Gender Issues and the Everyday Life Literacy Practices of a Newly Literate Moroccan Woman

Reddad Erguig

Department of English, Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences,
Chouaib Doukkali University, B.P. 29,
Route Ben Mâachou 24000 El-Jadida, Morocco

Abstract: In this article, I present a case study of the literacy practices of a newly literate woman from Morocco. I adopt the social practice theory of literacy and I use ethnographic methods to explore the participant's life history and offer a practice account of her family-related literacy practices within the framework of gender studies. To collect data, I used in-depth interviews, informal discussion, participant observation, visual ethnography and documentary photography over one year. In data analysis, literacy events were used as the basic unit of analysis and patterns were identified through coding and theme analysis. The results obtained show that the family is a strong impetus for the participant's literacy acquisition and a major context where she uses literacy. They also demonstrate that literacy is an enabling tool for the participant because, thanks to her status as newly literate, she can carry out many of the outdoor tasks that were formerly exclusive to men, yet literacy places new family demands on her and does not empower her to claim her place in the world and play leading roles in the family life. These results support findings of previous research on the embedded nature of literacy practice and illustrate the multiple ways in which the vernacular literacy behavior of a participant from the Moroccan context is embedded in a strong gender-based division of labor.

Key words: Literacy practices · Emergent literacy · Adult literacy · Gender · Ethnography

INTRODUCTION

This article offers a case study of the literacy practices of a female adult literacy student, with a particular focus on the opportunities and constraints she faces in relation with her family-related literacy activities. It aims to (i) explore her literacy beliefs and attitudes, (ii) describe and analyze her reading and writing behavior as it occurs in real life and (iii) examine the ways her literacy practices fit into her personal and/or social life and the extent to which they are enabling and/or constraining for her. The article addresses the following questions: what are the participant's "ruling passions" or favorite topics of conversation? In what ways and for what purposes does she use literacy within the family domain? How are her literacy practices enmeshed in social, cultural and power structures as well as different symbolic systems and modes and how are constructions of gender implicated in her literacy practices? What strategies does she use to deal with literacy problems and to learn new literacy skills?

This study uses the social practice theory of literacy and is intended to contribute to the "New Literacy Studies" by presenting a case study from the Moroccan context of the embedded nature of the literacy behavior of an adult literacy student. Purcell-Gates notes that "[i]t is now generally recognized that literacy *is* multiple and woven within the sociocultural lives of communities, but what is not yet fully understood is how it *is* multiple – how this multiplicity plays out across and within differing sociocultural contexts" [1]. Second, this article examines claims of international development agencies about the positive outcomes of adult literacy acquisition with specific reference to a Moroccan adult literacy learner. Third, previous studies on adult literacy in Morocco (see review below) did not fully explore the ways adult

Corresponding Author: Reddad Erguig, Department of English, Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences,
Chouaib Doukkali University, B.P. 29, Route Ben Mâachou 24000 El-Jadida, Morocco,
Tel: (+212) 523343058/ 523342169. Fax: (+212) 523342244/ 523343532
G.S.M: (+212) 669925872. E-mail: r.erguig@gmail.com.

students use literacy in everyday life and this research aims to cover the gap in this literature. An ethnographic study of the literacy practices of a newly literate woman which highlights an adult literacy student's own perspectives and voice and focuses on her expectations and socio-cultural constraints has the potential to produce knowledge that can be used to inform adult literacy policy, research and instruction in Morocco.

Back Ground: Literacy has been a policy focus and locus of state intervention in Morocco since Independence in 1956. The government has since then adopted a policy that aims to reduce illiteracy rates through generalizing access to schooling among school-age children and encouraging participation in literacy classes among adults [2]. NGO's have also made enormous investments in "illiteracy-eradication programs". The International Literacy Year in 1990 marked a change in the national adult literacy policy with more importance given to the actual learning of literacy. In 1997 the people in charge began to take account of adult literacy students' specificities and use pedagogy suitable for adults' literacy needs [3]. *The National charter of education and training* marked another change in the Moroccan literacy policy in 2000. Upon its adoption, education and adult literacy were made a national priority and a social duty of the State based on the conviction that literacy training is crucial for socioeconomic development [3-5]. However, the government's claims and goals contrast with the literacy situation in Morocco. Despite the enormous literacy efforts invested since 1956, statistics show that illiteracy and school drop out rates are still high especially among females:

Literacy has been not only an official but also a research and academic concern as well. One major line of research on literacy in Morocco was that of Wagner and his colleagues, who, within the Moroccan Literacy Project, explored the effects of socio-cultural factors such as language and family background, preschool experience and socioeconomic status on literacy acquisition among Arabic- and Berber-speaking children [8-10]. Afkir similarly investigated the ways the socioeconomic background shapes the Moroccan children's socialization into a literate environment [11]. However, these researchers did not focus on the literacy experience of Moroccan adults.

As for ABE research in Morocco, it was the focus of other researchers and it is of two types. The first is concerned with the Moroccan government's efforts to

Table 1: Breakdown of literacy, school enrollment and drop our rates in Morocco in 2006 by sex

	Male	Female	Total	Source
Literacy rates (people aged 10 and more)	70.2%	47.3%	58.7%	[6]
School enrollment rates (2006)	90.8%	86.4%	85.4%	[7]
School drop out rates (children aged 6 and more)	7.72%	10.33	8.90%	[6]

fight illiteracy, the obstacles that face literacy provision and the adequate strategies to fight illiteracy [12-14]. The second type of research is fieldwork in nature and is concerned with the adult students' demographic characteristics, the reasons why they did not attend school, their motivations to enroll in literacy programs and the literacy difficulties they face [5]. Other studies within this line of research offer an assessment of the adult students' literacy achievements, the correspondence between the participants' needs and the program objectives as well as women's portrayal in the adult literacy textbooks [15, 16, 2].

These studies, however, have methodological limitations: they either rely on self-reported data collected through quantitative data collection instruments and statistical measures [5], or they measure the participants' literacy achievements using school-based tests [16, 2]. Thus, literacy programs in Morocco have not been studied in terms of the participants' actual literacy uses and the present study aims to fill this gap in the literature.

Theoretical Framework: The present study is situated within the New Literacy Studies (NLS) and informed by the social practice theory of literacy, which emphasises: the social meaning of literacy: that is, the roles these abilities [reading and writing] play in social life; the varieties of reading and writing available for choice; the contexts of their performance; and the manner in which they are interpreted and tested, not by experts, but by ordinary people in ordinary activities. [17]

In line with this theory, literacy is viewed as a social practice embedded in social relationships and institutions, historically situated and informally learnt.

Four seminal studies were the starting points for this study [18-22]. These studies have explored the "'vernacular' or non-dominant literacy practices…that are overlooked and ignored by the constructions of literacy elaborated by and within dominant institutions" [25]. They are concerned with the ways "literacies are positioned in relation to the social institutions and power relations which sustain them" [26].

Within this research tradition, a body of research has been conducted on emergent literacy to explore the outcomes of adult education in different communities. The findings of this research question the simplistic claims of governments and development agencies that literacy leads to socioeconomic development and to women's empowerment. For instance, Prinslo and Breire report that South-African paticipants in adult literacy programmes make limited use of the literacy skills they learn because they are exposed to school-based literacy practices which are unrelated to the everyday life literacy demands [27]. By contrast, Papen notes that the participants she worked with in Namibia and South Africa reject the everyday life literacy skills they are taught and express a need for a school-based curriculum because they were formerly excluded from formal education [28]. Betts's ethnographic study in El Salvador shows that low-attendance of literacy classes indicates not the participants' lack of motivation to acquire literacy but the availability of literacy mediators who offer literacy help to the community [29]. Finally, Ahearn's study in Junigau, Nepal, shows that newly literate women engage in love-letter writing and decide to elope with their lovers, but they become powerless and cut off in cases where the marriage fails [30]. The present study contributes to this literature by presenting an ethnographic case study from the Moroccan context that foregrounds the multiple ways in which a newly literate woman's literacy behavior is "located in the broader patterning of social activities" [23].

The present paper is also framed by gender scholarship, which addresses the issue of adult literacy in connection with women's position and gender equality [31, 32]. Molyneux theorized gender interests in terms of whether they are practical and lead to women's access to and use of literacy to serve practical functions or whether they are strategic and enable women to claim their place in the world and to participate in the social-cultural, economic and political activities on an equal footing with their male counterparts [32]. In this sense, gender scholarship drew on Freire's theory of literacy as a factor of social transformation that can potentially lead to gender equality [33]. Therefore, through the study of the participant's literacy practices, I will highlight the ways culture and gender shape her transition to the status of a newly literate woman.

Robinson-Pant's research in Nepal is another case study concerned with the processes involved in Nepalese women's literacy acquisition and the literacy practices in which they engage [34]. She views the link between women's literacy, gender and development as a dynamic process and demonstrates that literacy planners often introduce theoretical models or approaches to the design and implementation of literacy programmes without taking into consideration the local facilitators' teaching situations or the participants' beliefs about education. Literacy and development models are often transformed at the implementation stage and educational innovations are reshaped by the local context and the people involved in literacy programmes. She therefore argues that the "relationship between objectives and outcomes of a programme, between teaching methods and learning outcomes, should therefore not be seen as a simple equation to be balanced" [35].

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Design and Context of the Study: The present study is ethnographic in the sense that, using a multi-method approach (interviews, informal discussion, participant observation, photographs and artefact collection), I attempted to gain an 'emic' perspective and to capture the entirety of the participant's literacy experience in order to provide a detailed, in-depth description of her everyday life family-related literacy practices. The approach is holistic and interpretive and it aims to highlight the participant's lived experience and give space to her voice.

The participant in this ethnographic study lives in a popular and relatively old neighborhood of a growing urban centre, Temara, which is about 11 kms south of Rabat, the capital city of Morocco. Imane, pseudonym for the participant's real name, is aged thirty-six. She is married to a military serviceman who makes around 2500 Dhs (£157) a month, which means they belong to lower social class although the implications of this notion are controversial. She is mother to three daughters: Sanaa, Nawal and Noura aged 11, 8 and 2, respectively. Sanaa is in fifth-grade and Nawal is in second-grade.

Imane lives in an old flat a few meters away from her parents' flat. Her family features a clear gender-based division of labor: the husband is the breadwinner and the wife is in charge of domestic chores, including the literacy-related ones. She does the housework, brings up the daughters, prepares food and also does the shopping. Her father runs a small local business for making women's traditional clothing and her mother is a housewife who also works as an occasional cook. Her two brothers, 40 and 35, work as teachers of English in state-sponsored schools and her sixteen-year-old sister is a high school student. She spends most of her day time in her parents' flat, helping her mother with the housework. To earn some money to cover her personal needs, she occasionally helps her mother make cakes for people.

Along the lines of purposeful sampling, Imane was selected as an "information-rich case…for study in-depth" [36]. Although the insights which the present case study offers cannot be generalized to all newly literate women, Imane is a female Moroccan adult literacy student whose literacy behavior can help to clarify the situated nature of literacy and the ways literacy practices are embedded within socio-cultural issues. Unlike her brothers, who continued their education until they got jobs as teachers, she willingly dropped out of a nearby school when she was a fourth-grade despite her father's insistence that she should stay at school (Imane's father, personal communication, November 10, 2008). By her fathers account, he did not put much pressure on her to return to school; which he would have done had she been a boy. In fact, the results of the national survey conducted by the Ministry of Education to explore ABE students' characteristics and their motivations to enroll in adult literacy classes similarly indicated that 16,4% of the adult literacy students surveyed left school when they were either fourth- or fifth-graders [5]. As such, Imane is part of a large process of literacy development in Morocco in which thousands of other women are involved and her story is part of a larger narrative of adult basic education in Morocco.

Second, Imane is an example of many adult literacy students who decided to attend a literacy class despite her family constraints and responsibilities. She attended an evening state-sponsored literacy class offered in a near-by public school in 1994 over a period of two years to learn how to read and write in Arabic, but she had to quit it upon its suspension. After her marriage in 1996, she went to live with her husband in a small town where no literacy class was available. In 2004, she came back to live in Temara and her eldest daughter had grown up, so she was able to attend a literacy class for another year. However, she had to quit it again for family reasons.

"I was often disturbed because I used to take my elder daughter with me to the literacy class. When I gave birth to my second daughter, I had to leave the literacy program in order to attend to her needs" (Imane, personal communication, September 5, 2008).

Imane was indeed highly motivated to improve her literacy skills as attested by her non-stopping literacy learning pursuits. Third, I have known and regularly visited the participant's family for about 16 years and her two brothers have been long-time friends and colleagues. My position as a friend of the family enabled me to gain genuine access to her literacy practices. Such a background has also led to the development of a brother-sister relationship between me and her and this explains why she at times calls me her brother.

The Ethnographic Research Process: This study is an ethnographic that aims to provide a detailed, in-depth description of a woman's everyday life and literacy practice based on field work that extends over one year. Its guiding principle was the study of a Moroccan female adult literacy student's literacy beliefs, attitudes and behaviour in their entirety, with a particular emphasis on the intersection of these factors. This research experience was characterised by the author's participant observation of the life of this woman made possible by the relationship he had developed with the participant's family and her husband. The variety of ethnographic research methods discussed below were used to represent the participant's perspectives and to highlight "the centrality of literacy in the patterning of contemporary everyday activities and how people act within *a textually mediated social world*" [24, 37].

I used in-depth interviews to collect demographic data about Imane and to trace her literacy history and former schooling experience. I also interviewed her (in Moroccan Arabic) about the ways in which the observed and reported literacy events fit into her personal and/or social life (the interview transcripts in this article are translations from Moroccan Arabic). The items in the interview schedule centered on her daily literacy behavior with a special emphasis on the purposes for which she uses reading and writing, her roles and attitudes in the literacy events in which she engages and the problems and difficulties she faces. Informal conversation with her family members was also used to collect additional background information about her.

I also observed Imane in real-life settings as she engaged in some literacy events using visual ethnography and photographs were taken while she was involved in literacy events. I also asked her to report the day-to-day occasions when reading and writing were part of her social interactions and when participant observation was not possible. Finally, I used documentary photography and I photographed the literacy artifacts in her flat in order to provide a vivid picture of the ecology of writing in her home. Together with these tools, field notes were made to record my observations and comments.

Data Collection and Analysis Process: The grounded theory approach, "a qualitative research method that uses a systematic set of procedures to develop an inductively derived grounded theory about a phenomenon" [38], was used to generate themes. Imane was continuously interviewed and data were analyzed to inform the following stage of data collection; data were coded and themes were generated and enriched until theoretical saturation was achieved. In this process, the three ethical considerations of the participant's informed consent, right to privacy and protection from harm were observed. Data collection, entirely carried out by the author, spanned a period from August 2008 through July 2009.

The basic units of analysis are "literacy events" which are "the occasions in which written language is integral to the nature of participants' interactions and their interpretive processes and strategies" [19]. The analysis centered on the following five elements: the *participant*, the *activities* performed by participants in literacy events, the *settings* in which the interaction takes place, the *domains* within which literacy events take place and the *resources* or the material artifacts and non-material values involved in the interaction. Literacy events were the starting point for the study of the literacy practices, which Street describes as "the broader cultural conception of particular ways of thinking about and doing reading and writing in cultural contexts" [39]. I perused the data several times to highlight possible categories or interpretations and identify the prominent literacy domains in which Imane uses reading and writing as well as the ways and the purposes for which she uses literacy in each domain. The themes that emerged from the data were then identified, combined and further analyzed with reference to the research questions raised initially. I placed Imane's literacy behavior within a gender framework and I explored the implications of her status as a newly literate woman for her roles within a gender-based family structure.

Findings

"Ruling Passions": In my different interviews and informal discussions with Imane, religion, her children and the daily literacy demands were her "ruling passions". She often turned the conversation round to these topics as major factors for her decision to attend a literacy class. "To be frank, I attended the literacy class primarily to be able to read the Quran and for my daughters' sake" (Imane, personal communication, September 9, 2008).
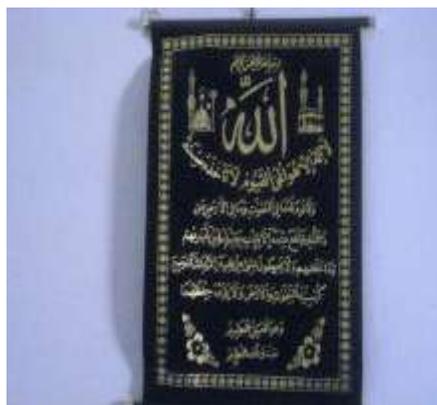

Image 1: An excerpt from the Quran (the Al Kursi verses) posted on the wall in Imane's flat.

Religion is a major impetus for her decision to attend a literacy class and to recall the literacy skills she had lost after she had left school. Although the Quran and other religious information are nowadays accessible to the illiterate via audiovisual media (CDs and TV channels), Imane insisted that she wanted to be able to read the Quran as a book and to understand the teachings of Islam. "I can now read short Sourates very easily" (Imane, personal communication, August 8, 2008). Yet, her biggest dream is to manage to read the Quran in its entirety. "I want to be able to read Al Baqara Sourate, especially the Al Kursi verses, which are posted on the wall in my sitting room in my flat."

To be able to help her children with their schoolwork perfectly well is the second motivation for Imane's attendance of the adult literacy class. She is dissatisfied with the evening classes her daughter takes and wishes she would be much more qualified to provide her with literacy help herself.

I didn't like it once when a woman told me that she helps her daughter with schoolwork herself. I envied her and wished I could do the same with my daughter. Even my daughter blames me; she says that if I were highly literate she would not ask others for help with school work. (Imane, personal communication, September 17, 2008)

A third theme that emerged from the data is autonomy when handling the daily literacy demands. Imane is instrumentally motivated to become literate in order to "survive" on the street. She joined the literacy class to reduce her dependency on others and to be able to read road signs, bus numbers, signposts and directions. "When I started attending the literacy class, I

became able to read street signs. I also became able to read newspaper headlines" (Imane, personal communication, September 5, 2008). She views literacy as a means to bring to an end her the sense of inferiority she has in the presence of her sisters in-law, who are literate.

These three factors are common to most of the adult literacy students included in the 2006 national survey. Of these adults, 93,5% attend a literacy class in order to meet their day-to-day literacy demands, 91,6% attend them to better perform their religious duties and 22% want to better educate their children [5].

Family: A Key Domain of Literacy Practice: Following Imane's "ruling passions", I discerned four major and at times overlapping sociotextual domains of use in my ethnographic data: (i) family, (ii) religion, (iii) leisure and in-town and (iv) incidental literacy practices. In the present article, I examine her literacy behavior within the family domain and analyze the ways she uses literacy in connection with her children's schoolwork and their health needs, shopping, having home appliances repaired, cooking, withdrawing money from the post office, checking documents and reading mail [40].

Children's Schoolwork: The participant's major family-related literacy use is that of helping her fifth- and second-grade children with their school work (Image 2). In the different interviews I had with her, she constantly affirmed that she helps her daughters learn the letters of the alphabet, read the Quran, memorize and accurately recite excerpts from it. Despite her status as a newly literate woman who masters only the rudimentary skills of reading and writing, she manages to provide useful literacy help to her children because they are primary school pupils who do not yet require that she should have advanced literacy skills. Thus, literacy was an enabling tool which helped her to better serve her family. Nonetheless, such literacy help is part of the domestic chores assigned to her in a family structure which features a strong gender-based division of labor. "I help my daughters mainly with the Quran and maths. I am also the first to read their transcripts; my husband doesn't often read the transcripts because when he does, he keeps scolding them" (Imane, personal communication, September 6, 2008). In this family task she receives a little help from her siblings but no help from her husband:

My sister and brothers only infrequently help my children with their school work. My husband can read and write, but he doesn't help the kids with their school tasks. He comes back from work and then he lies down…he

Image 2: The participant is at home helping her daughter with a school task.

watches TV and sport, that's all….He has a busy schedule; he leaves home early in the morning and comes back late in the afternoon. (Imane, personal communication, May 15, 2009)

Second, Imane Helps Her Daughters with Mathematics: Imane happily related how she was very delighted when she once managed to understand and explain to her eldest daughter the difference between the mathematical symbols of less than (<) and greater than (>). She managed to distinguish one from the other using her prior knowledge of numbers 4 and 7. She said that for her the symbol (<) looks like a '4' and (>) looks like a '7'. (Imane, field-note, February 27, 2009)

This vignette illustrates that, in addition to literacy, Imane's numeracy practices are also embedded in her gender-based roles. Drawing on the skills she had learnt at school and which she managed to recall in the literacy class, she handles the family-related numeracy tasks and helps her daughters with the math exercises.

A third kind of literacy event associated with Imane's use of literacy to help children with school work is her reading of an easy reader, a practice which she performs at the request of her eldest daughter. "Yesterday, Sanaa [her eldest daughter] asked me "Please, mum, read this story! I want you to improve your literacy skills and to be like my classmate's mum, who helps her daughter with school work" (Imane, personal communication, September 6, 2008). In this literacy practice, Imane is invited by her daughter to read the easy reader in the aim of improving her reading skills and this in turn will enable her to better help her children with their school-based literacy tasks.

When Imane faces difficulties in helping her children with their school work, she turns to her neighbor, a high-school student, for help. "I asked a neighbor once to help

my eldest daughter with a maths task. I observed her while she was doing the task so as that I can help my daughters myself later on" (Imane, personal communication, May 15, 2008).

The literacy help that Imane offers her children is nowadays a common literacy practice in the Moroccan family in which the wife is literate. There is nowadays an increasingly strong interest in children's schooling even among the most low-income families. Some families even take bank loans or sell real estate and other property to ensure an adequate and modern education for their sons and daughters. The concern for the children's education is also manifest in the literacy help parents offer their children and/or the evening classes' fees they pay for them [22].

In terms of the social theory of literacy, these literacy uses are consistent with previous research which shows that literacy practices are purposeful and that they "are already embedded in an ideology and cannot be isolated or treated as "neutral" or merely technical" [21, 22]. From a gender perspective, these examples resonate with findings of previous research which emphasize the gendering of literacy and show that literacy tasks within the household are seen as the woman's task and that women tend to help their children with schoolwork and to respond to the family literacy demands more often then men [24, 41]. In point of fact, Imane's family-related reading and writing behavior supports the view that while literacy enables her to engage in some activities formerly carried out mainly by males, it also entails more family responsibilities for her.

Children's Health Needs: Imane also engages in literacy behavior as part of her task of attending to her children's health. "My husband doesn't interfere into anything. It is I who has to attend to the needs of my daughters when they are ill" (Imane, personal communication, December 23, 2008). Drawing on her knowledge that every medical box bears an expiration date, she reads labels on medical boxes to check that the medicine she wants to give her daughters is valid for human use:

My daughter was sick a couple of days ago; her temperature was high. I wanted to give her fever syrup and I asked my eldest daughter to re-check the expiration date. I learnt that the medicine had expired, so I bought her another bottle of the syrup at the pharmacy. (Imane, personal communication, August 1, 2008)

Imane Also Read Directions and Signposts When She Was Taking Her Sick Daughter to the Doctor's Office: My mother and I once took my daughter to the pediatrician because she was ill. We found ourselves in front of a building where there were many doctors' offices. I read the names of the doctors and then I recognized the name of 'pediatrician' whom I was looking for. I was happy that I managed to find the doctor I was looking for all by myself. (Imane, personal communication, September 17, 2008)

These examples illustrate the ways literacy practices are embedded in Imane's gender roles. As a mother administering a medicine to her daughter or taking her to the pediatrician, literacy and numeracy were useful tools because they enabled her to administer the appropriate medicine and locate the doctor's office she was looking for. From a gender perspective, also, these instances lend support to the claim that, through her literacy skills, Imane managed to serve her domestic chores. However, literacy skills neither led to a radical change in her gender roles, nor did they entitle her to perform tasks formerly performed by males only.

The Shopping: Another form of literacy use within the family domain relates to the participant's writing and reading of shopping lists which she writes at home before shopping at "lahri", a nearby non-self-service wholesale shop, where she buys grocery and dairy:

Interviewer: Who does the shopping at home?

Imane: It's me of course. You see, brother [being a long-time friend of her brothers' entitled me to the status of an almost family member], I have to attend to everything [the domestic chores].

Interviewer: Do you use a shopping list?

Imane: I don't use a shopping list for produce and meats. But as I buy everything else [grocery and dairy] at "lahri", I have to use a shopping list. Without a shopping list, I would buy some items and forget others. I sometimes ask my daughter to check the shopping bill [receipt] for me. (Imane, personal communication, September 2, 2008)

Getting Home Appliances Repaired: Imane's literacy practice as embedded in her gender-based family structure is also evident in her completion of another family task: getting the home appliances repaired.

When her fridge broke down, Imane was looking for a person to repair it for her. She went to his shop and read a note posted on the door saying that he does not work on Sunday. So people should not knock on his house door and disturb him. (Imane, field-note, September 17, 2008)

This vignette illustrates the way Imane uses literacy to perform a family duty assigned to her because of her new literacy status. This literacy practice is an opportunity for her to engage in social activities beyond the borders of her home and to practice her literacy skills, yet it exemplifies the use of literacy to serve the traditional gender-based family role. It shows that literacy does not necessarily entitle Imane to challenge the domination of the male in the life of the family.

In fact, Imane views the act of taking the fridge to have it repaired as a family duty assigned to her because she is a non-working woman. However, although she does not now aspire to be a working woman, she believes her husband would help with the housework if she had a job. In fact, she wishes her husband would be free and willing to help her with them. "My husband doesn't help me with the domestic chores.... If I were a working woman, he would help me with the housework and would take the fridge to have it repaired" (Imane, personal communication, December 23, 2008).

Cooking: An additional form of literacy use associated with the family domain is cooking. Imane reported two occasions on which she read a recipe and on each one, the literacy event turned into a mediated literacy practice. For the first, she read a recipe but sought the literacy help of her neighbor, a school girl, when she could not decipher some words.

I knew the meaning of some words [in the recipe] but I was stuck. I couldn't understand the rest. So I asked my neighbor for help. Frankly I hated myself then. I felt that she was better than me because she was literate. This is why I will certainly join a literacy class when my youngest daughter grows up. (Imane, personal communication, December 23, 2008)

On the second occasion, Imane read a recipe for her mother who wanted to make some biscuits for some people but did not have her reading glasses with her. She used literacy to inform her mother about the ingredients and the weight. As a matter of fact, this literacy practice is embedded in several relations. First, it fits in an informal business relationship where the daughter helps her mother make biscuits for some customers and this in turn helps the former make some money. Second, it is part of

gender relations where cooking is practiced as an occasional profession that helps Imane and her mother to make money and thus financially help their husbands. Third, it is embedded in a relationship between the different parties involved in literacy mediation (literacy mediation refers to any occasions in which a person reads and/or writes a material for others who cannot read and/or write. Imane feels inferior to the person on whom she relies for literacy help. Finally, it is embedded in a mother-daughter relationship in which the daughter serves her mother with her literacy skills. This shows that the participant uses literacy to serves not only her nuclear family needs but also those of her parents. The "recipe" event is a typical practice where the literate child puts his/her literacy skills at the service of his/her parents who are either illiterate or have literacy difficulties. It also indicates a reversal of the traditional power relationship between parents and children in the Moroccan society and it entails that the offspring now play leading roles within their families [8].

At the Post Office: Imane's literacy activity at the post office is a further illustration of the embedded nature of literacy. She sometimes goes to the post office to cash a cheque for her husband or withdraw money from her husband's account. Such a family task usually begins as a literacy practice in which she draws on her own literacy skills, but it turns into a mediated literacy practice when she turns to a man who assists people with form filling usually for a 3 to 10 dhs fee (£ 0.23 to 0.76). She needs both his help especially with the fields to be completed in French thanks to his knowledge of French and his expertise in handling the post office paperwork. "If I were literate, I would rely on myself and not ask for…[this man's] help" (Imane, personal communication, February 30, 2008). Such a literacy event indicates overlap of two languages (Arabic and French) and two alphabets (Roman and Arabic) and highlights the idea that part of being literate in Morocco is to be able to use both languages and writing systems. More importantly, although it is primarily a family duty in which she serves a function traditionally assigned to a woman, the post office vignette indicates that Imane unintentionally interacts across gender boundaries and language/literacy resources. Because of her status as a newly literate woman but one who is not yet literate in French, she enters a realm formerly a male domain and interacts with a man she does not know to obtain information and solicit his literacy help.

Documents: There are also occasions when Imane reads documents she comes across while she is doing the housework. She related how, out of curiosity, she read her husband's salary statement, which she came across when she was about to do the laundry.

I was about to wash my husband's trousers at home this morning when I came across a document in his pocket. It was a salary statement and the total was in dirham. I knew how to read it, but I didn't know how to convert the sum into riial. To get help, I asked a neighbor to convert it for me. After all, I knew how much my husband earned, but I wanted to know for sure how much he made. (Imane, personal communication, February 30, 2009)

This literacy activity features overlap of two monetary systems that exist together in Morocco (dirham and riial) [22]. Also, at the beginning of this literacy event, Imane is autonomous as she draws on her literacy skills and reads the document by herself, but it turns into a mediated literacy practice when she asks her neighbor for help. This literacy event reflects a gender-based division of labor because such a reading act cannot be dissociated from her task of doing the laundry which is part of her housework duties. Furthermore, this gendered literacy practice illustrates Imane's exclusion from knowledge of her husband's salary based on gender grounds.

Another type of document Imane read at home is her marriage contract, which she came across while doing the housework.

I didn't know what the document was about at first. It was thrown among some papers. But after reading a few lines, I recognized it as my marriage contract. I knew it when I read my parents' and grandparent's names on it. (Imane, personal communication, September 6, 2008)

Unlike many other occasions in which Imane faces literacy difficulties and seeks help from her daughter or neighbors, in this literacy event she manages to understand the content of the document relying on her own knowledge and literacy skills. What is more, this is an example of a literacy activity which is embedded within a domestic chore and which is inextricably linked to her gender-based family tasks and to her status as a housewife. This vignette further highlights the fact that, through literacy and her reading of the marriage contract, Imane manages to reduce her exclusion from the documentary circumstances of her marriage.

Mail: The last form of literacy practice within the family domain I discerned from the data relates to the reading of the mail. Whether in her flat or her parents', Imane occasionally engages in the reading of the mail she finds in the mail box. She related how she once read a letter from her sister's school about the school final examination. "Yesterday, I found a letter in my parents' mail box and I read the name of the person to whom it was destined. I read the address too and I knew it was destined to my sister" (Imane, personal communication, September 9, 2008).

Imane Also Related Having Read the Cover to a Letter Destined to Her Brother: I met Imane in her parents' flat this morning. She happily related how she had been so delighted a couple of days before when she managed to decode the letters of the Roman alphabet and to read what was written on the cover of a letter (bank statement) which was destined to her younger brother. Although this was a rudimentary skill, it was a moment of victory and self-fulfillment for her. (Imane, field-note, February 27, 2009)

This literacy practice is an even further example of how Imane's literacy practices are centered on her nuclear and/or extended family. Reading the cover of the mail and passing it over to the right person illustrates how literacy fits into her management of the domestic chores as a wife (within her flat) and as a daughter and sister (within her parents' flat).

DISCUSSION

From the perspective of NLS, the literacy events analyzed above include the basic elements of the study of literacy as social practice. While Imane is at the centre of all these literacy activities, other animate (her children, mother, siblings and shopkeeper) and inanimate participants (sister's school and street directions) are involved in them [24]. These activities take place in a variety of settings that range from her own home, her parents', the wholesale shop to the pediatrician's office. The artifacts used include dominant (children's schoolbooks, shopping bills and mail from her sister's school) and non-dominant literacy documents (recipe). The activities fall either into the instrumental use of literacy to get things done (school books, medical box and street directions) or as evidence of literacy status (knowledge of mathematical symbols).

Imane's literacy behavior illustrates the multiple ways in which her literacy practices are embedded in gender roles and "are patterned by social institutions and power relationships" [23, 44, 45]. The literacy help she provides to her children with their school assignments, her reading

of shopping lists, recipes and directions highlight the centrality of literacy in her management of the household affairs. They demonstrate the gendering of her literacy practices and the ways they fit into her world as a wife and mother who uses literacy to maintain her traditional roles and carry out family responsibilities. These literacy practices are an assertion of her position as a person who has learnt enough skills to be autonomous when meetings the daily literacy demands and also a translation of her desire to achieve more autonomy regarding these literacy tasks. In point of fact, Imane constantly evaluates her social position in terms of self-worth and she feels a positive change in her social status because she successfully meets her family literacy demands.

These findings are consistent with the results of previous research within NLS on the embedded nature of literacy. They support Rockhill's findings that Hispanic women in Los Angeles "conducted most of the literacy work of the household and that associated with the purchase of goods, interface with public services and their children's schooling" [42]. They also corroborate the view that the literacy tasks within the family are assigned to the mother and that "part of being a good mother is to be a literate mother" [22]. Furthermore, the results obtained line with Kulick and Stroud's contention that newly literate people "far from being passively transformed by literacy, instead actively and creatively apply literate skills to suit their own purposes and needs" [46].

A second feature of Imane's literacy practices is that they are historically situated and they reflect changes within her family roles. As a newly literate wife and mother, she is still assigned homely tasks, but these roles have been extended to include literacy-based tasks beyond the borders of the family. At the post office, for instance, Imane is an example of the traditional Moroccan housewife who, besides the domestic chores, now engages in literacy-based activities in the external world. This supports my claim that literacy has extended rather than reversed Imane's home-based roles within her family.

Imane's literacy behavior also indicates changes in the community and can be situated within the broader administrative and political culture of Morocco. The reading of her husband's salary statement reflects a change in the system of payment of the government employees who, due to the computerization of the Moroccan administration, are nowadays paid via money order rather than by cheque. Her reading of the marriage contract is also reminiscent of the policy recently adopted in Morocco to ensure that all married people have registered marriage contracts and that all people are registered in the government birth records. A further example is the help she provided to her mother; it draws attention to sight problems which affect the reading ability of the elderly.

The analysis of Imane's literacy practices also indicates they are hybrid in multiple ways. Mixture of orality and literacy characterizes the help she offers her children with their schoolwork as well as her literacy-based oral interaction with her daughter over the expiration date of the medicine (syrup). This supports the critique of the dichotomous view of orality and literacy as separate worlds and modes of thinking [19].

Imane's literacy practices are also hybrid in that texts are moved across sociotextual domains of use. Her reading of excerpts from the Quran is a gendered literacy practice carried out to serve a family need rather than within the religious domain of worship and prayer. She also read the easy reader as a person seeking entertainment in a fictional work of literature, as a mother intending to meet her daughter's school-based literacy needs and as an adult literacy student who seizes every opportunity to practice reading and make sense of the written word. Further, Imane's reading of the school letter destined to her sister indicates the permeability of the boundaries of home and school.

Multimodality is a third example of the hybridity that characterizes many of Imane's literacy practices. At the post office, Imane engages in a multimodal literacy practice in which two languages (Arabic and French) and two orthographic systems (The Roman and Arabic alphabets) are used. This event also draws attention to the idea of *multiliteracies*, the recognition that the skills and competencies required to be "literate" in contemporary culture are no longer limited to the traditional tasks of reading and writing but are extended to knowledge of how to fill forms and handle paperwork. Other literacy practices such as the reading and/or writing of shopping lists, recipes and medical labels also involve overlap of different semiotic systems: literacy and numeracy. The reading of her husband's bank statement highlights the existence of two monetary systems in Morocco (dirham and riial) and the former is currently the official one.

A fourth characteristic of some of Imane's literacy practices is that they are mediated [9, 47]. The reading of the recipe is an example of a daughter-mother literacy mediation which occurs due to the mother's sight problems caused by ageing. At the post office, she turns to a literacy mediator for help with form filling. Similarly,

she asks her eldest daughter to check the shopping bill (receipt) for her. On both these occasions, Imane draws on her own literacy skills at first, but she later turns to others for literacy help. The latter occasion further illustrates the fact that literacy mediation may at times be a two-way process: the mother helps her daughter with schoolwork and the latter in turn may at times be a source of literacy help for her mother. This corroborates Barton and Hamilton's finding that parents offer literacy help to their children and the latter help their parents by carrying out home-related literacy tasks for them [23].

To handle the everyday literacy problems and/or learn new literacy skills, Imane uses informal strategies. When she could not read the whole recipe, she turned to her neighbor, a primary school pupil, for literacy help. At the post office, she turned to the man who fills forms for people for the same purpose. These examples underscore the situated nature of learning and illustrate the use of "informal responses to dominant practices" in cases of difficulties [48]. Unlike the dominant school practices, Imane's literacy learning and use are part and parcel of her everyday activities.

Finally, from a gender perspective and within the broader social and cultural context of Morocco, the results of the present study demonstrate that literacy can be both enabling and constraining. On the one hand, literacy is enabling for Imane since it allows her to position herself as an autonomous person who can handle the outdoor everyday life family-related literacy tasks by herself. She can now check her own shopping receipt and also help her children with their school work. Her gender roles also advance as she now takes part in the performance of literacy-based family tasks beyond the borders of her home and which were assigned to the male such as the management of the family money. Because of his busy work schedule, for instance, her husband relies on her to run several literacy-based errands for the family such as shopping and withdrawing money from his post office account. However, literacy does not play a liberating role in the life of Imane, who, despite her status as a newly literate woman, does not perform tasks which were formerly exclusive to males such as using her literacy to engage in an income-generating activity.

On the other hand, literacy places new demands on her. Because she can now meet many of the everyday life literacy demands, she is expected to carry out additional family duties. Most importantly, literacy does not enable her to challenge the male domination of the family life or to perform tasks which are similar to those of her husband. Indeed, literacy helps her serve her practical

rather than strategic needs [32, 34]. In short and in line with Scribner and Cole's [18] argument about the use of the Vai script to serve the Vai people's practical or pragmatic needs and Krug's [49] contention about literacy in the lives of women in medieval times, the ways Imane engages with the written word shows that literacy serves as a practical response to social changes and family demands rather than a revolutionary act against the gender-based division of labor within her family.

CONCLUSION

In this paper, the examination of the literacy practices of a newly literate Moroccan woman demonstrates the complex ways in which literacy is dynamic, purposeful and embedded within her gender-based family roles. For Imane, literacy is an enabling tool that allows her to perform additional literacy-related tasks for her family. Her identity as a wife and mother is manifest in the literacy events in which she engages and her literacy and numeracy behavior fits in with her traditional roles in the family. Her gendered literacy behavior is thus reminiscent of findings of a body of literature within NLS which shows how newly literate people appropriate literacy and adapt it to meet their own needs, hence the emphasis on human activity and agency [30, 46]. However, literacy does not empower her in the sense that it does not allow her to claim her place in the world and to play roles that were previously the exclusive privilege of males such as establishing her own business or shouldering responsibilities within the community, not does it lead to a significant change in her social relationships.

The variety of Imane's family-related literacy practices reflects how the family is both an impetus for her literacy acquisition plans and a major locus for her literacy practice. The ways she draws on her recently acquired/recalled literacy skills show that her family needs are a strong factor for her decision to enroll in the literacy program and a major site and source of support for her literacy practice. The family domain is indeed a significant domain in which she continues to practice and "scaffold" her literacy skills and also informally learn more literacy skills [50]. However, her family is at times a handicap for her literacy learning pursuits as her domestic obligations are a reason why she had to drop out of the literacy class [51].

In terms of the policy implications, the day-to-day family-based literacy practices discussed above should be taken into consideration when providing literacy instruction and evaluating adult literacy programmes in

Morocco. Since Imane uses literacy to respond to her children's school-based literacy demands, adult literacy classes designed for middle aged women should be focused, among other things, on their family-based literacy needs. These classes can be useful even if they adopt school-like curriculum, in which case they will provide literacy instruction that may not be closely linked to the participants' daily literacy needs but will still help them satisfy their children's school literacy needs. Further, when designing and implementing literacy classes the needs and constraints of participants who have to leave out their literacy classes have to be taken account of.

The results obtained also have implications for adult literacy evaluation and research. While the previous studies in Morocco reviewed above [16, 2] claim that literacy classes have limited outcomes, the results of the present study suggest that they may have overstated the case, since the participant under study, for instance, manages to handle the everyday life literacy demands. Methodologically, these results also show the value of an ethnographic approach to the study of everyday life literacy practice. Instead of measuring literacy outcomes, such an approach enabled me to provide an account of newly literate women's literacy behaviour which differs from the findings of large-scale quantitative studies which rely on pre-designed tools and take little account of the socio-cultural context in which literacy is acquired and practised, for, as the discussion of Imane's family-based literacy practices demonstrates, it enables a researcher to uncover the ways an ABE student uses literacy in her daily lives and to explore the ways her personal and social lives are shaped by her new status as an emergent literate woman. Indeed, further ethnographic research needs to be conducted on newly literate Moroccan women's literacy practices across domains of literacy use and from different regions and linguistic backgrounds because studies of this nature can deepen our theoretical understanding of literacy as social practice, enrich our knowledge of newly literate women's literacy use in Morocco and have implications for the design and implementation of literacy classes in Morocco.

Author Note: Reddad Erguig is assistant professor at the Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences, Chouaib Doukkali Univesity in El Jadida, Morocco. His main research interest is in the area of the everyday life literacy practices among both literate people and adult literacy students. He is currently involved in an extensive study of the literacy behavior of newly literate Moroccan women. His publications include articles on Moroccan people's conceptions of literacy and their day-today uses of literacy.

REFERENCES

1. Purcell-Gates, V., 2007. Complicating the complex. In Cultural practices of literacy: case studies of language, literacy, social practice and power, Ed. Purcell-Gates, V. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers, pp: 1-22.
2. Agnaou, F., 2002. The literacy campaign in Morocco: an assessment of women's learning needs and literacy attainments. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Sidi Mohammed Ben Abdellah University, Fez.
3. Direction de la Lutte Contre L'analphabétisme. 2003. Alphabétisation des adultes au Maroc: bilan de la période 1997-2003 Rapport National [Adult Literacy in Morocco: Results for the period 1997-2009 National report]. Retrieved August 10, 2008, from http://www.unesco.org/education/uie/pdf/country/ Morocco.pdf. pp: 4.
4. Charte nationale de l'éducation et de formation, La. 2001. Rabat: Centre Marocain de l'information.
5. Secrétariat d'Etat chargé de l'Alphabétisation et de l'Education Non Formelle, 2006. Enquête nationale sur l'analphabétisme, la non scolarisation et la déscolarisation au Maroc 2006 [National survey on illiteracy, non-education and dropping out in Morocco 2006]. Retrieved August 2, 2008 from http://www.alpha.gov.ma/
6. Haut-Commissariat au Plan, 2007. Les indicateurs sociaux du Maroc en 2007 [Social indicators in Morocco in 2007]. Retrieved June 15, 2009, from http://www.hcp.ma/pubData/indsoc/IndicatSoc2007.pdf.
7. World Bank Report, 2009.

8. Wagner, D.A., 1993. Literacy, culture and development: Becoming literate in Morocco. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

9. Wagner, D.A., B. Messik and J. Spratt, 1986. Studying literacy in Morocco. In The acquisition of literacy: ethnographic perspectives, Eds. Schieffelin, B.B. and P. Gilmore. Norwood, NJ: Ablex, pp: 233-260.

10. Ezzaki, A., J. Spratt and D.E. Wagner, 1987. Childhood literacy acquisition in rural Morocco: effects of language differences and Quranic preschooling. In The future of literacy in a changing world, Ed. Wagner, D.A. Oxford: Pergamon, pp: 159-173.

11. Afkir, M., 2001. Language socialization and the acquisition of literacy: a comparison of low- and middle-income children in a Moroccan mining town. Unpublished Ph.D dissertation, Mohamed V University, Rabat.

12. Essaknaoui, M., 1998. Siyyasat mahw al umiya wa talim al kibar fi al aqtar as saira fi tariq an numw [Literacy and adult education in developing countries]. Unpublished M. A. thesis, Mohammed V University, Rabat.

13. Qabaj, M., 1998. Al-Umiya fi Al-Maghrib: Hal min Ilaj? (Illiteracy in Morocco: Any cure?). Rabat: Ramsis Publications.

14. Maddi, L., 1999. As siyassa at taalimya bi Al-Maghreb wa rihanat al moustaqbal [The educational policy in Morocco and future stakes]. Rabat: Faculty of the Sciences of Education.

15. Ibaaquil, L., 2001. Une évaluation par l'encadrement des campagnes d'alphabétisation au Maroc. In Global/local cultures and sustainable development, Eds. Belghazi, T. and L. Haddad. Rabat: Faculty of Letters and Human Sci., pp: 12-22.

16. Boukous, A. and F. Agnaou, 2001. Alphabétisation et développement durable au Maroc : réalité et perspective [Literacy and sutainable development in Morocco: Reality and prespective]. Rabat: Faculty of Letters and Human Sci.,

17. Baynham, M., 2004. Ethnographies of literacy: an introduction [Electronic version]. Language and Education, 18(4): 285-290. pp: 285.

18. Scribner, S. and M. Cole, 1981. The psychology of literacy. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

19. Heath, S.B., 1983. Ways with words: language, life and work in communities and classrooms. New York: Cambridge University Press. pp: 196.

20. Street, B.V., 1984. Literacy in theory and practice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

21. Street, B.V., 1984. Literacy in theory and practice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp: 1.

22. For the notion of overlap see D. Barton and M. Hamilton, 1998. Local literacies: reading and writing in one community. London and New York: Routledge.

23. Barton, D. and M. Hamilton, 1998. Local literacies: reading and writing in one community. London and New York: Routledge. pp: 160.

24. Barton, D. and M. Hamilton, 1998. Local literacies: reading and writing in one community. London and New York: Routledge. pp: 196.

25. Baynham, M. and M. Prinsloo, 2001. New directions in literacy research [Electronic version]. Language and Education, 15(2&3): 83-91.

26. Barton, D., M. Hamilton and R. Ivanič, 2000. Introduction: exploring situated literacies. In Situated literacies: reading and writing in context, Eds. Barton, D.M. Hamilton and R. Ivanič. London and NY: Routledge, pp: 1-6.

27. Prinsloo, M. and M. Breire, 1996. Introduction. In The social uses of literacy: theory and practice in contemporary South Africa, Eds. Prinsloo, M. and M. Breier. Bertsham, South Africa: Sached and Benjamins, pp: 11-30.

28. Papen, U., 2005. Literacy and development: what works for whom? Or, how relevant is the social practice view of literacy education in developing countries? Retrieved July 15, 2009, from http://www.comminit.com/en/node/70700/348.

29. Betts, J., 2003. Literacies and livelihood strategies: experience from Usulutan, El Salvador. International J. Educational Develop., 23: 291-298.

30. Ahearn, L.M., 2004. Literacy, power and agency: love letters and development in Nepal [Electronic version]. Language and Education, 18(4): 305-316.

31. Stromquist, N.P., 1987. Empowering women through education: Lessons from international cooperation. Adult Education and Develop., 28: 37-54.

32. Molyneux, M., 1987. Mobilization without emancipation? women's interests, the state and a revolution in Nicaragua. Feminist Studies, 11(2): 227-245.

33. Freire, P., 1970. Pedagogy of the oppressed (Trans. Myra Bergman Ramos). New York: The Seaburg Press.

34. Robinson-Pant, A., 2005. The Social Benefits of Literacy. Retrieved December 15, 2009, from http://portal.unesco.org/education/en/files/43483/11315414221Robinson_Pant.doc/ Robinson_Pant.doc.

35. Robinson-Pant, A., 2000. Why eat green gucumbers at the time of dying? Women's literacy and development in Nepal. Hamburg: UNESCO Institute for Education. pp: 159.

36. Patton, M.Q., 1990. Qualitative evaluation and research methods (2nd. ed.). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, Inc., pp: 169.

37. Barton, D., R. Ivanič, Y. Appleby, R. Hodge and K. Tusting, 2007. Literacy, lives and learning. New York: Routledge. pp: 38-52.

38. Strauss, A.L. and J.M. Corbin, 1990. Basics of qualitative research: grounded theory procedures and techniques. Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publications. pp: 23.

39. Street, B.V., 2003. What's 'new' in New Literacy Studies? Critical approaches to literacy in theory and practice [Electronic Version]. Current Issues in Comparative Education, 5(2): 77-91.

40. Erguig, R., 2009. "I have become somebody!" The vernacular literacy practices of a Moroccan adult basic education student. Languages and Linguistics, 24: 1-20.

41. Rockhill, K., 1993. Gender, language and the politics of literacy. In Cross-cultural approaches to Literacy, Ed. Street, B. V. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp: 156-175.

42. Rockhill, K., 1993. Gender, language and the politics of literacy. In Cross-cultural approaches to Literacy, Ed. Street, B.V. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 139: 156-175.

43. Hamilton, M., 2000. Expanding the New Literacy Studies: using photographs to explore literacy as social practice. In Situated literacies: reading and writing in context, Eds. Barton, D. M. Hamilton and R. Ivanič. London and NY: Routledge, pp: 16-34.

44. Hamilton, M., 1998, July. Becoming expert: Using ethnographies of everyday learning to inform the education of adults. In the Proceedings of the 28th Annual SCUTREA Conference on Research, Teaching and Learning: making connections in the education of adults, Exeter, England [Electronic version]. Retrieved July 21, 2008, from http://www.leeds.ac.uk/educol/documents/0000007 19.htm

45. Barton, D. and M. Hamilton, 2000. Literacy practices. In Situated literacies: reading and writing in context, Eds. Barton, D. M. Hamilton and R. Ivanič. London and New York: Routledge, pp: 7-15.

46. Kulick, D. and C. Stroud, 1993. Conceptions and uses of literacy in a Papua New Guinean village. In Cross-cultural approaches to literacy, Ed. Street, B.V. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp: 30-61.

47. For concept of literacy mediation see Baynham, M. 1993. Code switching and mode switching: community interpreters and mediators of literacy. In Cross-cultural approaches to literacy, Eds. Street, B.V. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp: 294-313.

48. Barton, D. and M. Hamilton, 2005. Literacy, reification and the dynamics of social interaction. In Beyond communities of practice: language, power and social context, Eds. Barton, D. and K. Tusting. New York: Cambridge University Press, 21: 14-35.

49. Krug, R., 2002. Reading families: women's literate practice in late Medieval England. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

50. Bruner, J.S., 1985. Vygotsky: A historical and conceptual perspective. In Culture, communication and cognition: Vygotskian perspectives, Ed. Wretch, J. V. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp: 21-34.

51. See also Connor, C. and S.C. Steadman, 2006. Adult basic education: effective classrooms and successful students. Executive summary of findings and recommendations. Retrieved September 23, 2008, from http://www.abeflorida.org/Executive_Summary%5B 1%5D.pdf .