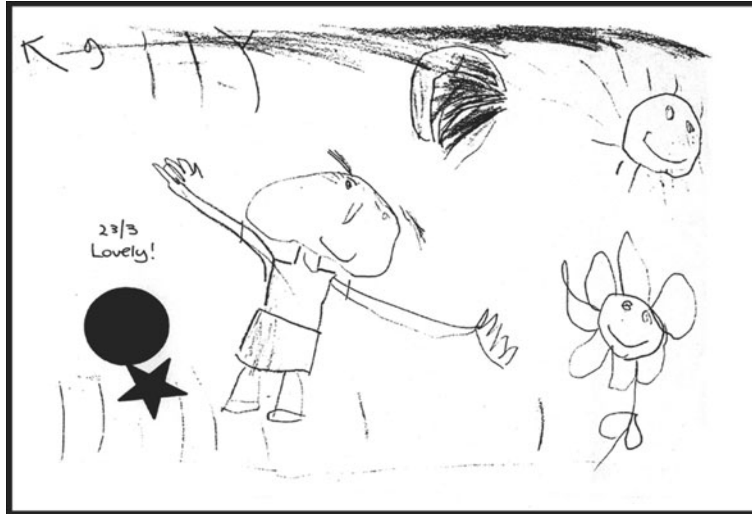



*Figure 3a*

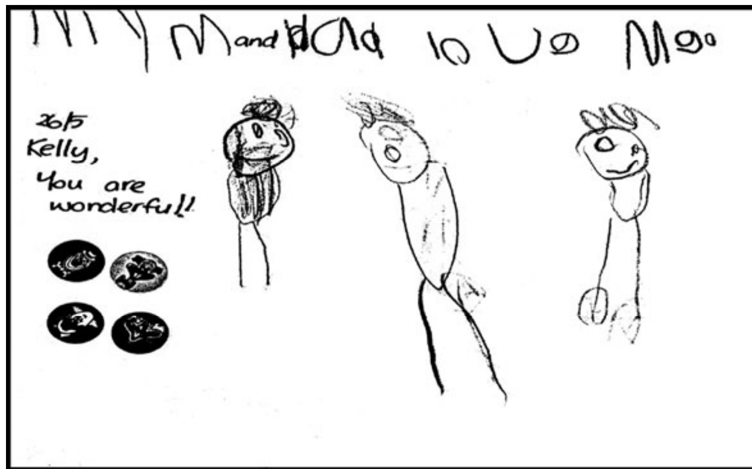



*Figure 3b*

Narelle judged to be of average ability, some progress is evident though minimal. In Kelly's first text (Figure 3a) she has written her name, but appears to have some difficulty with the letter 'e'. Two months later when the second text (Figure 3b) was

written, she is still reversing her 'e' in 'love' and 'me'; the second of these words being one of the first learnt at the beginning of the year. Kelly attempted to write "my Mum and Dad love me" in this text. She has successfully written the initial sound 'm' in the word "Mum" but has made no attempt with 'u' and 'm'. This is unusual given 'Mum' is a phonetically regular word, but together with this, the words 'Mum' and 'Dad' both appeared on one of the environmental print lists within view of the desk area, yet Kelly made no attempt to access this information. Kelly also didn't include the word 'and' in her sentence, which is another common sight word and well known at this stage by the class.

Kelly's work seems to display something of the same lack of application that is evident, although to a far less extent, in Reuben's work. Given the regimen that existed within the classroom and Narelle's preference for a pedagogy with limited teacher-directedness, there seemed insufficient disciplinary force to ensure Kelly was focused on her handwriting. She was largely reliant on the dispositions she brought to school, which don't seem to compel her to apply herself when working independently at a task; a capacity requiring considerable bodily control and concentration. This lack of application is also evident in the drawing that accompanies her writing. In the first text, drawn two months prior to this, Kelly put a great deal of effort into drawing a picture of herself. There is more detail evident in the facial features and she has also drawn clothes, arms, hands and fingers. In her second picture the drawings are less complex. The facial features are quite immature, she has not included arms and necks and the figures are not clothed. Kelly's work here seems to display a lack of interest, a feeling of 'near enough is good enough'. Despite the apparent lack of effort, Narelle writes 'You are wonderful', a comment offering little information about the work itself, in particular Kelly's difficulty in forming the letter 'e'. While positive reinforcement is important, this is not balanced by any critical appraisal. Further, more emphasis seems to be placed on 'self-esteem' than 'self-control', evident in Narelle's comment: "I think the teacher has to have a really positive attitude. You need to have high expectations, to believe that the children can just do it". This essentialised view of the desire to learn emanating primarily from the students themselves and not necessarily being grounded in any externally derived bodily affect related to knowledge and skill seems to drive Narelle's pedagogy. A teacher's positive comments can have an important affective impact, as do negative comments (Tomkins, 1962), yet without the requisite embodiment of knowledge and skill, the pedagogic effectiveness of this form of affect can be limited. As the year progressed Kelly's remaining work samples (Figures 3c and 3d) indicate her reversed 'e' has been corrected, but she still displays quite irregular control over her writing.

*Figure 3c*

*Figure 3d*

In Figure 3c the words 'because', 'favourite' and 'teacher' were supplied by Narelle, and Kelly shows a more mature hand in writing these. In the rest of the text, however, a similar control is not evident. This would indicate the degree of strain placed upon Kelly's writing when she needs to devote attention to spelling words herself. Given its impact on a child's ability to compose text, this seems to provide justification for the habituation of the muscular memory of letters as early as possible. In the last of Kelly's work samples (Figure 3d) her writing seems to have made limited progress in the two and a half months since the previous text. Her various attempts at drawing a koala, however, show she is putting more effort into some aspects of her work. As writing is a far more difficult task at this stage, both cognitively and corporeally, and as there is no requirement to write more than she has, it is understandable that Kelly chose to use the time remaining before the activity concluded to give her attention to drawing.

The last set of work samples was written by an Anglo-Australian girl named Anne Marie, who Narelle identified as one of the least able students in KS. It is clear from the first of Anne Marie's texts (Figure 4a) that she has not had much experience with writing prior to school. Even after six weeks she is unable to write her name, one of the first requirements of kindergarten. There is evidence of an ability to form some letters but interestingly, with this first text and her sample set overall, there is a backwards slope to her writing. This would suggest that Anne Marie is not using the appropriate posture for writing and also failing to position her pen and paper correctly. Clearly, there was little teacher intervention throughout the year to correct this problem and, even when marking Anne Marie's work, Narelle simply provides the comment, "Great". Nothing is added which acknowledges the problems with her student's writing. Instead, without feedback and correction, Anne Marie was habituating a less effective way of writing. Yet, in relation to this, Narelle commented: "I guess you want them to start writing straight away, so they develop a few bad habits at the beginning and it's hard to break them sometimes". Narelle didn't seem to give much importance to instructing her students to ensure the process of habituation was both effective and expeditious. With a limited degree of guidance Anne Marie shows some evidence of progress in Figure 4b, though this is a text that had been copied from the board. Having been modelled by Narelle, her letters are better formed, yet the same problem with incorrect slope is evident and not commented upon by Narelle. Unassisted, as in Figure 4c, Anne Marie experiences serious difficulty. She has produced approximations of some letters but her writing lacks coherence and so Narelle writes the sentence that Anne Marie intends. This lack of progress, particularly given that most of her classmates are already able to form letters, could have its own affective impact. Constant problems left uncorrected simply reinforce Kelly's lack of ability. This could result in poor self-esteem and a dispositional antipathy towards academic endeavour, which if engrained, are difficult to reverse. Although she is reversing letters and some words, in Anne Marie's last text (Figure 4d) there is a marked improvement. Yet, as with Kelly, in this example Anne Marie has decided to devote more time to drawing than writing and, as this activity is

*Figure 4a*

*Figure 4b*

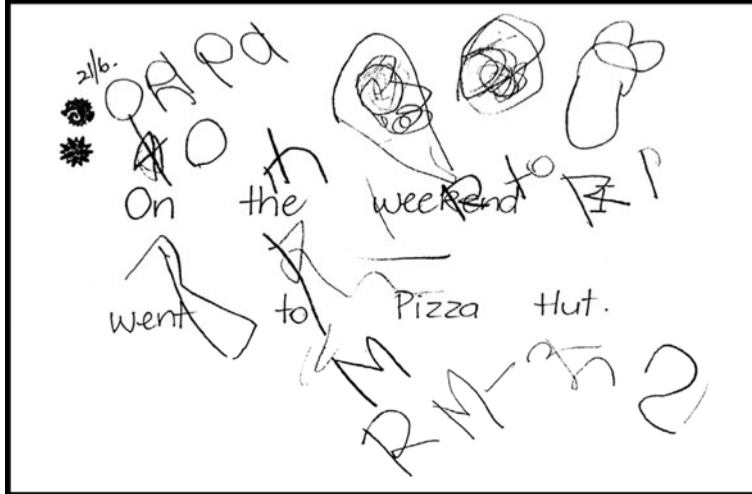



*Figure 4c*

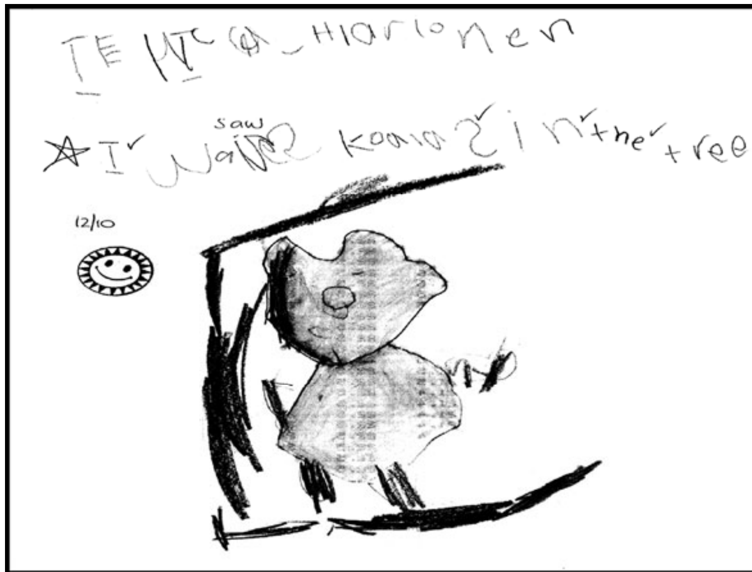



*Figure 4d*

largely self- directed with limited externally imposed discipline, there is nothing compelling her to improve upon the text she has written.

Narelle's preference for limited teacher intervention was not only evident in her approach to handwriting; it also framed her teaching of written expression. Although the first set of activities for each day were teacher-directed – the letter/sound drill, the word walk and another activity termed 'Secret Sentence', involving students reading a sentence based on the word wall – following these, students were generally given free writing time. This was a period of 15 to 30 minutes in which they could draw on the words discussed in the previous activities to write their own short text. In principle, this seems an effective strategy. Having first conducted the letter/sound drill, acquainted students with a set of sight words and completed the Secret Sentence activity, it seems appropriate for students to then start writing. It is at this point, however, that students required considerable teacher direction and a narrowing of the parameters of what to write rather than a self-directed activity with no guidelines regarding topic. As students were yet to perfect their handwriting, a considerable cognitive load was simply devoted to the mechanics of the process. With no topic provided, many children like Anne Marie simply floundered. Alternatively, they merely wrote about a limited range of topics, generally beginning, 'I like …' or 'I love …' as was Kelly's tendency. It was only students such as Reuben, already a reasonably proficient writer and possessing a habitus to work independently, who produced the much longer and more creative texts. Narelle was aware of this narrow range of topics in her students' writing pointing out that "For quite a while they were all writing 'I like to …', 'I like school', 'I like my mum'". She added, however, that "They were all doing that and then as more and more took more risks and tried to write different things and, that's rewarded, then the kids took off". In asking Narelle what prompted the students' 'risk taking' she explained,

> I think mainly I do. … you've got to be so careful because you don't want to deflate them, but you say to them, "Look this is fantastic. I love the way you write this, but let's have a look in your book. Gee, you've been writing this a lot haven't you? Gee I'd love to see you write something different now".

When left to their own devices students generally produced a limited range of topics. It was only through Narelle's intervention that students were prompted to experiment with their writing. Typically, however, the impetus for producing text resided with the students and the morning session was more about a display of their current writing ability and habitus for writing than developing and extending their capacity to write.

While a considerable amount of time in Narelle's classroom was devoted to self-directed writing, this was not always the case. Narelle judged the ratio of free writing time to writing on a teacher-determined topic to be 70 percent free/30 percent teacher-directed. Narelle provided an example of how she approached writing on a specific topic in two lessons. Following some preliminary work reading a story about koalas and modelling writing, which was later removed from the board, Narelle commenced the first of these lessons by reading another book

about koalas to KS who were seated on the floor. This text was written in a personal style but contained quite a deal of factual information. Narelle frequently stopped reading to ask students questions to reinforce key facts. Following this, she then selected students to come to the front of the class to repeat a fact about koalas using a puppet as stimulus. Many students had trouble remembering the key points and needed prompting by Narelle. After this, Narelle had students move to the desk area to begin writing. She placed the words 'koala' and 'eucalyptus leaves' on the board and then asked students to "tell me some things about koalas". The students, however, needed far more direction to help begin and guide their writing before being left to work independently.

The term 'independently', however, is something of a misnomer. All writing sessions in KS were conducted as collaborative exercises, yet 'collaboration' at a kindergarten level is not particularly focused. While there was a lot of talk, little had to do with koalas and the text they were required to write. This is not to suggest that students shouldn't collaborate with their classmates, but there needs to be a balance between talk and quiet, collaboration and independent work, to develop a child's individual capacity to apply themselves to a task. As with the free writing sessions, it was the students with the greater self-governance and disposition for writing, such as Reuben, who applied themselves to writing, producing the longer and more effective texts. The number of words that students write at this stage is important because it is generally an indication of competence and application. In the time allocated, Reuben managed to write three sentences (see Figure 2d), one being a compound sentence. He also attempted some simple punctuation. Reuben was able to make considerable use of the information in the preliminary activity to write a factual description. Kelly, however, only wrote one sentence and, while she included a fact about koalas, she framed it in personal terms, once again using the word 'like' (see Figure 3d). She was not extended by this activity and, apart from the word 'koala' written on the board, the only new word she attempted was 'back'. As has been discussed earlier, Kelly opted to devote more time to drawing and did not persist with the more demanding task of writing.

Similarly, Anne Marie only wrote one sentence and drew on little of the information from the lesson (see Figure 4d). There were a number of reasons for this, such as her difficulties with handwriting and the lack of disciplinary force compelling her to apply herself. It may also be the case that Anne Marie, and Kelly for that matter, did not know what else to do given the minimal explanation and level of instruction that were provided. This was not much of a problem for Reuben, as he already possessed the requisite habitus to succeed with minimal input. For Kelly and Anne Marie, and many other students in the class, there needed to be far more teacher scaffolding prior to them undertaking such a complex task. A staging of activities was needed that dealt with the different aspects of writing the text that was expected of them. In other words, there needed to be a greater degree of 'affective force' – the intensity with which knowledge and skills are taught – to enhance these students' capacity to write[ii]. Such a staging of activities is not undertaken within one session or one day but over a period of days or even longer, slowly and effectively scaffolding children's learning with the

intention of maximising affect to the point where there is the requisite accumulation to allow them to work independently. Such a pedagogy places emphasis on the incremental staging of knowledge and skills resulting in what could be termed, following Damasio, ‘a somatic familiarity’ for what is required to complete a task, which is formative in, and acts in concert with, the reflective processes of consciousness. As a result, when engaged in a task, a student’s body and mind work as one.

## BODILY IMPACT

Narelle, however, was generally unaware of the impact that the relaxed disciplinary codes she established in her classroom had upon her students’ learning. Her organisation of the pedagogic space and the regimen within the classroom were not geared towards students attaining the requisite dispositions for academic work and, in particular, those required for effective literate practice. Her pedagogy appeared to have limited impact upon her students’ existing habitus and so those students, such as Reuben, who arrived in kindergarten with the appropriate embodied capital for schooling, were more likely to be successful, at least at this stage of their learning. The majority of students, however, were unaccustomed to the postures and work habits required at school and which are necessary for learning to write. Without a regimen to exert the appropriate disciplinary force these students had difficulty, as was the case with Kelly and Anne Marie. This unawareness of the bodily aspects of learning and their impact on cognition was not only reflected in Narelle’s spatial design of the classroom and its routines, it was evident in her writing pedagogy. While demonstrating she had no philosophical opposition to the use of drill, as it underpinned her approach to teaching reading, there was a failure to use a similar technique to ensure her students habituated the mechanics of handwriting. As a result, many students experienced difficulties with forming letters which impacted upon their written expression. This was compounded by the insufficient teacher direction during writing sessions. The steps involved in producing a text were not appropriately scaffolded and so students were reliant upon their ability to access environmental print, discussion with classmates and their existing capabilities when writing. The pedagogic affect of this strategy was minimal and not sustained. Scaffolding knowledge and skills effectively to assist students write may seem to have little connection with the corporeality of learning, yet it has a similar intensity to drill in that its aim is the maximisation and accumulation of affect; the corporeal data upon which consciousness depends. Without this degree of intensity, learning is far less effective. Despite Narelle’s enthusiasm for teaching and her positive reinforcement of students’ achievement, many students in KS moved into Year 1 with a less than adequate foundation from which to develop their writing skills.

## THE KINDERGARTEN TEACHER AND STUDENTS AT NORTHSIDE PUBLIC SCHOOL

Narelle's pedagogy differed considerably from that of Jane Peters, the kindergarten teacher at Northside PS. Jane, who was trained as an infants teacher and had only ever taught kindergarten, Years 1 and 2, had over 30 years experience[iii]. KP, Jane's class at Northside PS in the northern suburbs of Sydney, had 24 students. While mostly from higher socio-economic backgrounds than the students in KS; Jane's class was also more culturally and linguistically diverse. Just over 50 percent had a LBOTE with a number requiring ESL support. The LBOTE students were primarily mainland and Hong Kong Chinese, Korean, Indian and Sri Lankan. The ability levels of these students was also diverse, ranging from one student with a mild intellectual disability to another Jane referred to as "one of the brightest most wonderful children I have ever had the pleasure of teaching". None of the students in KP, however, could read or write when they started kindergarten.

Unlike Narelle, Jane was trained at a time when the teacher's role was foregrounded within pedagogic practice. Progressivism had yet to impact upon teacher education and so traditional modes of pedagogy with the teacher directing students' learning framed Jane's pre-service training and still largely governed her practice. She felt that "the sign of an effective teacher is if you've really got the children there in the palm of your hand for the bulk of the day or for the bulk of the lesson" and maintained a strong commitment to these teaching ideals commenting,

> I think it works best. The whole thing is, no matter what you're learning in life be you an adult or child you've got to be taught something first, then there's got to be an explanation and practice and after that then you've actually got this knowledge then you move off into applying it. But if you don't have that instructional period first I don't know how children can just drift around and learn ad hoc.

Jane recalled quite a detailed treatment of how to teach handwriting in her pre-service training with considerable emphasis placed on "the position of the non-writing hand and the writing hand and the angle of the book, correct posture, pulling your chair in, making sure your back is straight, all that sort of stuff". She incorporated progressivist techniques such as group work into her teaching methodology and explained how she had varied her practice over the years, but despite this was adamant that instruction was vital for effective learning.

### LEARNING BOUNDARIES

In contrast to the kindergarten classrooms at Westville, those at Northside were quite small and Jane's was particularly so. Space was at a premium at Northside. The school site was overcrowded and Jane's classroom was a small, old, timber demountable building with a narrow verandah and storeroom situated away from the main school buildings and facing a busy street. Its dimensions were 6.5 metres by 7.4 metres and Jane continually complained about its size. Although

she would have preferred a larger room, she explained that a classroom "can be too big because you can't be really observing what's going on all the time and far corners of the room aren't used". Jane may have lacked the space, resources and amenity of Narelle's classroom but she was able to arrange what was available into an effective yet somewhat crowded pedagogic space. There was a sharp contrast, however, between the design of Jane's and Narelle's classrooms. Although partly influenced by the size of the room, Jane opted for a more conventional classroom design (see Figure 5). The desks were not organised in rows, as this is rare in contemporary primary school classrooms and particularly so in kindergarten, but the desks and floor area were arranged in such a way that students were directed as much as possible to the front of the room where the black and white boards, sight words, display table and teacher's chair were all located.

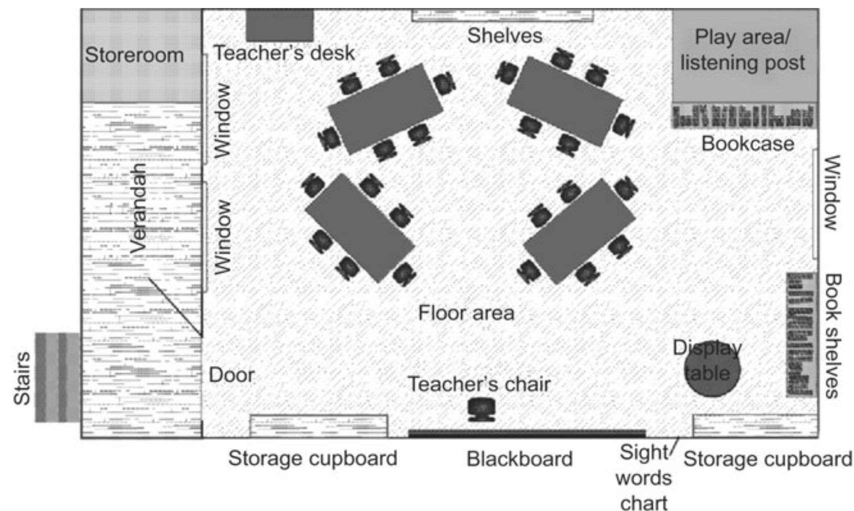



*Figure 5*

Jane's desk was at the back of the room and functioned more as a storage space. There was not enough space to have her desk at the front as it would have obscured students' view of the board. Jane's chair rather than her desk marked her presence in the room. The spatial vectors of the classroom were focused on a central position at the front of the room and learning was framed as a teacher-directed activity. This arrangement seemed to invest the room with a panoptic quality that exerted a particular disciplinary force upon KP. While students' attention was drawn to the front of the classroom, they were also aware their teacher's gaze was directed at them seemingly instilling a self-corrective to monitor their behaviour. Even early

in the year, KP demonstrated a considerable degree of quiet and control. Students seemed to have embodied the classroom routines quite rapidly and exhibited considerable self-governance in how they conducted themselves within this pedagogic space. Of course, there were many factors contributing to the students' self-discipline and desire to behave. It was not simply a function of the organisation of the pedagogic space and the classroom dynamic that this created. Many of the children in KP may have attended childcare or pre-school and so were more amenable to the restrictions placed upon their behaviour in the classroom. The ethnic mix of the class and having an observer present may also have had an impact[iv].

There were marked differences between the size and organisation of Jane's and Narelle's classrooms and also the use they made of them. Jane's classroom had a different ambience to that of the kindergarten class at Westville. The former seemed to effuse a sense of order and control. The size of the room automatically restricted movement. There was not the range of learning sites available, as in Narelle's classroom. For KP the options were limited. Learning was generally undertaken seated at a desk or more commonly in rows or in a discussion circle on the floor with Jane in a central position. The bodily discipline exerted by this arrangement seemed more intense and sustained than in Narelle's classroom. The intensity of the discipline generated within Jane's classroom was not simply a result of its spatial design, it was also a function of how she utilised the space. Jane offered few free time activities during the day and so the issue of the multiple coding of space was of less concern with KP. To Jane's students, spaces within the classroom were more obviously coded as work rather than play areas and so there was no confusion as to what behaviour was required. There was one small space in the back corner of the room where toys and puzzles were stored and where group listening activities were conducted, but this was only used at specific times during the day. Group activities were usually only undertaken in the mid-morning session with craft and free choice periods left to the afternoon. As a result, the space as a whole functioned as a work environment for set times during the day and students seemed to routinely adopt the postures and behaviour for this mode of practice. In doing this for sustained periods during the morning session, KP soon embodied the necessary discipline to work reasonably independently during the mid-morning group activities when Jane's guidance and supervision were less constant as she moved around the room attending to one group at a time.

Another factor contributing to KP's ability to work effectively during group activities was the panoptic quality of the classroom design. When she conducted a lesson, Jane had students seated either at their desks or on the floor facing the front of the room. During group activities this was not necessarily the case. Students were located in different sites around the room although, apart from the students in the listening post area, most groups were seated at desks. Given that during a sizeable portion of the day preceding group time students were facing the front of the room with Jane conducting lessons and closely monitoring their behaviour, when given a greater degree of independence to work in a group without constant

teacher supervision, students seemed able to do so with few checks. A residual effect from the morning session seemed evident. Although no longer constantly under the teacher's gaze, the intensity of her presence in the time preceding group activities seemed to leave a lasting impression. Consequently, if engaged in group activities or independent work when the teacher's gaze was temporarily removed, students were able to work effectively.

## ORDERLY CONDUCT AND LEARNING TO LEARN

Jane established a classroom regimen that emphasised order and quiet. This didn't mean the students never talked, raised their voices or laughed, but a sense of calm and regularity pervaded the room. Every morning at Northside the day commenced with an assembly for the younger children. Prior to the morning bell, kindergarten, Year 1 and Year 2 lined up in class groups to listen to news and events that could affect the day's routine. At Westville, assemblies were generally only a weekly occurrence with daily information relayed to students through an intercom system that periodically interrupted lessons. Following the assembly at Northside, students forwarded to class in lines accompanied by their teacher. KP were stopped outside their classroom to ensure they were orderly and, after hanging their bags on their hooks on the verandah, proceeded into class. Each morning commenced with a similar routine. Once inside, students sat in a semi-circle on the floor with Jane at the front seated on her chair. Unusually, given Northside is a state school with students from a diversity of faiths, Jane started with a prayer. With eyes closed, heads bowed and hands together, children said a brief prayer which seemed to have a settling effect before they commenced the day's activities. After this, there was a morning greeting, questioning about the day of the week and then roll call with one child chosen to count the students present. Following this, Jane commenced a review of the previous day's work, awarding stickers to children for good work and often reading out, as well as displaying, their efforts. Some children also corrected or completed work during this time.

Jane then started the day's teaching with language work. The morning session was generally devoted to reading, writing, talking and listening skills. Unlike KS, KP did not begin work on letter/sound correspondence until the beginning of Term 2. As there were so many LBOTE students with poor spoken English, Jane felt it was better to work on improving their facility with spoken language before embarking on a drill in letters and sounds. During Term 1, therefore, there were a lot of verbal activities coupled with daily sight word and sentence construction tasks. Jane also devoted considerable time to developing students' fine motor skills and having students perfect the movements required in handwriting. Despite differences in what they taught, Jane and Narelle both emphasised the importance of routine and the need to instil the particular rhythms of the school day in students as soon as possible. Yet, while both teachers stressed the importance of this for kindergarten, the routines Jane and Narelle established in their respective classrooms differed considerably. Jane, like Narelle, focused on aspects of the English curriculum in the morning session and instituted a regular set of activities

at this time. Students in both classes had similarly been taught to raise their hands to answer questions, not to call out and to follow instructions. Yet beyond these standard classroom practices, which were differentially enforced, expectations with regard to students' behaviour in the two classes varied markedly. Jane's sense of routine extended beyond basic classroom management. She favoured a regimen that curbed movement and noise within the class and encouraged bodily composure when lessons were in progress. Although movement was curtailed in Jane's classroom due to a lack of space, it was also kept to a minimum because Jane felt it had an unsettling effect on students. As a result, Jane located the sight word chart and other similar stimulus material at the front of the room near the board within easy view where students could access the information if required without moving from their desks. While she felt environmental print could play a valuable part in the teaching of writing, she didn't want students moving unnecessarily around the room and placed more of an emphasis on the aural, rather than visual aspects of spelling. To develop students' written vocabulary, she encouraged the use of students' own knowledge of letters and sounds to form words rather than seeking information from class displays.

Jane encouraged self-reliance in writing. Such an approach, however, requires minimal distraction and maximum attention. These are not simply cognitive functions; they are dependent upon bodily control, the precursor of a scholarly disposition. Jane, therefore, established quite a sedentary routine within her classroom. Most activities during the morning session were conducted with students seated on the floor at the front of the room with generally only one desk-based activity (see Appendix 2.). Given that students were required to sit still and listen for long periods, Jane interspersed these floor-based activities with what I term 'body breaks', short intervals between activities when students either moved their bodies by following simple instructions – for example, "two wiggles, three claps, one jump, two turnarounds, touch your toes, sit on the floor" – or sang songs with accompanying hand and body actions. Such techniques are standard practice for kindergarten teachers and were also used by Narelle. With KS at Westville, however, they were used far less and for a different purpose. Jane tended to weave them into her classroom routine as a strategy for signalling a change of activity and to allow a temporary relaxation of the bodily postures she required of her students when lessons were in progress. Narelle generally used them as an intermittent corrective for poor behaviour, and to gain students' attention during group work when noise levels were too high. For Jane, body breaks were a technique to prevent restlessness during teacher-directed activities. To Narelle, they seemed to function more as a periodic interruption to a classroom regimen in which movement and noise were the norm.

Posture was also an important issue for Jane, not simply in the teaching of handwriting but because it affected students' overall performance. As she explained, "Posture at any point in time, is really important because if you're not sitting properly well you're probably not thinking properly". Jane saw a connection between bodily control and academic achievement and so from the beginning of the year sought to establish a regimen geared towards her students acquiring postures for academic engagement. The minimisation of movement within the classroom and Jane's

concentration on teacher-directed activities in the morning session were not simply classroom management techniques but strategies to encourage the acquisition of a habitus for literate practice and for learning to learn. To Jane, self-governance was an essential aspect of learning and something she actively taught. She did not seem to view bodily discipline and a corresponding diligence for work as just a function of maturation but as skills that required persistent training for them to be habituated as bodily capacity. Jane explained that many children arrived in kindergarten finding it extremely difficult to sit still for sustained periods of time, remarking that at home "a lot of children don't even sit at a table to eat any more; they often just lie down on the floor". Jane sought to gradually accustom her students' bodies to the demands of scholarly labour. She felt students needed to acquire the requisite embodied capital to work effectively. While ostensibly quite constraining, her pedagogy was actually about heightening rather than inhibiting agency, seen here as the ability to write effectively and act with a greater degree of control in the world. This is a view Durkheim (2002, p. 45) shared, judging the capacity for self-control to be "one of the chief powers that education should develop".

Although KP did not appear to spend a lot of time at their desks, Jane considered there was a 50/50 split between desk and floor time. More desk-based activities were undertaken in the mid-morning and afternoon sessions and Jane explained that as the year progressed she would have children spend more time sitting at their desks and so accustom their bodies to the seating arrangement favoured in later years of school. When seated at their desks Jane required students to sit straight and not lean back and rock on their chairs. Similar demands were made by Narelle but generally not adhered to by students. Jane seemed far more vigilant, or at least students were more responsive to Jane's requests for this type of behaviour. This was not so much because Jane repeatedly asked her students to sit up but because her classroom regimen emphasised order and control, a feature that was reinforced by the organisation of the pedagogic space. Similarly, when KP students were sitting at their desks, at least during the morning sessions, lessons were teacher-directed. The students were focused on Jane and completing their work and their bodies simply conformed to the postures required and which the regimen and spatiality encouraged.

Although Jane favoured teacher-directed activities before recess, her lessons with KP were not always conducted in this way. The class also participated in group-based activities at this time. This format was more a feature of the mid-morning session and was generally organised as a set of rotational language-based tasks followed by work in maths groups. In one mid-morning lesson Jane organised the class into five groups with each allotted a language-based task. Prior to the class commencing these activities, Jane explained each in detail, questioning students to ensure they understood what was required. What was interesting about the way Jane conducted group-based activities, however, was that her students only undertook *one* activity in the time allocated. Activities were rotated but not within the single 30-minute time slot. Instead, Jane rotated activities over the school week and so each day, each of the five groups undertook only one of the five different activities organised for the week. KP, therefore, were engaged in an activity for a sustained period of time. In addition to this, Jane's organisation of group-based

activities was designed to minimise movement and so maintain the regimen of order and control which had been established by the teacher-directedness of the morning session. Even though Jane's supervision was far less intense during this time, because students were engaged in a single task and movement was limited, the change in pedagogic mode did not result in a marked relaxation of disciplinary power exerted upon their bodies. KP seemed to have embodied a considerable degree of self-governance which allowed them to undertake group-based activities in an efficient manner, applying themselves to a task with diligence and minimal talk.

Jane was also insistent about minimising noise in the classroom. She remarked "When we're doing handwriting I expect them to be quiet and concentrating and 'yes' they generally are because I'm doing it with them. When we do directed drawing you could hear a pin drop".

This was not only the case with handwriting sessions; in all Jane's teacher-directed activities, either at the desk or on the floor, students were very attentive. They still actively engaged in class discussion and responded to questioning, but there was limited unnecessary noise and an understanding about when talk was and wasn't appropriate. Because her teacher-directed activities allowed a regimen which promoted quiet and constructive talk, children engaged in limited chatter and collaborated quite effectively during group activities. This was also the case when students worked relatively independently such as during story writing. Jane allowed some talk during this time because, "With story writing it's part of the process. They're listening to other people, trying to sound out words and that's good. That's all part of learning". While students did engage in other forms of talk during these sessions it was generally minimal. There was little noise in Jane's classroom with a sense of 'a corporate body' working towards a similar goal.

Kamler *et al.* (1994, pp. 3/4) identified a similar phenomenon with the kindergarten class they observed. To Kamler *et al.*, however, the notion of a "corporate body" was understood in a negative sense. The "disciplining and shaping" of the students' bodies they observed was conceived as a form of subjection with the intended aim being the production of a corporate subjectivity: "Learning to position oneself as a student subject means becoming more like everyone else, minimising difference, and 'rounding off the edges' of the other less desirable subjectivities one may take up in different contexts in order to fit into and to produce a classroom habitus" (Kamler *et al.*, 1994, p. 4). In many respects this is true, yet this normative corporeality need not necessarily be understood as problematic. By assuming that the production of a corporate body results in a corporate subjectivity, Kamler *et al.* seem to ignore the possibility that disciplinary power may also be agentic. While certain classroom practices may have a homogenising effect, the disciplinary power that results, and is invested in students' bodies, can be utilised in potentially enabling ways. Also, students' subjectivities are far more fluid than what they suggest. Kamler *et al.* similarly neglect the sociality of being; the necessity within a school context, and indeed any institutional setting, to conform to a particular set of bodily schemas which allow for the productive functioning of bodies in space. These *carnal genres* inscribed within bodies possess a utility largely indicative of the spatiality in which they are formed. While in one sense they are restrictive, they can be productive in

that bodies perform less effectively without particular generic codings. Jane instituted a regimen in her classroom that allowed for the production of carnal genres that disciplined her students' bodies and minds in such a way as to promote a propensity for academic work and, in particular, learning to write. Rather than a form of subjection this discipline, which operated on a corporate basis, proved enabling.

## BODIES OF WRITING

What characterised Jane's practice was the emphasis she placed on teacher directedness. This impacted upon the classroom regimen she established and it was also an integral aspect of her approach to curriculum implementation. When questioned about this feature of her practice and her attitude towards group-based activities Jane was quite tentative at first. She remarked, "In theory probably the whole day should be worked in groups because *they* always say that's how you get to work with individuals better". Jane felt an obligation to let group-based activities dominate her practice but she expressed reservations about devoting too much time to this methodology: "I'm not there as a guiding force when they're in groups so I can't see what they're doing. I think it's extremely difficult unless you've got a lot of helpers in the room and those helpers have to know what they're doing". To some extent Jane felt she was abrogating her responsibility as a teacher if she placed too much emphasis on group work, adding,

> For the life of me I couldn't structure my whole day as groups, my conscience wouldn't let me. Teaching a new concept in maths or correct letter formation or … I couldn't do it. They need social mixing time, free time, learning to take turns, etc but it's a lot easier to get around and observe when everyone is doing the same thing and you can quickly check that they're doing things properly.

Jane did not simply prefer teacher-directed lessons because she felt they were easier to organise, she viewed them as a more effective way of teaching. She felt more assured that students would understand a particular aspect of work with her explaining it to them and guiding their application than if they undertook this process themselves, as they would within the context of group-based learning. In many respects this relates to the intensity of affect which is amplified with sustained teacher direction. Although not expressed in these terms, Vygotsky's Zone of Proximal Development refers to a similar process, in that students are more capable of successfully completing a task if they firstly receive guidance.

Jane's pedagogy was very much in line with this position yet it didn't simply focus on educating the mind. In implementing the curriculum for writing, Jane placed considerable emphasis upon the physicality of the writing process, far more than was evident in the syllabus she was required to implement. She not only drilled her students in letter/sound correspondence (although not until Term 2), she also drilled her students in the mechanics of handwriting, pointing out, "They need a lot of practice at it because it just doesn't come automatically". Consequently, Jane

commenced activities which focused on fine motor skills as early as possible. She displayed a thorough knowledge of the skills progression required in learning the mechanics of handwriting, much of which has simply disappeared from English curricula. Jane was also acutely aware that if her students were to habituate the appropriate technique for writing that it required considerable direction on her part. During Jane's handwriting lessons KP students sat at their desks and were extremely attentive, their gaze alternating between observing Jane's movements on the board, and reproducing these shapes in their books. In this way, they didn't simply acquire a grounding in the directionality and shape of the letters of the alphabet, they acquired the discipline required for writing. Over the course of the year students seemed to embody a particular composure when writing which allowed them to apply themselves to their work for sustained periods. The affective impact of the group dynamic was considerable, an effect which was achieved through the regularity of performing the task and the teacher direction involved while doing so.

Given that Jane did not commence systematic instruction in phonics until the beginning of the second term, her approach to story writing was quite different to that of Narelle's who started her students writing short texts from the beginning of the year. As mentioned, Jane was slow in beginning this work because many of her students had poor spoken English. In Term 1 she focused on improving their facility with spoken English, developing their sight word vocabulary, acquainting them with concepts of written language such as the sentence, and employing strategies to reinforce English syntax. A regular daily activity conducted throughout the year in the morning session involved the class working with sight words. At these times KP sat on the floor at the front of the room close to the sight word chart near the board. The chart, on permanent display throughout the year, contained a set of sight words that were added to each week. Towards the end of Term 1 the chart contained 29 words[v] from a range of grammatical categories allowing students to compose a variety of simple sentences from what was available; with complexity in sentence structure increasing as the year progressed. Jane's routine with the chart involved pointing at words and having students read them out aloud. She would place a series of the words in a sentence and, before the class read it aloud, had them count the number of words in the sentence and drew their attention to the spaces between words. Other activities included constructing sentences from a selection of jumbled words. Jane's intention was to reinforce the notion of a sentence and to highlight the syntactic patterns of English. The fact that the words were on separate cards and could be physically manipulated was an effective way to demonstrate the process of sentence construction and the relationship between parts of speech. These words and how they combined to make sentences were reinforced on a daily basis. The contained and repetitive nature of this activity possessed considerable affective impact, reinforcing the process of sentence construction, and the expanding bank of words allowed for increasing complexity and creativity as the year progressed.

During Term 1, before her students had commenced work on letter/sound correspondence, Jane would conduct either a modelled writing exercise or an activity in which she and the class would jointly construct a text. She had reservations about free writing activities with kindergarten even if she had been able to commence work

on letter/sound relationships much earlier, explaining that she would only use it "as extension work for kids with some degree of capability. It's dependent on capability. It would be a futile exercise for a lot of children. They just couldn't do it, unless you had a really skilled group. They'd probably spend most of the time just drawing the picture and become a bit ratty and go play with a toy or something else". Instead, Jane chose to further model aspects of the writing process with her students. Her approach to modelling did not simply involve students watching what she did, it actively involved them in the exercise. On one such occasion Jane and her students jointly constructed a procedural text about 'How to make a honey sandwich', effectively modelling the steps involved in constructing this type of text. Jane used the week's big book story about a hungry giant – an oversized book for use with whole classes or groups – as stimulus. After discussing the book and reading it through with the class, pointing to each word as they read through together, Jane placed four pieces of cardboard behind each other on the whiteboard at the front of the room. She explained to the class how they had to write out the steps required to make a honey sandwich for the giant and began by asking students what they needed first. Not happy with the response 'bread' she asked for the answer to be placed in a sentence and was offered the response 'get some bread', which was then repeated by the class. Jane proceeded to write this on the first card and drew a quick picture to accompany the command. Following this, she asked the class to read out the sentence, pointing to each word as they did so. This procedure was followed until the text was complete. Jane then had the class read the whole text through clapping their hands as each word was read. She also questioned them about the number of sentences in the text. In doing this, Jane sought to concentrate on developing her students' competency in the verbal construction of text as a scaffold for more independent story writing which occurred in the next term.

Throughout this activity Jane foregrounded the corporeality of learning. This is evident in a number of instances, most obviously in how she had students use their bodies to differentiate words in a sentence, clapping as each word was read. It is also apparent in the constant repetition of sentences by individual students and the class overall, reinforcing the relationship between spoken and written text and a conceptual awareness of sentence structure. Yet, it was not only the students' bodies that were rhythmically involved in this exercise; an intercorporeality existed between Jane and her students whereby they worked together to construct the text; Jane using a ruler to guide their reading throughout and students responding by saying and finally clapping each word. Jane explained that "everything is very layered in kindergarten", by which she meant that there is an interconnectedness between skills development in speaking and writing, listening and reading. However, the layered nature of the pedagogy at this level is not simply a function of the conceptual relatedness of the various linguistic modes, it has a bodily dimension in that the repetitive techniques which Jane employed resulted in an accumulation of affect which sedimented into habituated skills and knowledge, the foundation upon which more complex understanding is based (Watkins, 2010).

Jane tended to incorporate drill into various aspects of her pedagogic practice. The term 'drill', however, needs some explanation. It is employed here to refer to

an assemblage of techniques that through repetitive use intend the habituation of knowledge and skills. Progressivist pedagogies tend to deride such techniques as artificial, an imposition upon natural development. Given the appropriate stimulus within an enriched learning environment, it is assumed the requisite skills will develop without the need for such active intervention. In contrast, drill and practice is often presented as the dominant methodology of traditional pedagogies used to the point where affect is muted and student understanding is limited. Yet, perhaps the effectiveness of these techniques should be reconsidered especially for teaching the routine and often foundational aspects of subjects. Drill need not necessarily be understood as a procedure whereby students mindlessly repeat information or perform an activity until it becomes engrained; although repetition is undoubtedly a key feature of drill techniques. The notion of drill needs to be reconceptualised as a set of techniques which intend the embodiment of knowledge and skills through the accumulation of affect. While there is a need for repetition, it can be undertaken in various ways. Students can iteratively engage in a combination of related activities that target a similar skill and which over time involve greater degrees of complexity, scaffolding and reinforcing students' learning. Jane's use of drill exemplified this process. She integrated the phonic and graphic representation of letters using an iterative and layered approach in which drill played a major role until "these things [were] cemented in". Jane's practice utilised a quite broad conceptualisation of drill. It didn't simply involve repeating banks of information; it was undertaken in a serial fashion with related skills and knowledge performed repeatedly until they were inscribed within students' bodies and minds. As a result, a greater ease of combining these elements for the purposes of reading and writing was attained, or as she referred to it – "the joy of putting it altogether".

Once the class acquired some command of letter/sound relationships and was beginning to sound out words and incorporate them into their story writing, Jane conducted activities in which this process was modelled for students, serving as a further scaffold to their independent story writing. These activities usually took the form of a joint construction yet, unlike the example already discussed in which students offered whole words to form a text, in these activities Jane helped students to sound out each word and offered assistance with difficult spelling. In one such lesson, she had the class sit on the floor in front of the blackboard which was partly covered with butcher's paper. Jane was on her knees positioned between the board and her students. For this activity, she had students write a short 'story' about one of the teachers at the school who had recently had a baby. After talking about the baby, the class were asked to put some of this information into a sentence. One student offered the sentence, "Mrs Long had a baby boy and his name is Christopher". Jane then chose students to write the sentence on the butcher's paper, one word at a time with the rest of the class mirroring this process with their own 'air writing'. Prior to doing this, each word was sounded out with students clapping each of the separate sounds of simple words and with those that posed some problem, she had the class listen for initial sounds and any others they could discern. Attempts were made and rules were explained. When the sentence was completed, Jane had the class read and clap each word and then placed a full stop at the end, following a similar process with

another sentence. In this activity, layer upon layer of understanding of sounds, letters, words and sentences was accumulated and the regularity with which these and related activities were conducted on an individual, group and whole class basis ensured a heightening of affect and the embodiment of knowledge and skill. Jane didn't prevent her students from independently engaging in story writing until they possessed this capacity; rather, she simply ensured it was a more directed activity given students had limited resources with which to work early in the year. As none of the students in KP was able to write when they commenced kindergarten, few possessed the capacity to work outside these parameters in the first half of the year. However, as their knowledge of letter/sound correspondence and handwriting improved students were writing much longer and more complex texts.

## DISCIPLINED TO WRITE

This was the case with all three of the students whose texts are discussed here. As with Narelle's class, Jane supplied work samples from one above average, one average and one lower ability student. Hannah, an Anglo-Australian student, considered of above average ability by Jane, was far less capable than Reuben, Narelle's top student. She was unable to write when she arrived at school and, as with the other students, spent most of her story writing time in the first two terms retelling, tracing and copying; samples of which are provided in Figures 6a and b. In Figure 6c, written during week 1 of Term 3, Hannah begins to display far more confidence in her writing, independently constructing a text about holidays. Many of the words in the text are familiar by this stage of the year, but she also includes relatively new words from the sight word chart and attempts both 'because' and 'going' to produce a complex sentence. In the next sample (Figure 6d), written seven weeks later, Hannah shows an even greater degree of confidence. She has written four sentences and attempted unfamiliar words. Six weeks later, in the final sample, Figure 6e, a text with the sentence beginning provided, Hannah has written seven sentences. She lacks the ability at this stage to produce more coherent text by regularly inserting conjunctions to produce compound sentences but, as is evident in Figure 6c and the last sentence of this text, she is displaying some capacity to do so. Overall the sample set shows Hannah's growing competence in writing as the year progressed. This wasn't only in terms of her story writing ability; the work samples also illustrate a greater control of handwriting with letters becoming smaller and better formed, a competence which allows her to write quite lengthy texts towards the year's end and to focus on simply writing rather than also illustrating her work.

*Figure 6a*

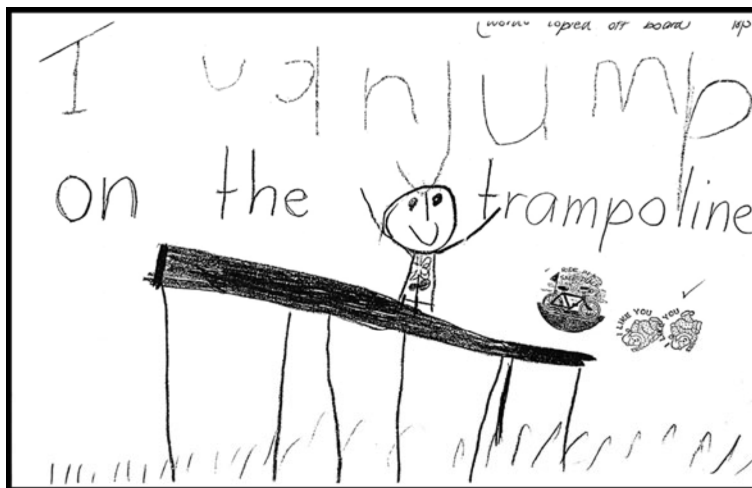



*Figure 6b*

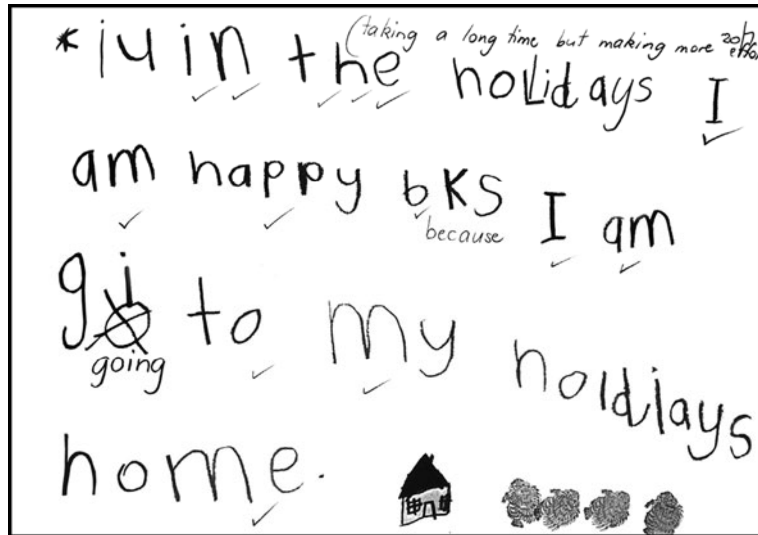



*Figure 6c*

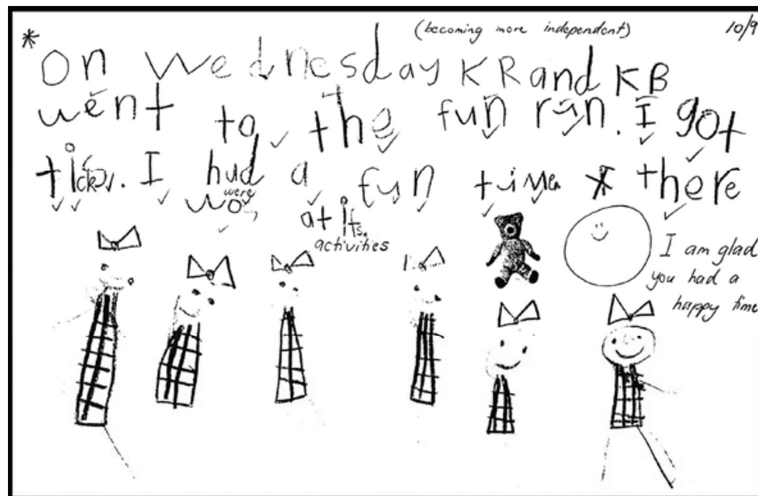



*Figure 6d*

*Figure 6e*

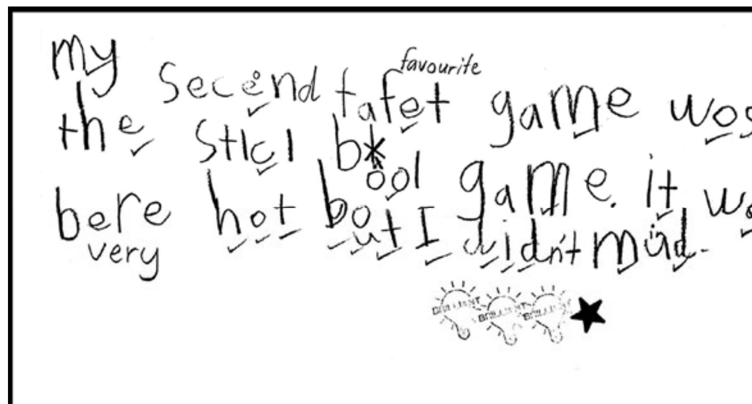



*Figure 6e continued.*

The second set of texts was written by Matthew, an ESL student whose first language was Mandarin and who Jane judged to be representative of an average student within KP. As with Hannah, Matthew spent much of the beginning of the year retelling, tracing and copying.

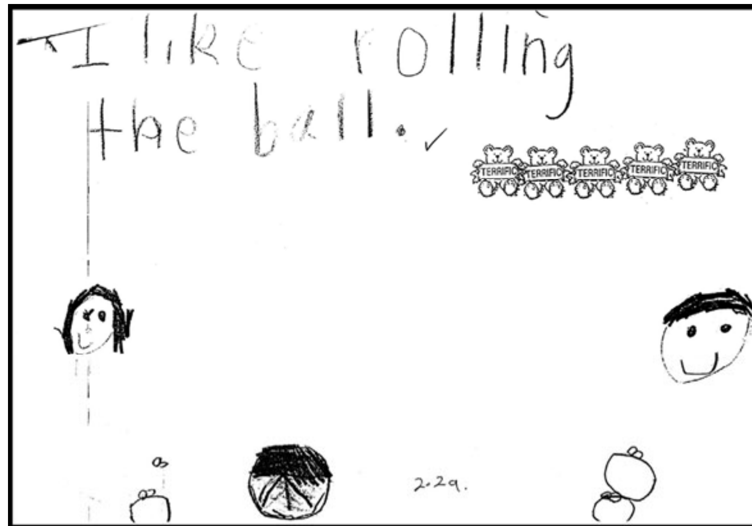



*Figure 7a*

By the end of Term 1 he was showing considerable competence with his handwriting as is evident in Figure 7a. His letters are well formed and words are regularly spaced. Halfway through Term 2, he was able to competently complete a short text of his own composition (Figure 7b), attempting the unfamiliar word ‘titanic’. As with Hannah, Matthew drew most of these words from the sight word chart, with ‘titanic’ either supplied by Jane or familiarised to the extent that he could reproduce it in his writing. He also includes a quite detailed picture of the ship. With greater phonic understanding towards the end of Term 3, Matthew began to experiment far more, producing quite a lengthy piece of writing in Figure 7c. There is an overuse of ‘and’ in the first sentence, but he has combined a range of words from the sight word chart with several new words which he has sounded out independently. In the last sample, Figure 7d, with the sentence beginning also supplied by Jane, Matthew produced a lengthy text comprising a complex, compound and simple sentences. He also attempted a number of new words – some successfully, some unsuccessfully – but an increased degree of confidence is evident in his willingness to attempt unfamiliar words and the discipline he has to persist despite repeated mistakes.

The last sample set was written by Daniel, another Mandarin-speaking ESL student who Jane considered representative of her lower band of students. Daniel spent much of his story writing time in Terms 1 and 2 engaged in similar activities to Hannah and Matthew, but he showed far more reluctance to commence writing.

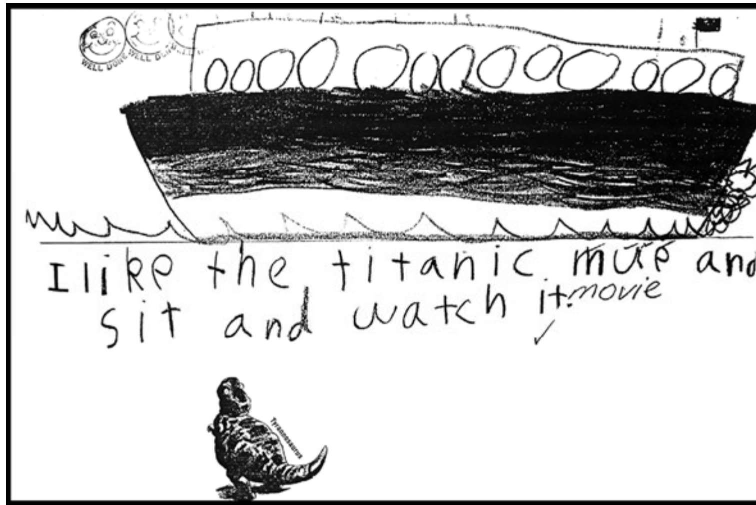



*Figure 7b*

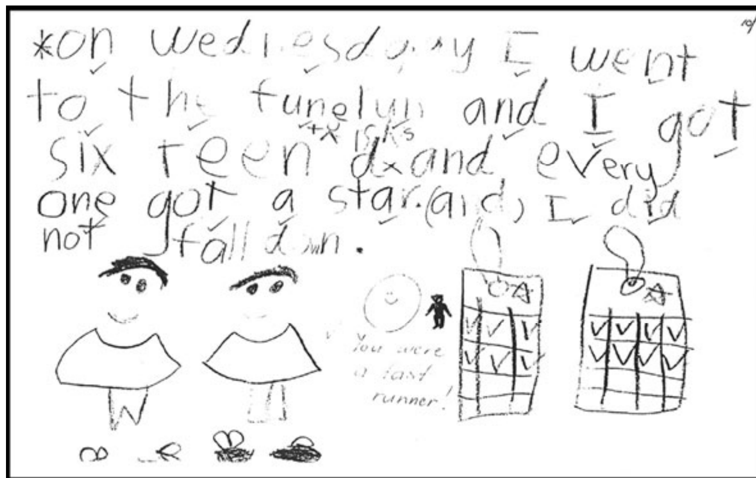



*Figure 7c*

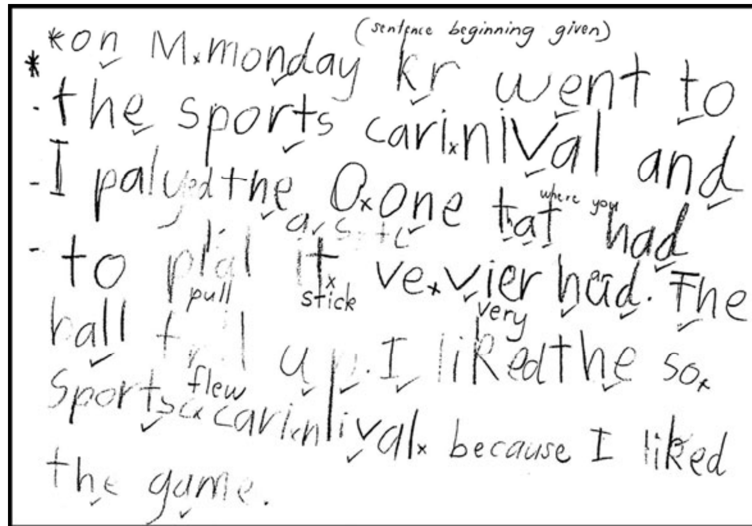



*Figure 7d*

In one of his first efforts at copying a sentence from the board (Figure 8a) written towards the beginning of Term 2, Daniel displays reasonable control of a pencil despite failing to complete the familiar word ‘the’ successfully. Five weeks later, as he was given more independence to construct text, his writing appears less confident as he has had to devote far more concentration to the content of his text rather than simply forming letters (Figure 8b). While copied, the first three words are not as well formed as the earlier text and although he manages to write ‘I see a’ well he has great difficulty with ‘red rose’. He has managed to identify the sounds ‘e’ in ‘red’ and ‘r’ and ‘s’ in rose. He was also very close in his first attempt at ‘d’ in ‘red’, initially writing the voiceless ‘t’ as opposed to the voiced ‘d’. Given his command of English, this is an understandable error. Daniel’s attempts at these last two words and the text overall are revealing in a number of ways. In contrast to the texts collected from Narelle’s classroom, those from KP reveal far more teacher intervention in the students’ construction of text and also a greater degree of application on the part of the students. Writing for Daniel was a difficult task, especially as English was not his first language. Despite this, he persisted with his story writing, reattempting words with and without teacher assistance. As with both Kelly and Anne Marie in KS, Daniel had a tendency to reverse letters. This occurred at times with the letter ‘s’ but, whereas Daniel’s work was corrected, the errors in Kelly’s and Anne Marie’s texts were not. Jane ticked the words Daniel could write correctly without assistance and provided corrections where he did not, a marking procedure evident in other students’ work.

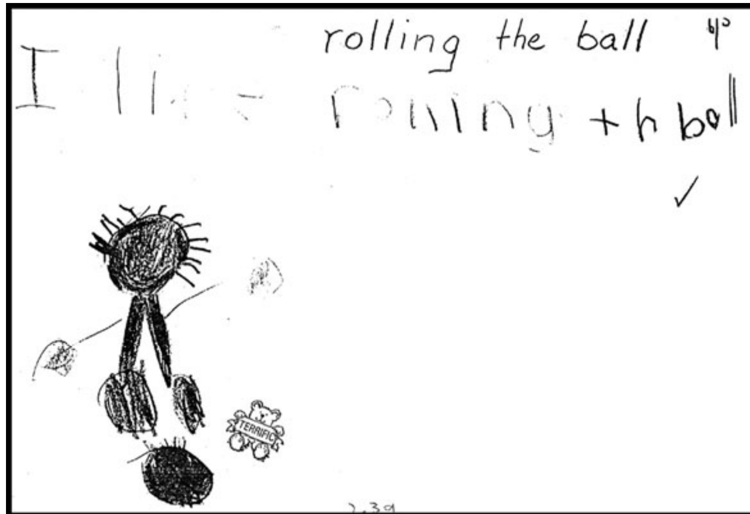



*Figure 8a*

*Figure 8b*

These differences in marking and comments on students' work relate very much to Narelle's and Jane's different perspectives on the use of praise and its impact on learning. To Narelle it functioned as a prime motivating force. She made considerable use of stickers as rewards throughout the day and comments on work were always positive. Jane was more sparing with her praise. She devoted time each morning to praising students' efforts in her review of the previous day's work. Stickers, stamps and positive comments, however, only accompanied texts that were correct or showed improvement. Jane felt that "Children have to learn to cope with failure. You have to learn to cope with criticism. If you're constantly being told everything's fantastic and all of a sudden, 'bang' you hit a wall, well children can't handle it". Together with this, the overuse of positive reinforcement can limit its effect. Narelle's tendency to do so seemed to reinforce poor habits rather than provide encouragement for improved effort. This seemed the case with Kelly and Anne Marie. The affective impact of positive reinforcement seems overstated in education. While positive comments can generate a feeling of pride that can be motivational, criticism is not necessarily detrimental. The affective impact of criticism, producing degrees of shame, may equally function as a motivating force, encouraging students to apply themselves far more to a task. Tomkins (1962, p. 368) attached considerable significance to negative affects critiquing progressivist education for its overuse of praise. When coupled with a disciplinary apparatus within a classroom that encourages a disposition for learning, constructive criticism can possess immense pedagogic affect particularly if genuine effort is rewarded with praise. Through such a process, students embody a sense of self-worth grounded in demonstrated achievement.

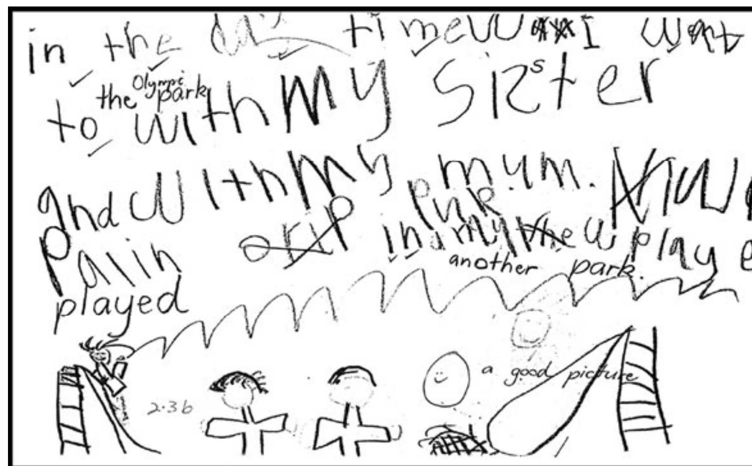



*Figure 8c*

Jane's measured use of praise is seen in Daniel's final two texts. In Figure 8c, produced towards the end of Term 3, Jane was not overly complimentary but her ticks are an indication to Daniel that his work is improving and the smiley face she draws provides additional reinforcement. Daniel still displayed problems with some of his letters, such as continuing at times to reverse his 's' but, despite difficulties and numerous mistakes, he persists with the task, self-correcting and reattempting several words. In Figure 8d, written at the beginning of Term 4, Daniel finally appears to have corrected his problem of reversing 's' and while he still displays difficulty with his handwriting, there is a marked improvement from the previous text. His writing shows a greater confidence, not only drawing on words from the sight word chart, but also sounding out words such as 'todei' and 'stri'. Although there is still room for improvement, Daniel made considerable progress throughout the year, particularly given his poor command of English and lack of familiarity with an alphabetic script.

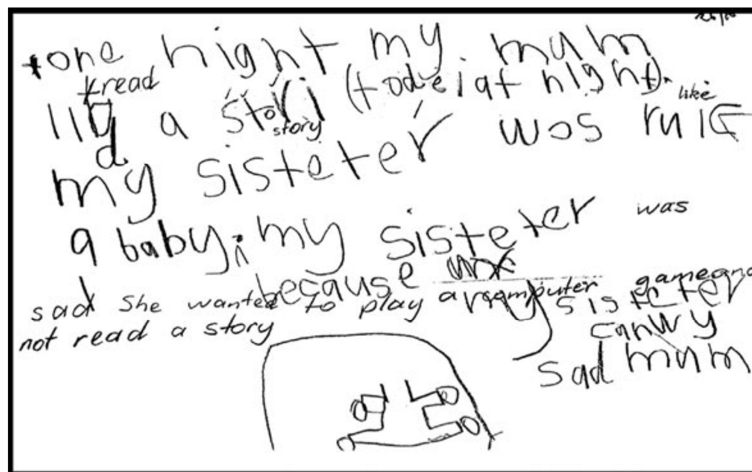



*Figure 8d*

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

Although similarities were evident, Jane's and Narelle's approaches to teaching kindergarten how to write differed markedly. Jane's pedagogy exhibited a sensitivity towards the corporeality of learning. This was evident not only in the disciplinary techniques she employed to predispose her students towards the demands of academic labour (reflected most obviously in her classroom's panoptic design and its regimen of quiet and control), but also in her repetitive and carefully scaffolded approach towards curriculum implementation. In teaching writing, Jane aimed to have her students habituate the phonic and graphic representation of

letters to ensure they could then devote a far greater cognitive load towards the complexities of composition. To do this she used a range of 'drill' techniques from simple repetitive exercises to a variety of staged and related activities performed on an iterative basis. The process of constructing text, particularly at this early stage, is an arduous one requiring considerable support. Jane repeatedly modelled the process for her students by working with them as a class to gauge the letters necessary to then form words and sentences. The corporate nature of this approach seemed to heighten its pedagogic affect/effect. Students' learning was consistently supported as they achieved planes of relative independence signifying the incremental embodiment of the skills involved in learning to write. The affective impact of Jane's practice was heightened by the degree of teacher directedness she employed. It was only through the emphasis she placed on this pedagogic mode that she was able to utilise the strategies she did. It also ensured students were kept on task acquiring the skills, knowledge and discipline necessary to work effectively when unassisted.

The same degree of teacher directedness was not evident in Narelle's practice. Although she often conducted short teacher-directed activities, such as the daily phonics drill, she tended to favour self-directed and group-based tasks, particularly in teaching writing. The disciplinary force generated by these pedagogic modes was far less intense than that which existed in Jane's classroom. Students in KS tended to exhibit more relaxed bodily postures; an effect compounded by Narelle's diffused arrangement of the pedagogic space and her classroom regimen of movement and talk. These learning postures lacked the control necessary for effective literate practice and the rigours of academic work. This was not problematic for some students as they had entered kindergarten with the appropriate embodied capital to engage in activities with relatively little assistance, at least at this stage of their learning. For the majority, however, who were not in this category, the lack of disciplinary force tended to simply reinforce an existing habitus that did not predispose them to the complex process of learning to write. Coupled with this, Narelle's pedagogy did not give emphasis to the habituation of the mechanics of handwriting and the construction of text. In kindergarten, students still possess a reasonably plastic habitus; dispositions are not firmly engrained. It is at this formative stage of embodiment that students, as supple bodies, need to acquire a disposition for learning and also the foundational skills involved in literate practice. Without these, learning to write becomes an even more difficult process and students flounder as they engage in the increasingly demanding aspects of writing in the years following kindergarten.

## POSTSCRIPT

In the year following this study Jane retired from the teaching profession. Narelle was identified as an exemplary teacher and appointed to a consultancy position within the NSW Department of Education and Training to advise teachers on literacy pedagogy.

CHAPTER 5

# TRANSITIONAL BODIES: THE AFFECTS OF EDUCATION

> With some kids you can't [cultivate a desire to learn] because they just don't want to learn.
>
> Year 3 teacher, Westville Public School
>
> I'm responsible for their learning. I think a lot of people think well I've taught them, it's up to them to learn. But they're only eight years old. It's up to me to make sure that they've achieved something.
>
> Year 3 teacher, Northside Public School

In this chapter the focus moves from kindergarten to Year 3. By this stage of their learning students have experienced three years of the school system. Dispositions within their habitus are more ingrained but by no means fixed. The dispositions that guide practice are always only provisional yet over time they tend to ossify, becoming more resistant to change. In a sense, Year 3 students are in a transitional phase. They are still at a formative stage of their education but no longer possess the malleability of their first year of school having embodied the routines of school life, including a disposition for learning that may, or may not, be conducive to academic work. As was evident in the previous chapter, this is due in no small part to the pedagogy that teachers employ which can instil in students the discipline necessary for effective literate practice. This discipline ensures students habituate foundational writing skills and equips them with the diligence to apply themselves to the process of learning to write. To many students who lack this discipline, writing is a more complex task. Also, the affective impact of repeated difficulties with writing can lead to a deadening of the desire to write. This was the case with some of the students in Year 3 at Westville PS with their teacher remarking that "they just don't want to learn". Such a comment raises issues about the desire to learn, the role of bodily affect in its cultivation and the degree to which teaching is responsible for its production (Watkins, 2008). The Year 3 teacher at Northside PS viewed her students' achievements as not simply a function of their own desire to learn but linked to her interventions in their learning. In the analysis of these teachers' practice that follows, emphasis is given to the disciplinary techniques they employ and the extent to which these endow their students with the capacity to write effectively. In doing this, consideration is given to the relationship between disciplinary force and a student's desire to learn with the latter conceived as very much premised on the corporeal affects generated by the pedagogic process.

CHAPTER 5

## THE TEACHER AND YEAR 3 STUDENTS AT WESTVILLE PUBLIC SCHOOL

Sally Richards, the Year 3 teacher at Westville PS, was in her eighth year of teaching. Unable to find a full-time teaching position on completing her training, she spent five years as a casual teacher. On securing a permanent position at Westville, she spent two years teaching kindergarten prior to taking on Year 3. 3R, Sally's class at Westville, had 32 students. Thirty-five percent were from a LBOTE with students from Tonga, Samoa, the Philippines and Sri Lanka. There was also one Aboriginal child. 3R was a challenging class. There was a boy with dyspraxia, an ADHD child and another student with a mild intellectual disability. Many students were experiencing serious difficulties with various aspects of the curriculum, in particular with writing. In describing her approach to teaching, Sally made similar comments to her colleague Narelle who taught kindergarten: "I try to be as positive as I can and let them know that I make mistakes too and that I'm not perfect. We're a partnership, you know, we're working together. I also like to have a class where everyone is happy, that's really important … and they're enthusiastic … because they know their work's going to be appreciated".

### SHIFTING SPACES AND BODIES IN FLUX

Although not as large as the double classrooms used for kindergarten at Westville PS, Sally's classroom was still quite a good size; 8 metres by 7.5 metres, allowing for considerable ease of movement around the room and adequate space for a floor-based teaching area positioned in front of the blackboard (see Figure 9). The room was adjoined on two sides by other classrooms and one wall had full-length glass panels and doors offering a view to a grassed area outside. It also had its own store and cloakroom. Desks were organised in groups seating six or seven students and arranged in such a way that each had a good view of the board. Sally's desk was located in the front left-hand corner of the room with a chair also positioned in front of the blackboard from where she conducted floor-based, teacher-directed activities. In addition, there was a computer desk in the back right-hand corner that was sometimes used by students during group-based activities and a spare desk on the other side of the room where troublesome students were moved for periods during the day. Unlike the two kindergarten rooms discussed in the previous chapter, this spatial design less obviously reflected a particular teaching philosophy. It possessed spatial elements representative of both traditional and progressivist pedagogies. In terms of the former, this was evident in the positioning of Sally's desk and chair. Ostensibly, vectors within the classroom were directed towards the front, not only given the location of Sally's desk and chair but the arrangement of students' desks, grouped in such a way as to allow them a good view of the board. Yet, students' gaze was not automatically directed towards the front. The fact that desks were grouped together and students faced each other attests to a competing spatial dynamic characteristic of student-directed pedagogies. The regulative power generated by the serial arrangement of a traditional classroom was not apparent here. Instead, Sally's classroom operated as

an eclectic space with its affective impact upon students' bodies more dependent on the regimen that Sally imposed. Space in itself rarely possesses the potency to function as the determining factor in relation to practice, yet the contrast between the two kindergarten classrooms suggests spatial design can exert differing intensities of disciplinary force.

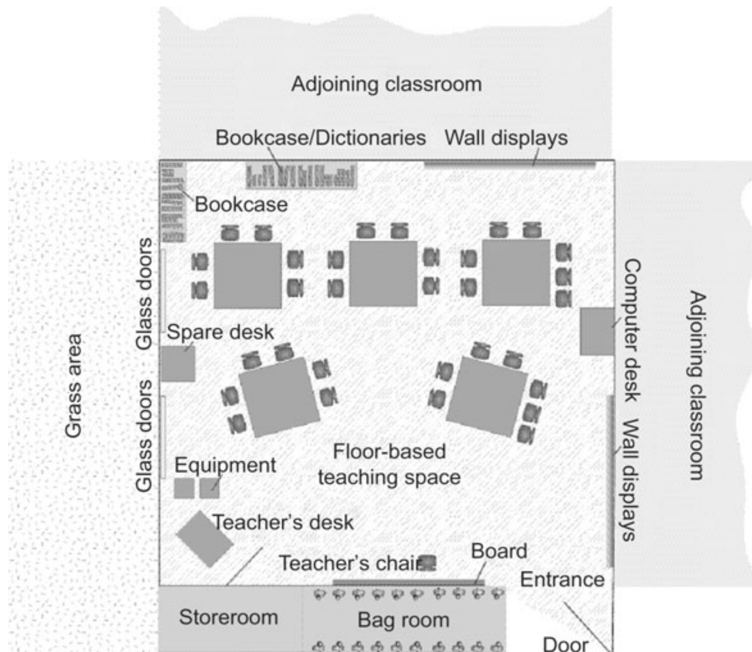



*Figure 9*

In many respects Sally's classroom was similar in design to Jane's, the kindergarten teacher at Northside. Like Jane, Sally positioned her chair at the front of the room. In fact Sally's presence was even more marked as she had her desk located alongside it. The students' desks in Sally's room were also arranged in a similar fashion to Jane's with a teaching floor space located in front of the board. One notable difference between the two rooms was their size. Although Sally had more students, her room was larger than Jane's, affording 3R more space to move around. This placed a greater imperative upon Sally to impose boundaries through the regimen she established. The space itself possessed a limited regulative dynamic. This was not only the classroom as a whole but with the particular learning sites within the room. The floor space, which Sally made considerable use of throughout the day, was much larger than the narrow strip in Jane's room. Also, despite its size, Sally didn't clearly define the sitting area, as did Narelle. Although partially enclosed by desks, this area functioned as a reasonably fluid space

exerting limited disciplinary force upon students' bodies. Many often leaned against chairs with their legs outstretched and found it difficult to remain still. To some extent this is understandable given their age group. Students' growing bodies are far less comfortable on the floor by this stage of schooling than in their first years at school and many students in 3R had clearly not embodied the discipline to sit still and concentrate during floor-based work.

These more relaxed postures may not have presented a problem if students were focused while working. During Sally's floor-based, teacher-directed activities, there were gradations of attentiveness within this space. Those students sitting closest to Sally sat up and listened. The greater the distance away from Sally, however, the more likely students were to stretch out and interact with other students, paying little attention to the lesson; particularly those on the margins. In many schools, floor-based activities are a rarity by Year 3. Most lessons are conducted with students at their desks and so Sally's use of the floor was unusual. The frequency with which she used the floor, however, had an unsettling influence upon students. Not only was it a less regulated space than that found in Jane's room, but students made repeated shifts between their desks and the floor in any one session (see Appendix 3.). This was particularly the case during the morning sessions where on one occasion students changed their seating location seven times within a period of two hours. This propensity for movement in Sally's classroom is discussed later in relation to classroom regimen. Here the focus is more the utility of the space in terms of the stage of learning of Sally's students. As mentioned, by Year 3 students are generally spending more time at their desks, yet the ability to sit at a desk and work for sustained periods, although probably a more comfortable option than the floor, is still a learned capacity. In favouring the floor for teacher-directed activities, Sally was providing less training in the postures for scholarly labour. These are not simply an imposition of institutionalised schooling but a form of bodily composure which predispose individuals to literate practice, an activity involving a particular physiology. Continuing to delay the point at which students make the transition to a predominantly desk-based lesson format may inadequately prepare them for more senior years in which an increased emphasis on writing necessitates a greater use of the desk. Many of the students in 3R were yet to acquire the discipline necessary to work for sustained periods. It was not simply Sally's organisation and use of the pedagogic space which seemed to contribute to this; the classroom regimen that she established also appeared to lack the affective impact to produce the self-governance many students needed to focus on their work.

## A REGIMEN OF RESTLESSNESS

Movement was a pervasive feature of 3R's classroom culture. Students spent very little time in one spot. They alternated between their desks and the floor space with considerable regularity, often because Sally preferred to give instructions and have discussion with the class when they were seated on the floor. Even within an activity, students were often only seated for short periods of time before moving. This was also exacerbated by Sally's use of group work, the pedagogic mode that

dominated her practice. She explained “I teach in groups and I’ve always taught in groups, so it’s easy for me to have a different activity at each table that has varying degrees of difficulty and be able to rotate around and set it to the children’s limits”. An example of how Sally conducted rotational group-based activities was provided in one morning lesson. By the time this activity commenced, students had already made six seating changes. Sally had students seated in the floor space area to explain the different tasks involved in the group-based activity and then each group was assigned one of the six tasks, five of which were undertaken at the desks and one on the floor. Each of these tasks related to either a specific language or cognitive skill and was designed as a group-based game. The effectiveness of these tasks is discussed further below, the focus here is the way the activity was conducted and the amount of time devoted to each task. During the 22 minutes in which the activity was undertaken, with an additional 5 minutes to pack up, groups only managed to engage in three of the six tasks and each of these for a period of only 7 to 8 minutes. When students moved to a new activity they had to spend a short amount of time setting up the task and orienting themselves to what was involved. This cut into the amount of time allocated to each group game, none of which seemed particularly challenging. Sally used rotational group-based activities on a regular basis. While the way they were conducted may have varied, what was characteristic of this approach was the degree of movement involved. Although these tasks probably didn’t demand it, which is an issue in itself, students didn’t devote sustained periods of time to what they were doing. The affective impact of the tasks was therefore limited with the frequency of rotation to other groups promoting a regimen of restlessness within the classroom.

This propensity for movement was not only evident in Sally’s use of rotational group work and the regularity with which students changed their seating arrangements throughout the day, but also in the use of Taskforce, a school-devised literacy program which involved all students at Westville PS with the exception of kindergarten. Taskforce, which placed emphasis on improving students’ reading ability, was conducted throughout the school on four out of five days a week for 30 minutes during the morning session. Students, divided into groups on the basis of their reading ability, either moved off to other classrooms or stayed in their home room to complete group-based reading tasks designed for their ability level. Approximately half of the students in the class moved off to other classrooms with about the same number of students from other Year 3 classes transferring to Sally’s room to participate in activities conducted there. Given these students had to pack up and take materials with them, both in going to another room and on returning, this process cut into valuable work time. More problematic, however, was the move itself. Taskforce was conducted 45 minutes into the morning session with the potential to disrupt lessons that had already commenced. If this wasn’t the case, teachers could simply have organised shorter lessons to cater for this 30-minute time slot within their teaching program. Little time was made available for sustained work. Either way, the disruption generated by the program taking place midway through the morning session only seemed to add to the movement which characterised the regimen within Sally’s classroom.

With this degree of movement, it was understandable that students were restless. Many found it difficult to sit still when they were required to work independently on a task. They leaned back on their chairs and rocked, fidgeted with equipment or simply got out of their seats and moved around the room to sharpen a pencil, borrow an eraser or retrieve something from their bag. The frequency with which various students left their desks didn't seem to concern Sally and at times she contributed to this practice by allowing students to come to her desk to have their work checked or to ask questions. The regularity with which students did this often resulted in a line of students not only talking and disrupting others but wasting time in which they could have been more productively engaged if Sally had simply progressed around the room checking work. Many students clearly used this opportunity to take a break as they didn't all require immediate assistance. As much of this activity was needless, it seemed to indicate that many students found it difficult to sit still at their desks and independently complete a task. The regimen within the classroom seemed to generally reinforce this behaviour with students habituating restlessness over the course of the day. Interestingly, Sally remarked that some of her students "just don't want to learn". The desires of many of these students were certainly directed elsewhere, but the lack of interest they displayed towards school work can probably be attributed to a bodily incapacity for academic work. If the desire to learn is derived from embodied affect, it is understandable why many students in 3R didn't *want* to learn, they simply didn't know how. The dispositions within their habitus were not compelling them to do so and their teacher's pedagogy seemed to simply reproduce these tendencies.

The regimen of restlessness within the classroom was also a product of Sally's leniency in relation to talk. Although students were reasonably quiet during teacher-directed activities, at other times there was a constant murmur within the room which regularly developed into loud chatter before subsiding following a reprimand from Sally. This was exacerbated by the frequent use of group-based activities, the short duration of lesson segments and the disruption resulting from Taskforce. There didn't appear to be any sustained periods of time during lessons in which students were required to work quietly and avoid interaction with other students. Noise was a constant backdrop to work within the room. A more important issue for Sally was the degree of collegiality among students. She was keen for students to forge good relations with their classmates and talk enabled them to do this. She also moved students around the room to sit at different desks on a regular basis explaining that "for developing social relations I would pull their name out of a hat and sit them randomly because I wanted them to learn to get on with someone that they hadn't met before. If we all got on really well we could pick out another lucky dip and you might sit near someone different". While there was definitely a warm and friendly atmosphere within the class, the aim of fostering good social relations among students by encouraging talk also needs to be considered in terms of its impact upon students' disposition for learning and their work habits in general. The class as a whole appeared to lack the kind of corporate discipline that encourages students to apply themselves to their work. The constant chatter contributed to the already relaxed disciplinary codes framing the classroom

regimen reinforcing the irregular work habits of many and proving particularly unsettling for those with behavioural problems who required a more calming and directed learning environment.

## PLAYING TO LEARN AND THE SURFACE TREATMENT OF KNOWLEDGE

Sally seemed to favour quite short lesson segments of approximately 30 minutes or less. Given their brief duration, there was only ever a surface treatment of the knowledge and skills she was targeting. Possibly because they were so well suited to this short lesson format, Sally made considerable use of competitions and games in her teaching. While not specifically concerned with writing, they are important to consider given they deal with aspects of language and reveal much about Sally's overall teaching methodology. Once a week, Sally commenced the day with a knockout spelling competition based on the week's spelling words. Students all stood behind their desks and the last student correctly spelling a word was the winner scoring points for their house. This highly motivating activity signalled the end of the time devoted to this set of words. A new set was then written on the board to be learned and used in another competition the following week. During one lesson that occurred near Easter many of the words in the list related to the celebrations and events which happen at this time of the year and so, following the spelling competition, Sally had students pair up with a classmate to devise a find-a-word using these and any other words associated with Easter. Although these two activities were related, with the find-a-word seemingly reinforcing students' familiarity with the words in the spelling list, the effectiveness of this latter activity is questionable. Find-a-words are generally considered *filler* tasks undertaken at the end of the day, as a fun activity during the last day of term or as homework. With the spelling words already provided, and assistance given by a classmate, it was not a very challenging exercise. It seemed an unusual activity to use at the beginning of the first session of the day when time was available to devote to a more complex aspect of the curriculum. Students also seemed to treat it as simply a fun activity. Although working in pairs involves collaborative talk, there was a lot of unnecessary chatter and at the end of the allotted time many groups had neither finished their work nor especially incorporated the spelling list words in the find-a-word they had devised.

Following this activity, students then moved on to the rotational group-based language games discussed earlier. Each of the six tasks was targeting quite low-level skills but Sally felt they were useful given her students' poor reading. Yet this rotational, group-based format seemed to place far too much responsibility on the students for their own learning with the assumption being that in playing the game they would acquire the requisite skills. Given that many of the students had difficulty applying themselves to the tasks and had a relatively limited skill base from which to work, these activities seemed ineffectual in addressing the quite pressing needs of these students. Their affective impact was minimised by a combination of factors: the brevity of each task, the students' undirected application and the simplistic and unfocused nature of the tasks themselves. As so

many students were experiencing difficulties with rudimentary literacy skills; it seemed unusual that Sally chose to address these using group-based activities rather than through teacher-instruction targeting a specific skill. Instead of undertaking three short tasks geared towards loosely related aspects of language and cognition, students could have spent a more sustained period of time working on a single task which more specifically addressed their learning needs.

A rationale often given for group-based learning is its ability to more specifically cater for the range of ability levels within a class. Sally agreed: "it's just so easy to group them in abilities of what they can and can't do". If this type of group-based learning predominates within a classroom, however, it becomes a form of internal streaming which runs counter to the contemporary educational practice of mixed ability grouping. If students are to be grouped into ability levels in this way within a class on a regular basis, this doesn't seem far removed from organising whole classes in terms of ability. With the exception of some classes for gifted and talented students, there is very little streaming in Australian primary schools. Mixed ability classes are viewed as having social and psychological benefits because, unlike streaming, it is felt they don't label children as low achievers. However, if the mixed ability grouping of classes tends to encourage group-based learning over a more teacher-directed pedagogy, these social and psychological benefits may have little effect if students' achievement levels remain low through a lack of teacher direction. Group-based learning is not a problem in itself – Jane at Northside used it to good effect – but, as with any pedagogic mode, it is important that consideration is given to the nature of the content and skills to be addressed and the ability levels of students. In Sally's classroom, it didn't seem an effective way to teach foundational aspects of literacy. Also the more relaxed disciplinary codes that frame much group-based learning are less effective in promoting the bodily control which is necessary for concentration, a skill many of Sally's students found it difficult to muster. Without this corporeal capacity, the formation of a *mindful* body predisposed to academic endeavour is less likely to occur. It seemed many students in 3R found it difficult to learn, not because they didn't want to but because their bodies were not accustomed to do so.

This was evident in one of 3R's lessons on handwriting. This quite sedentary task was preceded by the language games activity in which students made two seating changes and chatted throughout. When they returned to their desks to commence handwriting, they were very unsettled. Talk continued at a fairly high level with students rocking back and forth on their chairs and moving around the room to borrow erasers and rulers or to sharpen pencils. To curb this activity and to prepare students for handwriting, Sally used a quick *body break* that involved students reciting a rhyme about the appropriate posture for handwriting. Although repeating the rhyme, most students gave little attention to its content. Their posture remained slumped, but their talking and restlessness were reduced. This reduction in movement and chatter may have been the result of the teacher-directedness of the lesson. To complete the activity, students had to copy the letters and patterns that Sally wrote on the board and so they needed to pay close attention to what Sally was doing to reproduce the cursive letter shapes in their own books. Together

with this, the regulative control of students was intensified by Sally's central position within the room. This heightening of attentiveness and reduction in movement and talk, however, was short-lived. Once students became aware of the letters to write, and as Sally's back was turned most of the time, many students raced ahead to complete the activity at a more rapid pace and then recommenced their chatter.

Sally devoted quite a bit of time to handwriting within her teaching program, conducting lessons of 15–30 minutes, two or three times a week. Given that students by this stage of their learning would have already habituated a personal writing style, this amount of time seemed excessive and probably more appropriate for a kindergarten level. To justify this allocation of time, Sally explained that many of her students had poor fine motor skills and this was a way of addressing this problem. By this stage of their schooling, however, it is difficult to reverse what would be a fairly habituated response. It is not only time and practice that is required at this point to counter poor habits; students need to be consciously aware of the need to alter their poor handwriting style for a correction to occur. Despite Sally's efforts, her students' posture remained largely unchanged and there was no improvement in their composure when engaged in other activities. The handwriting that students produced during specific handwriting lessons was quite well formed and neat, but this didn't seem to effect their writing at other times, a point Sally raised herself: "I find looking at their books when I go back in there now, a lot of them have gone backwards in my expectations of them". Sally's approach to handwriting, however, was quite interesting. Although not sustained for the full 30 minutes of the lesson, for a good portion of the time students exhibited a greater degree of quiet and control than at other times. As a result, the class was more focused on what they were doing and generally produced good examples of the style of writing required. Students, however, were unable to maintain this level of application. Sally's use of a more teacher-directed pedagogy may have proved effective for a short period of time but, given it was not her preferred pedagogic mode and as the regimen which generally existed in the classroom did not encourage quiet and control, its effect was short-lived. Students were not predisposed to persist with this degree of attentiveness. It was fleeting and so it didn't affect their work at other times of the day, especially when involved in more taxing activities such as composing, as opposed to merely reproducing, text.

Although Sally clearly favoured progressivist techniques such as group-based learning, it wasn't only during handwriting lessons that she employed a more teacher-directed pedagogy. In teaching students how to write different types of text she also employed this more traditional pedagogic mode. The problem with labels such as 'progressivism' and 'traditionalism', however, is they tend to mask the intricate meshing of the range of practices that constitute a teacher's pedagogy. Sally's methodology was far more progressivist than traditional, but when she did employ a more teacher-directed approach the greater disciplinary force it generated seemed to quickly dissipate with students' existing behaviour patterns of restlessness tending to dominate. This was evident in other lessons in which Sally used a predominantly teacher-directed approach. One such example was a lesson

on writing recounts conducted at the beginning of Term 2. In this lesson students were required to write a text recounting their school's ANZAC Day ceremony that had occurred a number of days previously. All schools in Australia hold ceremonies to commemorate this national day. Sally discussed the ceremony with the class and together they compiled a sequenced list of what had occurred on the board, where it remained until they next discussed it a few days later. In the intervening period Sally added an introductory sentence and a short evaluative comment. The outline, as it appeared to students, complete with a number of unintentional spelling and punctuation mistakes, was as follows:

ANZAC CEREMONY

On Friday 23rd April, 3R went to our schools (sic) Anzac Ceremony.

- Precision (sic) of important people
  - Welcome by School Captains
  - School song
  - School Captain's speech
  - Reef (sic) Laying Ceremony
  - Listened to the colonial (sic) speak
  - Looked west for the last post
  - The Ode
  - One minutes (sic) silence
  - Reveille
  - Anthem

During the Anzac Ceremony I felt ______ because ______.

Despite the three-day interval between the ceremony and returning to the text, Sally only devoted 7 minutes to discussion before students commenced writing their recount. This discussion took place with students sitting on the floor and Sally reading through the introductory sentence, pointing to the sequence of events, nominating students to read each one and suggesting additional points to include. Following this, Sally asked for examples of evaluative comments, which were written on the board, and then provided her own verbal recount of the ceremony using the outline. The discussion concluded with Sally asking students about any 'joining words' they could use to link the dot points. Despite the appropriateness or otherwise of some of these words, all were recorded on the board and, without any further discussion, the class began to write their own recount of the ceremony using the model provided.

Although Sally's own poor spelling, punctuation and limited knowledge of grammar are a concern, and something of an indictment of teacher education and supervision within the school, equally problematic is her approach to implementing the curriculum. Despite the difficulties many students in 3R were experiencing with reading and writing, Sally spent little time preparing them for this task. This may be in part a result of her limited expertise but, in discussing

her teaching program, it seems all text types were treated with similar brevity. As her program of study had been approved by her supervisor at the school, this approach to teaching text and grammar may have been relatively uniform across Year 3 at Westville. There seemed little emphasis placed on actually teaching aspects of language, rather the focus was primarily content. The process of writing the text seemed to be taken for granted. Sally's minimal discussion of 'joining words' provides some insight into how she approached teaching grammar. Rather than seeing it as integral to the writing process, it was dealt with incidentally. There seemed an assumption that with some knowledge of content, a mere outline of the structure and simply referring to a relevant grammatical feature, students could then produce the required textual form. Yet, for students to write effectively they must harness a range of resources and then apply these to the content that is their focus. These resources don't only include handwriting, spelling and punctuation but understanding of syntax and textual form. The complexity of this process necessitates the habituation of much of this technology. Without a reasonable degree of automaticity in applying these skills, students find writing very difficult. The implications for pedagogy are that students need to devote sustained periods of time to acquiring these skills and to iteratively performing them to ensure they are habituated as bodily capacity. Weaving together content knowledge and the skills involved in writing any textual form requires time, even with the quite elementary text that 3R were working on. Whatever procedure is used, the objective should be the maximisation of pedagogic affect whereby students acquire the facility to apply these resources with relative ease. 3R, however, were only given fleeting treatment of what was required to write a recount. Sally, however, probably felt that she had implemented the curriculum as specified in the syllabus. With one of its outcomes for this stage of learning indicating "Students will be provided with opportunities to jointly and independently construct a range of text types" (Board of Studies, New South Wales, 1998, p. 56), Sally had completed her treatment of recount as required. While the syllabus provides more detail on the teaching of text and grammar that could have guided Sally's teaching, nowhere is there a focus on the pedagogy involved in ensuring students acquire the outcomes specified for each stage. Nowhere is the corporeality of learning, once signified in the use of the term 'habit', given any mention. Syllabus documents instead place emphasis on intended student outcomes and fail to detail the pedagogy required to achieve these.

## WRITING WITH LITTLE AFFECT/EFFECT

As with the kindergarten teachers discussed in the previous chapter, Sally also provided samples of students' work representative of an above average, average and below average standard. The following texts are the first drafts of these students' recounts of the ANZAC ceremony that were later rewritten for display in the classroom. The first of these texts (Figure 10), which Sally felt demonstrated an above average standard, was written by Nicole who, as with the other students

whose work is considered here, was of an Anglo-Australian background. Nicole completed the task as required: commencing with the statement supplied by Sally, making reference to the eleven dot points and concluding with the evaluative comment that was modelled on the board. The only changes Nicole made to this text before rewriting her final copy were those provided by Sally, which are shown on the text. Yet, there was considerably more work which needed to be done. Given Sally regarded Nicole's work as being above average, the problems with her text were probably replicated in less able students' efforts. Kimberley's and Craig's texts, discussed below, demonstrate this was the case. What characterises Nicole's text is the way in which it reads as a list of points. While recounts have this tendency and it is exacerbated by the ceremony simply presented as a series of steps in a process, there is very little difference between the outline on the board and what Nicole produced in her book. With greater time devoted to teaching this style of writing, Sally could have encouraged students to increase the complexity of their texts using compound and complex sentences and descriptive elements to provide elaboration. In this way they may have achieved more than simply replicating the outline in sentence form. None of this was considered and Nicole was left to rewrite her text and include Sally's corrections to complete the work on writing a recount. Given Sally's concluding comment of "Excellent Work" and three achievement stamps, Nicole was no doubt satisfied with her result, unaware of strategies to improve her work and the errors that remained unchecked such as the omission of 'for' in the last sentence, which places a different slant on the ANZAC ceremony.

The point here is not to provide a detailed analysis of Nicole's work. Rather, the focus is whether the bodily dimensions of learning are given consideration in Sally's pedagogy and the implications of this for her students. Nicole didn't simply need to be more aware of the features required to write a recount, she needed to practise them in an appropriately scaffolded and systematic manner until she was able to incorporate them into her writing to produce the required textual form and to be able to effectively edit her work. Much of this process is reliant upon her having already habituated the necessary handwriting, spelling and punctuation skills in addition to possessing the requisite syntactic understanding.

Despite its limitations Nicole's work was an example of one of the better recounts written by 3R. Kimberley's text (Figure 11) is far less competent yet was judged by Sally to be representative of the average standard of work within the class. Kimberley's text demonstrates that generally she followed Sally's instructions. She began with the opening sentence provided on the board, referred to most of the points and concluded with the evaluative comment, though she doesn't include an explanation. In Kimberley's text, however, there is even less elaboration of events. Also, Kimberley displays far less skill than Nicole in her use of conjunctions simply repeating 'then'; a problem Sally doesn't point out. Apart from the other numerous difficulties, which are similar but more pronounced than Nicole's, there is the more fundamental problem Kimberley exhibits with spelling,

punctuation and syntax; a bank of skills that by this stage of her learning should be presenting far less difficulty than is evident in her text.

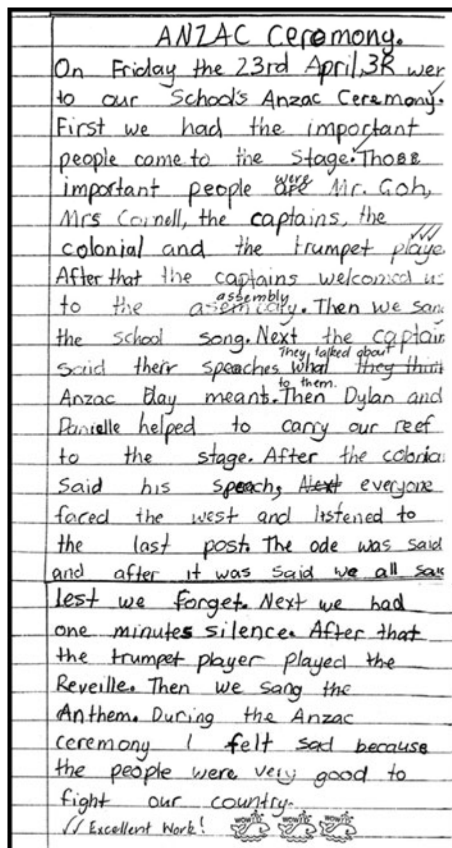

ANZAC Ceremony.
On Friday the 23rd April, 3R wer
to our School's Anzac Ceremony.
First we had the important
people come to the stage. Those
important people are Mr. Coh,
Mrs Cornell, the captains, the
colonial and the trumpet playe
After that the captains welcomed us
to the asembly. Then we san
the school song. Next the captain
said their speaches what they thin
Anzac Day meant. Then Dylan and
Danielle helped to carry our reef
to the stage. After the colonia
Said his speach, Next everyone
faced the west and listened to
the last post. The ode was said
and after it was said we all say
lest we forget. Next we had
one minutes silence. After that
the trumpet player played the
Reveille. Then we sang the
Anthem. During the Anzac
ceremony I felt sad because
the people were very good to
fight our country.
✓✓ Excellent Work!

*Figure 10*

Despite Kimberley's weak spelling, a problem experienced by many other students in 3R, the dictionaries remained in the bookshelf at the back of the room rather than being used as an aid for learning. 3R were not encouraged to use the dictionaries and many would have had difficulties if they had tried to do so because they had simply not habituated the alphabetic and phonemic awareness skills to use them. Many of the difficulties Kimberley experienced relate to similar factors. She hadn't habituated adequate spelling, punctuation and syntactic competence to write with the required ease to allow her to devote a greater degree of concentration to either the text's content or the stylistic demands of this particular text. Together with this, she didn't display any real desire to develop and refine her skills and

there was little encouragement to do so, given her work had been praised by Sally as “Very Good” despite these problems. The affective impact of these factors is evident in Kimberley’s text overall but is most obvious towards the end of the recount with the line “*then the anthem*”. Here, it is not only Kimberley’s poor syntactic ability that is apparent but also a general lack of interest in writing. She no doubt found writing this text a difficult process and simply mentioned this last point without adequately constructing a sentence because she was keen to finish.

Anzac ceremony
On Friday 23rd April, 3R
went to our school's Anzac
Ceremony. The precision of importan
people came to the stage. The
Viskatns. + prefen Welcamed us to
Asmlem. Then We had to sagn
the school sogg. Then the capn
said their speech. Dlyn and Daniel
put down the reef our class
made. Then we Listened to
the colonial speak. And then we
had to look west f the last Pos
Then they said the ode then
we had One minutes silene
Then the Anthem.
During the Anzac ceremony I fe
sad because of all the people in
the army dying. Very Good!

*Figure 11*

The third recount (Figure 12) was written by a boy called Craig who Sally considered typical of the lowest ability range within the class. Craig managed to follow the model provided on the board with few omissions. Rather than referring to the Ode he attempts to write it out but when this proves difficult he puts a line through it and omits it altogether. As with Nicole and Kimberley, Craig also had problems with his use of conjunctions though Sally’s corrections only seem to confirm this problem with the repeated use of ‘then’. Craig’s text also reveals he has considerable difficulties with spelling, punctuation and sentence construction.

Unlike Nicole's and Kimberley's work, however, Sally hasn't included a stamp or comment. She simply corrected aspects of his work, which constitutes the only feedback he received before writing his final draft.

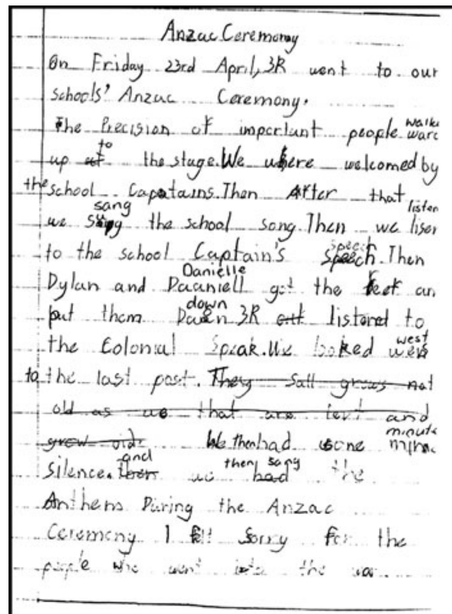

Anzac Ceremony
On Friday 23rd April, 3R went to our
schools' Anzac Ceremony.
The Precision of important people ware
up at the stage. We were welcomed by
school Capatains. Then After that
we sang the school song. Then we liser
to the school Captain's speech. Then
Dylan and Daniell got the feet an
put them Dawn 3R listened to
the Colonial Speak. We boked west
the last post.
We had one minute
Silence. we had the
Anthems. During the Anzac
Ceremony I felt Sorry for the
people who went into the war.

*Figure 12*

While these three students possess different abilities, they also experience some similar problems with writing. Recounts are relatively simple sequential texts that these students would have been writing since kindergarten and yet after four years at school they still have problems and show little initiative to deviate from the model Sally provides by including more detailed description and elaboration of the sequence of events. Kimberley and Craig overuse the conjunction 'then' and all tend to use short simple sentences and have problems with spelling and punctuation. Whether conducting group-based or teacher-directed activities, Sally did not provide sufficient time or attention to the skills involved in writing. This wasn't only a result of her limited knowledge of curriculum content and her own problems with spelling but the pedagogy she employed to teach it. The pedagogic effect of her practice was minimal and students had little possibility of accumulating the necessary affect that would impact upon their learning. This resulted in students' displaying little improvement in their skill base and, as writing was such a chore, they seemed to have little desire to engage in the process and persist with improving their work.

## THE TEACHER AND YEAR 3 STUDENTS AT NORTHSIDE PUBLIC SCHOOL

Julie Costa, the Year 3 teacher at Northside PS, was in her twelfth year of teaching. Northside was her second teaching position and she was in her seventh year at the school. As with Sally, she had previously only taught in the infants years and 3C was her first Year 3 class. 3C had 32 students, 24 of whom had a LBOTE with Korean, Sri Lankan, Indian and Chinese being the main groups and the latter by far the largest. Julie considered her class to be on a par with the other Year 3 classes at Northside explaining, “they need a lot of input. They can’t do things independently, but I wouldn’t really expect them to”. Julie tended to favour a teacher-directed methodology and considered herself “a bit of a traditionalist”. She felt, “Discipline is number one. If you don’t keep them on track, they just do nothing … At the end of the year I like to see a progression and I know that you really have to drag it out of them, they’re not going to give it to you willingly”.

## BACK STRAIGHT, EYES TO THE FRONT

Julie’s classroom was located on the second floor of one of the three main two-storey brick buildings on the Northside site. Being 7 metres by 8 metres it was not as large as Sally’s at Westville. Julie’s classroom didn’t have a bag room; instead students hung their bags on hooks in the hallway and placed their equipment in storage slings positioned on the back of their chairs. The nearest storeroom was located at the end of the hallway. Bookshelves and storage cupboards were located along three of the walls. A large wall display, depicting the theme of current work and samples of students’ writing and craft, decorated the back wall. There were large windows along one side wall with a relatively busy road outside and glass panels along the top of the opposite wall that adjoined the hallway. A disconnected computer was also located in the back corner of the room.

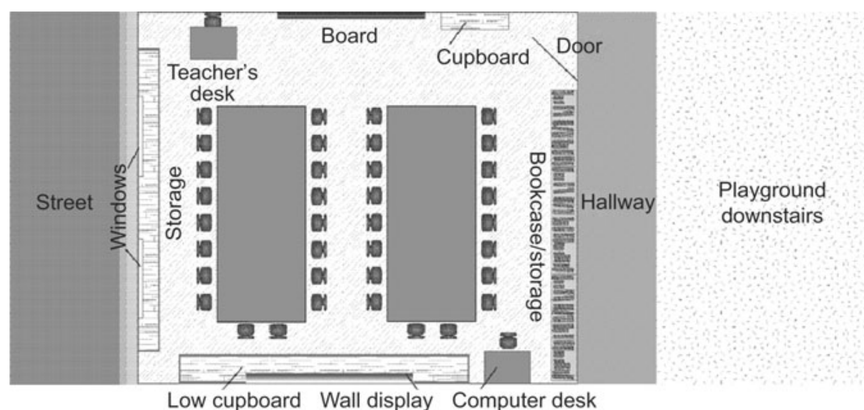



*Figure 13*

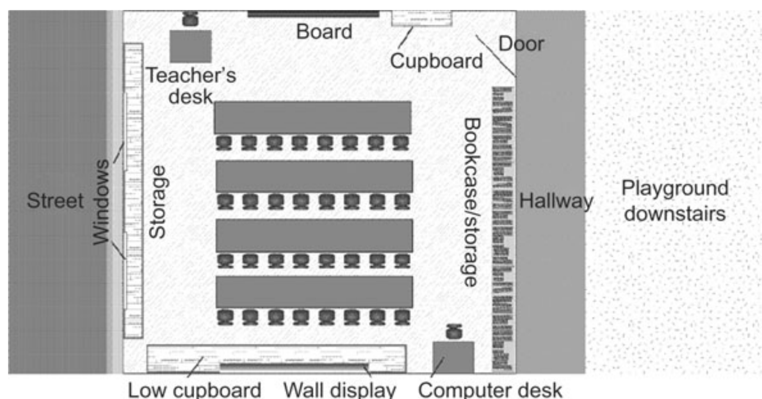



*Figure 14*

Most of the time Julie's classroom was organised in the arrangement shown in Figure 13 but she also used the seating plan in Figure 14. Both of these configurations are representative of a traditional classroom design, indicative of the pedagogy Julie favoured. The first, and more frequently used, had students facing each other, rather than directly fronting the board. Given vectors within the room tended to be centred on the front of the classroom where Julie's desk and the board were located, students' gaze was similarly oriented in this direction. As students were facing one another, competing spatial dynamics were evident though they were less pronounced than in Sally's classroom at Westville. While Sally's students also faced one another rather than fronting the board, they were seated in smaller groups dispersed around the room thus weakening the vectorial pull that directed their gaze towards the front of the classroom. The organisation of desks in Sally's room seemed to prioritise the group over the whole. In Julie's room, the column type arrangement of desks leading up to the blackboard was not in itself a group-based format. It was far more corporate in design, strengthening the vectors drawing students' gaze towards the front of the room where Julie was generally positioned.

The competing dynamics that existed in Sally's classroom meant it functioned as an eclectic space with disciplinary force more reliant on the regimen she imposed than on the spatiality itself. This was less obviously the case in Julie's classroom where a more homogenous spatiality prevailed. This was a result of the more traditional seating arrangements that Julie used as well as due to the limited space within the classroom. Julie had no space for a floor-based teaching area and so 3C spent all their time seated at their desks. They didn't move back and forth between the floor and their desks, consequently movement within the classroom was minimal. Once seated, Julie's students tended to remain so, unless asked to distribute books or other equipment. The prolonged periods that students spent sitting at their desks seemed to promote a learning posture more conducive to scholarly labour. Julie's class, therefore, was making a speedier transition from an

infants style learning format in which a substantial part of the school day is spent sitting on the floor, to one in which lessons are primarily conducted with students at their desks.

## COMPOSED TO LEARN

Constraints on the pedagogic space and Julie's organisation of seating had some impact on the regimen of quiet and control which prevailed within the classroom, yet a range of other factors were also significant. Movement within the room was not only limited by spatial factors but by Julie's preference for a teacher-directed approach to learning that resulted in more sustained periods of time being devoted to each lesson in which students remained in their seats (See Appendix 4.). Julie tended to break the morning session into two main segments, the first and larger segment dealing with writing or other language-based work, the second with maths. In the first segment, time was generally allocated to teacher input, followed by independent work and feedback, though at times she would vary this format to include group-based activities. There was generally only a single focus during this time, such as writing a particular text type, and so 3C tended to spend their morning session engaged in one long desk-based lesson followed by a shorter period of maths. Generally, the language lesson was around 75 minutes in length and, depending on the lesson format, included 45 minutes of teacher input and class discussion followed by 30 minutes of writing time.

In contrast to Year 3 at Westville, most of Julie's students only made one move during the morning session and this was for ability streamed maths groups when students either remained in their own room or moved to another classroom to receive tuition. In some respects this was like a maths version of the Taskforce program at Westville, but students in the different maths groups at Northside tended to receive teacher instruction rather than engage in group or self-directed activities as was the case with Taskforce. Another major difference between the two programs was how they were timetabled. Taskforce occurred four out of five days a week midway through the morning session, which created considerable disruption to classroom routine. At Northside, students moved off to their maths group each day 30 minutes before recess, resulting in far less movement during the morning session and allowing for a longer period of uninterrupted lesson time. Julie's class at Northside, therefore, was far more sedentary during the morning session than the Year 3 class at Westville. Students' bodies were disciplined to sit still and concentrate for prolonged periods during this time, encouraging an enabling docility predisposing their bodies and minds to a regimen for scholarly labour; a docility representing a willingness to learn, rather than simply the capacity to be instructed. 3C did not maintain this degree of composure throughout the day, but they were able to do so when required, especially during the work intensive morning session and to some degree between recess and lunch. As is common practice in primary schools, craft, sport and less taxing activities were scheduled for the afternoon. It was at these times that a more relaxed regimen was

evident with students displaying the appropriate corporeality for the different activities that their learning required.

Together with limiting movement within the room, Julie also strove to keep noise to a minimum particularly when students were engaged in independent writing tasks. She explained that,

> Writing is too complicated to just sit there and blab about it to your friends. I mean you really have to be focused in on what you're doing. So I do tend to try and make them not talk because I don't think you can get anything of any quality unless they're thinking about what they're doing.

Julie seemed to draw the same correlation between a form of bodily composure and the ability to think and write, as did Jane, the kindergarten teacher at Northside. While Jane was more concerned with posture and Julie with silence, they both reflect the belief that concentration is premised on some form of bodily control. The regimen Julie established within her classroom was designed to discipline students to avoid talking when they engaged in writing or any other self-directed task. Talk was still a part of the writing process, but it depended on the sort of writing undertaken. During group-based activities there was plenty of talk, but it was relatively task-specific. Students were focused on what they were required to do in the allotted time and engaged in little unrelated chatter. Although Julie allowed talk at these times, she still kept a check on students, monitoring noise levels so the class didn't become unruly and could participate effectively in the group tasks.

Talk was also kept to a minimum given the way Julie structured much of her teaching. A considerable portion of the morning session involved Julie explaining and discussing an aspect of work with the class. Talk at this time typically involved a question/answer format, interspersed with explanation and elaboration provided by Julie and supplemented by students. The dominance of this pedagogic mode within Julie's practice, and the parameters it placed upon talk within the classroom, seemed to instil in students an understanding of the role and appropriateness of talk within their classroom routine. Julie also organised students' seating within the room to help maintain this level of quiet and order. She explained how she was constantly moving them, looking for a productive space and pointed out, "I've always tried to allow children to sit next to someone that they like, [but] having them sit next to someone they're too comfortable with is very fraught". Julie was primarily concerned with the extent to which students applied themselves to their work. While she encouraged good working relationships between students, she didn't want over-familiarity to impede learning. To Julie the ability to learn was dependent on self-discipline and she saw herself as responsible for instilling this capacity within students through an emphasis on quiet and control within the classroom. It was Julie's preference for teacher-directed learning that largely contributed to her establishing this regime within the classroom. She was generally positioned at the front of the room for a large portion of each lesson and students' attention was drawn towards her. Given this pedagogic mode and the arrangement of desks within the room, Julie was constantly monitoring students' contribution to

and involvement in the lesson. Unlike group-based learning with a more dispersed arrangement of desks where the teacher tends to focus on one group or one individual at a time, the teacher-directed methodology that dominated Julie's practice allowed her to maintain a more constant supervision of the class. Together with the particular spatiality of the room, Julie's pedagogy cast a 'panoptic veil' over students, engendering a disposition for concentration and application to work. When they were required to work independently and Julie moved around the room to provide assistance, the residual effect of this methodology was apparent. Students were quiet and composed, generally giving their full attention to their work and, in capacitating students' bodies for learning, this disciplinary force also contributed to their desire to engage in work.

## TIME TO LEARN

One of the features of Julie's approach to implementing the curriculum was the amount of time she devoted to topics and to teaching the structural and grammatical features of different text types. Julie tended to spend a whole term of ten weeks on one topic. Each unit of work had a focus text type and so a term would be spent, generally on a daily basis, working on both theme-based subject content and aspects of writing. By the end of a term, the intention was that students would have a good command of content knowledge and be proficient in writing a specific type of text. Julie also taught a concurrent novel-based unit of work. Apart from reading and discussing the novel as a class, the text was used as the stimulus to teach literary aspects of language and to focus on spelling, punctuation and syntax. Julie spent concentrated periods of time on a regular basis teaching students how to write. She explained that,

> If you treat something one day, don't think, "Yeh, I've done that so I don't have to do that again". You have to revisit everything all the time whenever you can. Consistency, just keep going over and over things until they get it. Never assume just because you've taught it, that it has actually gone in.

As with Sally, Julie had a limited knowledge of grammar and textual form and was new to teaching Year 3 after having spent most of her previous years teaching in the infants school. Despite these similarities, the two teachers differed markedly in their approach to teaching writing. Julie had applied herself far more to expanding her knowledge of grammar, but more significant was how she approached teaching it. She gave repetitive treatment to the knowledge and skills she was targeting. Her methodology utilised a form of drill and practice as not mere simplistic repetition but in a similar way to Jane, wherein knowledge and skills were approached in a staged and appropriately scaffolded manner.

Julie's practice seemed to be guided by this principle and so, while she didn't display any great understanding of language, what she did know was taught effectively. After an initial period at the beginning of the year that she devoted to intensive skill development because she felt her class lacked many of the skills required for Year 3, 3C began their first topic on Early Explorers. The class spent

time recounting these explorers' lives and their famous journeys, simultaneously focusing on how to write a recount, the same type of text Sally had worked on with her class at Westville. During one lesson, information was recorded on the board and linked to stages of what was referred to as a *factual recount*. There was a poster beside the board detailing the structure of this text type, and the lesson content had been written down on the board to equate with the different stages specified on the poster. Students also undertook a comprehension exercise with the aim of supplying them with additional content for writing a recount in a future lesson. After providing a link with the previous day's work, Julie commenced the exercise with the class. The information that students were given contained some difficult vocabulary and Julie used a three-stage approach to reading the text, beginning with students' own silent reading, followed by her reading the passage to the class and finally having the class as a whole read the passage out aloud. During the first reading Julie had students circle any words they didn't understand. Following the third reading, these words were discussed, with Julie asking students if the text provided any clues to their meaning. With students able to arrive at definitions without needing to consult a dictionary, Julie then proceeded to model the process involved in answering the comprehension questions. Her intention was to provide students with a strategy to better access the text, making them aware that questions are generally organised so that they first relate to information at the beginning of a passage and then progress in a relatively orderly fashion. Julie also discussed how to identify key words in a question and to then locate where these were found in the text, a useful scanning technique in answering questions. Students used both these strategies to answer the first question, but Julie wasn't satisfied with their one-word responses and asked them to answer in full sentences. Class members provided examples and Julie pointed out how part of the question was used in the answer. She also discussed the use of past tense and sentence structure. After this short explanation and copying the answer in their books as a model, they continued answering the remaining questions independently with Julie moving around the room monitoring their progress.

This process of reading, discussing the text and explaining how to answer the questions was quite involved comprising 45 minutes of lesson time. Julie allowed students a considerable amount of time to complete the exercise. Although all questions required students to locate information in the text, some demanded extrapolation and far more than a simple one-sentence response. If Julie thought a question was posing difficulty she discussed it with the class as a whole and then allowed them to return to their work. As students completed the task, they placed their opened books on Julie's desk and then continued on with one of the range of extension exercises she had in a folder at the side of the room or read a book or their class novel. Even with students finishing at different intervals there was little noise. They were self-directed and, due to the regimen that existed within the room and the discipline it instilled, they routinely settled into the procedure they were required to follow on completing work without disturbing others who were still working. Julie called a halt to the activity after students had spent an additional 30 minutes writing after recess but pointed out,

> There are always three, four or five who still don't get it done in that time. Friday afternoon's our catch-up afternoon. I hand out all the work that isn't completed and make them do it and children who've finished; they get rewarded and have free time.

This practice provided an additional incentive to students to complete their work, not only because they would be rewarded if they did so, but there was an expectation that work had to be completed and completed well. For 3C there was a requirement that work should demonstrate effort and application and praise was not forthcoming unless this was evident: "Whatever you expect of them, that's what they'll give you, I think. That's why I say 'No, go back and do your full stops, go back and fill in the capital letters. Your spelling is just atrocious, go back and fix it up".

Although this comprehension exercise didn't focus specifically on writing a recount, it provides some insight into how Julie approached teaching the content which would form the basis of the text students would write in a future lesson. Her detailed and carefully staged approach to teaching content knowledge and relating it to a specific textual form was also demonstrated in another lesson. On this occasion the class was studying another topic on Australian Reptiles and the focus text type was a descriptive text the syllabus referred to as an information report. Students focused on the appearance, habitat and behaviour of reptiles such as lizards, snakes, crocodiles and turtles, a course of study that lent itself to writing this type of text. By this time the class had already spent four weeks on this topic reading and writing a number of information reports on different reptiles. Julie commenced this particular lesson by distributing an information sheet to the class which listed ten key facts about goannas and underneath this it had six empty boxes with the headings: general statement, appearance, habitat, food, movement and other facts. Before referring to this sheet, Julie revised the structural features of an information report with the class, such as how it might start and the categories of information that might form the separate paragraphs in this type of text. Julie then nominated students to read through the key facts on the sheet, one at a time, and to decide the category of information to which each fact belonged. This process was conducted verbally with no writing at this stage. When the class had finished categorising each point, a procedure that had also included discussion of difficult vocabulary, Julie asked students to write these facts into their appropriate boxes.

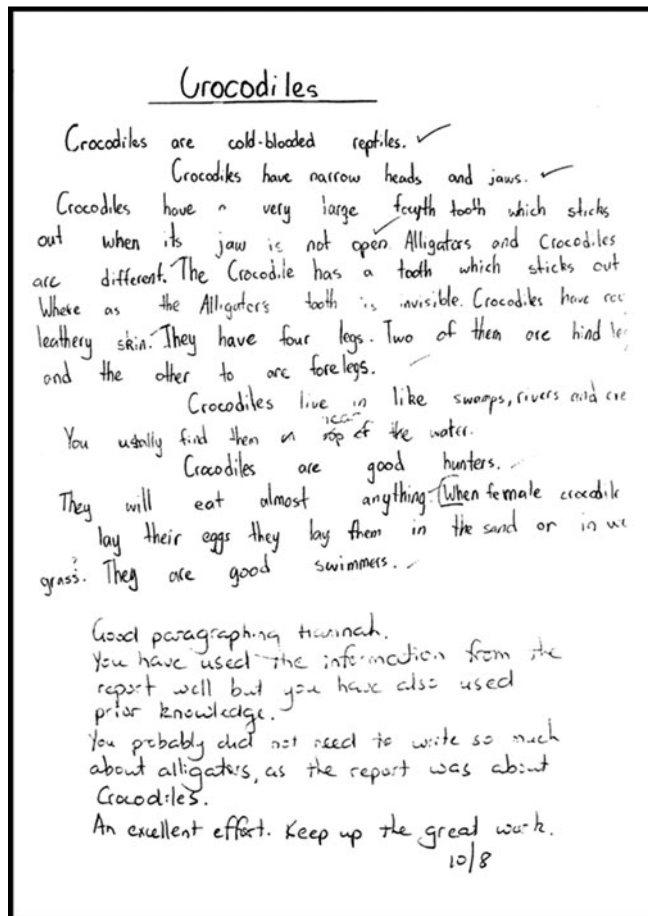
When the class had finished this task, Julie explained how they would now be using this information to write an information report about goannas with each of the boxes representing a separate paragraph. As the facts were written in point form rather than sentences, Julie helped the class construct sentences from these points and to draw on any other information that might be relevant from their own reading or from previous lessons to include in their report, recording examples on the board. She also encouraged students to use technical terms from their reading rather than to simply rely on what was provided in the facts listed on the sheet. Finally, after a reminder to indent their paragraphs, Julie gave 3C 40 minutes to

write their own report. During this time she moved around the room assisting students with their work. A couple of students were asked to start again because she felt their first attempt wasn't adequate. Students consulted the dictionaries on their desks to check spelling and the meaning of words. While students were writing, Julie insisted on absolute quiet. At one point a couple of students engaged in quiet chatter but were reprimanded with the comment, "Work doesn't happen with noise". When students began to finish their reports they left their books on their desks and, in the same manner as when students had completed the reading comprehension exercise, proceeded to read or commence other activities. As Julie became aware that students had completed their work she read through their finished product offering advice and having them make corrections if necessary. Julie devoted 75 minutes to this lesson; 35 minutes for teacher explanation and 40 minutes for writing. Julie monitored students' progress when writing, maintaining strict control over noise in the room and 3C's application to the task. A real ethos of work pervaded the room with students focusing on their own writing and completing the report as it had been explained. This was only one of a number of reports that 3C wrote on this topic during the term to reinforce their understanding of the structure and language of this type of text.

## WRITING TO LEARN AND ACCUMULATING KNOWLEDGE

Julie also supplied samples of some of her students' writing, which were first drafts of reports written very early during their unit of work on reptiles. The first of these texts (Figure 15) was a report on crocodiles written by Hannah, an Anglo-Australian girl Julie felt was performing at an above-average level. Students wrote these drafts following a similar scaffolded approach to that outlined above. Hannah commenced her report with a short classificatory statement and effectively organised information into paragraphs about appearance, habitat and behaviour. There are a couple of errors and a lapse into more spoken-like language towards the end, but generally the text is quite well written with some well-formed complex sentences. It would have been useful for Julie to mention the need to use pronouns to refer to the topic in her comments but this was something the class as a whole focused on in other reports written later in the term. Julie's praise is quite measured, supplying feedback and congratulating her efforts. The second text (Figure 16) was written by Mark, another Anglo-Australian student whose work was representative of an average standard within the class. Mark's text is much shorter than Hannah's and not as well organised. His sentence structure lacks the complexity of Hannah's text with a tendency to rely on often poorly constructed simple and compound sentences. There are also three spelling errors. Julie's comments provide a balance of constructive criticism and praise encouraging Mark to improve his paragraph organisation. The work representative of a below-average standard was written by another Anglo-Australian student named Ben whose report (Figure 17) was far less cohesive than those written by his two classmates. Although students could draw on prior knowledge to write their report on crocodiles, the main source of information was a set of key facts. Ben relied too

heavily on this stimulus and his text reads like a list of points rather than a report. He also made a number of spelling mistakes, most of which were corrected by Julie, and he repeatedly neglected to use capital letters to begin sentences, which was corrected in the text and commented upon by Julie at the end of the report. Unlike Hannah and Mark, Ben was yet to habituate these mechanical aspects of the writing process which impacted upon his ability to focus on the content of his writing and the text's particular stylistic features. He also displayed less control with his handwriting than that exhibited by his two classmates. Despite these difficulties, he organised his work relatively well, especially given this was quite an early example of his work on report writing.



Crocodiles

Crocodiles are cold-blooded reptiles.
Crocodiles have narrow heads and jaws.
Crocodiles have a very large fourth tooth which sticks out when its jaw is not open. Alligators and Crocodiles are different. The Crocodile has a tooth which sticks out where as the Alligator's tooth is invisible. Crocodiles have ro leathery skin. They have four legs. Two of them are hind le and the other to are fore legs.
Crocodiles live in like swamps, rivers and cre
You usally find them on near top of the water.
Crocodiles are good hunters.
They will eat almost anything. When female crocodile lay their eggs they lay them in the sand or in we grass. They are good swimmers.

Good paragraphing Hannah.
You have used the information from the report well but you have also used prior knowledge.
You probably did not need to write so much about alligators, as the report was about Crocodiles.
An excellent effort. Keep up the great work.
10/8

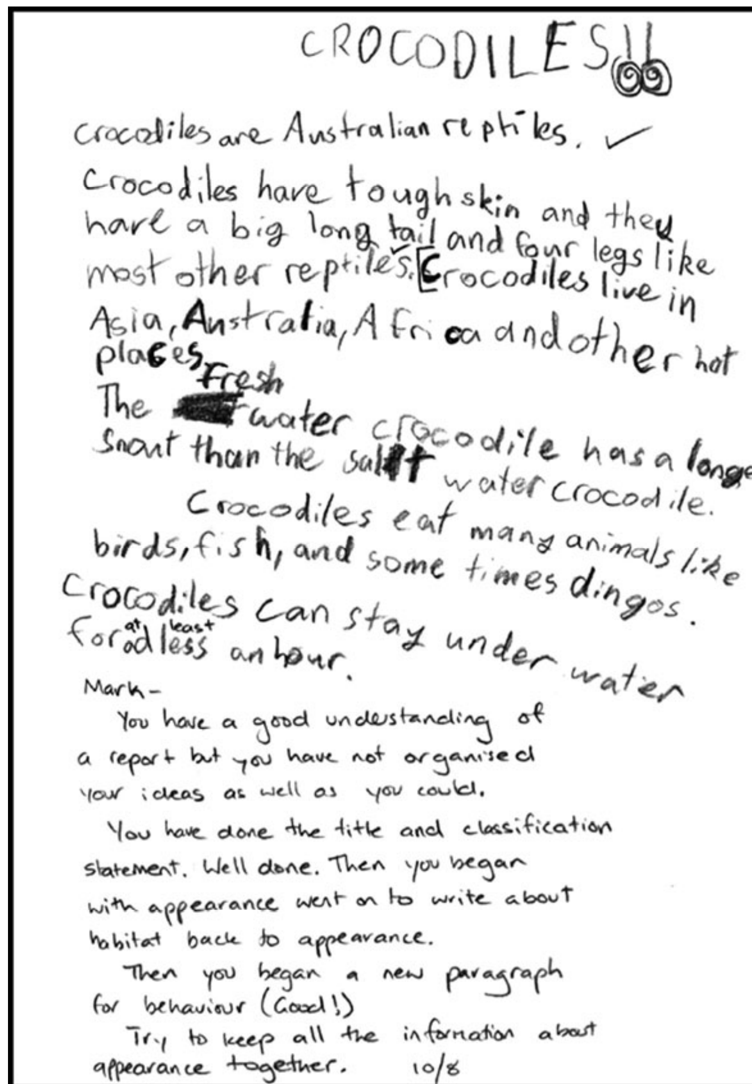
*Figure 15*

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

There are marked differences between Julie's and Sally's approaches to teaching their students how to write. This was most obvious in the amount of time and detail they devoted to teaching aspects of the curriculum. Sally's lessons tended to be very short with her only spending time on one or two days to teach a particular text type before moving on to new work. Julie spent a whole term teaching students how to write a text type, integrating a treatment of its structure and, to some degree, its grammar with the content of the unit on which the class was working. The brevity with which Sally approached teaching different styles of writing was to some extent a function of her limited understanding of text and grammar. Julie, however, also lacked experience and expertise in this area and, while she may have applied herself far more than Sally in acquiring a knowledge of the curriculum, the time and detail she gave to teaching it is more a product of her pedagogic approach than simply her grasp of the curriculum content. A feature of Julie's teaching methodology was her iterative treatment of content knowledge and skills. There was an elaborated drill component to her teaching whereby she carefully scaffolded the concepts and skills she introduced with a resultant maximisation of pedagogic affect. Students acquired a familiarity with what was taught, which was as much corporeal as it was cognitive. Central to Julie's approach was the emphasis she placed on teacher direction. A substantial proportion of Julie's lessons were devoted to explanation whereby a Vygotskyian principle of supporting students' learning to assist them achieve independence was evident. 3C took an interest in writing because they knew what to do. Even students such as Ben, who was experiencing difficulties with writing, applied themselves to their work. This was not only because Julie had appropriately scaffolded the steps involved in completing a task, her students had been invested with a discipline for scholarly labour through the regimen she had established in the classroom. Her insistence on quiet and the need to apply effort in completing work ensured students undertook tasks in a diligent manner.

In Sally's classroom a different ethos prevailed. There was not the same compulsion for students to apply themselves to their writing. Sally was more lenient about talk and movement within her classroom and students generally displayed a restlessness and inability to concentrate when required to focus on a task for any length of time. They seemed to lack the necessary bodily disposition for literate practice which Sally's pedagogy had little effect in changing. In tending to favour group-based and self-directed learning over a more teacher-directed pedagogy, Sally placed a great deal of responsibility on students for their own learning. At this stage of their education, however, they lacked not only the skills necessary for more independent inquiry, but also the discipline for academic endeavour. Without these capacities it is understandable that many students in the class simply lacked any real desire to engage in the writing process. Their desires were often directed elsewhere, as their habitus was not predisposed to the practice of writing or scholarly labour more generally. 3R, therefore, were far less prepared than 3C to make the transition into upper primary and beyond, at which point any

interventions to alter their existing work practices and competence in writing would need to be considerable to impact upon the dispositions already formed in their first four years at school.



CROCODILES!!

crocodiles are Australian reptiles. ✓

Crocodiles have tough skin and they have a big long tail and four legs like most other reptiles. Crocodiles live in Asia, Australia, Africa and other hot places.

The Fresh water crocodile has a longer snout than the salt water crocodile.

Crocodiles eat many animals like birds, fish, and some times dingos.

Crocodiles can stay under water for at least an hour.

Mark –

You have a good understanding of a report but you have not organised your ideas as well as you could.

You have done the title and classification statement. Well done. Then you began with appearance went on to write about habitat back to appearance.

Then you began a new paragraph for behaviour (Good!)

Try to keep all the information about appearance together. 10/8

*Figure 16*

Crocodile
CrocoDilans are cold blooded reptiles ✓
Crocodiles have rough skin. They have strong jawes. The eyes are on top of there eir head. ✓
Crocodiles live in hot places they are found in Asia and Australa. They like to live on the a sand banks. ✓
Crocodiles are meat eaterg.
Crocodiles close cloes there eir nostrales nostrils for one how to help them stay underwater.
Crocodiles sun backe so they Keep there eir blood warmed up and Wh wen they get too hot they open there eir mothe mouth so the hot ear air comes out.

A good effort Ben.
You needed just a little help to complete this.
You tried hard to re-write the report into your own words
You still are forgetting capital letters to begin a new sentence and you are experimenting with paragraphing.
10/8

*Figure 17*

CHAPTER 6

# HABITUATED BODIES: ESTABLISHED ROUTINES OF PRACTICE

> There are children who have already given up before they come to you and you don't know at what stage the shutters have come down and getting a shutter up that's come down is really hard.
>
> Year 5 teacher, Westville Public School
>
> I find in an OC class, in this group in particular, the average child is more diligent – not brighter, not more analytical, but more diligent. They're willing to listen to what you have to say and more willing to ask for help.
>
> Year 5 teacher, Northside Public School

In the final years of primary school education it is assumed students have acquired considerable mastery of the writing process in preparation for the more complex engagement with disciplinary knowledge at a secondary level. In addition to acquiring these skills, students have also embodied certain dispositions towards learning, which by this stage of their schooling are quite firmly entrenched. This is evident in the remarks of the two Year 5 teachers above, yet the learning dispositions of the students in each of these teacher's classes were quite different. The Westville PS teacher indicates there were children in her class who seemed to lack any real desire for learning and that by Year 5 had already "given up" on school. On the other hand the Northside PS teacher felt her students exhibited a keen desire to learn. As Opportunity Class (OC) students they were considered intellectually gifted, but it is interesting that this teacher saw them as "not brighter, not more analytical, but more *diligent*", feeling they applied themselves to work with a "will" to succeed. Apart from the considerable difference in ability between these two classes, there was also significant variation in their socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds. While these factors had a marked impact on their already quite firmly habituated bodies, so too did their teachers' pedagogy. In this chapter the focus moves to an examination of Year 5 and the pedagogy these two teachers practised which seemed to engender quite different dispositions to learning in the students they taught.

## THE YEAR 5 TEACHER AND STUDENTS AT WESTVILLE PUBLIC SCHOOL

Margaret Davies, the Year 5 teacher at Westville Public School, was in her tenth year of teaching. She had spent her first years in the profession as a casual teacher in a range of schools teaching different year groups. During her five years as a

permanent teacher at Westville she had mainly taught students aged 11/12 years in Years 5 or 6. Margaret was 51 and having left school early worked as a legal secretary and then in her own business before deciding later in life to train as a teacher. 5D, Margaret's class at Westville, had 32 students. Just over 50 percent were from a LBOTE with the main ethnic groups being Filipino, Tongan and Samoan. There was also one Chinese, one Indian and six Aboriginal children in the class. A number of students in 5D had behavioural problems; one with a mild intellectual disability and two boys with Acquired Deficiency Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD). Overall 5D was quite a difficult class and many students had difficulties with their learning especially reading and writing. In discussing her approach to teaching Margaret emphasised the pastoral aspect of education remarking, "I like to think of the class as a family type of thing, that we're together for a year and during that time we support each other and they support me in the same way that I support them…" .

## THERE'S NO SPACE LIKE HOME

Margaret's classroom was located on the second level of a two-storey building on the Westville site. There was no separate store or bag room, although storage space was provided in cupboards behind the sliding blackboards at the front of the room. While there were bag hooks in the hallway outside the room, students chose to bring their bags into class, placing them under their desks. Margaret's room was slightly larger than Sally's, the Year 3 teacher at Westville, being 8.5 metres by 7.5 metres. On most occasions, students' desks were organised in three long rows (Figure 18) seating approximately ten or eleven students in each. This design ensured students were all positioned in a central position within the room, facing the blackboard. Open space within the room was located on the margins, but for most of the year there was considerable clutter around the perimeter of the classroom with boxes of books and other teaching resources taking up much of the space. Because of this, movement within the room was quite restricted. Students spent most of their time seated at their desks, though during Taskforce[i] they worked in groups and a small proportion of the class used what floor space was available to complete their work. This arrangement of desks not only restricted students' movement within the room, it also meant that Margaret had difficulty moving freely between rows to assist students. While the arrangement of desks in Figure 19 was far more suited to a group-work format, Margaret rarely organised the room in this way. Her organisation of the pedagogic space suggested she favoured a more traditional teaching style. Group-work may have been used during Taskforce but at other times lessons tended to be teacher-directed. Margaret, however, was quite critical of traditional teaching practice, explaining that,

> If you deliver your lesson in a traditional teacher way to 32 kids, some of them will pick it up straight away; some of them will need constant reviewing and others it will still be a mystery way after. So, I mean it may

seem that there's a lot of redundancy in going around to 30 odd different kids at different times teaching the same thing, but for the children I think it's more effective.

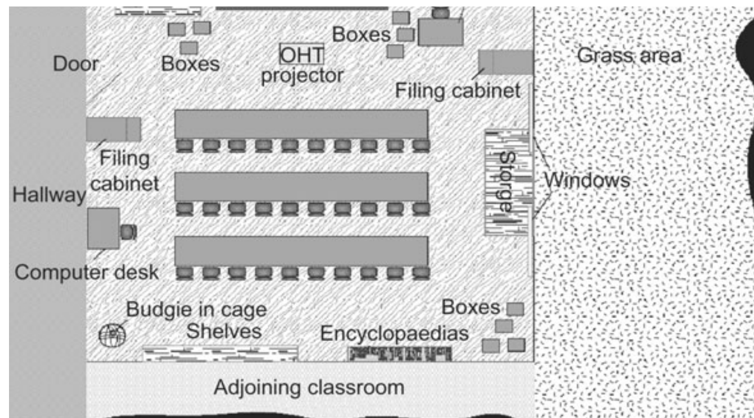



*Figure 18*

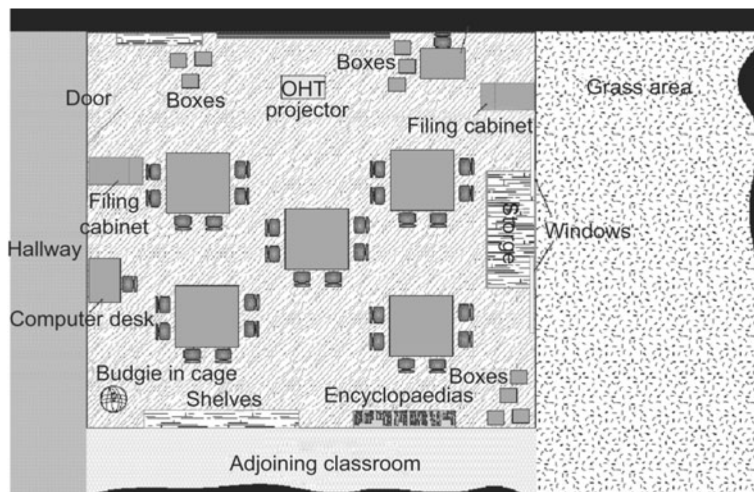



*Figure 19*

Margaret may have favoured individual and group-based learning, but her classroom design was not really conducive to these teaching styles. Rather than encouraging a more collaborative learning environment by using a group-based format, the seating arrangement she favoured directed vectors within the room

towards the front where the blackboard was located, and where an overhead projector was positioned from where she marked the roll and conducted many of her lessons. Margaret's desk was also located in the front right-hand corner of the room, though she tended to use it more for storage space. To some extent the organisation of Margaret's classroom would suggest its spatiality exerted considerable disciplinary force, but other aspects of this pedagogic space countered this, minimising the regulative intensity of its design. In the back corner of the classroom there was a budgie in a cage – the bird was the class pet. During lessons it would chirp softly and play with a bell. Alongside the budgie was a desk with a computer that was permanently switched on and periodically emitted an electronic melody when not in use. Students seemed unperturbed by these noises which contributed to a relaxed and homely atmosphere within the room. Margaret may have used a traditional seating arrangement, but the disciplinary force within the room seemed minimal given the homely ambience the space evoked.

## RELAXED AND COMFORTABLE: PRIVILEGING THE PASTORAL

Together with the sounds of the budgie and the computer, other factors contributed to the room's relaxed and homely ambience. Not only was much of its perimeter lined with boxes of teaching resources and other paraphernalia, students' desks were covered with a range of personal knickknacks such as novelty stationery items with various gadgets attached and different types of drink bottles. With this accumulation of items on students' desks and the homely atmosphere evoked by the class pet and the beep and hum of the computer, the classroom seemed to exude comfort, which may have been intentional on Margaret's part. Given the difficult nature of 5D, she may have sought to achieve a "family" atmosphere within the room in an effort to cater for the pastoral needs of her students, and so, a relaxed disciplinary code governed conduct within the room. Margaret was lenient towards desk clutter and her students' use of these items during class time. She was also happy for students to work on the floor during Taskforce activities, but commented: "I don't think they do their best work that way because the posture is not right. But it's probably the posture that they use when they're watching television at home or a video or something like that. I think as long as the work is reasonably neat, it's OK". While Margaret would have preferred her students to work at their desks, she was quite prepared to make allowances for those who felt more comfortable on the floor. Yet the students who regularly opted for this location seemed to lack the discipline to apply themselves to their work in a studious fashion. Many had still not acquired the requisite embodiment for scholarly labour and had simply transferred their domestic habitus to the classroom environment with the ostensive constraints of this academic milieu having minimal impact upon their bodies. There was little imperative for greater corporeal discipline and, without this, students were not inclined to apply themselves to their work, particularly during activities which required them to write. It was not only the students working on the floor who seemed to lack the bodily capacity for literate practice. Many of the students who remained seated at their desks were

constantly rocking back and forth on their chairs and playing with the paraphernalia on their desks. Many seemed unable to concentrate on their work for sustained periods. Short bursts of activity were interspersed with longer periods of talk and/or fidgeting.

Talk didn't appear to concern Margaret. When she was addressing the class, students were generally more focused and there was minimal chatter. At times the class took a while to settle down and rather than raise her voice, she would simply wait for quiet. Yet, when students were working on an individual task or group activity, there was always a hum in the room that could become quite loud. Margaret's tolerance for this level of noise seemed related to her desire to foster a friendly and relaxed atmosphere, a factor which also influenced her approach to seating in the room. As with Sally teaching Year 3 at Westville, Margaret used a kind of 'seat lotto' system where once a week names were drawn at random and children sat with a variety of other children. Like Sally, Margaret arranged seating this way to encourage students to form friendships and felt talk played an important role in allowing these bonds to develop. The positioning of students, though, was neither completely random nor simply left up to the students to determine. Albeit reluctantly, Margaret intervened at times to prevent conflict between students. Overall though she privileged the pastoral over the academic when positioning students and this had a considerable impact upon classroom regimen with sociality rather than scholarship shaping students' behaviour.

This pattern of behaviour was particularly characteristic of work during the Taskforce program which 5D undertook for 45 minutes each morning, four days a week immediately following roll call. Approximately half of the class moved off to other classrooms for a range of graded activities. In Margaret's classroom students worked at their own pace either independently or in groups on five different tasks set out on study guide sheets designed for the lower spectrum of the grade. While students worked, Margaret progressed around the room providing assistance. During a considerable proportion of this time students worked without teacher support and with minimal supervision. She pointed out, "There are occasions when the children are *soloing* for 15–20 minutes before I actually start to do my rounds". Margaret would spend a couple of minutes with each student during the 45-minute session, but there were times when several students didn't receive any personal tuition. There was an assumption that students would simply continue working and receive assistance in the next session. Yet, without constant teacher supervision, and given many lacked the necessary discipline to work independently, little work was completed. Students were often distracted and only intermittently applied themselves. At times they were reminded to keep on task and to lessen the noise but these reprimands had minimal impact. In one session students seemed particularly distracted. Over the 45-minute period only six students in the class were observed doing any sustained work, all of whom were sitting towards the front of the room. Despite the obvious lack of application, Margaret felt this approach was of benefit to her students as it allowed her to spend "one-on-one" time with them. She explained, "You've got to spend a lot of individual time with them if you can because they're the sort of kids that when your back's turned

they'll stop work". Yet this comment attests more to her students' lack of ability to work independently than the effectiveness of this pedagogic mode. The one-on-one time she spent with students was overshadowed by the greater proportion of time allocated to students "soloing", time in which Margaret was unable to supervise the rest of the class.

The panoptic force generated by this practice was minimal contributing to the relaxed regimen within the room. Students felt little compulsion to engage in work with any degree of rigour, not as a conscious act of disobedience but simply because this was the regular mode of practice within the room. Students commenced most days this way and had simply become accustomed to working at this pace; combining work with regular breaks and chatter and had habituated a disinclination for sustained scholarly engagement. Many students worked in groups because they felt comfortable with that arrangement, but Margaret had some misgivings about students' reliance on their peers because she felt it put them at a disadvantage during exam time when they had to work independently. The affective impact of these work practices upon students' bodies seemed to either cultivate or simply confirm a habitus that was not disposed towards independent academic endeavour. Students in 5D generally lacked the bodily capacity to work for sustained periods of time on a task. For those children who Margaret viewed as having "already given up", the relaxed regimen within the classroom may have made them feel comfortable, but it seemed to have little effect on improving their application to work and encouraged a culture of schooling that emphasised pastoral over academic concerns.

## A LACK OF CONCENTRATION

A considerable amount of the time in which 5D learnt to write was undertaken within the framework of the school's Taskforce program. While the focus was general literacy skills, most activities involved some form of writing, albeit at times simply one-word responses. Students were engaged in a range of different types of tasks during this time and so, despite the similar ability of each group in any one classroom, students did not undertake similar work on a corporate basis under the direction of the teacher. Instead, as Margaret felt a further gradation was required with texts and tasks designed to match each child's specific literacy level, they worked on one of five different study guides based on five different books. Despite this, there was some commonality in the types of tasks across the study guides involving comprehension questions, vocabulary and research tasks; the latter requiring students to work in the school library. The students in Margaret's Taskforce class were the least able across the grade but were given few guidelines on writing. The library group for example simply had to "find out" information about their topic and present it as a "mini-project". During this time students worked on completing their study guides and waited for Margaret to provide assistance as she moved around the room offering advice. Those in the library worked unassisted and were minimally supervised by the school librarian. On most days a member of the school's support staff also provided assistance, but none of

these personnel had teaching qualifications. Their role was more to monitor behaviour and ensure students remained on task. They didn't have the expertise to advise students on their writing beyond correcting spelling or punctuation errors and encouraging neat work. A number of parent helpers also assisted Margaret in the classroom, though again none had teaching qualifications or relevant training and Margaret had doubts about their effectiveness. The use of parent helpers to assist with reading is a common practice in Australian schools, particularly in the early years of school. These helpers generally undertake a short training course before providing support to a classroom teacher. Yet, while they can perform an important role supporting children as they begin to read, it is the teacher rather than a parent helper who needs to guide students in the complex process of learning to write. The pedagogic mode that was employed during Taskforce necessitated some form of teacher support because the bulk of the class was required to work independently while Margaret gave students individual assistance. While relatively ineffectual, given the poor literacy skills of these groups and their difficulty in applying themselves, parent helpers at least ensured there was increased supervision and a greater possibility of students attending to their work.

Margaret made use of one-on-one tuition during Taskforce because she felt it allowed her to target each student's literacy needs. This was also the rationale for the division of her Taskforce class into more finely demarcated ability groups. However, while each student may have had specific difficulties, there was considerable commonality in the tasks she assigned each group and the knowledge and skills required to complete them. It seems unusual, therefore, that Margaret didn't have the class as a whole working on a unit of work which targeted these similar skills so she could have provided direction en masse. This form of instruction doesn't preclude one-on-one tuition for those students who require it; rather, it is simply provided as a supplement to whole class instruction, a technique Julie Costa used effectively with her Year 3 students at Northside. Undertaking work in this way heightens its pedagogic affect in a number of ways. The use of greater teacher direction ensures students are provided with more sustained assistance, which generates a far greater degree of disciplinary force. With its more active teacher surveillance, there is a greater possibility of students remaining on task, instilling a productive docility to attend to their work. Pedagogic affect is also augmented because a teacher can give concentrated time to a specific area of need and develop students' competency before moving on to tasks involving greater complexity rather than students spending time on a range of different tasks targeting different skills. In Margaret's class, however, with minimal treatment of each skill and a variety targeted at any one time, nothing received concentrated examination. Key conceptual information regarding aspects of text and grammar, for example, was embedded in students' study guides. Margaret may have discussed this during her one-on-one sessions but, given the short amount of time she spent with each student, it could not have been examined in any depth and was largely left to students to work out themselves. There was an assumption in simply undertaking these tasks that students were also learning about how to write the different types of texts specified in the syllabus and there was no need for explicit

instruction concerning their structure and grammar. The literacy skills of this Taskforce class were particularly poor, yet Margaret persisted with this study guide approach throughout the year insisting it was a good way "to teach to the level students were at".

This seems like a sound pedagogic practice, but there is a major difference between teaching *to* the level students are at and teaching *from* that level. In the former, activities are designed to meet students' existing level of competence. In the latter, students' ability levels are merely a starting point with teaching geared towards moving beyond this. With 5D the former prevailed and groups didn't appear to make much progress. This was not so much because activities were designed to match students' specific ability levels, as in many respects they didn't cater for them at all. Students' lack of improvement throughout the year was more a product of the pedagogy the program employed that involved students with a poor skill base working at their own pace. The Taskforce class didn't make much progress because to a large extent the impetus to do so was dependent upon students themselves. There was little teacher direction scaffolding their learning to ensure they moved beyond their existing level of achievement and students were not disposed to apply themselves to their work. Without the appropriate habitus and with the combined forces of a pedagogy and classroom regimen that failed to promote this, it is understandable why students' achievement was limited.

## WRITING GAMES

Although the Taskforce program accounted for a considerable amount of the time in which 5D learnt to write, Margaret also conducted lessons outside this time. Most of these lessons focused on writing narratives. Students also wrote other types of texts such as arguments and reports. These, however, were generally in the context of units of work devoted to science, technology and social studies, and disciplinary content rather than the structure and grammar of the texts they were writing was the object of study at these times. Despite the emphasis in the syllabus given to teaching a range of different text types, Margaret did not feel a need to give them concentrated attention, saying: "Well, if it's one of those things that's got a heading and a name I'll introduce it and go through the stages and probably do an example". Margaret felt her teaching of text and grammar more than satisfied the requirements of the Syllabus so she tended to focus on narrative, though similarly with little emphasis on aspects of structure and grammar. In one lesson in which 5D were writing narratives Margaret used a 'Pass-the-Paper' technique, a fun activity rather than a formal treatment of the genre. She commenced by writing the sentence 'It was a dark and stormy night' on the board. Each student wrote this sentence at the top of a blank piece of paper and then, after adding another sentence, passed their paper to their neighbour who would in turn write a sentence. This procedure was followed until the pages were complete. In all, the pages were passed ten times with each of the narratives having twelve discrete sentences commencing with the sentence

supplied by Margaret. The only discussion prior to beginning this activity involved Margaret giving a verbal model of what students might write in the first four or five sentences and to point out that their writing had to be punctuated correctly. There was no discussion of the type of story students could write, such as the way in which the first sentence suggested it would involve suspense or horror and the type of language such a narrative might employ. Neither was there any reference to the generic stages of this textual form which could have scaffolded students' writing of the text, particularly as each narrative was a product of eleven different students' efforts. Instead, students simply read the previous students' sentences and continued the story with another of their own.

Although the class seemed to find this entertaining, many students were confused about what they had to write, making comments such as, "I don't understand this" and "This doesn't make sense". Many found it difficult to make sense of what their classmates had written, particularly given the frequency of spelling, punctuation and syntactic errors which made it difficult for them to write their own sentences. Approaching the ninth sentence Margaret instructed students to start winding up the story and then to draw it to a close with the twelfth. Following this, stories were returned to the first writer of each text to read through and edit, a process which was beyond most students because many had difficulties reading their classmates' writing. Despite this, Margaret continued with this form of peer editing and then selected four students to read out their texts to the class. Each of these examples was a rambling set of often-unconnected sentences, but Margaret only provided positive reinforcement not wanting to detract from the fun nature of the activity. She considered this an effective stimulus for learning, but it merely added to the already relaxed regimen within the room which didn't appear to encourage students to apply themselves to their work.

Another narrative writing activity that Margaret used with 5D was a technique she called 'Grow-a-Story'. This involved her writing two sentences on the board that established a kind of tension on which a story could be based, for example, 'Mark hated music. He wanted to play sport'. Students would then 'grow a story' around these sentences by providing elaboration using a four or five stage approach, repeating these lines and most of what had been written previously until the story was complete. Margaret was observed using this strategy on two occasions. In the first of these in which she modelled the technique, students sat in the limited space on the floor to jointly construct a story, with their responses recorded on the board. Students' suggestions were rarely modified, with Margaret simply acting as a scribe. There was no reference to structural features such as orientation, complication and resolution which could have provided a useful framework for constructing the text. With the joint text completed, students remained on the floor to grow their own story working with a friend, their books in their laps or open on the floor. Many seemed unsure about what to do and with no further guidance showed little interest in writing. Before long the class had become quite disruptive, a situation exacerbated by the cramped seating arrangements, and Margaret moved three students to desks and sent one to

another classroom. After persisting with the activity for a short time, Margaret wound it up and moved on to a music appreciation task which involved students returning to their desks to listen to and discuss some recorded music. On the second occasion in which this activity was observed Margaret followed a similar process of jointly constructing a text using two sentences as a 'story starter'. This time students were seated at their desks but, as they had only just returned from their different Taskforce classes, they tended to be unsettled yet again. Also, as this activity was not part of an ongoing unit of study, no routine had been established to allow students to organise themselves in anticipation of the work that would follow. Margaret instead worked with the class to jointly construct another text and, despite their restlessness, they then attempted to write their own story. Students, however, remained unsettled and talked continually. The chatter only subsided after reprimands from Margaret, but soon increased in volume. After 20 minutes of writing time Margaret drew the activity to a close, asking students to complete their work as a spare-time activity or for homework. There was no other follow up and Margaret switched to a different area of the curriculum with students moving out into the playground to participate in a fitness training exercise.

## STUNTED GROWTH

As with all the teachers involved in this study Margaret provided samples of three students' work, in this case they were narratives written using the 'Grow-a-story' technique. There is no intention here to provide a detailed analysis of the students' writing but rather to use these texts to demonstrate the impact of Margaret's practice on her students' capacity to write. All of the texts from 5D were written by Anglo-Australian students, the first (Figure 20) by a girl named Cassie who Margaret considered to be one of the more able students in the class. Cassie, however, had difficulty using the technique that Margaret had modelled in class. Rather than repeating aspects of the story and building on them, Cassie's four stages represent four separate paragraphs of an ongoing and poorly constructed narrative. There are no comments at the end of the story to explain this or to point out the problems with her text. Rather Margaret provided little written feedback on her students' work and seemed to follow a practice of her students "learning by doing" assuming that they would become proficient writers by simply engaging in the process. By this stage of her learning, however, Cassie had still not mastered elementary aspects of the writing process. Her story reads like a transcribed conversation, though not through any conscious mimicking of this particular style. She simply hasn't progressed to using a more mature form of writing and her story contains many spelling, punctuation and syntactic errors.

My Story

① Cassie Loves running. as well as gymnastis.

② Cassie is joining gym she wants to become the worlds gratst gymnest. Cassie's Parents ~~perants~~ didn't want her to get hurt.

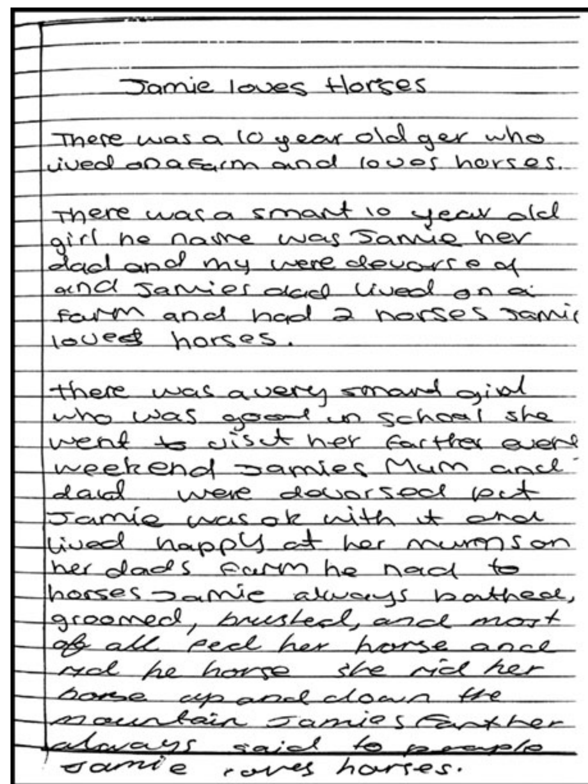
③ Cassie hates music so her mother Put ~~pat~~ her in it. it's so cassie got angrey and Said to her mother "I don't want to do music Can you cross me out pleas" She said "yes". Cassie went to gym She Saw ~~sorr~~ here to bestest friends Brooke and adiba we went and done some walm ups we axd if we can act to geather ~~we~~ they Started to act.

④ ~~wen~~ when she got home her mother had a saprise for her. cassie ~~when~~ went to her back yar She Saw the most butiful thing it was gym ma beam's monkey bars, bar to Do gym Stuff her mother said to Cassie you can get your own

*Figure 20*

Similar problems are evident in the second student's work written by Jamie who Margaret judged to be representative of the average range of ability within 5D. As with Cassie's narrative, Jamie's (Figure 21) was written using the 'Grow-a-Story' technique but, unlike Cassie, she followed Margaret's model repeating and then adding information to develop her story. Jamie's text was written approximately ten weeks after Cassie's. Although following Margaret's model far more closely than Cassie did, Jamie's story is in a sense less of a narrative. Jamie has instead focused on description with little plot development. These different responses suggest the actual aim of 'Grow-a-Story' was not clear to students. The strategy didn't involve explicit reference to the structural features of narratives and so each student's staging of their text was dependent upon how they interpreted Margaret's modelling, a process that was not guided by any objective set of requirements made explicit to students but simply the vicissitudes of the responses students offered to Margaret and which she recorded on the board. Jamie also had other significant problems with writing. As with Cassie, she makes numerous punctuation and grammatical errors. She may have had far less difficulty with spelling, but like her classmate she still hasn't mastered simple punctuation and there is little evidence of her attempting to correct these errors. The practice of editing writing, reading and refining a text during the process of construction is not

simply a mechanical procedure, it is linked to one's desire to write. The greater the desire, the more writers apply themselves to perfecting their text, both correcting errors and manipulating words for effect. Jamie leaves her text largely uncorrected. Given that no routine practice of editing had been established within the class and Margaret rarely checked her students' work outside the Taskforce program, this is understandable. There was nothing compelling Jamie to improve upon this first attempt and she clearly lacked the skills to do so. Instead she left her work as it was, incomplete and largely uncorrected.


Jamie loves Horses

There was a 10 year old ger who
lived on a farm and loves horses.

There was a smart 10 year old
girl he name was Jamie her
dad and my were devorse of
and Jamies dad lived on a
farm and had 2 horses Jamie
loved horses.

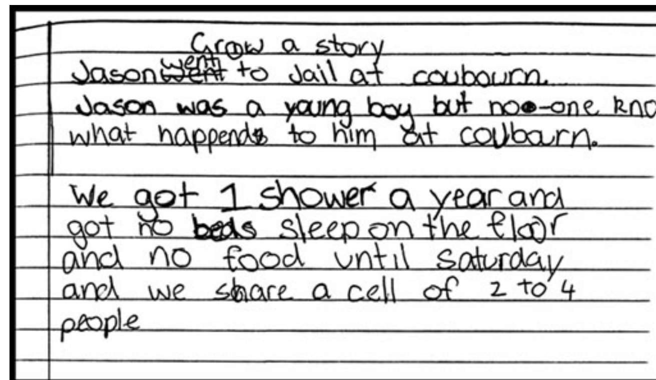
there was a very smard girl
who was good in school she
went to visit her farther every
weekend Jamies Mum and
dad were devorsed but
Jamie was ok with it and
lived happy at her mums on
her dads farm he had to
horses Jamie always bathed,
groomed, brushed, and most
of all feed her horse and
rod he horse she rid her
horse up and down the
mountain Jamies farther
always said to people
Jamie loves horses.

*Figure 21*

The third work sample was written by a boy named Jason who Margaret considered one of the least able students in the class. Figure 22 shows his attempt to 'grow a story'. As with Cassie, Jason seemed to ignore the process of repeating information and then expanding upon it. He simply commenced his story and continued writing. He has spelt most words correctly but his text contains numerous punctuation and grammatical errors. The most noticeable aspect of Jason's text, however, is its length. In the 20 minutes devoted to writing he

managed little more than seven, sparsely written lines. As with Jamie, he made no attempt to expand on this outside class. Not only does his work reflect an even greater lack of interest than does Jamie's, it also demonstrates even less command of the skills and knowledge on which cultivating a desire to write depends.

Cassie, Jamie and Jason all experienced difficulties with writing which neither Taskforce nor lessons with 5D as a whole seemed to have had much impact upon. Although Margaret varied her teaching style, alternating between the approach favoured within Taskforce and a more teacher-directed methodology, her pedagogy lacked affective impact. While there were clearly problems with her neglect of aspects of the curriculum, there were certain features of her pedagogy which were of equal, if not greater, concern. These relate to her surface examination of aspects of writing, glossing over concepts that require iterative and sustained treatment, no matter what the form of delivery. An additional aspect of Margaret's practice that tended to exacerbate these problems, was her reliance on students working independently and for them to shoulder much of the responsibility for their own learning. Clearly 5D was a challenging class but in a room governed by such a relaxed disciplinary code and limited scaffolding of their learning there was little compelling them to work in a judicious manner. Students, therefore, demonstrated very little desire for writing and made negligible progress over the course of the year.


Grow a story
Jason went to Jail at coubourn.
Jason was a young boy but no-one knc
what happends to him at coubourn.

We got 1 shower a year and
got no beds sleep on the floor
and no food until saturday
and we share a cell of 2 to 4
people

*Figure 22*

THE YEAR 5 TEACHER AND STUDENTS AT NORTHSIDE PUBLIC SCHOOL

Merilee Oldham, the Year 5 teacher at Northside PS, was in her tenth year of teaching. Prior to Northside she had worked for five years as an ESL teacher at a disadvantaged school with a high LBOTE population of recently arrived migrants. On moving to Northside she had opted for a mainstream teaching position. Merilee was the same age as Margaret. She didn't train to be a teacher until her late thirties

when her children were at school. She then undertook a Diploma of Education to secure her teaching qualification and, given the linguistically and culturally diverse nature of contemporary Australian classrooms, a Masters in Applied Linguistics to better prepare her for ESL teaching. 5O, Merilee's class at Northside, was an Opportunity Class (OC) comprised of 30 students from local schools who had achieved the best results in placement tests designed for the selection of OC students within the NSW state system. Twenty-three of the students were from a LBOTE primarily Chinese and Sri Lankan. Although clearly very able students, many experienced problems with their written expression. While testing procedures for entry to OC classes has since changed, there was no written component in the exam these students undertook. It was simply a multiple-choice test that assessed students' English, maths and general ability and many had quite poor written expression on entry to the class. Whether teaching OC students or those from disadvantaged backgrounds, Merilee had quite firm views about her role in the classroom. One of the main reasons she gave for wanting to be a teacher was dissatisfaction with her own children's education: "My philosophy is that children come to school to learn. It's my role to teach them, teach them a particular structure and not to work in an airy-fairy way, to introduce as much as I can and to repeat it and repeat it and repeat it".

## A SITE OF LEARNING

Merilee's classroom was located on the second level of one of the three two-storey buildings at Northside, just along from Julie Costa's Year 3 classroom. As was the case with Julie's room, Merilee's had limited space. There was no storeroom or bag room attached to the classroom. Students hung their school bags on hooks in the hallway outside the classroom and stored writing implements and other equipment in storage sleeves on the backs of their chairs. Although Merilee often changed the arrangement of desks in her room, they were always in some type of group format as in Figure 23. Her preference for arranging desks in groups would suggest Merilee made considerable use of group-based learning, but she actually favoured a more teacher-directed pedagogy. When the class did work in groups they were no larger than three students because she found that with "four you have too many arguments. I found with my last class that three worked and I choose the groups as well". Although students sat in groups they tended not to work that way. Merilee organised the class in groups to afford her greater access to students and positioned them in such a way that all had a clear view of the board. Despite the group arrangement, vectors within the room were still directed towards the front. This could have been a function of a number of factors but seemed to relate to the size of the room. The separate groups of desks were still reasonably close to one another. They didn't really operate as separate units. Instead the different sets of desks allowed students to work as a corporate body predominantly oriented towards the front. There was no sense of a dispersed spatiality within the room.

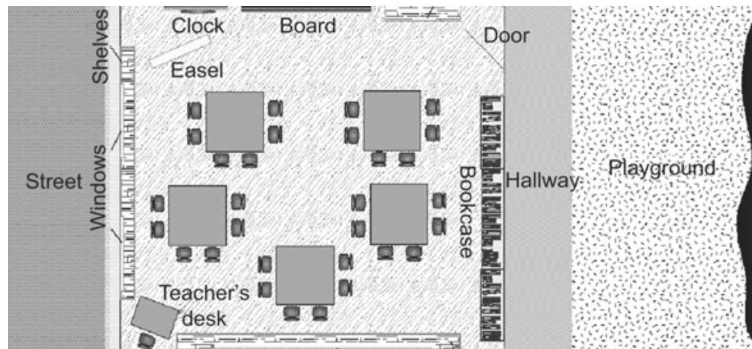



*Figure 23*

Merilee occasionally changed the position of her own desk. At different times it was located in the front left-hand corner, in a back corner or, despite the limited space, on the side of the classroom. As with most of the other teachers featured in this book, Merilee spent little time at her desk during class time. She was generally at the front of the room when conducting lessons and moved around the room when students were working. Her body, rather than her desk, marked her position within the room and, with the emphasis she placed on teacher-directed learning and her frequent use of the board, students' gaze was predominantly drawn to this location at the front of the room. As well as using the board, Merilee often attached large sheets of paper to an old artist's easel and used these like additional board space. The easel was mainly located at the front left-hand corner of the room but was moved around depending on the lesson. Another reason students' gaze was drawn towards the front of the room was that Merilee often set time limits for students to complete work. A wall clock was placed in a central position above the board so that students could monitor time while working.

Merilee's classroom evoked a sense of efficiency and functionality. Although there was limited storage, the room was not cluttered with resource material. Students' workbooks were stored in containers on shelves, along with reading materials and folders of photocopied sheets. In a commanding position in the front right-hand corner of the room was a large bookcase. It held sets of class dictionaries, thesauruses and other reference material. Although students made use of these, Merilee encouraged students to buy and use their own. There were some displays of students' art work at the back and sides of the room, but what dominated the display area were the large sheets of paper on which Merilee had recorded information during lessons. These contained banks of words arranged in different grammatical categories or lists of points pertaining to current work functioning as teaching resources that students made use of when writing. They were replaced on a regular basis as the class progressed onto new work. In a prominent position on the left-hand side of the room there was a set of posters detailing the structural features of the different text types referred to in the Syllabus. As well as functional, the various displays of words and the sets of

reference books gave the room a distinctive scholarly feel with the space itself seeming to place an imperative upon academic endeavour.

## CORPORATE COMPOSURE AND A SCHOLARLY REGIMEN

One of the most noticeable features of Merilee's classroom was the degree of quiet and concentration when students were working. Being an OC class, there was an expectation that students already possessed a certain diligence towards their work without the need for much encouragement. This may be the case, but the regimen that Merilee established within the classroom and the degree of direction she provided when teaching also seemed to instil this work ethic. Merilee felt that "To teach properly you really have to teach. You have to be a teacher out the front … That's the one thing I'm a great believer in and really going around to kids on the spot". By teaching this way Merilee maintained a strong presence in the room. She never set her students a task to complete independently without having first provided a considerable degree of teacher input. Often independent work was interspersed with additional advice from Merilee, scaffolding students' learning so they were not only appropriately prepared but consistently supported in their learning. As her comments reveal, she didn't simply "teach out the front" and direct her attention to the class as a whole; when students were engaged in an activity she would circulate around the room to check their work and ensure they were completing each task as required. Although 5O was a class of capable students Merilee still provided plenty of direction, rarely requiring them to do anything "from scratch".

The class was always assisted in their learning to the extent that when they were required to work independently they could do so because each step had been carefully explained. Lessons were generally structured around a format of teacher input and class discussion. This was followed by a period of independent writing, concluding with a feedback session in which students would read out their work and Merilee would comment on their efforts and offer advice. In some lessons, feedback was given for up to 40 minutes, during which time every student in the class read out the passage they had written. While this feedback process was not always so involved, it was clearly a regular practice. There was always an expectation that some students in the class would be called upon to read out their work. As a result, they applied themselves to their writing, knowing Merilee could ask them to read. Students didn't only aim to complete their work in the allotted time but made every effort to do it well given Merilee would comment on their writing after they had finished. Her remarks at these times were based purely on students' achievement, specifically targeting aspects of their work and the techniques they used. The best examples were written on the board or large sheets of paper and treated as exemplars for the rest of the class. Some examples of Merilee's comments in one feedback session in which students were writing a short description of a pirate for a future narrative included: "I love that. What was that about the dark eyes – dark eyes inside a world of hatred"; "Bloodthirsty eyes! I like that, that's an excellent one"; "Good, some excellent physical description there,

Katrina, especially this bit … here … his hands clenched with anger. I like that phrase, excellent"; "Oh. Now I like that. Now do that again. Listen to this. This is excellent the way Ruby has brought in the image of a wart. Right, go back to his hands. Listening [student rereads section]; only a wart disturbed the whiteness of his hand. Yes!".

Likewise, if there was a problem with a student's writing, Merilee would discuss it and offer suggestions for improvement, such as the following comment from the same session, "Good, but remember what I said about similes. There's a couple of really good similes there but don't use them like a shopping list as if every image needs one". Generally, however, Merilee managed to find something positive about each student's efforts though she did not offer compliments undeservedly. Criticism was always constructive, though she would reprimand students if she felt they were not applying themselves. This process of immediate feedback on students' work seemed to generate a real desire to succeed. Students knew if they put effort into their writing it was appreciated and they listened keenly to Merilee's advice. When they did receive positive comment they knew it was a result of good work. Merilee's approach to cultivating a desire for writing was very much linked to students' acquisition of knowledge and skills, with their motivation for writing arising from the satisfaction they gained from achievement. The impact of this upon classroom regimen was that students worked in a diligent manner, eager to please Merilee and to gain recognition for their work. To Bourdieu (2000, p. 166) the search for recognition actually provides the "motor" for pedagogic work, although to him this is problematic. He views recognition as a form of "symbolic dependence", "an egoistic quest" for the approval of others. However, he fails to acknowledge the agentic potential of recognition and the ways in which the intersubjective engagement of teacher and student can be read as other than an act of domination on the part of the teacher[ii].

Merilee's predominant use of a teacher-directed pedagogy also heightened the degree of panoptic force within the room. Students were constantly aware of her presence, not only when she was conducting a lesson, which generally required students to concentrate for periods of up to 50 minutes, but when she was moving around the room monitoring their progress. Students, therefore, conducted themselves appropriately and, as this was the regular mode of practice within the room, they embodied this discipline that generated a disposition for scholarly labour. The disciplinary force within the room was also intensified by the corporate nature of its effect. The class as a whole acted as one, focused on a common goal of learning. Their interest in what they were doing and their commitment to ensuring they completed work was particularly evident at the end of one lesson. Many of the students who hadn't completed the text they were writing and who didn't attend the optional scripture class immediately following this lesson asked if they could work on the task during non-scripture which was a period of supervised free time.

The regimen that existed within the room that seemed to promote such a strong work ethic was also a function of the code of behaviour that Merilee had established. She was very strict about noise and unnecessary chatter, but this didn't

preclude lively discussion which was often prompted by Merilee's questioning. Merilee also constantly monitored noise levels and would reprimand students if they were just chattering and not on task, although this wasn't a common occurrence as most students readily applied themselves to their work. When students were working independently Merilee demanded, and received, quiet. While there were long stretches during lessons when students were concentrating on their writing and working quietly, the quiet wasn't generally broken by students talking but by Merilee drawing something to the attention of the class and giving them further information. She was constantly scaffolding her students' learning. 5O were able to work independently but this was the result of an interdependence between teacher and student, the intersubjective dynamic underpinning the pedagogic process. Merilee's constant support, and the corporate nature of her teaching, ensured that a regimen of scholarship reigned within the room. Many of these students may have already possessed a strong commitment to work on entering the class, but the disciplinary techniques that Merilee employed effectively cultivated this potential directing her students' learning and confirming their disposition for academic endeavour.

Merilee's approach to seating arrangements in the room contributed to this regimen by providing a balance between social and academic concerns. At the beginning of the year she let students choose where they wanted to sit but, as the students were from a range of different schools and most didn't know many of their classmates, Merilee would also move them around. Another reason for seating students at particular desks was to allow some children to "learn different work habits from different children". If needed, she would position students next to quiet and diligent workers to help them learn by example. Merilee gave consideration to sociality when organising seating arrangements but she also positioned students on the basis of their ability to work together, effectively manipulating the learning environment to ensure a productive pedagogic space.

## PEDAGOGIC AFFECT/EFFECT

As is already evident, Merilee's pedagogy was characterised by an emphasis on teacher-directedness and the ways in which the teaching of content and language was woven together in her implementation of the curriculum. Merilee devoted concentrated periods of time each day to teaching writing in the context of a particular unit of work. She always spent a considerable proportion each two-hour morning session on teaching aspects of writing, slowly developing the skills involved in producing the type of text under focus. While Merilee emphasised examining narrative structure, she also considered the different techniques involved in writing narrative. She sought to teach writing as a craft, a process involving a range of techniques that are manipulated to produce different effects. She saw her role as ensuring students acquired these and applied them in their own writing. Merilee gave particular attention to techniques involved in writing narrative in a unit she was teaching about pirates using *Treasure Island* as the focus text. In addition to reading this novel, Merilee set a term assignment that

required students to read another two texts with similar themes such as *Lord of the Flies*, *Tom Sawyer*, *Huckleberry Finn*, *Robinson Crusoe*, *Blueback* and *Where the Whales Sing*. She aimed to have her students develop an appreciation of literature by teaching a range of children's classics combined with more recent texts. She wanted to cultivate their interest by discussing the books and considering the literary devices that writers employ. During Term 1, 5O were working on writing a narrative. After Merilee spent a number of weeks discussing narrative structure, characterisation and plot, the class concentrated on writing descriptions of characters to use in their own pirate story. During one lesson Merilee had students describe either the protagonist or antagonist of their story, the idea being that when these were finished students would have two character descriptions to include in their story. After reviewing these terms, Merilee conducted a group discussion asking students what they could include in these descriptions. Students responded by referring to physical appearance and personality traits, which Merilee wrote on the board. She then asked students how they might start their description, developing a scaffold from students' responses. She asked students for suggestions to describe the appearance and personality of either the protagonist or antagonist that they would be writing about in their story drawing on the word banks displayed on the large sheets of paper around the room or other examples. She also reminded students that they could draw on words used to describe characters such as Jim Hawkins or Long John Silver in *Treasure Island* or characters in the other texts they were reading. Students offered an array of words relating to personality – such as *polite, pompous, aggressive, trustworthy* and *reputable* – and to the character's actions – *savagely, viciously, cheerfully* and *respectfully*. Merilee was careful to differentiate between the grammatical categories of the words students suggested and how each could be used. She recorded these on the board and asked students to consider whether they were more appropriate for the protagonist or antagonist.

The class then moved on to list words describing the character's appearance – *unkempt, gruesome, dishevelled, ragged, muscular* and *tattooed* – which she also recorded on the board. Merilee didn't always accept students' suggestions, rejecting words such as *neat* and *strong* and asking them to consult their thesauruses for words that could create a more exacting image of a character. Together with adjectives and adverbs, Merilee pointed out how students could use similes and metaphors in their descriptions, referring to examples from previous work. Throughout this discussion, Merilee didn't simply act as a scribe; she encouraged students to use their imagination by offering her own examples such as: "He had black eyes, a blunt nose and a torn ear. His face was scarred like the rivulets of a stream. His gnarled hands were like …". As Merilee said these lines she took on the character of the pirate she was describing, using an exaggerated tone in her voice to heighten the impact of what she was saying. Students really responded to this performance and added to the image Merilee had created with one student calling out, "He might have a wart on his face". Merilee replied jokingly: "Oh, yes, all antagonists have warts!". At this point the class all laughed, clearly enjoying the discussion and enthused about writing their own description which Merilee then asked them to begin. She allotted 20 minutes to do this and

insisted they write no more than half a page. She wanted them to draw on the words recorded on the board and any others they might find suitable in their thesaurus. Students worked quietly and with great application. There was widespread use of thesauruses and dictionaries with Merilee insisting that students check the meaning of any words they used. During this time she progressed around the room offering advice. After 20 minutes Merilee had students finish up and selected some to read out their work. The first to do so was a boy called Adrian whose work Merilee had paid particular attention to when she was circulating around the room. He had written the following:

> A hideous fellow walked through the door. Unkempt with black hair he was staring hard at me. His scared face, a scarred and wrinkled face, like a soldier back from battle. His clothes ragged and torn. He stank like a dead animal.

After reading this out, the class applauded and Adrian beamed.

Overall 5O produced some excellent descriptions. Merilee had carefully scaffolded their learning, equipping them with a bank of resources to use in their writing. They had become so familiar with the stylistic features of narrative they could apply this understanding with relative ease. Merilee had made a similar comment to students herself when she was discussing the importance of using thesauruses, "it becomes part of your mindset and you'll eventually use it without thinking". This remark shows an awareness of the need to develop a form of understanding that doesn't require recourse to consciousness; an embodied understanding that enables the mind to concentrate on more complex aspects of composition thus providing opportunities for reflexive play with textual form. In Chapters 4 and 5 this embodied understanding was considered more in terms of the mechanical aspects of writing – handwriting, punctuation and spelling – but stylistic features of language involving vocabulary, generic structure and grammar may also be habituated and automatically retrieved for conscious attention in the reflexive process of constructing text. This seems to be Merilee's intention with 5O. She gave repetitive and sustained treatment to different literary techniques not only to ensure her students acquired the ability to apply them "without thinking", but so they could then retrieve them, and consciously manipulate them, for creative effect.

Together with a concern for the embodiment of knowledge, Merliee's practice also seemed to generate a desire for learning. 5O didn't only write imaginative descriptions because they had amassed the skills to do so; they wrote well because they wanted to, and they had a keen desire to succeed. Although they were capable students, many didn't display an aptitude or interest in writing at the beginning of the year. Merilee was able to encourage them to take an interest in writing by giving them the necessary tools and praising their achievements. Desire was fostered through the students' accumulation of knowledge and the gratification resulting from Merilee's recognition of demonstrated effort. Individual achievement was also related to 5O's *collective desire* to excel in writing, a force that Merilee seemed to engender with the teacher-directedness of her pedagogy. All students were undertaking the same course of study and Merilee was able to teach the class as a whole. This provided her with the pedagogic advantage of

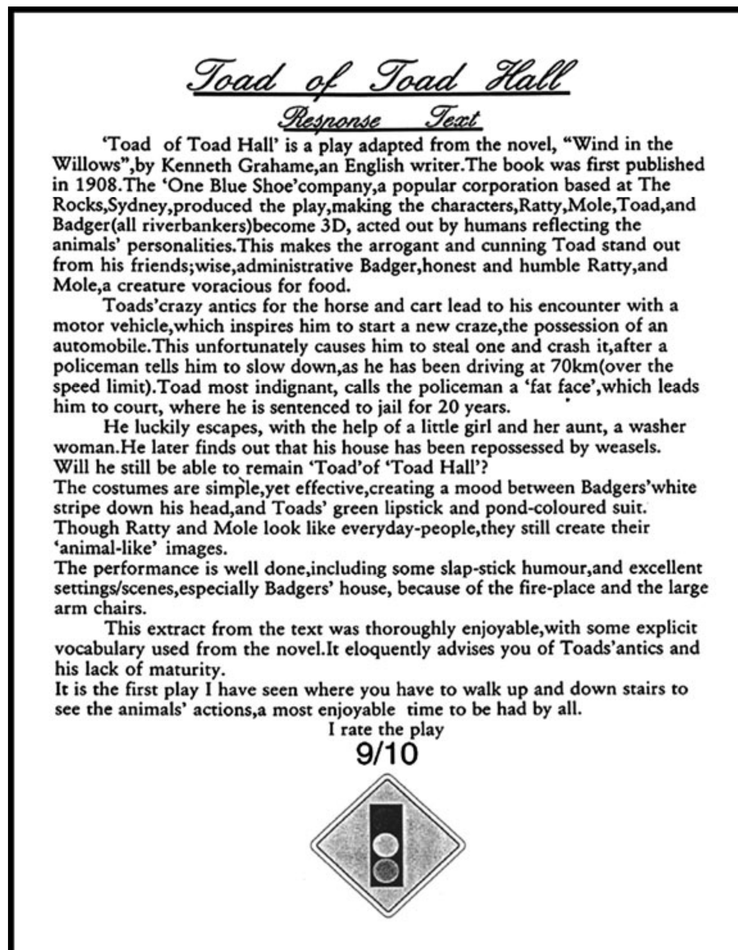
being able to channel her students' desires towards a common goal, a process intensifying the affective/effective impact of her teaching. This was exemplified in the lesson on writing a description of a pirate because Merilee was able to arouse her students' desire to write by drawing on their accumulated knowledge and providing them with numerous models. An additional and powerful stimulus was provided by Merilee herself. Her colourful descriptions and theatrical performance seemed to captivate the class, motivating them to produce their own descriptive passage. While Merilee projected a strong presence in the classroom, this was premised on an intersubjective dynamic between herself and her students. She was scaffolding rather than simply directing the students' learning, using their existing skill base and understanding as a barometer by which to determine their learning goals and her teaching objectives, a process that led her students towards attaining greater degrees of control over their learning.

## PRACTICE MAKES PERFECT

The samples of students' work chosen for analysis from Merilee's class were reviews of a play that the class had attended based on Kenneth Graeme's *Wind in the Willows*. 50 were studying the novel and wrote a response to the play prior to reviewing the novel itself. They had also written a number of descriptive passages profiling the main characters drawing on the skills acquired during their work on pirates. In the lesson after seeing the play, Merilee drew on the students' experience to discuss the different elements of a review. They mapped out a plan for their text, which was written on the board and each stage was discussed in detail. Following this, Merilee jointly constructed an introductory paragraph with the class and students used this as a model to write their own. Merilee concluded the lesson with her usual feedback session with students reading out their work and Merilee offering suggestions about how they might improve it. Over the next couple of lessons students completed, edited and redrafted their texts. The following work samples show three students' final copies of this review, which they had typed and printed for display.

The first of these texts (Figure 24) was written by an Anglo-Australian student named Lucy, who Merilee judged to be one of the most capable writers in 5O. Lucy followed the structure of a review that was discussed in class, commencing with a paragraph that links the play to the novel and providing a short account of the lead characters that draws on the character profiles she had written prior to her review. Her next two paragraphs deal with plot, the second concluding with a question to create a feeling of anticipation. This technique is also used by the two other students because Merilee encouraged the class to use a question at this point in their writing after another student had done so effectively in an earlier lesson. In the final paragraphs Lucy comments on aspects of the performance such as costume and set design and concludes with a recommendation. Lucy's text exhibits a range of strategies that Merilee discussed with the class and which students were required to experiment with in their writing. While clunky at times, Lucy shows initiative in her experimentation with these techniques. There are a couple of

problems with paragraphing and some misuse of apostrophes and commas, but generally there are few mechanical errors. It was because she has such a good command of the mechanics of writing that Lucy was able to give far more attention to style. This is evident not only in the techniques already discussed, but also in the quite sophisticated syntactic structures that she employs and which Merilee had spent considerable time examining with the class. She had modelled the ways in which students could change sentence beginnings or nominalise and add additional clauses to create different effects, and while some of these are a little awkwardly employed, they provided Lucy and other students with a range of different stylistic options to use in their writing.



Toad of Toad Hall

Response Text

'Toad of Toad Hall' is a play adapted from the novel, "Wind in the Willows",by Kenneth Grahame,an English writer.The book was first published in 1908.The 'One Blue Shoe'company,a popular corporation based at The Rocks,Sydney,produced the play,making the characters,Ratty,Mole,Toad,and Badger(all riverbankers)become 3D, acted out by humans reflecting the animals' personalities.This makes the arrogant and cunning Toad stand out from his friends;wise,administrative Badger,honest and humble Ratty,and Mole,a creature voracious for food.

Toads'crazy antics for the horse and cart lead to his encounter with a motor vehicle,which inspires him to start a new craze,the possession of an automobile.This unfortunately causes him to steal one and crash it,after a policeman tells him to slow down,as he has been driving at 70km(over the speed limit).Toad most indignant, calls the policeman a 'fat face',which leads him to court, where he is sentenced to jail for 20 years.

He luckily escapes, with the help of a little girl and her aunt, a washer woman.He later finds out that his house has been repossessed by weasels. Will he still be able to remain 'Toad'of 'Toad Hall'?

The costumes are simple,yet effective,creating a mood between Badgers'white stripe down his head,and Toads' green lipstick and pond-coloured suit. Though Ratty and Mole look like everyday-people,they still create their 'animal-like' images.

The performance is well done,including some slap-stick humour,and excellent settings/scenes,especially Badgers' house, because of the fire-place and the large arm chairs.

This extract from the text was thoroughly enjoyable,with some explicit vocabulary used from the novel.It eloquently advises you of Toads'antics and his lack of maturity.

It is the first play I have seen where you have to walk up and down stairs to see the animals' actions,a most enjoyable time to be had by all.

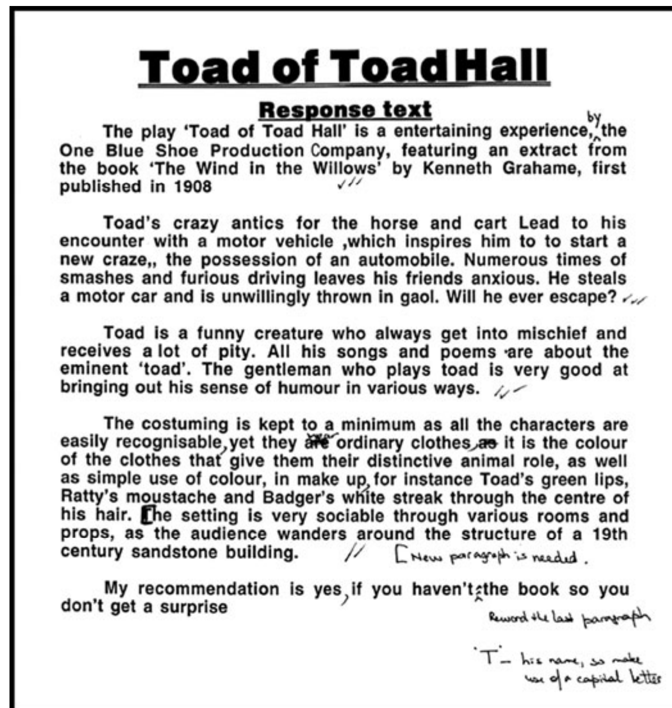
I rate the play

9/10

*Figure 24*

The second text chosen for analysis was written by Orion, a student of Chinese background, who Merilee considered representative of the average range of ability within the class.

Orion produced two typed copies of his review because Merilee was not happy with the first. The second, containing fewer errors, is shown below (Figure 25). Orion does not exhibit the same flair for language as does Lucy and there is clear evidence of his ESL background in some of his syntactic errors. His introduction is far less detailed than Lucy's. He commences the second paragraph with the sentence that was jointly constructed by the class and concludes with the same questioning technique all students were asked to consider using in their review. In the third paragraph he provides a short description of Toad, commenting on the performance of the actor who played this role. In the fourth paragraph he gives a short account of the costumes and sets then concludes with a recommendation and comment. There are some inconsistencies with capitals in the text, but generally this is a satisfactory effort improved by Merilee's feedback on various drafts. Merilee felt it was important to give students reasonably rapid feedback on their work, which is why feedback sessions were a regular feature of her classroom practice. This principle also governed her approach to marking students' work, which she tried to complete and return as soon as possible explaining,



**Toad of Toad Hall**

**Response text**

The play 'Toad of Toad Hall' is a entertaining experience, by the One Blue Shoe Production Company, featuring an extract from the book 'The Wind in the Willows' by Kenneth Grahame, first published in 1908

Toad's crazy antics for the horse and cart Lead to his encounter with a motor vehicle ,which inspires him to to start a new craze,, the possession of an automobile. Numerous times of smashes and furious driving leaves his friends anxious. He steals a motor car and is unwillingly thrown in gaol. Will he ever escape?

Toad is a funny creature who always get into mischief and receives a lot of pity. All his songs and poems are about the eminent 'toad'. The gentleman who plays toad is very good at bringing out his sense of humour in various ways.

The costuming is kept to a minimum as all the characters are easily recognisable, yet they ~~are~~ ordinary clothes, ~~as~~ it is the colour of the clothes that give them their distinctive animal role, as well as simple use of colour, in make up, for instance Toad's green lips, Ratty's moustache and Badger's white streak through the centre of his hair. The setting is very sociable through various rooms and props, as the audience wanders around the structure of a 19th century sandstone building. // [New paragraph is needed.

My recommendation is yes, if you haven't the book so you don't get a surprise

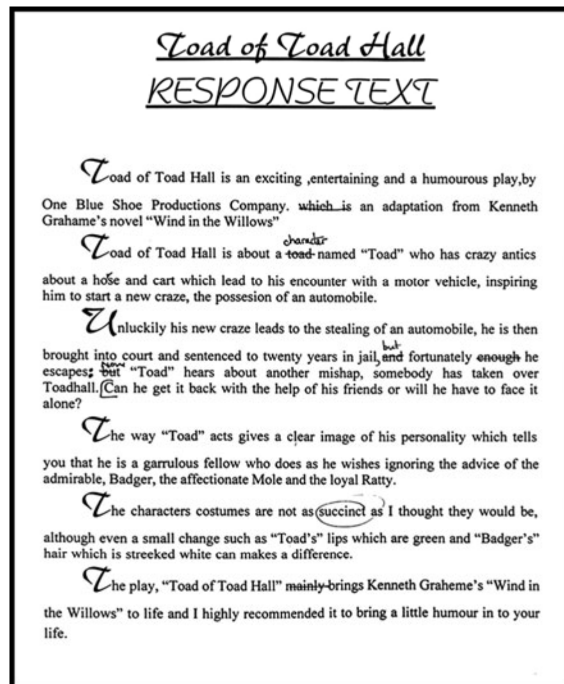
Reword the last paragraph

'T' – his name, so make use of a capital letter

*Figure 25*

"They like you to mark their work, even though they mightn't like the way you mark it. I get a much better result if it's draft, mark, return, edit and publish".

Another student of Chinese background called Juming wrote the third sample of work. Like Orion, he was also asked to produce two typed copies; the second is shown below (Figure 26). Merilee felt Juming was one of the least able students in the class, though his review is of a comparable standard to that of Orion's. Juming follows the structure discussed in class and commences with a comment about the play which is a little more detailed than Orion's. He begins his second paragraph with the same class jointly constructed sentence but makes some errors in the version he uses. He then proceeds to provide more information about the plot and, as with Lucy and Orion, concludes this discussion with a question. In the next two paragraphs he gives some account of the performance, mentioning the actor who played Toad and the costuming, before concluding with a recommendation. There is some awkward expression and incorrect use of words but, for an ESL student experiencing problems with writing, this is a pleasing result. Overall, in each of the three students' reviews, it is clear they have actively sought to make use of the strategies discussed and practised in class. Despite the obvious similarities each produced an effective review of the play. These texts were written midway through the year and Merilee had students work on refining reviews in other examples they wrote in the course of completing this unit of work.



Toad of Toad Hall

RESPONSE TEXT

Toad of Toad Hall is an exciting ,entertaining and a humourous play,by One Blue Shoe Productions Company. ~~which is~~ an adaptation from Kenneth Grahame's novel "Wind in the Willows"

Toad of Toad Hall is about a ~~toad~~ character named "Toad" who has crazy antics about a hose and cart which lead to his encounter with a motor vehicle, inspiring him to start a new craze, the possesion of an automobile.

Unluckily his new craze leads to the stealing of an automobile, he is then brought into court and sentenced to twenty years in jail, ~~and~~ but fortunately ~~enough~~ he escapes; ~~but~~ now "Toad" hears about another mishap, somebody has taken over Toadhall. Can he get it back with the help of his friends or will he have to face it alone?

The way "Toad" acts gives a clear image of his personality which tells you that he is a garrulous fellow who does as he wishes ignoring the advice of the admirable, Badger, the affectionate Mole and the loyal Ratty.

The characters costumes are not as succinct as I thought they would be, although even a small change such as "Toad's" lips which are green and "Badger's" hair which is streeked white can makes a difference.

The play, "Toad of Toad Hall" ~~mainly~~ brings Kenneth Graheme's "Wind in the Willows" to life and I highly recommended it to bring a little humour in to your life.

*Figure 26*

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

Margaret and Merilee had very different pedagogic styles. This was partly because their classes were so different but also because their different educational philosophies coloured the way they viewed their role in the classroom and the pedagogy they employed. Margaret's class at Westville experienced considerable difficulties with writing. Most students had problems concentrating on their work and were easily distracted by their classmates. There were also a couple of students with recognised behavioural disorders. It was not an easy class. Margaret's method of dealing with this difficult and often volatile mix of students was to create a relaxed and comfortable environment which she felt would promote a feeling of contentment, stimulating their desire to learn. Her approach to catering to the academic needs of her students was via the pastoral. In privileging the latter she assumed her students would then engage in the learning process and apply themselves to acquiring the skills necessary to write effectively, seeing her role as facilitating this process rather than actively intervening. This approach, however, tended to bifurcate the pastoral and academic roles of teaching with desire seemingly excised from the latter and configured more as a product of psychological wellbeing rather than resulting from embodied knowledge and skill. With a focus on the pastoral, Margaret failed to address the corporeality of learning, the ways in which academic success is premised on the acquisition of a scholarly habitus. Neither the regimen which existed in 5D's classroom nor Margaret's writing pedagogy were conducive to the formation of these bodily capacities and instead only served to entrench the inappropriate work habits many of her students had already embodied.

Merilee's class at Northside was considerably different, but so too was her teaching. 5O were a class of quite gifted students but this didn't stop Merilee carefully supporting their learning and ensuring she gave concentrated attention to teaching the various skills and knowledge required to write effectively. Merilee was a keen advocate of teacher-directed learning and always maintained a strong presence within the classroom. This wasn't only the case in teaching classes like 5O. In her previous school, similar in many ways to Westville where she taught ESL to small ability-based groups, Merilee had lobbied to take a larger group of fifteen students and teach them writing on a whole class basis, explaining that "They actually got to write, they got to discuss their writing and their writing really did improve. That one year they got about six or seven of these children into selective high schools. I know it's not a beacon to go by but everything improved". Merilee considered that a large part of her success with this class was a result of students having "a common ground for learning" and it was this principle she applied in teaching the Opportunity Class at Northside. Students in 5O had the same program of study with Merilee determining the pace and direction of their learning. Working as a corporate body, she was able to give sustained treatment to refining their writing skills. In doing this she maximised the affective/effective impact of her teaching. Students acquired the skills and knowledge to write effectively and the sense of achievement they attained fuelled their desire for

writing. Within Merilee's practice, desire was generated through a student's accumulated knowledge and skill, which was supported by the scholarly regimen she promoted in the classroom. In focusing on the academic, much of the pastoral dimension of her teaching role was also met. While not confronted with the same difficulties that Margaret encountered at Westville, it is interesting to consider whether Merilee would have approached teaching such a class any differently. Given her previous experience as an ESL teacher at a disadvantaged school, Merilee probably wouldn't have greatly changed her practice and, judging from her comments above, 5D may have made far more progress with a more directed approach to learning.

CONCLUSION

# DISPARATE BODIES

> It is not entirely true that "instruction" is something quite different from "education". An excessive emphasis on this distinction has been a serious error of idealist educationalists … For instruction to be wholly distinct from education the pupil would have to be pure passivity, a "mechanical receiver" of abstract notions. In the school, the nexus between instruction and education can only be realised by the living work of the teacher.
>
> A. Gramsci (1973, p. 35)

The central concern of this book has been to examine the corporeality of learning and the ways in which different pedagogic practices contribute to students acquiring dispositions which may or may not be conducive to academic endeavour. In developing a framework adequate to the task of examining the formation of these dispositions, it has drawn upon and extended the theoretical work around processes of embodiment of Bourdieu, Foucault and others outlined in the opening chapters. In particular, it has proposed a reformulation of Bourdieu's notion of habitus taking account of Spinoza's psychophysical parallelism. This allowed for a theorisation of pedagogic embodiment, via the concept of a scholarly habitus that avoids simply inverting the current emphasis given to cognition within education to instead demonstrate how learning is both a mindful and a bodily process. The role of consciousness is acknowledged, not in a Cartesian sense as a form of rationality divorced from experience, but as an embodied phenomenon resulting from the accumulation of bodily affect. In relation to schooling, these affects are seen as a function of the different disciplinary techniques that teachers employ. This was demonstrated in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 where the different affects/effects of disciplinary force were evident, some more and some less effective in promoting learning.

## BODIES, PEDAGOGY AND WRITING

In the analysis of the pedagogies of the kindergarten, Year 3 and Year 5 teachers at Westville and Northside Public Schools, a stark contrast was evident in the techniques the teachers from each school used in teaching their students to write. These differences seemed to coalesce around the particular understandings the teachers from each school had of their role within the classroom; differing educational philosophies that in turn influenced their pedagogic approach. In many respects these differences related to whether or not the teachers made a distinction within their practice between "instruction" and "education", the bifurcation of teaching and learning of which Gramsci is so critical. At Westville PS this division was clearly evident. Each of the three Westville teachers tended to favour a far less

teacher-directed pedagogy than those at Northside. They made much greater use of group and independent learning activities, and so facilitation rather than instruction characterised their teaching methodology. Emphasis was also placed on praise and motivational strategies and, although differing in relation to the year taught, the creation of a relaxed learning environment with seemingly little restraint on talk or movement.

At Northside PS a very different set of pedagogic practices prevailed. Not only did each of the three teachers use a far more teacher-directed approach, they gave concentrated attention to the knowledge and skills involved in learning to write. In addition to this, praise at Northside was less forthcoming with teachers tending towards constructive criticism of their students' work rather than an over-reliance on positive reinforcement. Each of the teachers at Northside also placed far more restrictions upon their students within the classroom. Talk and movement were closely monitored and generally prohibited altogether when students were required to work independently. In contrast to Westville, "education" at Northside was linked to "instruction". Teachers saw their role as not simply supporting but rather explicitly directing their students' learning.

The impact of these different pedagogies on students' bodies was considerable. At Westville the use of quite relaxed disciplinary codes seemed to simply confirm students' existing habitus, which were generally not conducive to scholarly labour. It is poignant that at each of the different stages of learning – kindergarten, Year 3 and Year 5 – teachers employed similar techniques. These practices seemed part of the fabric of teaching at the school and, while this book is not based on a longitudinal study, it is probable that the students in Years 3 and 5 had encountered a similar teaching practice throughout their years at Westville. As a result, the form of embodiment they had acquired was minimally self-regulating, inhibiting their ability to apply themselves to work for any sustained period of time. With their teachers employing a pedagogy that required students to shoulder much of the responsibility for their own learning, and lacking the bodily capacity to do so, their progress was limited. There was neither the internal nor the external provocation to fully engage in learning to write.

The effects of this corporeality were also manifested cognitively. Unable to give concentrated attention to their work, there was little possibility of affect accumulating to the point where effective learning occurred. A considerable proportion of students in the Years 3 and 5 classes at Westville experienced great difficulty with writing. They still hadn't habituated the mechanics of the process. This wasn't simply a function of their own lack of application. The form of embodiment they had acquired hadn't only failed to predispose them to the rigours of scholarly labour, it hadn't equipped them with a somatic familiarity of the knowledge and skills required to write effectively. This is only attained through iterative and concentrated engagement with these aspects of writing, a process requiring the direction and guiding influence of a teacher. To the teachers at Westville, however, learning to write was accomplished through other means. It didn't require a high level of teacher direction; rather it seemed dependent upon a child's psychological wellbeing, their desire and willingness to participate in the

learning process. In an effort to cultivate this desire, teachers sought to boost their students' self-esteem through an emphasis on praise and conducting short, fun activities to try and maintain student interest. Desire then, did not stem from the accumulation of knowledge and bodily capacity; rather it was assumed the desire to learn was a psychical phenomenon operating as a precursor to academic achievement. Given this, a student's acquisition of knowledge and skills seemed less a teacher responsibility and more a matter of student motivation. The teachers' pedagogy was more about encouraging this motivation with the assumption that students would then apply themselves to learning to write. The essentialised notion of desire framing this pedagogy in turn deflected attention away from the teacher, diluting their role within the classroom and refashioning the desire to teach into simply nurturing students' desire to learn. Yet, as McWilliam (1997, p. 228) explains, there needs to be a better understanding of "the discursive authority at work in transmitting a desire to learn". This discursive authority involves a set of practices or disciplinary techniques that comprise the *craft* of teaching, capacitating students' bodies and providing the foundation upon which a desire to learn is engendered. The pedagogy to which the students at Westville were exposed failed to do this. Their bodies were not invested with a discipline that predisposed them towards writing and so their desires were directed elsewhere. Given the habitus they had acquired, they were not inclined towards scholarly achievement, which their ongoing difficulties with writing seemed to confirm.

At Northside PS the situation was very different with the pedagogy of each of the teachers exerting a far greater degree of disciplinary force upon their students' bodies. There seemed to be an understanding that learning requires bodily composure enabling students to apply themselves to their work. Each of the three teachers at Northside utilised strategies that were designed to instil this discipline in their students. Central to achieving this was the way each exercised a strong presence within their classroom, which impacted on their classroom management and characterised their overall approach to teaching. This degree of teacher directedness seemed a reflection of the way each saw themselves as being responsible for their students' learning; a responsibility which was to elicit a highly scaffolded form of curriculum implementation. Students never undertook a task without first receiving a considerable amount of teacher input, a process always performed on a corporate basis and supplemented throughout a lesson at an individual, group or whole class level. Together with the teachers' consistent support, the uniformity of the curriculum implementation seemed to evoke a particular ethos of learning within each class that provided an additional incentive for students to not only complete their work but to do it well. Students seemed invested with a desire to learn which was grounded in the attainment of knowledge and skills. This desire to learn wasn't a precursor to learning; it was dependent upon the process itself, the intersubjective dynamic of teaching and learning with the teachers and their expertise integral to the momentum that was generated. The pedagogy experienced by the students at Northside enabled them to acquire a habitus predisposed towards literate practice and imbued with scholarship as well as an aspiration for academic success.

## CLASS, EMBODIMENT AND LEARNING

While the pedagogy practised in each school varied considerably, so too did the socio-economic background and ethnicity of the students. Their differential outcomes were of course also a product of the forms of embodiment and desires resulting from the pedagogy they encountered both prior to and outside school. As Bourdieu (1999, p. 87) explains, "… the habitus acquired in the family underlies the structuring of school experiences (in particular the reception and assimilation of the specifically pedagogic message)". To Bourdieu and other reproduction theorists, the processes of schooling do little to alter the child's situation and, as such, simply replicate and affirm existing social structures. At one level this book may also appear to operate as yet another perspective on the reproductive processes of schooling. The analysis of the impact of different pedagogies on students' bodies and the extent to which they contribute to the acquisition of a scholarly disposition demonstrates the ways in which schooling can simply confirm a student's existing habitus. However, the production of these disparate bodies, disciplined in various ways by the pedagogic practices used at the two schools, also demonstrates how the processes of reproduction are enabling. What is problematic is the inequitable distribution of these forms of capacitation, which is clearly evident in the contrast between Westville and Northside.

It is interesting how the two sets of teachers had such vastly different perspectives on education and how a more empowering disciplinarity characterised the practice of the teachers in the more affluent and higher achieving school. Yet, the students at Northside were not only better writers because of their class background, or a complementarity between the language and values of their home and school. In many respects this wasn't the case. The students at Northside were better writers than most of their peers at Westville largely because of the capacitating properties of their teachers' pedagogy. Not only did they come to habituate the fundamental skills involved in learning to write but this ability, compounded by the ethos generated by the regimen within their classroom, fuelled their desire to then creatively manipulate this embodied technology. The ethnography of the two schools, however, only partially explains the reasons why the teachers at Northside were so attuned to the corporeality of learning and seemed to almost intuitively understand the parallel relation between body and mind, in comparison to those at Westville who embraced a far more psychological model of learning. The genealogy of syllabus documents in Chapter 3 indicated a clear shift in emphasis away from the body as a matter of pedagogic concern yet the teachers at Northside, unlike those at Westville, still maintained a strong focus on disciplinary practices more characteristic of the period prior to the psychological turn within education. In some respects their disparate teaching methodologies are a function of the differences in the teachers' own class and educational background, age, expertise and training. The ways in which these different practices were so enmeshed within the fabric of the two schools, however, also suggests there was a certain institutional imperative influencing the teachers' varying approaches.

A rationale for the methodology favoured by the teachers at Westville was provided by the principal who was relatively new to the school. She felt there was a particular ethos within many disadvantaged schools like Westville which seemed to promote the creation of a happy and welcoming environment over the notion of the school as a place of learning and academic excellence. Drawing heavily on a psychological model of learning, it seemed to provide an institutional impetus for the teachers' collective methodology and it was something the new principal was keen to address. Together with these larger institutional influences, structures within the school were responsible for regulating classroom practice. The teaching of literacy at Westville was largely conducted within the framework of the Taskforce program. Although there was a considerable degree of flexibility in the way the teachers could implement the initiative, either group-based or independent learning strategies were used. These pedagogic modes were also favoured outside Taskforce time with the Program seeming to provide a model for the way teaching should be conducted at the school. These practices were so dominant at Westville that even the teaching of kindergarten, which did not participate in Taskforce, was largely undertaken in this way. From their first year at school, students were inducted into a pedagogic regime that exerted very little disciplinary force upon their bodies leaving them largely reliant on the dispositions formed outside school. This in itself had a considerable effect on the teachers' pedagogy and especially their approach to classroom management. As the students at Westville seemed less amenable to the required corporeality of schooling, the teachers found it difficult to utilise more stringent disciplinary techniques. Instead they adopted an approach that acted as a segue between the students' home and school environments, but in doing this they simply reinforced a form of embodiment that was inappropriate for scholarly labour.

At Northside the situation was quite different with other factors influencing the teachers' pedagogic approach. Northside had an established reputation for academic excellence that led to an ethos of scholarship framing practice within the school. Teachers had high expectations for their students' ability to learn, but it wasn't this in itself that spurred them to succeed. It was the way in which this ethos of learning was embedded within the teachers' practice which was so powerful. The teachers' ability to imbue their students with a desire to learn was not a matter of psychical enticement arousing a will to succeed. It was dependent upon disciplinary techniques that invested their students' bodies with a capacity for sustained application and the knowledge and skills upon which effective literate practice is based. The task of the teachers at Northside may well have been easier given many of their students already possessed a corporeality that was far more attuned to schooling than that of the students of Westville. This, however, does not diminish the capacitating properties of the Northside teachers' pedagogic approach, which was characterised by a considerable degree of teacher-directedness and a form of classroom management that was designed to instil a scholarly docility in students.

## FORMS OF EMBODIMENT AND RESTRICTED AND ELABORATED CODES

Prizing this form of embodiment, and advocating a pedagogy such as that practised at Northside, however, lends itself to much of the same kind of criticism as that levelled against Bernstein's notion of restricted and elaborated codes. An equivalent notion of coding seems evident here but rather than operating on the linguistic plane, the restricted and elaborated codes here pertain to forms of embodiment. The inequitable distribution of embodied capital among the students at Westville and Northside, however, demonstrates an even more insidious form of educational disadvantage given the extent to which the body is naturalised and so *hidden* from view. Being mindful of Bourdieu's critique of Bernstein's codes, the perspective taken here may seem to fetishise a dominant form of corporeality as opposed to language. As Bernstein (1998, p. 196) remarked though, much of Bourdieu's accusations of fetishism relate to his notion of "arbitrariness". To Bourdieu and Passeron (1977, p. 5), "All pedagogic action is objectively symbolic violence, insofar as it is the imposition of a cultural arbitrary by an arbitrary power", a proposition that seems to prohibit the transformative possibilities of pedagogic action. Rather than arbitrariness though it seems value is more the issue, which itself is at the crux of Bourdieu's concept of capital. In its various forms, Bourdieu sees capital as symbolic and as such arbitrary, hence his reference to the valorisation of any form of capital as fetishism. What is assigned value in one particular field may not necessarily function as a form of capital within another. Yet, at the same time, I'd argue there are forms of capital that are not field-specific. They may have emerged from a particular set of relations but they hold their value and possess the capacity to empower when transferred across fields. This is the case not only with certain linguistic forms but also with particular kinds of embodiment. The acquisition of a linguistic arsenal comprising a good command of the mechanics of writing and the ability to produce and manipulate a range of generic forms is not only powerful within the field of schooling and related academic domains, it is a form of capital which is valued in a range of occupational and domestic settings. Together with this, Vygotsky (1981) argues that literacy equips individuals with the ability to perform higher intellectual functions encouraging a propensity for abstract thought and greater reflection. This view is shared by Ong (1991) in his historical analysis of the differences between oral and literate cultures. The ability to write is a skill that is crucial for effective participation in the contemporary world.

Problems can arise, however, when the boundary divisions demarcating valued linguistic forms are made rigid and immutable. It is at this point that claims of fetishism may indeed be valid[i]. To some extent, therefore, it is important to acknowledge the somewhat arbitrary nature of dominant cultural forms. This can become problematic though, given the pragmatics of having to function within the cultural dominant of a globalised capitalist economy, if this is then used as justification for a complete relativisation of value. Such a position in which difference itself is valorised only serves to mask inequality. For capital, in whatever form, to be distributed equitably, access to what is valued needs to be

made available to all. In the context of schooling this doesn't only mean a curriculum which deals explicitly with language and literacy but a pedagogy that allows students to embody these resources.

To achieve this, the cognitive bias within education needs to be challenged. An ontology is required that embraces a parallelistic understanding of body and mind. The pedagogic implications of this should result in a far greater understanding of the corporeality of learning and the isomorphic relation of body and mind. This is not about promoting a particular set of bodily forms which would simply result in the fetishisation of a singular corporeality. Rather, the intention is to disrupt current conceptions of pedagogy and provoke engagement with the bodily nature of learning and the capacitating affects of certain disciplinary techniques that are generally marginalised within current educational practice.

## SPACE, REGIMEN, HABIT AND AFFECT: THE BODY AND PRINCIPLES OF PEDAGOGIC PRACTICE

In this book the disciplinary techniques that teachers use were examined in relation to three key, yet often interrelated, categories which draw upon and extend the work of Foucault: space, regimen and curriculum implementation. Within each of these categories it was apparent that there were certain disciplinary measures that proved more enabling than others, which could provide the basis for extrapolating a set of pedagogic principles important for redressing the neglected state of the body in pedagogic theory. In relation to space, it was not so much that space itself exerted any strong disciplinary force upon students' bodies, it was more a matter of how a space was used, often resulting in a considerable overlap in the analysis of space and regimen. There were exceptions to this, especially in relation to kindergarten. The considerable contrast in the size of the two kindergarten classrooms seemed to demonstrate that the larger space exerted far less disciplinary force. This had implications for the ways in which kindergarten students were initiated into the processes of schooling, particularly the carnal genres of this institutional setting which required a far greater degree of self-governance than those operating within the home environment. Also, with limited restrictions imposed by the space itself, greater demands were placed upon the teacher to regulate the space and demarcate boundaries in the larger room. This often resulted in the multiple coding of space and a reduction in regulatory force. It was also evident that some spaces appeared to exert a particular ambience that projected differing degrees of disciplinary force. The ambience of each space was generally a reflection of the overriding ethos that prevailed at each school and, although there was a difference in the authority emanating from their different architectural design, these differing spatial effects seemed more a function of the use made of each space which was largely determined by the teachers and the regimen they imposed. This was most obvious in the contrast between the two Year 5 classrooms; one of which projected a sense of scholarship, the other a feeling of comfort.

Another interesting feature of the pedagogic space was the placement of students' desks. In most classrooms they were arranged in dispersed group formations, the size

of the room determining their distance apart. This type of arrangement is probably more indicative of a progressivist, student-directed pedagogy because it tends to encourage greater collaboration among students. Yet while this design was favoured over the more traditional serial arrangement, it did not provide a good indicator of each teacher's pedagogy. The formation of desks within each room did not seem to have any distinctive impact. What proved more important was the pedagogic mode favoured by each teacher and the extent to which they were able to generate an authoritative presence within their classroom. It was these two factors which tended to modulate the degree of panoptic force within each room to affect the management of bodies in space rather than simply the arrangement of desks.

The second category framing the analysis of the pedagogic body was regimen, a factor that proved crucial in the formation of a scholarly habitus. The degree to which teachers regulated talk, movement and individual student's seating arrangements within their classrooms had a differing affective impact on their students' bodies. At Northside PS where these practices were more tightly controlled, students appeared to embody a far greater degree of self-governance, a form of bodily capacitation enabling them to engage in scholarly labour in an effective manner. The consistency of approach across kindergarten, Year 3 and Year 5 suggested this was the modus operandi with regard to classroom management at the school. Accordingly, by the completion of their primary education, most students had acquired a scholarly habitus in preparation for the more demanding secondary years in which they are required to demonstrate a far greater degree of independence in their learning, particularly in relation to writing. The regimen that existed in each of these classrooms functioned as a form of training. As with a coach ensuring an athlete iteratively performs a task till it becomes second nature, here the teachers were fulfilling a similar role, ensuring their students were invested with the bodily discipline to learn. At Westville PS, however, where talk, movement and seating were far less regulated, a regimen of restlessness prevailed. Throughout their primary education a more relaxed disciplinarity was exerted upon these students' bodies, and, as a result, they failed to acquire the bodily capacity necessary for academic endeavour resulting in an inequitable distribution of this embodied capital between the two schools.

The final factor considered in the analysis of students' bodies in each of the six classrooms was the teacher's pedagogy. The variable force of the pedagogic modes favoured at the two schools was quite marked. The affective impact of each teacher's pedagogy appeared dependent upon the degree of direction they provided, which seems to equate with Vygotsky's notion of the Zone of Proximal Development. Although not discussed in relation to affect, Vygotsky found that students were more capable of successfully completing a task if at first they received guidance from a teacher. Vygotsky was not referring to a fleeting, periodic encounter with a teacher, as was characteristic of many of the lessons at Westville. He placed emphasis on the, "systematic cooperation between the child and the teacher" believing that, "Development and maturation of the child's higher mental functions are products of this cooperation" (Vygotsky, 1996, p. 148). In comparing the practice of the teachers at Westville and Northside, it seems that

pedagogic affect was heightened by the degree of direction that was employed. An additional benefit of this approach was the corporate style of teaching it necessitated. Not only was affect heightened by the more consistent nature of the teacher support but, with a whole class working on a single program of study, there was a common ground for learning. In the classrooms where this methodology was utilised a highly productive form of collaboration was evident resulting in regular student-driven class discussion. The intersubjective dynamic governing these classrooms was not simply a teacher/student dyad, although this was of central importance, it was a multifarious mix of bodies with a common objective of learning. This seemed a far cry from the stereotypical passive relationship said to exist between teacher and student within a teacher-directed classroom.

Pedagogic affect was also intensified by the iterative treatment of knowledge and skills, a practice also reliant on a teacher-directed pedagogy. The repetitive treatment of aspects of writing was undertaken in various ways. Where it was most productive was not so much as a simplistic form of drill and practice, but through a kind of *elaborated drill*; the serial but varied and sustained engagement with a particular skill or concept to the point where this understanding becomes embodied and applied automatically. Without this degree of habituation of both the mechanics of writing and stylistic features such as generic structure, students leaving primary school experience considerable difficulty with their writing and lack the preparedness for the level of textual complexity required in the secondary years.

## FINAL REMARKS

Addressing the corporeality of learning is an essential aspect of effective pedagogy. Differing approaches to the use of space, regimen and curriculum implementation can result in disparate forms of embodiment with some more conducive to learning than others. With this being the case, notions of arbitrariness and value need to be rethought. The ethnography of these two schools seems to demonstrate that it is not so much that a specific corporeality is valued as a cultural arbitrary but that certain forms of embodiment can promote capacitation. The formation of a scholarly habitus seems dependent upon a particular set of disciplinary techniques applied in a consistent and ongoing manner. Section 3 points to the limitations of much educational analysis with its cognitive bias; reproduction theory with its tendency to emphasise the oppressive dimensions of educational processes over its enabling potential, and the current growth of analyses of embodiment which tend to retain a mind/body dualism. Another gap in the theoretical analyses of education is the examination of forms of desire and pleasure related to scholarly dispositions. Hopefully this book has provided some basis for developing this area for analysis. Without acquiring a scholarly habitus students have difficulty in applying themselves to work. The desire to write is not simply a matter of student motivation; it is predicated on bodily capacity, which, in the context of schooling, is only attained through “the living work of the teacher”.

APPENDIX 1

# OBSERVATION OVERVIEW – KS

| *Lesson* | *Time* | *Lesson outline* | *Activity Duration* | *Delivery mode* | *Location* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Term 1<br>Week 9<br>Morning Session | Letter/Sound Drill, Word of the Week, Print Walk<br>Secret Sentence Exercise<br>Free Writing/Games<br>Body Break/Packing Up<br>Group Work Writing Activities<br>Packing Up | 10/5/20 mins<br>10 mins<br>30 mins<br>10 mins<br>30 mins<br>5 mins/120 | Teacher-directed<br>Teacher-directed<br>Ind/Group work<br>Teacher-directed<br>Group work<br>Teacher-directed | Floor/Around Room<br>Floor<br>Desks and Floor<br>Floor<br>Desks<br>Floor |
| 2 | Term 2<br>Week 3<br>Morning Session | Letter/Sound Drill, Word Building, Word of the Week, Print Walk<br>Secret Sentence Exercise<br>Dictation, Free Time/Body Break, Packing Up<br>Reading Big Book – *The Jigaree*<br>Colouring and Tracing Words/Packing Up/Exit to Assembly | 10/5/5/15 mins<br>10 mins<br>15 & 5 mins<br>10 mins<br>25 mins/100 | Teacher-directed<br>Teacher-directed<br>TD/Ind & Groups<br>Teacher-directed<br>Ind & Groups | Floor/Around Room<br>Floor<br>Desks and Floor<br>Floor<br>Desks and Floor |
| 3 | Term 2<br>Week 6<br>Morning Session | Letter/Sound Drill, Word of the Week, Print Walk<br>Writing Game<br>Secret Sentence<br>Free Writing/Packing Up/Exit to Assembly | 5/5/10 mins<br>20 mins<br>15 mins<br>20 mins/75 | Teacher-directed<br>Teacher-directed<br>Teacher-directed<br>Group work/TD | Floor/Around Room<br>Desks<br>Floor<br>Desks and Floor |
| 4 | Term 3<br>Week 3<br>Morning Session | Letter/Sound Drill, Word Endings, Blends, Print Walk<br>Word Building – cake, make, fake<br>Secret Sentence<br>Reading Big Book – *My Body*/Reading Groups<br>Body Break, Song/Free Writing, Packing Up | 5/5/5/15 mins<br>5 mins<br>10 mins<br>5/40 mins<br>5/15 mins/110 | Teacher-directed<br>Teacher-directed<br>Teacher-directed<br>TD/Group work<br>TD/Ind & Groups | Floor/Around Room<br>Floor<br>Floor<br>Floor/Bean Bags<br>Floor/Desks |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | Term 4<br>Week 1<br>Mid<br>Morning S<br>Session | Reading Book –<br>*Koalas*/Question &<br>Answer/Retelling<br>Koala Writing Task<br>Body<br>Break/Feedback/Conclude<br>Lesson for School Photos | 25 mins<br>25 mins<br>15 mins/65 | Teacher-<br>directed<br>Ind & Groups<br>Teacher-<br>directed | Floor<br>Desks and<br>Floor<br>Floor |
| 6 | Term 4<br>Week Mid<br>Morning<br>Session | Guessing Game – What<br>Animal Am I?<br>Reading Big Book –<br>*Wombat Xmas*/Discussion<br>Writing Activity/Free Time<br>Body Break/Packing<br>Up/Lunch Orders | 5 mins<br>15 mins<br>55 mins<br>15 mins | Teacher-<br>directed<br>Teacher-<br>directed<br>Ind & Groups<br>Teacher-<br>directed | Floor<br>Floor<br>Desks and<br>Floor<br>Desks and<br>Floor |

APPENDIX 2

# OBSERVATION OVERVIEW – KP

| *Lesson* | *Time* | *Lesson Outline RC = Roll Call # = Body Break* | *Activity Duration* | *Delivery mode* | *Location* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Term1 Week 5 Morning & Part of Mid Morning Session | RC/Review of Previous Day's Work #/Spoken Language Activity #<br>Library<br>Reading Big Book/Discussion (Recess)<br>Sight Words and Sentence Construction<br>Modelled Handwriting Task #/Written Lang. Activity/Song | 15 mins/35 mins<br>30 mins<br>30 mins/110<br>10 mins<br>15/10 mins | Teache-r directed<br>TD/Independent<br>Teacher-directed<br>Teacher-directed<br>Teacher-directed | Floor<br>Library<br>Floor<br>Floor<br>Desks/Floor |
| 2 | Term 1 Week 9 Morning Session | RC/Review of Previous Day's Work<br>Sight Words and Sentence Construction/Song #<br>Modelled Handwriting Task<br>Library<br>Reading Big Book and Discussion #<br>Joint Construction of Procedural Text Related to Big Book # | 10 mins<br>15 mins<br>15 mins<br>35 mins<br>15 mins<br>20 mins/110 | Teacher-directed<br>Teacher-directed<br>Teacher-directed<br>TD/Independent<br>Teacher-directed<br>Teacher-directed | Floor<br>Floor<br>Desks<br>Library<br>Floor<br>Floor |
| 3 | Term 2 Week 4 Morning Session | RC/Review of Previous Day's Work<br>Sound of the Week 'T'<br>Modelled Handwriting 'T' Shapes<br>Sight Words and Sentence Construction #<br>Library/Joint Construction Writing Activity # | 10 mins<br>20 mins<br>15 mins<br>10 mins<br>30/25 mins/110 | Teacher-directed<br>Teacher-directed<br>Teacher-directed<br>Teacher-directed<br>TD/Ind/TD | Floor<br>Floor<br>Desks<br>Floor<br>Library/Flo or |
| 4 | Term 3 Week 2 Morning | RC/Review of Previous Day's Work/Sound of the Week 'L' # | 15/10 mins<br>15 mins<br>10 mins | Teacher-directed<br>Teacher- | Floor<br>Floor<br>Floor |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Session | Joint Con. of Text – Focus on L/S Correspondence #<br>Grammar Task – Naming Words<br>Library<br>Group Writing Task on Set Topic<br>Modelled Handwriting Task | 30 mins<br>30 mins<br>10 mins/120 | directed<br>Teacher-directed<br>TD/Independent<br>TD/Group work<br>Teacher-directed | Library<br>Desks and Floor<br>Desks |
| 5 | Term 3 Week 8 Morning Session | RC/Review of Previous Day's Work/Sound of the Week 'v' #<br>Word Building<br>Phonemic Awareness Skills<br>Father's Day Activity/Reading Book/Discussion/Song<br>Library/Writing Task – 'My Dad is…' 'He does…' | 10/15 mins<br>10 mins<br>15 mins<br>30/30 mins/110 | Teacher-directed<br>Teacher-directed<br>Teacher-directed<br>TD/Independent | Floor<br>Floor<br>Floor<br>Library/Desks |
| 6 | Term 4 Week 4 Part of Morning Session | RC/Discussion of Group Activities/Appointing Leaders<br>Group Work Language-Based Activities<br>Maths Groups | 10 mins<br>30 mins<br>30 mins/70 | Teacher-directed<br>Group work/Ind<br>Group work/Ind | Floor<br>Desks and Floor<br>Desks and Floor |

APPENDIX 3

# OBSERVATION OVERVIEW – 3R

| Lesson | TIME | Lesson outline<br>RC = Roll Call | Activity Duration | Delivery mode | Location |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Term 1<br>Week 10<br>Morning<br>Session | Reading and RC<br>Spelling<br>Competition<br>Find-a-Word Task<br>Discussion<br>Language-based<br>Activities<br>Handwriting | 10 mins<br>10 mins<br>30 mins<br>15 mins<br>30 mins<br>30 mins/125 | Ind work /TD<br>Teacher-directed<br>Pair work<br>Teacher-directed<br>Group work<br>Teacher-directed | Desks/Floor<br>Desks<br>Floor to<br>desks<br>Floor<br>Desks and<br>Floor<br>Desks |
| 2 | Term 2<br>Week 2<br>Morning<br>Session | Reading and RC<br>Copying Spelling<br>List<br>Taskforce<br>Packing Up<br>Handwriting | 10 mins<br>35 mins<br>35 mins<br>10 mins<br>35 mins/125 | Ind Work /TD<br>Ind Work<br>Group /Ind Work<br>Teacher-directed<br>Teacher-directed | Desks/Floor<br>Desks<br>Desks and<br>Floor<br>Around room<br>Desks |
| 3 | Term 2<br>Week 2<br>Part of Mid<br>Morning<br>Session | Handwriting<br>Writing a Recount<br>Discussion<br>Writing a Recount<br>Maths | 15 mins<br>7 mins<br>30 mins/52<br>Not<br>Observed | Teacher-directed<br>Teacher-directed<br>Independent work | Desks<br>Floor<br>Desks |
| 4 | Term 2<br>Week 6<br>Morning<br>Session | Reading<br>RC and Class<br>Discussion<br>Language Activities<br>Taskforce<br>Language Activities<br>Handwriting | 10 mins<br>10 mins<br>25 mins<br>35 mins<br>10 mins<br>30 mins/120 | Independent<br>Teacher-directed<br>TD/Ind work<br>Group and Ind<br>TD/Ind work<br>Teacher-directed | Desks<br>Floor<br>Desks<br>Desks and<br>Floor<br>Floor to<br>Desks<br>Desks |
| 5 | Term 2<br>Week 6<br>Mid<br>Morning<br>Session | Number Game<br>Discussion TV<br>Programs/Writing a<br>Review<br>Writing a Review<br>Maths | 5 mins<br>25 mins<br>20 mins<br>Not Observed | Teacher-directed<br>Teacher-directed<br>Independent work | Floor<br>Floor<br>Desks |
| 6 | Term 4<br>Week 4<br>After Lunch<br>Session | Discussion Musical<br>Instruments<br>Discussion of Class<br>Homework<br>Assignment<br>Sound Map Activity | 25 mins<br>30 mins<br>25 mins | Teacher-directed<br>Teacher-directed<br>Pair work | Floor<br>Floor<br>Desks |

APPENDIX 4

# OBSERVATION OVERVIEW – 3C

| *Lesson* | *Time* | *Lesson Outline*<br>*RC = Roll Call # Body Break* | *Activity Duration* | *Delivery mode* | Location |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Term 1<br>Week 7<br>Morning Session | RC and Review of Previous Day's Work<br>Writing a Narrative – Structural Features/Joint. Construction #<br>Writing a Narrative – Independent Construction<br>Maths Groups | 10 mins<br>45 mins<br>25 mins<br>30 mins/110 | Teacher-directed<br>Teacher-directed<br>Teacher-directed<br>TD/Ind work | Desks<br>Desks<br>Desks<br>Desks |
| 2 | Term 1<br>Week 8<br>Morning & Mid Morning Sessions | RC and Review of Previous Day's Work<br>Explorers Unit – Reading Comprehension #<br>Reading Comprehension continued<br>Maths Groups – (Recess)<br>Complete Comprehension<br>Class Novel *Thing* – Grammar and Vocabulary Tasks | 10 mins<br>40 mins<br>30 mins<br>30 mins/110<br>30 mins<br>30 mins/60 | Teacher-directed<br>Teacher-directed<br>TD /Ind work<br>TD/ Ind. work<br>Ind work<br>Teacher-directed | Desks<br>Desks<br>Desks<br>Desks<br>Desks<br>Desks |
| 3 | Term 2<br>Week 3<br>Morning Session | RC and Review of Previous Day's Work<br>Explorers Unit Sequencing Task Feedback #<br>Individual Sequencing Task<br>Maths Groups | 10 mins<br>30 mins<br>15 mins<br>25 mins<br>30 mins/110 | Teacher-directed<br>Teache-r directed<br>Teacher-directed<br>Ind work<br>TD/Ind work | Desks<br>Desks<br>Desks<br>Desks<br>Desks |
| 4 | Term 2<br>Week 10<br>Morning Session | RC and Review of Previous Day's Work<br>Grammar Activity – Gender Nouns and Pronouns<br>Class Novel – *Ark in the Park* ID<br>Pronouns/Description | 10 mins<br>40 mins<br>30 mins<br>30 mins/110 | Teacher-directed<br>TD/Ind work<br>TD/Ind work<br>TD/Ind work | Desks<br>Desks<br>Desks<br>Desks |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Maths Groups | | | |
| 5 | Term 3<br>Week 5<br>Morning Session | RC and Review of Previous Day's Work<br>Australian Reptiles Unit Categorisation Task<br>Writing Report<br>Maths Groups | 5 mins<br>35 mins<br>40 mins<br>30 mins/110 | Teacher-directed<br>Teacher-directed<br>Independent ork<br>TD /Ind work | Desks<br>Desks<br>Desks<br>Desks |
| 6 | Term 3<br>Week 5<br>Morning Session | RC and Review of Previous Day's Work<br>Australian Reptiles Unit Summarising and Categorising Task<br>Scripture<br>Maths Groups | 10 mins<br>45 mins<br>25 mins<br>30 mins/110 | Teacher-directed<br>TD/Group work<br>Teacher-directed<br>TD/Ind work | Desks<br>Desks<br>Desks<br>Desks |

APPENDIX 5

# OBSERVATION OVERVIEW – 5D

| *Lesson* | *Time* | *Lesson outline* | *Activity Duration* | *Delivery mode* | *Location* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Term 1<br>Week 9<br>Morning<br>Session | Roll/Spelling<br>Dictionary Work<br>Dictation<br>Maths Testing/Body Break<br>Word Quiz | 20 mins<br>15 mins<br>30 mins<br>35 mins<br>20 mins/120 | Teacher-directed<br>Teacher-directed<br>Teacher-directed<br>Teacher-directed<br>Teacher-directed | Desks<br>Desks<br>Desks<br>Desks<br>Desks |
| 2 | Term 2<br>Week 3<br>Morning<br>session | Roll<br>Taskforce<br>Aboriginal Explorers<br>Listening and Writing Exercise<br>Packing Up/Discussion | 5 mins<br>45 mins<br>65 mins<br>5 mins/120 | Teacher-directed<br>Group work/Ind<br>TD/Independent<br>N/A | Desks<br>Desks and Floor<br>Desks<br>N/A |
| 3 | Term 2<br>Week 6<br>Morning<br>Session | Roll<br>Taskforce<br>Spelling Test<br>Discussion of Public Speaking Tasks<br>Typing Up Key Points on Public Speaking Tasks | 5 mins<br>45 mins<br>10 mins<br>15 mins<br>45 mins/120 | Teacher-directed<br>Group work/Ind<br>Teacher-directed<br>Teacher-directed<br>Group work | Desks<br>Desks and Floor<br>Desks<br>Desks<br>School Computer Lab |
| 4 | Term 2<br>Week 10<br>Morning<br>Session | Roll<br>Taskforce<br>'Pass-the-Paper' Story Writing Activity | 5 mins<br>45 mins<br>70 mins/120 | Teacher-directed<br>Group work/Ind<br>Teacher-directed | Desks<br>Desks and Floor<br>Desks |
| 5 | Term 3<br>Week 2<br>Morning<br>Session | Roll<br>Years 5/6 Disciplinary Meeting<br>'Grow-a-Story' Writing Activity<br>Music Appreciation Task | 5 mins<br>45 mins<br>55 mins<br>15 mins/120 | Teacher-directed<br>N/A<br>Teacher-directed<br>Teacher-directed/Ind | Desks<br>Floor<br>Desks<br>Desks |
| 6 | Term 4<br>Week 2<br>Morning<br>Session | Roll<br>Taskforce<br>'Grow-a-Story' Writing Activity<br>Fitness Training | 5 mins<br>45 mins<br>40 mins<br>30 mins/120 | Teacher-directed<br>Group work/Ind<br>Teacher-directed<br>Teacher-directed | Desks<br>Desks and Floor<br>Desks<br>Grass Area |

APPENDIX 6

# OBSERVATION OVERVIEW – 5O

| *Lesson* | *Time* | *Lesson outline* | *Activity Duration* | *Delivery mode* | *Location* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Term 1 Week 5 Morning Session | Recap Elements of a Narrative/Structural Features Mental Arithmetic/Feedback | 70 mins 50 mins/120 | Teacher-directed Teacher-directed | Desks Desks |
| 2 | Term 1 Week 9 Morning Session | Physical Education Exercises Recap Previous Work on Pirates Discussion of Character Profile of Pirate/Descriptive Writing Writing Character Profile Feedback | 20 mins 10 mins 25 mins 25 mins 40 mins/120 | Teacher-directed Teacher-directed TD/Ind Independent work Teacher-directed | Playground Desks Desks Desks Desks |
| 3 | Term 2 Week 2 Morning & Mid Morning Sessions | Choir Practice *Wind in the Willows* Unit/Discussion & Description Task Scripture Recess Discussion of Structure of a Review Writing a Paragraph/Feedback | 40 mins 50 mins 20 mins/120 30 mins 25 mins 40 mins | N/A TD/Ind N/A Recess Teacher-directed Independent work | School Hall Desks Desks Playground Desks Desks |
| 4 | Term 3 Week 3 Morning Session | Recap/Discussion Language Lesson/Parts of Speech/Focus on Adverbs Rewriting Passage Using Adverbs for Descriptive Effect Feedback | 10 mins 80 mins 20 mins 10 mins/120 | Teacher-directed TD/Ind Independent work Teacher-directed | Desks Desks Desks Desks |
| 5 | Term 3 Week 6 Morning Session | Recap/Discussion Antarctica Unit/Sequencing Exercise Writing an Explanation | 15 mins 30 mins 40 mins 15 mins 20 mins/120 | Teacher-directed Teacher-directed Independent | Desks Desks Desks Desks Desks |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | of a Food Chain<br>Feedback<br>Scripture | | work<br>Teacher-directed<br>N/A | |
| 6 | Term 3<br>Week 9<br>Mid Morning Session | Discussion of Aboriginal Speaker/Structure of Reports<br>Joint Construction and Pair Work Writing a Report<br>Feedback (completed after lunch) | 35 mins<br>50 mins<br>5 mins | Teacher-directed<br>TD/Pairs<br>Teacher-directed | Desks<br>Desks<br>Desks |

# NOTES

## *Introduction*

i. The teaching of grammar was virtually phased out of the New South Wales primary school curriculum with the release of a new language syllabus in 1974 which stated: "This Syllabus contains no requirement for the teaching of a system of grammar" (New South Wales Department of Education, 1974, p. 5). The next syllabus to make explicit reference to the teaching of grammar was the 1994 New South Wales K-6 English Syllabus.
ii. While the term progressivist education is used throughout this book, constructivism is another term to refer to a similar approach of limited instruction by a teacher and an emphasis on student-directed learning.
iii. The adjective 'Spinozan' is preferred here to the more common form 'Spinozistic'.
iv. The only exception to this was the Year 3 teacher at Westville PS who unexpectedly fell ill during the third term, so only four of her lessons could be observed.
v. Pseudonyms are used for the two schools and each of the teachers in this study.
vi. Students, however, are referred to by their actual first names because these appear on work samples that are analysed in Chapters 4, 5 and 6. Information regarding this was communicated to the school community and identification is unlikely given that pseudonyms are used for their schools, teachers and classes.

### CHAPTER 1

i. Primary school is the first phase of education in the Australian system. In the state of New South Wales it is comprised of kindergarten and another six years prior to secondary school.
ii. Habitus is a term with a long history. First used by Aristotle, it was revived by Mauss and is now more closely associated with Bourdieu. For a detailed history of the term see Wacquant (2004).
iii. This is not to discount the considerable work on the body within education but simply to point out how sociologies of the body tend to give schooling very little emphasis.
iv. While I make use of the term *pedagogic embodiment* Shilling (2010) refers to *body pedagogics*.
v. Foucault's account of power is not structuralist in the same way that the Marxist base/superstructure model is, because he sees power operating more relationally. Yet it is structuralist in the sense that he sees it as institutionally derived and deterministic in nature.

### CHAPTER 2

i. Lahire (2003) makes a similar point, though critiquing sociology more generally in its failure to track the formation of individual dispositions within a habitus.

## CHAPTER 3

i. At the time of publication Australia was in the planning stage of a National Curriculum with the draft documents for English reflecting a similar stance to that taken in the 1998 NSW K-6 Syllabus which is examined here.
ii. Given the bitter debates throughout the late 1980s and early 1990s between proponents of the genre approach and process writing, the more neutral term *text type* was chosen to replace *genre* (Reid, 1987).

## CHAPTER 4

i. At the time of the study this number represented three more students than was generally recommended for kindergarten in the NSW system. Since this study class sizes for kindergarten have been reduced to 20 students.
ii. Examples of possible activities include: more detailed treatment of vocabulary; listing and possibly sounding out words; examining letter patterns, ie, words that start or end with the same letters and sounds, that abide by similar rules, etc; using these words in sentences, first verbally and then in writing on the board; practising letter shapes or writing certain words; compiling lists of verbs that apply to koalas, ie, sleep, eat, live, jump, etc; completing cloze exercises on these to model sentences; jointly constructing a text similar to what is required and following this with students completing their own.
iii. Primary schools in NSW are now staffed on a K-6 basis and so this degree of specialisation is no longer the norm.
iv. Many of the students were from Chinese backgrounds and, while not a homogenous group, much research comments on the tendency for Chinese students to be reserved and quiet in class (Li, 2004; Grimshaw, 2007).
v. These words were: red, yellow, blue, green, pink, orange, purple, this, is, can, a, boy, my, dad, am, school, television, girl, little, see, watch, grandpa, jump, teacher, to, mum, colour, went. They were primarily drawn from a standardised list of 220 most frequently used words, although other words related to class work were also included.

## CHAPTER 6

i. Taskforce was the literacy program that operated across most grades at Westville PS. It is also discussed in Chapter 5.
ii. See Watkins (2010) on this point.

## CONCLUSION

i. I have explored this point elsewhere in relation to the reification of particular textual forms within the dominant genre-based writing approach (see Knapp and Watkins, 2005).

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