Negotiating Worlds, Words and Identities: Scaffolded literacies for pre-service teachers and children

Wendy Marie Cumming-Potvin
ABSTRACT. Aiming to extend sociocultural theory about the teaching and learning of literacies, this article reports on data from a qualitative study underpinned by a sociocultural framework (Rogoff, 1990; Vygotsky, 1986). Conducted in an Australian university community, the project tracked a group of pre-service teachers engaging in scaffolded literacy events, such as face-to-face and on-line discussions and shared reading experiences with children. Highlighting the importance of examining the teaching and learning of literacies across formal and informal settings, results offer information about how these pre-service teachers constructed understandings and situated identities (Gee, 1990, 2000-2001) through scaffolding. Pedagogical implications for pre-service teacher education are discussed.

NÉGOCIER LES MONDES, LES MOTS ET LES IDENTITÉS: SOUTIEN À L’APPRENTISSAGE DES LITTÉRATURES POUR LES FUTURS ENSEIGNANTS ET LES ENFANTS

Over the past two decades, the teaching and learning of literacies have been vigorously debated in academia (Allington, 2006) and across local, national and international media. Public debate, unfortunately, has been dominated by headlines which set back-to-basics against a whole language approach and highlight underachievement in students’ literacy performance (Durrant, 2012, 2006; Ivanic, Edwards, Satchwell & Smith, 2007; Smith, 2003). In Australia, initiatives such as the National Inquiry into Literacy Teaching, often referred to as the Nelson Inquiry (Commonwealth of Australia, 2005), the Inquiry into Teacher Education (Commonwealth of Australia, 2007) and the new K-10 Australian Curriculum (Australian Curriculum Assessment and Reporting Authority, 2012) have re-fuelled debates over the teaching and learning of literacies in schools. With increased accountability and performance monitoring both overseas and in Australia, interest in teacher education policy has focussed public inquiry on teacher recruitment and teacher education programmes (Cochran-Smith 2005; Mitchell, Murray & Nuttall, 2006; Smith, 2007).

Recommending that elementary and secondary teachers demonstrate personal skills and knowledge for teaching literacies, most particularly reading, the Nelson Inquiry emphasized the relationship between student literacy achievement and quality teaching. Similarly, the Report on the Inquiry into Teacher Education (Commonwealth of Australia, 2007) equated quality teaching with students’ academic standards and placed expectations on universities to improve initial teacher education, particularly through the teaching of reading. Critics argued that both Inquiries employed an outdated language of training reminiscent of a technical model of teacher education (Mitchell et al., 2006). Such a model dismisses the socially constructed nature of literacy (Luke & Freebody, 1999; New London Group, 2000) and privileges a view that literacy skills are value free and seamlessly transferable (Ivanic et al., 2007). While the debate continues to rage during the implementation period of the new K-10 Australian Curriculum (Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority, 2012), critics argue that the curriculum privileges a back-to-basics approach that requires of teachers and students to demonstrate competency in conventions of language, such as grammar and spelling.

Considering the highly politicised debates surrounding literacy and teacher education, in which teachers and teacher educators are positioned as both problem and solution (Cochran-Smith, 2005; Maloch, Seely Flint, Eldrige, Harmon, Loven, Fine, Bryant-Shanklin & Martinez, 2003; Pearson, 2001), this article explores how to deepen pre-service teachers’ understandings about literacy, through the creation of various learning opportunities: scaffolding, on-line discussion, and shared literacy events, as well as their intersection. In contrast to the present back-to-basics focus on skills, a complex approach to teaching, learning, and researching literacies is required to consider a post-modern reality of intensified sociocultural diversity (Cumming-Potvin, 2012). To
extend theoretical and practical understandings about teaching new literacies, the article draws on data from a qualitative research project involving a group of pre-service teachers and their own children engaging in scaffolded literacy events in an Australian community.

The research question examines how a group of pre-service teachers engaged with scaffolded literacy events to develop deeper perceptions and understandings of literacy. This question is intertwined with technology-enhanced learning, which has changed Australia’s university profile. For example, the research question is broadly situated within Australia’s university landscape for the new millennium, which is characterized by a widening range of enrolments (e.g. face-to-face, on-line, etc.). Norton (2012) highlighted that over the past twenty years, domestic and international university enrolments have more than doubled in Australia, with higher proportions of students studying off-campus and using mixed modes of enrolment (e.g. a combination of on-campus, on-line, etc).

**LEARNING, SOCIAL INTERACTION AND IDENTITY: PRE-SERVICE TEACHERS**

Since the 1990s, the notion that knowledge and identity are socially constructed through shared community practice and mutual engagement has become increasingly relevant to teacher education (Dysthe, Samara & Westrheim, 2006; Rogoff, 1990; Wenger, 1998). Anstey and Bull (2004) describe a literacy identity in which learners synthesize prior textual and sociocultural knowledge and experiences. Lave and Wenger’s (1991) argument that identity development involves performing tasks and mastering new understandings through growing community involvement applies to teachers learning with peers and more experienced mentors to become full members of a community. Rogoff suggests that resources, opportunities for participation and access to diverse community members are essential to this process.

Dissatisfied with technical approaches to teacher education, numerous teacher educators have called for collaborative learning communities in which pre-service teachers are given opportunities to reflect on their teaching with peers and more experienced mentors (Barnett, 2006; Cho & Taylor, 2012; Grossman, Wineburg & Woolworth, 2001). Whipp (2003) argued that from a sociocultural framework, prospective teachers are best placed to learn how to critically reflect on teaching practice in contexts affording opportunities to discuss problems. The development of teacher identity is considered a dynamic process, informed by social interaction, pedagogical beliefs, personal stories, teacher education and media images (Cooper & Olson, 1996; Franzak, 2002; Knowles & Holt-Reynolds, 1991; Strong-Wilson, 2007). As pre-service teachers engage with a range of discourses, they conceptualize their positions and negotiate identities to enter the teaching profession (Britzman 1991; Flores, 2007; Kooy & de Freitas, 2007; Rogers, Marshall & Tyson, 2006).
As individuals interact with the social world to interweave complex narratives, the duality between personal and collective identities (Day, Kington, Stobart & Sammons, 2006; Groundwater-Smith, 2005; Thomas & Beauchamp, 2011) becomes particularly pertinent for considering how pre-service teachers negotiate *multiple selves*. Gee (2000-2001) has identified numerous overlapping perspectives to depict individuals’ processes of constructing their identities through social interaction. Linked to nature, the N-identity represents a force over which society, rather than the individual, has control. For example, Gee describes how being an identical twin is a natural state, rather than an accomplishment. The I-identity, Gee suggests, involves an individual’s profession, such as being a university professor. Identities are placed on a continuum depending on how actively or passively one fulfils the position. Gee’s D-identity is determined through discourse or dialogue with other people. Finally, the A- or affinity identity emphasizes distinctive social practices, which create and sustain group affiliations.

Taking account of multiple identities, which are created through stories as individuals interact with others, Groundwater-Smith’s and Nias’ (1988) concept of the reflective practitioner emphasizes teachers’ intuitive awareness (see also Schön, 1985). Whipp (2003) argues that critical reflection encourages prospective teachers to develop important practices, such as distancing themselves from their own assumptions, critiquing problems from a larger sociocultural perspective, and taking reflective action. In literacy education, numerous teacher educators have suggested that pre-service teachers need opportunities to challenge their assumptions, deepen their understandings of literacy and broaden their belief systems (Barr, Watts-Taffe, Yokota, Ventura & Caputi, 2000; Cochran-Smith, 2005; Rogers et al., 2006). In addition to teacher reflection, the metaphor of scaffolding can illuminate how pre-service teachers construct their identities.

**SCAFFOLDING AND SHARED READING EXPERIENCES: SUPPORT FOR CHILDREN AND PRE-SERVICE TEACHERS**

Developed from sociocultural theory, the metaphor of scaffolding originally described how an adult supports a child’s learning with graduated assistance (Bruner 1983; Wood, Bruner & Ross, 1976). Scaffolding is often associated with Vygotsky (1978, 1986) who was interested in extending less experienced learners’ levels of functioning via assistance with experienced learners. For Vygotsky, the zone of proximal development represented the difference between the child’s independent and potential levels of functioning, the latter being released through scaffolding. Numerous researchers have examined scaffolding from a complementary and interdependent perspective that closely considers the apprentices’ and more experienced learners’ engagement in activities (Comber 2003; Guk & Kellogg, 2007; Paris & Cross, 1988; Rogoff, 1990; Stone, 1993).
Rogoff (1990) has suggested that as children learned to problem-solve through collaboration and shared understanding with various partners, cognitive development took place in routine social activities across cultures. Stone (1993) has highlighted the potential for learning within the zone of proximal development as a function of interpersonal relationships and interaction between participants. Cumming-Potvin, Renshaw and Van Kraayenoord (2003) introduced the metaphor of “multi-tiered scaffolding” to explicate how some children extended their language learning through peer, sibling and adult-child interaction involving diverse tasks, times and settings. Similarly, Sleeter, Torres and Laughlin (2004) defined scaffolding as interaction between members of a group with different levels of abilities as they engage in tasks which involve collaboration, evolution from external to internal control and appropriation of learning strategies.

In relation to teacher education, Tsui (2003) and Verity (2005) have argued that analysis of the zone of proximal development should consider the interactive and dynamic components creating space for potential growth, rather than simply the performance aspect of Vygotsky’s concept. In this sense, performance focuses on the difference between what a learner can attain alone, or in collaboration with a more expert peer or expert. Verity concluded that Vygotskian perspectives about the teaching-learning dialogue can assist the novice teacher to understand that learning, development, and transformation exist in unpredictable and non-linear ways. More recently, and concurrent with back-to-basics literacy approaches, numerous educational researchers have emphasized teachers’ more tightly structured roles in scaffolding learning outcomes, with less consideration of students’ interaction and critical inquiry (see Lutz, Guthrie & Davies, 2006; Pentimonti & Justice, 2010; Ranker, 2009). Increasingly, qualitative researchers have argued that heuristic and cultural factors must be considered when mediating tasks for adult learners to understand their struggle in constructing personal and world views (Hatano & Wertsch, 2001; Kasworm 2003; Verity, 2005). Still, little is known about how pre-service teachers negotiate and re-negotiate their identities and understandings through scaffolded literacy events in various contexts, including home, school and on-line settings.

SCAFFOLDING, SHARED READING AND TECHNOLOGY: SUPPORT FOR CHILDREN AND ADULTS IN EDUCATIONAL SETTINGS

For more than a decade, an increasing number of educators have examined shared reading experiences as a scaffold for elementary and secondary students from a critical and sociocultural perspective (Martino, 1999; Martino & Pallotta-Chiarolli, 2003; O’Brien, 2001). Teacher educators have also increasingly employed shared reading experiences to enhance student learning in teacher education courses (Chambers Cantrell, 2002; Grisham 2000; Wells, 1990). Tama and Peterson (1991) have argued that shared literature discussion groups allow pre-service teachers to read and reflect on fictional and real teachers’ beliefs, frustrations and accomplishments.
Numerous pre-service teacher research projects conducted in the 1990s and the new millennium have drawn on sociocultural theory to focus on critical reflection. Using literature discussion groups in undergraduate and graduate reading methods courses, Williams and Owens (1997) commented that pre-service teachers gained multiple perspectives, opportunities for critical reflection and possibilities for transferring knowledge to classroom practice. Researchers focussing on pre-service teacher education have also combined shared reading and collaborative strategies using approaches such as critical pedagogy (Freire, 1998) reflective inquiry (Lytle & Cochran-Smith, 1992) and multiliteracies (New London Group, 2000). Combining art lessons with shared reading of literature, Risberg, Brander and Gruenewald (2006) argued that multicultural picture books offered scaffolding for incorporating multiple theoretical perspectives, allowing pre-service teachers to read the word and the world (Freire, 1998).

Educational researchers working from a sociocultural perspective have gained substantial knowledge about scaffolding and shared reading experiences. Yee and Andrews (2006) also argue that the nature of learning in informal settings attracts increasing attention in educational research. Still, little is known about the processes through which pre-service teachers learn in scaffolded literacy events and how these events are influenced by factors such as setting (e.g., informal, formal), relationships (e.g., peers or adult-child) and differences in tools (e.g., conventional or technology-mediated texts). From this viewpoint, pre-service teachers negotiating their identities can be viewed via social practice, which is blended with new literacies that lie in contested social fields (Albright, 2006; Bourdieu, 1990). Examining an emerging area of interest in which scaffolding, on-line learning and shared-reading experiences intersect, the present study aimed to extend theoretical and practical understandings about teaching and learning literacies to widen pedagogical opportunities for pre-service teachers.

In literacy pre-service teacher education, numerous researchers working from a social constructivist framework reported on the nuances of scaffolding via technology-mediated learning, such as advantages and limitations of on-line discussions. Conducting a study in which pre-service teachers worked with struggling readers, Jetton (2004) argued that asynchronous technology-mediated discussion holds several advantages, such as alternative avenues for communicating beliefs and teaching experiences, increasing knowledge, and reflecting on teacher practice. Examining students' written responses in an on-line graduate literacy course for elementary and secondary teacher education, Black (2005) argued that asynchronous on-line discussion allowed for more reflective and critical engagement than synchronous discussion to promote higher order cognition while extending physical and temporal boundaries of universities (see also Davidson-Shivers, Tanner & Muilenberg, 2000; Lapadat, 2000). Because students can struggle to be reflective, Black also concluded that
pre-service educators must carefully support students by structuring on-line discussion to encourage critical thinking.

More recently, Courtney and King (2009) defined learning communities as sociocultural organizations and drew on a communities of practice theoretical model (see Brown, 1997; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998) to conclude that asynchronous and collaborative on-line discussions supported pre-service teachers to acquire and refine content and pedagogical knowledge for teaching literacy. Similarly, collecting data from interviews, written reflections and asynchronous discussion boards, Ajayi (2009) concluded that the pre-service teacher participants enrolled in two literacy courses perceived asynchronous discussion boards as an important situated learning tool to facilitate social construction of knowledge and customized learning experiences. Underpinned by Gee’s (2003) view of literacy as social learning, Ajayi’s theoretical framework defined literacy, as being driven by evolving and interwoven elements, such as knowledge, people, context and technology.

RESEARCH CONTEXT: FIELD SITE, PARTICIPANTS AND METHODS

The selected University is located in an urban centre in Western Australia. The student population of the University was approximately 14000, of which approximately 1600 were enrolled in an initial teacher education program. The study’s participants consisted of a small group of three adult female tertiary students, who were all enrolled in the initial teacher education program. These tertiary students’ four children, aged between four and seven years old, also participated in the study. All participants spoke English as a first language. All adult participants were enrolled in a fourteen-week compulsory English curriculum course, aimed to prepare initial education students for teaching English in elementary classrooms. Enrolments in this course were either on-campus or external (students were not required to attend on-campus tutorials and accessed course materials online). Using the process of written informed consent, all participants were selected on a voluntary basis.

As data were gathered beginning in 2006, the research design was qualitative in nature to study emerging phenomena, allowing for flexibility to pursue alternative pathways (Patton, 2002). The detailed descriptions characteristic of this approach are appropriate for investigating relationships between people, objects and space (Stainback & Stainback, 1988), especially for in-depth work across small numbers of participants. A case study approach of the small group was thus privileged, acknowledging the importance of inductive context, theorizing (Gilham, 2000) and a holistic representation of the phenomenon (Patton, 2002). Inspired by Yin (1989), Noor (2008) has argued that the case study involves an empirical inquiry using multiple data sources to examine a contemporary phenomenon within an authentic context; a case may focus on in-depth study of an individual, an event or a unit of analysis. While the
sample size is limited, the aim of the case is to offer in-depth information about a small number of participants, rather than to generalize results across the general population.

After funding for the project was received in 2006, the initial project was granted ethical clearance from the University and was conducted over a period of approximately two years. In 2008, a decision was made to extend the project to gather additional data; a second ethical clearance was granted as an amendment to the original project. The new data focussed on constructing a single case study of how one of the pre-service teachers (Sally) developed as an early career teacher. While the original project utilized focus groups, the extension of the project privileged the individual semi-structured interview (with a similar interview protocol about literacy). A previous publication emphasized the transition of Sally as she developed from being a pre-service teacher to an early career teacher, with the analysis intertwining concepts such as social justice, teacher’s pedagogy and multiliteracies (see Cumming-Potvin, 2009). This article draws on data from the original study to analyse how the small group of pre-service teachers negotiated their identities via scaffolded literacy events, such as focus groups, shared reading experiences and online discussions.

For the purpose of triangulation, diverse data collection instruments were used (see Walter, 2010). For the original study, these instruments involved two on-campus focus groups, an on-line discussion tool and observation of three shared reading experiences in home settings. During the two focus groups, which took place on-campus in an informal setting, the pre-service teacher participants were given the opportunity to discuss open-ended questions about literacy. The researcher audio-taped these discussions and a research assistant subsequently transcribed the discussions. At the conclusion of the first focus group, adult participants chose from a selection of children’s picture books to engage in shared reading experiences with their young children at home. As these informal shared reading experiences unfolded over several months, the pre-service teacher participants extended the list of picture books, suggesting personal favourites, children’s preferences, librarians’ recommendations, etc.

After the first on-campus focus group, an on-line discussion tool was also made available. This data collection tool offered pre-service teachers the opportunity to reflect online over several months about topics raised during on-campus focus groups and informal home-based shared reading experiences (involving the pre-service teachers and their own children).

A constant comparative analysis (Strauss, 1987) was used to identify emerging themes and patterns. As per the recommendations of Greenbank (2003) and Smagorinsky (2008), evidence running counter to the data corpus and values of the researcher was also considered. During multiple readings of the initial data set, preliminary evidence was confirmed or refuted, prior to expanding and/or collapsing selected categories. Driven by the assumption that language
meaning is fundamentally linked to social interaction and context (Wittgenstein, 1974), discourse analysis (Gee, 1990, 1999; Lupton, 1992) was used to examine transcripts and speech patterns on textual and contextual levels (e.g. grammar, syntax and rhetorical devices). It is acknowledged that any analysis is coloured by the researcher’s beliefs and is open to the reader’s re-interpretation.

PRESENTATION OF DATA AND ANALYSIS

Gathered over several months from diverse research instruments, data tracked the literacy understandings of Grace, Eva and Sally (the pre-service teachers’ pseudonyms). During on-campus focus groups and on-line discussions, the pre-service teachers were invited to respond to qualitative questions, such as How would you define literacy?4 and How have you developed this definition of literacy? An extract from Focus Group 1, which took place at the beginning of May, provides initial insight into the pre-service teachers’ general perceptions of literacy. Following Focus Group 1, numerous picture books were distributed to the pre-service teachers, who were asked to choose one or two texts to take home and engage in shared reading experiences with their children. The pre-service teachers were also invited to reflect on these experiences via online discussions.

As the analysis unfolded, themes illustrating the pre-service teachers’ pedagogical engagement with these texts were considered salient. Three on-line messages, which were posted subsequent to Focus Group 1, were suggestive of how the pre-service teachers’ perceptions and understandings of literacy interwove with social practice surrounding scaffolded literacy events in informal settings (e.g. shared reading experiences with young children). An extract from Focus Group 2, which took place on-campus approximately three months following Focus Group 1, illustrated the group’s perceptions and understandings of literacy from the more focussed lens of teaching and learning literacy in elementary classrooms.

The analysis draws on Gee’s (1990, 1999, 2000-2001) work and aspects of sociocultural research relating to scaffolding, literacy, and on-line learning. Whipp’s (2003) framework, for critical reflection, based on Hatton and Smith’s (1995) coding system for student emails, is also utilized. Drawing largely on Gee’s 2000-2001 notion of multiple identities, Transcript A: Focus Group 1, which is presented below, illustrates how the three pre-service teachers positioned themselves through discussion and reflection as members of a community of practice (Rogoff, 1990; Wenger, 1998).

TRANSCRIPT A. Focus Group 1

4 Grace Well I sort of think, we always used to think it was books, or reading, but probably even through this unit [course] it’s not just reading a book it’s reading everything, like you know visual things, reading advertisements books, reading like the media all that sort of things, so to me I think literacy is a lot more than I ever defined it as.
5 Researcher  Ok. So do you see it as, in multiple literacies?
6 Grace    Yeah I think so.
7 Researcher  Mmmm.
8 Grace    And especially like for the children. I think to them it’s not just that book, it’s about the whole thing from the computer, CD ROMs that they’re doing, to sort of right through.
9 Researcher  Mmmm.
10 Eva    That it’s more, it’s also making sense of it in a real holistic, I like to use the word holistic, sense, that you’re being critical... that you, that you see where writers are coming from and why they’ve written the way they’ve written. Why newspaper articles are read, you know, portrayed the way they are and that sort of thing too. So I mean, I was never taught that at school, that was something that was definitely not there.
11 Researcher  Mm. So was there more? When you say that you weren’t taught, what were you taught at school?
12 Eva    I don’t know how I’d define it, but I mean I was definitely, I mean we did ahm, I mean if we did books we might have looked at characters and, and, and a little bit of characterisation that you’d use. You’d read a play and you’d be able to say well, well this character I think that they were a bit bossy or something and you’d use some of these things, quotes from that, but you didn’t actually look at the actual author and the, and the context in which the book was read or anything like that, so and the political messages or, none of that was included.
13 Researcher  Mmmmm.
14 Eva    So, ahm... So that’s been quite an eye-opener for me, this has been interesting.
15 Researcher  Mmmm. How about you Sally?
16 Sally    ...I agree with both the comments, but it’s becoming more aware of how, it’s not just about the book, it’s how it connects with life ahm, especially with the theme of this one’s families and stuff, so it’s how it connects with the families and how it can relate to what happens in the book... to themselves and to other people.... I suppose it’s just making the connection with life... and trying to put the child say in the place of another child so like... you know. We’re in a single parent family so that’s what we’re used to, but then you see another family where there’s lots of relatives around.... And vice versa for kids in different situations, so it’s learning to broaden the horizons beyond what happens in the home and the school.²

With little or no previous face-to-face or on-line contact, Eva, Grace and Sally initially appeared positioned as peripheral members of a community of practice (Rogoff, 1990; Wenger, 1998). As Grace discussed the concept of not just reading a book, but reading everything, she utilized the personal and collective pronouns I and we, thereby evoking the notion of multiple identities (Gee, 2000-2001). From turns 4 to 8, Grace’s utterances suggest reflection from dual perspectives of the I-identity; more generally Grace repeatedly evoked the contextualized signal I think, which set up her speaker persona related to I-identity (see Gee, 1990). While Grace developed her reflection, she did not qualify a context
in reference to the noun *children*. As such, it can be argued that the I-identity, or Grace as a student and pre-service literacy educator, may have dominated over the N-identity, or Grace as a mother interacting with her children during literacy events (see Gee, 1990, 2000-2001).

In turns 10-12, building on Grace’s reflection, Eva’s responses suggest language used in tandem with interaction (Gee, 1991) and an increased level of cognition. From mainly descriptive reflection involving analysis of events or actions from a personal viewpoint (Hatton & Smith, 1995; Whipp, 2006), Eva’s utterances shifted towards dialogic reflection, involving some distance from personal description. Eva drew comparisons between the *holistic* theory underpinning the English course and the pedagogy of her past schooling which negated *political messages* or *critical* questions about authors. As Eva contributed to the discussion, she depicted her past schooling as permitting reading of words and texts, but not negotiating worlds or identities.

In turn 15, as the researcher invited Sally to participate in the discussion, she allowed for the juxtaposition of Sally’s voice against those of Grace and Eva. Drawing on personal experiences in turn 16, Sally’s utterances resonated with Anstey and Bull’s (2004) concept of literacy identity or *how it [the book] connects with life*. Hence, *an individual’s literacy identity is developed through social, technological and cultural factors as well as personal engagement with texts*. As she responded to the topic of defining literacy, and the statements of Grace and Eva, Sally drew on personal and diverse family narratives to articulate a degree of dialogic reflection (see Hatton & Smith, 1995; Whipp, 2006). So, Sally began to examine her own reality through dialogue and inquiry.

From the viewpoint of a mother (Gee’s 2000-2001 concept of N-identity), Sally commented: “We’re in a single parent family, so that’s what we’re used to.” However, Sally also stressed the importance of trying to “put the child...in the place of another child” and broadening “the horizons beyond what happens in the home and the school.” Here, the generic term *child* and the verbs *put* and *broaden* suggest language that allowed Sally to position herself as a pre-service teacher, who aimed to scaffold students (see Gee’s I-identity) in better understanding sociocultural diversity. As Sally discussed broadening *horizons*, it can be suggested that her definition of literacy extended beyond reading words, and was underpinned by the desire to consider worldviews.

Transcript B: On-line messages includes three on-line messages posted approximately three and a half weeks following Focus Group 1. These three messages provide insights into how Grace, Sally and Eva used the study’s on-line discussions to interweave understandings of literacy with reflections on scaffolded literacy events, such as informal shared reading experiences.
TRANSCRIPT B. On-line messages

Eva’s message (posted May 26th, 7:50 pm)

... Nancy and I enjoyed the book *Love You Forever* and we’ve read it a few times now. Nancy commented on the illustrations and how as he [the main character] gets older, the bedroom décor changes and how the mother’s top on the front cover is the same as her nightie in the last page. She’s obviously a very visual reader.

I felt quite emotional and we both sung the verse bit, which was lovely. On the second reading Nancy commented how the story was going to repeat itself with the Dad and his new daughter. We discussed the cycle of life.

Speak to you again soon.

Grace’s Message (posted May 24th, 7:36pm)

My children love *Let’s Get a Pup* too. I was interested, too, to notice that they haven’t commented at all on the “type” of family ... the tattoos, nose piercing, dress etc. Yet in *Beegu* they instantly reckoned the teacher was mean (because of her glasses in one picture). So some things matter to them and other things don’t. Maybe adults do stereotype more than they realise!

They have enjoyed *Beegu* and *My Dad*, but it is *Let’s Get a Pup* that they frequently want read to them. Probably because they relate to it so well. It depicts something they would love to do too. A couple of other observations - my daughter is starting to read well (seems to be making daily progress). Yet she still expects and enjoys the bedtime story reading with the boys. So, even when children can read themselves they still want to listen to stories being read to them. Maybe we ease back too much on the amount we read to students when they can read themselves?

Sally’s Message (posted May 23th, 9:03pm)

Thanks for the *Love You Forever* book. My daughter loved the first read so much she asked me to read it again straight away. She also enjoyed *Let’s Get a Pup*. I thought this book was interesting as the family displayed strong love towards the dogs and each other and were not your stereotypical family (tattoos, piercings etc). Thus it could be used to look at misconceptions people have about others based on appearance.

The prac [practicum] went well. I had a pre-primary class with varying reading ability from hardly able to recognise letters to one student who could read Enid Blyton novels. In the two weeks I was there, the teacher focussed mainly on code-breaking skills such as sounding words out. This approach seemed to work well as the ability of some students to work out the spelling of a word was amazing. Many of the students could construct sentences with two able to actually write them without help!

In Eva’s message, Eva observed how repeated readings and songs with her young daughter (Nancy) allowed for scaffolding from familiar to less familiar pedagogical content (Rogoff, 1990). With phrases such as “I enjoyed” and “I felt quite emotional,” the organizational discourse (Gee, 1990) of Eva’s text was nonetheless characterized by descriptive and emotional language. As Grace made observations about her young children’s preferences for certain picture books and story readings, Grace’s message exemplified generalized language of personal feeling (Gee, 1990). However, completing her reflection with a rising
inflection (see Gee, 1990), Grace identified broader questions, such as whether we read sufficiently to students who are considered independent readers.

In Sally’s message, Sally spontaneously discussed her professional practicum placements and informal home shared reading experiences with her five-year-old daughter. However, in terms of text cohesion (Gee, 1990), the absence of a linguistic linking device between the two stanzas appeared to temporarily juxtapose Sally’s I-identity from the N-Identity (Gee, 2000-2001). Within the I-Identity, although Sally commented that some pre-primary (kindergarten) students could only recognize letters while others could read Enid Blyton novels, further opportunities for Sally to reflect in on-line or face-to-face settings may have promoted reflection about student abilities and social inequities (see, for example, Bourdieu, 1990).

In some instances, drawing on social, political, and cultural considerations, Grace’s Message and Sally’s Message shifted towards dialogic reflection (Hatton & Smith, 1995; Whipp, 2003). For example, suggesting that picture books containing strong visual imagery, such as *Let’s Get a Pup* (Graham 2001) could be used to dispel misconceptions and stereotypes about families’ appearances is a practice often associated with critical literacy (see for example Luke & Freebody, 1999; Martino, 1999). In this vein, numerous literacy researchers have argued for using picture books when discussing texts with younger children and adolescents to explore content, ideology, and non mainstream issues (Albright, 2002; Dean & Grierson, 2005; O’Brien, 2001).

Approximately one month following the posting of these on-line messages, a second on-campus focus group was conducted with the three pre-service teachers. Depicted below in Transcript C: Focus Group 2, the participants recounted their perceptions and understandings through discourses about teaching and learning literacy in elementary classrooms, with the theme of picture books revoiced in the form of narratives.

**TRANSCRIPT C. Focus group 2**

50 Eva And that’s really, I hadn’t realised how important that background knowledge was, until reading [Love You Forever] really. Because I found I got quite upset about that, because of the things it was bringing up from my background and my daughter wasn’t at all upset she just accepted that yes we all die and that’s ok and I love you mummy and it was all because she hasn’t been exposed to any of it so she was quite accepting and quite loved the book, so.

51 Grace I don’t know if I could read that to a group of school kids. I think I’d cry.

52 Eva Well I started crying and I know I found that very confronting because I didn’t really think, you know I was happily reading it and then you realise that, because I know the first time I read it I thought please don’t die in this book. Yeah.

53 Sally Because it does come to, like if you are reading [Love You Forever] to a large group of children…. I think you have to be really careful where your kids are coming from. Like if they don’t come from ideal backgrounds or maybe mum and dad,
or maybe if their background is ok, but not what you perceive as being the ideal childhood, I think you have to be really careful with these family related books as to what, ’cause if you say this is the way family, you’re kind of saying this is the kind of way a family should be and if that is not the way their family is….?

54 Grace (overlapping) It’s almost racist. It could be couldn’t it, if you weren’t.

55 Eva Or stereotypical.

Eva’s utterances highlight descriptive and emotional language (Gee, 1990). In turns 50 and 52, for example, Eva described her home shared reading experiences with her young daughter by using the phrases I got quite upset, I found that very confronting and I was crying. In turn 51, although her utterances were also characterized by emotion, Grace offered an alternative discourse, which positioned the discussion from a professional perspective, thus drawing on the I-Identity (Gee, 2000-2001).

As the discussion unfolded, the pre-service teachers’ professional or I-Identities (Gee, 2000-2001) surfaced more clearly through heteroglossic dialogue (Bakhtin, 1981). Sally’s comments about reading Love Me Forever to a large group of children can be interpreted as leaning on Grace’s previous utterances about reading the picture books to a “group of school kids.” In turn 53, by drawing on the notion of students’ cultural backgrounds, Grace extended the chain of discourse to argue for pedagogy which respects those families who may be on the peripheries of society’s norms.

As spaces for dialogue were provided, it can be argued that Grace and Eva momentarily assimilated the voice of Sally (Bakhtin, 1986; Rogers et al., 2006). Scaffolding was afforded to explore the broader politics of literacy teaching and learning through themes such as critiquing idealized conceptions of family (see Cumming-Potvin, 2009; Martino & Cumming-Potvin, 2011).

**DISCUSSION**

Drawn from Focus Groups 1 and 2, and asynchronous on-line discussions, these results highlight the processes through which Sally, Eva and Grace developed understandings about literacies and negotiated their identities as pre-service teachers and parents. Across home and university and in on-line contexts, Sally, Eva and Grace’s journeys can be understood through social interaction and a growing involvement within a community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991). By engaging in meaningful tasks, such as shared reading experiences with their own children and discussions with peers, Sally, Eva and Grace made personal and professional connections about the theory and practice of teaching and learning literacies. These links are representative of Gee’s (200-2001) N, A and I- identities. For example, the group of pre-service teachers identified important themes, such as the primordial role of talk during shared reading (see Heath, 1983; Luke & Freebody, 1999) and the relationship between children’s enjoyment, re-reading and understanding of texts.
In some instances, the social interaction provided informal space for dialogic reflection (Hatton & Smith 1995; Whipp 2003), whereby Sally, Eva and Grace broadened their definitions of literacy, distanced themselves from their assumptions and biases and critiqued problems from a larger social cultural perspective (Cochran-Smith, 2005; Rogers et al., 2006). As dialogic reflection emerged across some utterances, it can be argued that the pre-service teacher participants increased their zone of proximal development (Vygotsky, 1978, 1986) through the metaphor of scaffolding. Here, Tsui’s (2003) and Verity’s (2005) broadened definition of Vygotsky’s zone of proximal development is useful for it considers the interactive and dynamic components of creating space for growth rather than emphasizing performance. As the pre-service teachers engaged with scaffolded events, they become more aware of the struggle surrounding their construction of personal and worldviews (Hatano & Wertsch, 2001; Kasworm, 2003; Verity, 2005), particularly in relation to teaching reading with resources such as picture books. From this viewpoint, there was a dynamic tension as the pre-service teachers negotiated their I-identies and D-identities (Gee, 2000 - 2001).

In spaces which acknowledged heteroglossic voices (Bakhtin, 1986), Sally, Eva, and Grace temporarily broadened their personal narratives to reflect on the broader politics of literacy teaching. Still, pre-service teachers’ learning journeys must be acknowledged as complex and imbued with contending and related discourses. While Sally, Eva and Grace often used conversational space to smoothly articulate their definitions of literacy in stretches of language or discourses (Gee, 1999), authoritative discourse, such as the utterances of the researcher, may also have influenced face-to-face and on-line discussions (Bakhtin, 1981, Rogers et al., 2006). Although these pre-service teachers drew heavily on prior experiences with texts (Anstey & Bull, 2004) to discuss the teaching and learning of literacies, these topics had also been introduced in the English course in question. Thus, on a broader level, discussions taking place during the study pointed to the powerful academic Discourses of higher education institutions.

Nonetheless, these results confirm previous research interpreting scaffolding from a complementary and interdependent perspective that allows consideration of the apprentices’ and more experienced learners’ engagement in activities (Comber 2003; Guk & Kellog 2007; Paris & Cross, 1988; Rogoff, 1990). As Sally, Eva and Grace engaged in discussions and literacy events with adults and children, the scaffolding and zone of proximal development varied with factors such as participants’ interaction and relationships, time, settings and types of tasks (Cumming-Potvin et al., 2003; Stone, 1993). Engagement in shared reading experiences provided spaces for dialogue, which were: created on campus as participants discussed their initial picture book choices, sustained at home as participants and their young children responded to picture books, and extended in the on-line environment as participants reflected on the scaffolded literacy events and the social, cultural and political dimensions of literacies.
Of the various factors affecting scaffolding, an asynchronous on-line discussion tool appeared beneficial for the pre-service teachers’ reflection about teaching practice, theory, and scholarship (see MaKinster et al., 2006; Whipp, 2003). While the focus of group discussions was limited to on-campus engagement, the on-line discussions allowed participants to post messages up to several months later, thus providing opportunities to extend reflection over time. In addition, because the three selected on-line messages were posted at 7:36pm, 7:50pm and 9:03 pm, the notion of class time could be described as malleable. To this effect, Nicholson and Bond (2003) and Levin, He and Robbins (2006) have argued the benefits of asynchronous on-line discussions, which include extending student learning beyond the classroom and creating a place for reflection within a community of practice (Wenger, 1998).

The concept of a supportive community of practice appears absent from recent Australian Commonwealth initiatives calling for improvement of initial teacher education programmes via skills-based approaches, particularly in literacy instruction. Indeed, numerous educational researchers have rejected these technical approaches to teacher education and literacies as inadequate for the diverse and complex needs of students in the new millennium. Framed within a context of increased public inquiry and debate, both overseas and in Australia, this article employed a sociocultural approach to examine initial teacher education and the teaching and learning of literacies. Through a case study using diverse methods of data collection, the research explored how the convergence of scaffolding, on-line discussion and shared reading experiences offered opportunities for a small group of pre-service teachers to deepen their understandings of literacy.

Advantages of integrating children’s literature in home, on-line, and on-campus contexts included: extending discussions and reflection beyond the classroom, bridging the gap between home and school literacies and promoting reflection within a supportive community of practice. As Grace, Sally and Eva negotiated their multiple identities, the convergence of shared reading experiences, on-line and on-campus discussions provided scaffolding to interweave theory and practice about the teaching of literacies. As interaction occurred with children, peers and more experienced mentors within the community, Grace, Sally and Eva were able to negotiate their identities as future members of the teaching profession and travel towards more complex understanding of teaching scholarship. It should be noted however that as per Black’s 2005 recommendations, teacher educators play a fundamental role in encouraging critical reflection through pedagogical strategies, such as open-ended questions and on-line summaries of discussions. To deepen reflection, such summaries could link practical case examples to theory introduced in teaching methods courses.
CONCLUDING REMARKS

Reporting on selected results from a qualitative study which was conducted in an Australian university community, this article examined how a group of pre-service teachers engaged with scaffolded literacy events (such as shared reading experiences, face-to-face and on-line discussions) to develop perceptions and understandings of literacy. The results offer brief glimpses of how pedagogical practice can be adapted to accommodate evolving identities and discourses of pre-service teachers who engage with on-line, on-campus and home learning. By challenging back-to-basics pedagogical practice with flexible ways of thinking about temporality and dialogic spaces, the interweaving of scaffolding with informal and formal learning can widen the lens for pre-service teachers to reflect on understandings and identities for engaging with local and global communities (Tierney, 2006). However, as pre-service teachers negotiate their entry in the teaching profession, the long term challenge remains sustaining freedom of expression and action within contending political fields. As such, in a shifting world of literacies wherein newly graduated and experienced teachers shape increasingly diverse student populations, effective teacher education programs demand more than technical training to address literacy performance (Cochran-Smith, 2005).

Due to the exploratory nature of the study and the limited number of participants, caution should be exercised in translating these results to other settings. Additional research is recommended to explore how pre-service teachers, who belong to minority groups and use English as an additional language, construct their identities while developing understandings about teaching scholarship. Nonetheless, these selected results highlight the importance of examining the teaching and learning of literacies across formal and informal settings and the necessity for innovation in university programs whereby pre-service teachers are encouraged to integrate action and reflection.

Because professional and personal identities are renegotiated and contested through thought, action and interaction (Bourdieu, 1990; Gee, 1999), further applied research is recommended to explore innovative pedagogy for scaffolding across multiple settings. Aiming to develop literacy educators who master words, challenge attitudes, and negotiate identities within communities, novel programmes could place more emphasis on informal and formal scaffolding in on-line and face-to-face settings. Ultimately, with long-term scaffolding and greater informal access to members of educational communities, new graduates may feel safe to position themselves as twenty-first century leaders, who intertwine theory and practice to advocate for socially just pedagogy in complex and multiliterate worlds.
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NOTES

1. In a case study tracking Sally’s development from a pre-service to an early career teacher, this question was used in an individual interview with Sally (see Cumming-Potvin, 2009, p.88).
2. This quotation from Sally originally appears in Cumming Potvin, 2009, p. 88.
3. This quotation from Sally originally appears in Cumming Potvin, 2009, p. 88.
4. This quotation from Sally originally appears in Cumming Potvin, 2009, p. 90.

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Scaffolded Literacies for Pre-Service Teachers and Children


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WENDY CUMMING-POTVIN was born in Canada and is currently employed as a full-time academic at Murdoch University in Australia. Wendy's research focuses on a critical approach to learning with an emphasis on multiliteracies, teacher development and social justice. Recently, Wendy was selected as a key researcher in a Cooperative Research Centre project utilizing technology to promote the mental health and well-being of young people.

WENDY CUMMING-POTVIN est née au Canada et travaille présentement à temps plein à l’Université Murdoch en Australie. Les recherches de Wendy portent sur une approche critique de l’apprentissage avec une emphase sur les multilittératies, la formation des enseignants et la justice sociale. Récemment, Wendy a été choisie comme chercheur-clé au sein d’un Centre coopératif de recherche pour un projet utilisant la technologie visant à promouvoir la santé mentale et le bien-être des jeunes.