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Introduction: Tracing the steps

Eve Gregory

I am just a boy
with a lot of dreams
but what's the point
I won't get nowhere
I'm just ordinary
nothing special just
...ordinary
got no chance in this
world unless you're
...clever
which I'm not.

(Thirteen-year-old boy in *Stepney Words*, 1973)

What typifies ethnography in education as a research approach? Much of what we need to know is crystallised in the words of the thirteen-year-old cited above: ethnography in education speaks up for those who are 'just ordinary'. By making visible the lives of people whose stories are not often told, it gives a voice to all of us who are 'nothing special'. It delves into possible reasons why both this particular boy and similar boys generally 'won't get nowhere', who determines why he has 'got no chance in this world unless he is clever' and probes into why he is so sure that he is not. Ultimately, by digging out assumptions,

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beliefs and practices taking place between 'just plain folks', it hopes to push all of us involved into asking 'Why must things be the way they are?' and, armed with this knowledge, changing our lives for the better. In this chapter, I begin to trace the Why? What? and How? of ethnography in education, concentrating particularly on the Why? and the What? and inviting Jean, Chris and Aura to illustrate the How? of the task in the chapters that follow. Throughout the chapter, I argue that all ethnographic studies start by having an important story to be told, a story that lies deep within the soul.

Beginnings: why choose ethnography?

Derelict Dock

Silence moves through the dock,
No one around but an old dog.
Cranes all rusty, dirty and old,
Engines broken down, long ago.
The river moves quietly,
Not a boat to be seen.
No people anywhere near now,
Drinking beer, near the canal.

Tracey Crane, 12 in *Classrooms of Resistance* (1975)

The beginnings of an ethnographic study are often rooted in anger, even fury, and, as such, are partisan. A chance encounter with a book, a classroom incident, a teacher, child or parent's remark will often be enough to spark a deep-seated anger or an unanswered question from deep in our own past, which initiates the study. Margaret Meek has often referred to this eloquently as 'the paradigmatic moment' that both symbolises and illustrates the central or big question of the study, a moment we keep returning to throughout the work and which we never forget.

My own way into ethnography was one such case. I became angry after reading a book written by three well-recognised sociologists during the 1970s, called *Depriving the Deprived* (Tunley, Travers and Pratt, 1979) which was generally acclaimed by academics as an insightful and telling study. The book was about people in London's East End; the area in which my own extended East End family had been born, schooled and, during the 1970s when the book was published, still worked and lived. In the sections following, I shall reveal

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how, although academically rigorous, the study unintentionally betrayed the communities it described. For it shows clearly how statistics can be used to provide 'evidence' for what local people know to be a nonsense. But this is jumping the gun. Let me tell the story properly.

The case made: statistics speak

The study began with two interlocking questions: How does one Education Authority – the London Borough of Newham – distribute its resources? Whilst recognising that there are no really privileged areas in the Borough in the traditionally accepted sense, is it distributing to areas that are most in need or is it privileging the privileged by devoting more resources to the less needy parts of the Borough?

To the authors, the questions were simple enough to answer: two very different areas of the Borough were chosen: the south of the Borough close to the Docks and previously known as West Ham and the north of the Borough close to Wanstead and Epping Forest and previously known as East Ham, and the areas were compared according to different indices of poverty. Indices chosen were standard and included unemployment, overcrowding, the absence of a bathroom or how many were sharing, whether or not English was spoken at home and eligibility for free school dinners. These were then matched against resources allocated to schools in the areas by the Education Authority. After measuring the comparative advantage or disadvantage of the two areas according to the chosen indices, the authors were able to claim that families in West Ham, the Dock area, were, comparatively speaking, more privileged than those living in East Ham, yet policies of the Education Authority had led to a higher funding of the west than the east, hence depriving the deprived. A clear-cut case, you might think.

Just plain folks: a different kind of knowledge

However, the matter was not that simple. Although the facts and figures seemed neatly to provide evidence to prove a certain case, the results of the study seemed quite extraordinary to those familiar with the area and its history, those known as 'just plain folks' or JPFs as they are sometimes called. Even teachers who travelled across

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London to teach in the schools and were not familiar with the history of the area felt that the findings of the researchers were ridiculous. Everybody knew that the area of West Ham was less desirable than East Ham; those living in the high-rise Council flats to be pitied by those in larger houses with gardens in the east. Teachers, indeed, often referred to the Docklands children in West Ham as suffering from a 'deep poverty' transcending that of material goods in comparison with their more 'enlightened' peers often from Asian backgrounds in the east. So what had gone wrong? The just plain folks story ran quite differently to the proof offered by the University researchers since, unlike these, they either knew the history of the two areas and could explain why their populations were so different, or they used their eyes, ears and experience of teaching children in the area as well as conversing with their parents and families. The alternative story ran as follows.

A tale of two communities: West and East Ham

During the nineteenth century, the area around the Docks in West Ham, then the largest in the world, had undergone enormous industrialisation. Industries such as Silvers, the sugar factory which gave its name to Silvertown, the area next to the Docks, relied on cargo coming up the river from Britain's numerous colonies. The Docks needed massive casual labour for loading and unloading ships as and when they arrived. Their growth coincided with an increase in poverty in rural areas, partly due to the effects of the industrial revolution leading to the centralisation of cottage industries into larger factories. Increasing unemployment outside the capital coupled with expansion of trade in London meant that the East End had become a magnet for thousands coming from the countryside and desperate for work.[1]

Although the area directly around the Docks was not promising for building since it was originally marshland, the acute need for housing for workers meant that, bit by bit, land was drained and cheap accommodation built. Builders set up in business as quickly as they disappeared, sometimes leaving houses in a half-finished state until their finances improved. Those renting – and it was almost unknown to buy – lived in damp and insanitary conditions until main drainage was installed towards the end of the nineteenth century.

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The Docks needed a steady supply of casual labour. Workers were exploited; foremen picked out those looking fittest and strongest on a daily basis, sending the rest home to depend upon wives forced to earn a pittance through sack or match-box making. Men chosen to work were given a 'ticket', an expression that continued to be used to identify the more elite group of permanent registered dockers until the time that the Docks closed.

Later, in the twentieth century, the General Strike of 1926 made matters worse. Men and women alike were forced back into work for less than they had earned before they came out on strike. The depression of the 1930s hit those working in the Docks hard, leading to many young men signing up.[2] Eventually, the greater problem of World War Two was to extend enlistment. Many men exchanged a life in the Docks for one in the Royal Navy or other armed forces, and not all returned. Those who did survive were frantic for news of their families. West Ham, and particularly the area around the Docks, was the precise target for Hitler's bombs. One Primary school suffered a direct bomb hit when it was full of families seeking shelter. Rumour was passed down across generations that it was West Ham Council's fault which had mistakenly sent the bus intended to take them to safety to the wrong school.

The bombed school was rebuilt during the 1950s, the land surrounding it untouched amidst high weeds since it had been consecrated. Most of the small terraced housing had either been destroyed or was unsafe. 'Best job the Jerries ever done' said many, remembering how primitive the houses had been. Little did they know that worse was still to come. Blocks of flats were erected, their height, starkness and bright, uniformly-coloured doors shocking to most. 'Ought to make the architects live in them' was the comment of many residents. It was lucky for them that they did not. One night in 1968, the first of the three blocks, a 23 storey skyscraper called Ronan Point in Clever Road, Canning Town was ripped apart by a gas explosion, killing five people. At the same time, the Docks were in trouble, unable to compete internationally with large container docks outside London and abroad and crippled by strikes. Eventually, and due partly to strikes at the end of the 1960s, the Newham docks closed completely, leaving a huge and painful gap in the lives

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of those who had depended upon them. Many ex-dockers took up casual labour such as mini-cabbing or left their wives to find work.

Such was the history of the community termed 'advantaged' in *Depriving the Deprived*. During the 1980s, some families had experienced both war losses and relatives caught in the Ronan Point disaster. Measured against the indices chosen by the academics, however, these families would have figured reasonably well. As Council tenants, they did not live in overcrowded conditions, all had bathrooms, registered unemployment was low and all spoke English as a first language.

Over in East Ham, the so-called underprivileged Borough by the researchers, things ran rather differently. During the mid-nineteenth century the main railway line from Essex to Liverpool Street in central London was built, opening up fast transport straight into the City of London, then, as now, seat of enormous wealth and offering a large number of white-collar jobs to service this. Houses sprang up along and around the line leading east from Stratford. It was indeed a desirable area, providing easy access to the golden square mile of the City and yet on the borders of the ancient Epping Forest. Even the names of different wards symbolised desirability. In contrast with Canning Town and Silvertown in West Ham, Forest Gate and Manor Park provided homes for bankers, doctors, civil servants and teachers. Many of the large detached houses in Forest Gate were built with small servants' quarters.

Until World War Two the area was solidly middle class, with parts being distinctly upper middle class in character. After the Second World War, however, the area fell rapidly out of fashion. Partly, the houses were too large for smaller families; partly, the area was becoming squeezed between the poorer East End closer to the City and new developments of Council estates for working class folk further east in Dagenham and Barking. Fords had opened huge works in Dagenham. During the 1950s and 1960s, most of the middle class inhabitants shifted further out of London to Essex or to more fashionable areas in central or west London. At the same time, a large influx of immigrants, mainly from the Caribbean, needed accommodation. The large houses were bought by unscrupulous landlords, turned into flats and let out privately to families, who

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often had to live in overcrowded conditions, lacking or sharing bathrooms. Families from the Caribbean were joined during the 1970s by families from India and Pakistan. Needless to say, by the criteria used in *Depriving the Deprived*, the area did indeed figure high in terms of poverty. Many families living in privately rented accommodation were in overcrowded conditions and sharing bathrooms. Registered unemployment and, consequently, numbers qualifying for free school dinners were high, as was the percentage of children learning English as a second language.

However, teachers and older established residents of the area knew circumstances to be different. Older residents still gave the leafy area an established feel. Teachers realised that there was a deeper type of optimism, a trust in education as a means to success that did not exist in the indigenous community of West Ham.

The crowning irony astonishing just plain folks was to hear that schools in West Ham *were* receiving more money than those in the east since, for just plain folks, that did not appear to be the case. Why *did* schools over in East Ham appear more generously staffed? Why was equipment newer and more freely distributed? The answer, again, needed ferreting out. Might it have been due to money coming from elsewhere, outside the LEA? Indeed, schools in East Ham during the 1970s were pleased to be well supplied by English as a Second Language teachers (Section 11 teachers), 75 per cent of whose salaries and equipment were met by funds from central government if a school went above a certain percentage of children from the New Commonwealth. Precisely these funds were not accounted for in the academic study! Such funding was highly important and certainly contributed to the considerable achievements of children who had only recently entered Britain speaking no English at all. When asked, most teachers would have felt that the West Ham indigenous English community was cut short in funding and desperately needed more resources. If they had heard, contrary to belief, that funds were being directed to the Docklands families, many would have agreed that, for once, a correct decision had been made by Newham Council.

Such was the story of *Depriving the Deprived*, the academics and the just plain folks.

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Putting the self into the story

Why should this particular case-study have filled me with an anger that has led to twenty years of ethnographic research based on the home learning of children living in this area and in the adjacent Borough of Tower Hamlets? As an advisory teacher working during the 1980s in both East and West Ham, I suddenly realised that a different story from that of the academics needed to be told and that I was in a position to tell it. In the widest sense, *Depriving the Deprived* concerned my own family. Family stories permeated my interpretation of the text.[3]

All my grandparents had moved as children from the countryside to West Ham. One grandfather had become a milkman, delivering in the leafy streets of East Ham and my father recounted how, as a boy helping him before school, he had found a gold watch lying on the pavement. In contrast to families in his delivery round, my father had been beaten for wearing dirty shoes after running across the Borough to his school in West Ham and arriving late. Another grandfather had worked in the Gas Works in West Ham and died early of bronchitis when no-one could afford the 2/6d (about 12 new pence) to call out the doctor.

My parents' early work experiences in West Ham also permeated my interpretation of the text. The smell of molasses from the sugar refinery must have drifted through the Blackwall Tunnel from the south side of the river when my father pedalled his way amidst horse-drawn buses and lorries as a fourteen year old who had just left school. My mother also worked in the local factory in West Ham. As a fourteen-year-old, her wages dropped from 12/6d. (62p) to 10/- (50p) per week after the 1926 strike and her hours stayed rigidly at 48. Later, my uncle spent his whole working life as a docker without the coveted 'ticket' and my father told stories of the horror of nights during the blitz in Canning Town during World War Two. He had tried to help young children wandering aimlessly in the streets the night their parents had been killed in the bomb on the school.

As a teacher during the 1970s in East Ham, I enjoyed and was proud of the success of children who had entered my school unable to speak English. As an advisory teacher during the 1980s in West Ham, I shared the pain of eleven year olds unable to read and of

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their parents, supposedly unable to help them. I listened with horror to their teachers referring to the 'deep poverty' and 'lack of culture' they were supposed to suffer. Later, as a teacher educator in the neighbouring Borough of Tower Hamlets, I listened to a similar story about Bangladeshi British families. A lack of English literacy or, indeed, any literacy at all, were held to account for children's early literacy difficulties. It became a burning interest to seek out what was going on in children's out-of-school literacy lives, what might account for early difficulties and, finally, what teachers needed to know to go about changing classroom practices.

Just as I left West Ham to take up a post in Higher Education in 1984, I began reading a new and inspiring American study called *Ways with Words: Language, Life and Work in Communities and Classrooms* by Shirley Brice Heath. In this study, Heath (1983) traces the very different child-rearing practices of two communities living side-by-side in the Appalachians. Through her finely detailed comparison of the linguistic and cultural practices of each community and those expected and practiced in the children's school, Heath goes on to explain to teachers why certain children might be experiencing difficulties and what they need to know in order to devise programmes to foster success. The study resonated with the experiences of many teachers in Britain, including myself. Yet it was clear that the Appalachian Mountains were far from home. It was all too easy to sympathise with the families, to criticise their teachers for their lack of understanding. To do the same in one's own classroom was, however, somewhat different.

Rooted in the local history outlined above and the special way in which I and my family were situated in it, I became passionate about the literacy and learning practices taking place in the lives of children in London's East End and have since completed a number of studies revealing the skills and knowledge of East London families (1994-6, 1999-2000 and 2003-4). Although I couldn't speak Sylheti/Bengali (the first language of many of the participants in my studies), I found myself in collusion with the children and their families against teachers and schools, because we shared, in the widest sense, a common history of prejudice and discrimination. And, as the sub-title to this book suggests, our interpretation of educational ethnography is rooted in the art of collusion.

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Such is my answer to the Why? of conducting an ethnographic study. Chapters 2, 3 and 4 will reveal a similar passion by Jean, Chris and Aura as they explain reasons for their choice of study. For the acknowledgement of the self in the study is, we believe, our unique contribution to educational ethnography. It is a contribution which we invite others to make using our experiences outlined in this book as a handbook or guide.

Going about it: what is ethnography in education?

The second part of this chapter moves to the What? of ethnography. It discusses what we believe to be the rules in conducting an ethnography in education and explains why rules might sometimes need to be broken in order to present a case. It begins to answer the question: What should we expect when reading an ethnography? What are the rules as well as constraints of ethnography and what did this mean for us as authors of this book? How did we overcome these constraints? Finally, the chapter explains why we wrote this book and suggests ways in which it may be read.

What should we expect when reading an educational ethnography? Broadly, an ethnography aims to investigate:

- What is occurring
- How it is occurring
- How the participants perceive events
- What is required to participate as a member of that group (school, class, reading group etc.)
- What social and academic learning takes place.

Therefore, an ethnography describes:

- The context or environment
- The group membership (participant or non-participant)
- The specific social interactions
- The product of those interactions – the learning.

That is, an ethnography defines the group, what it means to be a member of the group and what happens through participation in

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that particular group. Importantly – and difficult for those conducting classroom ethnographies who have been teachers – ethnographers *describe* rather than *judge* what is occurring. They consider recurring patterns of behaviour and infer *the rules for membership* in interactions. Consequently, an ethnographic thesis often comprises the following:

PART ONE

1. A personal, often autobiographical, introduction leading to a definition of the problem or big question to be investigated
2. A pilot study illustrating further the nature of the problem or big question and the subsidiary questions arising.

PART TWO

3. Reference to previous studies and how they have tackled this question, showing that there is clearly a gap in the literature providing a satisfactory answer to your question (this will be yours to fill). This is often (but not always) two chapters of the work.

PART THREE

4. A clear explanation of the methodology and design of the study using various methods of investigation to triangulate your data (participant observation, interviews, case-studies, life-histories etc.)
5. A search for *recurring patterns and events* from the data in order to formulate hypotheses or develop case models grounded in data. This will be repeated with other members or another site to provide trustworthy evidence
6. A refinement of models and hypotheses and how these develop and extend existing theories (referring back to those reviewed previously). Use of your findings to refer to and make suggestions for future educational policy
7. A short conclusion or epilogue summarising the importance of the findings and pointing to future research still needed in the field.

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The thesis often comprises two chapters of data analysis (see 5 above), followed by a chapter highlighting key aspects of the evidence for theory building as well as implications for policy.

Ethnography in education: rules, constraints and overcoming constraints

Ethnography is sometimes wrongly understood as being synonymous with qualitative research. This is not the case. Below are what we believe to be some brief but basic rules about ethnography, followed by ways through and around the constraints it may impose.

Rule One: Ethnography is a methodology not a method

A crucial and basic rule is that ethnography is a research *approach*, a *methodology* and *not* simply a method. As such, an ethnography in education may use a whole variety of *different methods*, for example:

- participant observation
- life-histories
- interviews
- case-studies
- surveys and other statistical methods.

Doing an ethnography does *not* mean that quantitative methods such as surveys or statistics cannot be used if they serve to answer the big question of the study.

Rule Two: Ethnography starts with a question not a hypothesis

Ethnographic research always has a big (general) question as the starting-point for investigation. It *does not* start with a hypothesis. The generally accepted procedure is as follows:

- The initial question is followed by substantial field-work in a naturalistic setting; initial field-work is guided by assumptions and hunches
- During field-work, multiple questions and hypotheses are developed arising from the data collected until patterns are discerned to provide an analytic framework; constant feedback from data informs analysis

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- There is a narrowing down of hypotheses to form an argument which is substantiated further through a triangulation of methods
- On writing up, the aim is to produce 'trustworthy' evidence (Mishler, 1990) through a full and explicit description of the social world in which events take place whilst realising that the reader and researcher share a joint responsibility in interpreting events.

Rule Three: Ethnographers make emic rather than etic observations

Ethnographers make emic observations – those that attempt to adopt the framework and perspective of the participants studied – rather than etic observations – those brought by the researcher's own culture – (Schieffelin and Cochran-Smith, 1984). This is generally made possible by the recognition that the researcher must be *part of the world studied*; that the researcher both changes the situation and is changed by it. Ethnography has been referred to as 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973:9) which is 'our own constructions of other peoples' constructions of what they and their compatriots are up to…'. This recognition thus neatly avoids the dilemma faced by other qualitative work of the observer's paradox, the concern that natural data can never be gathered by the researcher because their very presence causes participants to act unnaturally. Because ethnographers aim to present a 'cultural grammar' (Heath, 1983) of a group, they must make explicit rules that are already implicitly known to the group. Ethnographers must, therefore, remain a stranger within the group as well as being part of it.

It takes little imagination to begin to note some of the contradictions inherent in ethnography for educational research. One problem is that schools themselves are not naturalistic settings and that this will need to be acknowledged in research taking place in classrooms. A second difficulty is that ethnography aims to provide a 'cultural grammar' or description of *a group* not *individuals* within the groups. As in the work of Phillips (1972), Au (1980), Heath (1983) and Michaels (1986) this might well lead to a focus on school failure for certain ethnic or social groups. What about the individual who stands out as different? The child from a disadvantaged group

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who succeeds against all the odds? This is surely of key interest to most teachers, who want to feel that what they do in classrooms can make a difference. Yet ethnography tends to lead to the view of knowledge as preconstituted through social or cultural background rather than dynamically recreated between individuals.

It was precisely this 'situated' (Cook-Gumperz, 1977) or 'negotiated' (Heap, 1985) knowledge that we wanted to reveal. So how did we go about this without breaking all the rules I've outlined above?

Our own solution was to realise that ethnography as a *single* methodology was simply not sufficient to provide a full and trustworthy answer to our big question. It is fair to say that ethnography provided the wider picture within which our work is situated; an ethnographic lens is needed through which data should be viewed. But each of us needed to search for a second methodology or approach to explain what was happening in the data. And for each the search was a struggle, since it meant stepping outside some of the commonly accepted rules. Gradually, we came to realise that, paradoxically, ethnography itself can be seen to be about rule breaking, since it needs to account for ways in which groups deal with constantly changing cultural practices, practices which we, ourselves, to a greater or lesser extent, may share.

Eventually, and after lengthy and repeated study of the data in the light of the big question posed, we each chose a second methodology in addition to ethnography. This is sometimes referred to as 'multilayering' or a 'multilevel approach' to our analysis. A focus on individual and moment-by-moment teacher/child interaction led me to phenomenology and the use of conversation analysis as an additional methodology (Gregory, 1993). Jean's constant awareness of the social and political backgrounds within which her participants operated led her to choose critical discourse analysis as a second approach (see Chapter Seven); Chris's fascination with the very different yet constant speech patterns of his participants led naturally to the addition of narrative analysis to his work (see Chapter Eight); Aura's concern with the empathy shown between teacher and child encouraged her to search out and find collusion as a research approach (see Chapter Nine). Crucially, these approaches, or methodologies, were sought out in response to the

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data and the questions posed; data and questions that were left unanswered if the rules of ethnography were to be fully obeyed.

Why this book? Honest experiences with ethnography

General books on research methodology of necessity omit the role of *the self* in the work. Methods of data collection and analysis, rules and procedures, though often clearly and interestingly represented, appear in a void without the context that makes them meaningful. Even if real examples illustrating different methods are used, they come from a number of different authors and, as research students, we consequently lacked empathy for their work.

As writers, we struggled with our own studies and did not see that struggle reflected in general methodology books which portrayed the task as unconvincingly simple. We wanted to read the work of others who had also struggled to find their way through what seemed, at the beginning, to be a chaotic assemblage of observations, interviews, readings and beliefs. We wanted to share in that struggle and to see ways in which it could be resolved. Ultimately, we needed to collude in the secrets of authors who did not just tell us how to conduct a study but shared with us the ups and downs, the blockages and breakthroughs and the messiness of the whole endeavour.

This was our reason for a collaborative writing of the book which, we feel, illustrates the art of collusion on a number of levels: collusion with the participants in our studies, with other students engaged in a similar task, with our supervisors listening to and advising on the work, with you as readers and, importantly, with each other as co-authors of this book. Ultimately, our collusion is against those promoting simplistic answers to collecting, analysing or interpreting data involving real people. We hope our accounts are honest in revealing our complex journeys through a mass of detail to the final version of the work.

Our aim to evoke empathy as well as provide rigour in our presentation has led us to provide a dual way for the reader in approaching the work. Vertically (chapter by chapter) it takes the reader step by step through the stages of the thesis – or indeed any ethnographic

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study. Horizontally (author by author) readers can follow the work of each author from conception to completion. With this aim in mind, the style of each author is different, and we make no apology for this. Our ultimate aim and our collaborative contribution to ethnography is to fully legitimise putting the self into the work; to show how personal commitment is not just 'latched on' to the methodology but is wound through it at every step. We hope that this book will enable its readers and future researchers to join us in presenting commitment as a crucial part of ethnographic research.

The following chart shows the organisation of the book – read horizontally (chapters across the rows) to trace the individual projects, or vertically (down the columns) to understand each stage of developing a PhD thesis and writing an educational ethnography:

	Part 1 – beginnnings	Part 2 – pilot study	Part 3 – methodology	Part 4 – conclusions
Jean	Chapter 1	Chapter 4	Chapter 7	Chapter 10
Chris	Chapter 2	Chapter 5	Chapter 8	Chapter 11
Aura	Chapter 3	Chapter 6	Chapter 9	Chapter 12

Notes

1 Interestingly, by 1901 the borough of West Ham (Plaistow, Canning Town and Silvertown) had a population of 267,358, fourteen times greater than its population in 1851. East Ham, which had been a large village of 4,334 in 1871 grew to 96,000: Inwood, S. (1998) *A History of London*, London: Macmillan: 465

2 Joining the armed forces in order not to be a drain on their families. Families were expected to support members not at work (see *City Literacies: Learning to read across generations and cultures*, (Gregory, E. and Williams, A. 2000: London: Routledge, Ch. 3 for personal memories of this)

3 Iser, W. (1974) *The Implied Reader* (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press) refers to the *implied* reader as one who, although drawn into the action, shades in the outlines suggested by given situations so that these take on a reality of their own. As the reader's imagination animates these outlines, they will, in turn affect the written part of the text

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