

EDUCATING RINA

A STUDY OF GENERATION 1.5 IN THE AUSTRALIAN HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM

By Frances Williamson

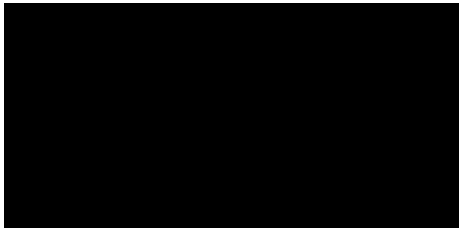
A thesis presented to the University of Western Sydney in fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

June 2015

Certificate of Authorship

I certify that the work in this thesis has not previously been submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as part of any requirements for a degree except as fully acknowledged within the text.

I also certify that the thesis has been written by me. Any help I have received in the research and preparation of the thesis itself has been acknowledged. In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.



Frances Williamson

Acknowledgements

To my supervisors, Megan Watkins and Claire Aitchison, who knew exactly when to prod and when to leave me alone and were a constant reminder of the power of good teaching.

To Rosalie, my walking companion, whose enthusiasm for exercise and theory kept me on my toes.

To Oscar, Quinn, Ariane, and Archie, whose childhood illnesses, misdemeanours and own academic travails taught me the true meaning of multitasking.

To Geordie, without whom this thesis simply would not have been completed.

And finally, to the eleven students who generously shared their time and stories.

Table of Contents

Acronyms	ii
List of tables and figures	iii
Abstract	iv
A Provocation – Educating Rina	1
Introduction – Generation 1.5: A Case Study in Complexity.....	4
Chapter One – Framing Generation 1.5.....	22
Chapter Two – Reframing Generation 1.5	51
Chapter Three – Gathering Voices	93
Chapter Four – From Cut and Paste to Hit and Miss: Writing in HE....	131
Chapter Five – ‘I never got taught how to do grammar at all’: Learning and Acquiring English.....	183
Chapter Six – ‘I belong to everywhere, but I don’t belong to anywhere’: Ambivalence and Hybrid Investments.....	229
Chapter Seven – Succeeding to Fail and the Cost of Persistence	259
Conclusion – Under-Educating Rina.....	298
Generation 1.5 – A Post Script	318
Appendix A – Language and Education Survey.....	320
Appendix B – Interview prompts (student)	328
Appendix C – Interview prompts (staff).....	332
Appendix D – Language Analysis Framework.....	334
Appendix E – Student texts	335
References	359

Acronyms

ALL - academic language and learning
ATAR - Australian Tertiary Admissions Rank
BICS - basic interpersonal communication skills
CALP - cognitive academic language proficiency
CUP - common underlying proficiency
EAL/D - English as an Additional Language or Dialect
ELL - English language learner
ELP - English language proficiency
EMT - English mother tongue
ESL - English as a Second Language
GPA - Grade Point Average
HE - higher education
HEPPP - Higher Education Partnerships and Participation Programme
HSC - Higher School Certificate
IEC - Intensive English Centre
IELTS - International English Language Testing System
KLAs - Key Learning Areas
L1 - first language
L2 - second language
LOTE - language other than English
NAPLAN - National Assessment Program - Literacy and Numeracy
NESB - non-English speaking background
NSW - New South Wales
OECD - Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PELA - post-entry English language assessment
PISA - Programme for International Student Assessment
SES - socioeconomic status
SLA - second language acquisition
TAFE - Technical and Further Education
TEQSA - Tertiary Education Quality Standards Agency
TOEFL - Test of English as a Foreign Language

List of tables and figures

Table 1: Background of Generation 1.5 students

Table 2: Selected demographic and enrolment details of Generation 1.5 students

Table 3: Minimum literacy standards applying to the Bachelor of Arts Program, Ward University

Table 4: Summary of student texts and marks received in units in which texts assessed

Table 5: Summary of the public school ESL provision received by Generation 1.5 students

Table 6: Summary of students' results over three semesters

Figure 1: Breakdown of English as an additional language (EAL) status

Figure 2: Breakdown of top five languages other than English spoken

Figure 3: Comparison of confidence level between EAL and non-EAL students

Abstract

Australian higher education is undergoing changes reflective of broader societal shifts. The twin drivers of democratisation and marketisation have led to student populations that are more ethnically, linguistically, and socio-demographically diverse. Along with this diversity has come heightened concerns about students' general preparedness for tertiary study, as well as a perception of slipping literacy standards (Devlin 2010). To date, higher education scholarship and policy has tended to compartmentalise the issue of student academic literacy by focusing on the putative underpreparedness of low socioeconomic status students or the English language proficiency of international students. However, one particular student cohort, known as Generation 1.5, falling as they do between these existing demographic categories, are currently overlooked and poorly understood by the higher education system.

Within an Australian context, Generation 1.5 refers to English as an Additional Language students who migrate to Australia during childhood and are therefore largely educated in the local school system, often attending metropolitan schools in relatively disadvantaged areas. As such, Generation 1.5 students' pathway to and through higher education is impacted by a coalescence of socioeconomic, linguistic, and educational factors, as well as complex patterns of identity and belonging. This study aims to illuminate this complexity through a thick description of 11 Generation 1.5 students' academic practices and dispositions and their varying experiences and outcomes in higher education. Adopting a mixed-methods approach, this study, conducted at one Australian university, draws together insights from survey responses, semi-structured interviews with students and staff, academic records and detailed linguistic analyses of student writing.

Drawing on a critical perspective of Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and field and advocating a realist standpoint, this study argues that the educational trajectories of Generation 1.5 students can be better understood by reference to a discernable Generation 1.5 habitus in which cognitive, linguistic, educational, and affective factors are shaped by the experiences of early migration. Characterised by a fragile control of English and the incomplete acquisition of cognitive schemas that underlie academic work – along with a distinct ambivalence for some – this habitus is often at odds with the expectations of university study. However, inherent in this collective habitus is a plurality of dispositions, the result of not only the differing contexts in which their habitus was acquired, but also the varying social contexts or fields through which these students constantly move. Therefore, the notion of a collective Generation 1.5 habitus is explored in concert with the notion of multiple, complex, and often contradictory individual dispositions that produce differing investments and outcomes in higher education.

This study also examines the field effects on Generation 1.5 students' trajectories, arguing that more open admission policies, the undervaluing and under-resourcing of teaching, and institutional misrecognition of the complex habitus of these students undermines the intention of higher education. Rather than a means of developing dispositions and capacities to facilitate participation in the labour market and social mobility, many of the Generation 1.5 students in this study instead progress through university with low-mobility forms of literacy while accruing high personal debt. This, then, is the story of students caught between a drive towards social participation and the exigencies of the academic marketplace.

A Provocation – Educating Rina

Rina enters the interview room and sits opposite me. She is dressed like a typical nineteen year old – jeans and a fitted top. When she speaks, it is with an accent that reveals more about where she lives now than where she came from. With a nervous laugh, she admits that she is finding university hard. She tells me that it is a struggle to balance study with her life outside university, and she complains that her lecturers are not clear about what is expected of her. This is a familiar story. Rina is one of the tens of thousands of students who come to university straight from high school, often underprepared for the realities of university study. They may experience difficulties for a semester or two, even fail subjects, but eventually, often through a process of trial and error, manage to unlock the expectations of university and go on to complete their degrees. However, Rina's pathway through university is more complex and certainly less predictable.

Rina immigrated to Australia with her family from Iraq in 2003. Like many who migrate during childhood, years spent in a transition country waiting for visa processing meant she missed out on foundational literacy and learning in her first language, Arabic. At age fourteen, she found herself recommencing her formal education halfway through Year Seven as the only non-English speaking student in a small regional high school in New South Wales, Australia. With English as a Second Language (ESL) support limited to a couple of afternoons per week, Rina's English language acquisition was slow. It took nearly two years before she had the courage to engage her classmates in conversation in the playground. While she eventually acquired a reasonable level of communicative competence, she

continues to experience difficulties with reading and writing, and, in particular, academic literacy.

Now, six weeks into her first semester at university, Rina seems as lost as she did in her first few months in Australia. She finds the academic readings particularly troublesome, as she is not able to navigate through the complex vocabulary to what is important or relevant. She describes composing her essays as a bewildering and harried process. She admits to being unsure of what to write and so often relies too much on source material, leaving herself open to charges of plagiarism. Even when tackling a topic which draws directly on her own experience of navigating the differences between home culture and that of mainstream society, Rina struggles to present a coherent text, as this extract from her essay discussing the film *Bend it Like Beckham* indicates:

The text *Bend it like Beckham* is a 2002 comedy, drama and romance, film directed by Gurinder Chadha and written by Gurinder Chadha and Guljit Bindra, the film explore the world of women's football, and was Set in Hounslow, West London and also Hamburg, the film monitors two 18 year olds girls with their hearts set on a future in professional soccer, And there is always something stoping that talent, then it seem to be not enough when the parents want them to drop out their football boots, And find a boyfriend then learn to cook.

The text shows culture change when the main actor Jess, Tried to sneak out to play soccer and she hired her sport cloths outside and snake out to play in the local women's league with Jules her friend that convinced her to join the team, That shows the change of cultures according to India people, women do not play soccer and it was shown that it is not appropriate in the Punjabi culture to do so. This shows that even though Jess family are not living in an India's

country but they still do and behave like living in India that shows culture change and not been able to belong to the new society.

Rina's academic progress reflects the fact that her level of literacy is insufficient to write effectively at university. Despite passing the subject for which the above essay was submitted (something which raises its own issues), Rina failed two of her four subjects in her first semester. Indeed, she went on to fail two more subjects the next semester and another in the semester following. When she does pass, she barely scrapes through.

And yet, Rina persists. When I meet her again, Rina is eighteen months into her teaching degree, and she is retaking the two subjects she failed in her first semester. I enquire how things are. She responds by showing me the draft of her next assignment on Plato's *Crito*, in which the question, cut and pasted at the top of a word document, is followed by an expanse of white space and an impatient cursor. Rina looks expectantly at me and says, 'I just need someone to explain what I have to do.'

Introduction – Generation 1.5: A Case Study in Complexity

Long before I met Rina, I became aware of the group known as Generation 1.5 when I encountered Eddie, a 17-year-old English language student. While teaching a class of international English as an Additional Language (EAL)¹ students at a vocational education college, it became clear that Eddie was different. Unlike many of the other students, who had only recently arrived in Australia and were somewhat reticent about speaking English, Eddie spoke fluently, showing little trace of his first language, Cantonese. Instead, his English was inflected with the cadence and vernacular typical of many young Australian native speakers. When he entered the class on Monday mornings, he commanded an audience, regaling his classmates with tales of his weekend exploits. It transpired that Eddie had been living in Australia for several years and had attended one of the local secondary schools. Now, he wished to enrol in a hospitality course. But when asked to turn his attention to the necessary task of academic reading and writing, a marked change came over Eddie. He became withdrawn, even defensive. And, in contrast to most of the other students in the class who relied heavily on their first language dictionaries, Eddie appeared to have little first language literacy to draw upon.

¹ In Australia, as elsewhere, various terms are used to label English language instruction for students for whom English is not their first language. In this thesis, I favour the term EAL – English as an Additional Language. However, ESL (English as a Second Language) is also used to refer to the school-based English language instruction the Generation 1.5 students received, as they themselves refer to it as ‘ESL’.

Five years later, I encountered a similar situation. By this time, I was teaching academic literacy to undergraduate university students. At the end of an academic writing workshop, a young female law student approached me to read over a draft of her assignment. She began by explaining the nature of the task and summarising her argument. Here, I presumed, was a high-achieving student, no doubt attending the workshop more to gain confidence than skills. However, as I read her essay, I struggled to reconcile the articulate student standing in front of me with the jumbled and confused text. While, as our conversation had demonstrated, this student clearly understood the notion of argumentation, on paper her thoughts became disorganised and obscured by frequent grammatical and syntactic errors. Unsure where to begin with feedback, I instead asked her where she was from. She told me she had been born in Lebanon but had grown up locally. Like Eddie, this student had aspirations to further education, but significant challenges with English literacy were holding her back.

At about the same time, I became aware of complaints from teaching academics about a group of nursing students who had been identified as struggling to meet the requirements of writing at a first year university level. What concerned the academics most was that these students were not recently arrived international EAL students, but 'local' students who had completed much of their schooling in Australia. These were students who presented with strong oral communication skills and yet appeared to have a tenuous grasp of not only the conventions of academic writing (which was not unexpected in a first year course) but also sentence and paragraph level English. Clearly, these students' needs could not be attributed to English language proficiency or underpreparedness alone. In short, this demonstrated the need for teaching staff to develop a more nuanced way to capture the complex sociobiographical history of

many of these ‘in-between’ students in order to provide them with appropriate and effective academic support.

The increasing complexity and diversity in student populations in higher education mirrors that of the wider Australian community. In general, international migration flows to traditional countries of immigration, such as Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United States, have increased since 1980 (United Nations 2011). This large-scale movement of people between nation states, caused by a combination of economic and political factors, has produced rapidly changing demographic profile in Australia. In 2011-12, just over 200,000 permanent and humanitarian migrants settled in Australia, the largest intake on record (ABS 2014). This has particular ramifications for Sydney, where this study took place, as in 2011, just over half of all migrants to Australia lived in Sydney (ABS 2014). Indeed, 38 per cent of the Sydney population was born overseas (Australian Government 2013). Many of these migrants settle in the catchment area which is the focus of this study, namely Sydney’s west and south-west (ABS 2014).

Such demographic shifts obviously present a challenge for local education systems, with significant increases in linguistic, ethnic, and religious diversity in their student body (Castles and Miller 2009). For example, in Sydney, the number of students assessed as needing EAL/EALD² support grew by 33 per cent between 1992 and 2014 (Smith 2015). Moreover, many of these students are accessing education in already under-resourced schools: over 40 per cent of all EAL students in New South Wales attend primary or secondary

² EAL/EALD (English as an Additional Language/English as an Additional Dialect) are the acronyms used in the National Australian Curriculum.

schools in areas of relative socioeconomic disadvantage (Smith 2015). And yet, as a consequence of what some see as a chronic underfunding of EAL teaching positions, many of these students are not receiving the language and literacy support they need (Cruickshank and Michell 2015).

Previously, these literacy and English language issues might have been contained at the primary or secondary school level. However, rapidly changing global economies, in part the result of globalisation, have had direct implications for higher education (HE) in Australia and elsewhere. HE has increasingly been seen by the federal Government as crucial in the strategy to meet Australia's perceived needs for 'a highly educated workforce... to advance the growth of a dynamic knowledge economy' (Australian Government 2009, 12). As such, undergraduate populations have been growing since 2006 (Gale and Parker 2013). In 2009, the Australian government set an ambitious target, aspiring to see 40 per cent of 25-34 year-olds attain a Bachelor-level degree by 2025 (Australian Government 2009). This economic agenda underpins what have been touted as social policies, aiming to increase the university participation of previously underrepresented groups. The Dawkins Reforms of the 1980s/90s and Bradley Review of Australian Higher Education in 2008³ recommended an increase in numbers of students of low socioeconomic status (SES), linguistic minorities, and from Indigenous and remote communities. In particular, the Australian Government

³ The Dawkins Reforms to the tertiary education sector were instituted by Education Minister John Dawkins in the 1980s/1990s, and aimed to address the 'brain drain'. They led to a dramatic increase in numbers of undergraduate students. Similarly, the Bradley Review of Higher Education, led by Denise Bradley, advocated increased participation in higher education, particularly among those from low SES backgrounds, in order to better meet the demands of a globally competitive market economy.

has focused on widening the participation rates of low SES students – in 2009, the Gillard government set a participation target of 20 per cent low SES students by 2020 (Australian Government 2009).

This social agenda has been underwritten by overt financial incentives. Associated with the widening participation policy, the Higher Education Participation and Partnership Programme (HEPPP) was established to support low SES students in HE. This program provides a low SES student loading to universities for each low SES student who enrolls and in 2013, this was approximately \$1,500 (Gale and Parker 2013). In 2012, the year the data for this study was collected, one Sydney university received in excess of \$9 million for low SES enrolments (Gale and Parker 2013). This represents a major financial incentive, particularly for lower-prestige institutions that may lack significant alternative income streams such as large numbers of full-fee paying international students or private bequests. Under the HEPPP, on top of this low SES student loading, Australian universities also receive a baseline funding of \$250,000 for programs directed at raising aspirations in the local community. These policies and practices have resulted in many more students like Rina attending university. However, while the Australian government has set targets for student access, as yet, there are no targets for progression and completion.

Not surprisingly, with these targets and financial incentives in place, the issue of low SES students has come to dominate HE policy discourse. HE researchers have undertaken a suite of projects addressing what has been termed ‘socio-cultural incongruity’ (Devlin et al. 2012) – in other words, the underpreparedness of many low SES students for the realities of HE study. These projects have aimed to make the expectations of HE explicit, institutions more accepting and

welcoming of non-traditional students, and to provide practical guidance for academics about scaffolding learning, creating flexible assessment options, and making academic concepts clear and accessible.⁴ However, these efforts ‘tend to be predicated on taken-for-granted concepts and normative assumptions regarding preferred and ideal student experiences and trajectories’ (Gale and Parker 2013). It is not merely that these projects make occasionally unfounded assumptions about the likely pathways of low SES students through university. Of more concern is that these projects focus on one source of potential disadvantage, thereby overlooking the more complex needs of students like Rina, whose challenges at university cannot be understood simply by reference to postcode. Rina’s very real difficulties with reading and writing at university are complicated by her linguistic and prior educational background.

This is not to say that the HE sector does not recognise issues related to student English language proficiency. On the contrary, concern among employers and academics over graduate literacy and general communicative ability in recent years has reignited the moral panic about the language and literacy standards of university students (Dunworth 2010). Recent headlines in Australia such as ‘Policy failure is to blame for university students’ lack of English’ (Barthel 2015), ‘Unis urged to get serious about English proficiency’ (Lane 2012b), ‘Extend tougher language standards’ (Trounson 2011), and ‘Overseas students lag on job-ready English’ (Lane 2012a) reflect the perception that language and literacy standards are not being met. Surveys of academics and industry have also confirmed that confidence in university students and graduates’ language and literacy is low

⁴ For an example of this, see *Effective Teaching and Support of Students from Low Socioeconomic Backgrounds: Resources for Australian Higher Education* (Devlin et al. 2012).

(Arkoudis 2013, Benzie 2010, Bretag 2007, Birrel 2006). In response to these widespread concerns, the federal government released the Good Practice Principles (GPP) document, in 2009 which outlines steps HE providers should take to ensure English language standards are met (Australian Universities Quality Agency 2009). This was followed in 2011 by the establishment of a new standards body - the Tertiary Education Quality and Standards Agency (TEQSA) - to evaluate the success of such measures.

It is readily apparent that much of the concern in the media, within many HE institutions, and among those charged with addressing student English language and academic literacy needs - namely, the academic language and learning community (ALL) - is concentrated on EAL students. More specifically, concern is focused on one group of EAL student: the international student. While there are certainly issues with the English language proficiency (ELP) of many international university students (Dyson 2014, Arkoudis 2013, Counsell 2011, Dunworth 2010, Murray 2010, Arkoudis and Starfield 2007, Birrel 2006), the emphasis on this group overlooks the needs of many local EAL students. Part of the problem may be the relative invisibility of students like Rina (Williamson 2012, Chanock and Cargill 2003). Having come through the local school system, assumptions are made about the language capabilities of these students - assumptions which remain unchallenged, as unlike international EAL students, local students are not obliged to demonstrate a level of English proficiency (for example, via testing such as International English Testing System - IELTS or Test of English as a Foreign Language - TOEFL). Moreover, as a result of spending their formative years in Australia, students like Rina and Eddie often do not have the obvious markers of difference, such as accent. The complex language, literacy, and learning needs of many local EAL

students are being largely ignored in favour of more visible 'problems'.

In effect then, the discourse of student academic literacy and language in Australia has become bifurcated, with low SES students associated with 'dialectal forms not in keeping with academic and professional standards and expectations' (Murray 2010, 61), and EAL students, conceived of narrowly as international students, assumed to lack communicative competence. But, as was seen with Eddie, the law student, and the group of nursing students discussed earlier, such a dichotomy fails to capture the reality of sociolinguistic diversity in both HE and the Australian community at large. Clearly, labels such as EAL and low SES can produce at best 'crude categorisations of potential disadvantage' (Borland and Pearce 1997, 104). Therefore, this thesis argues that the education system in general, and HE specifically, needs to broaden discussions around differential educational access and attainment in order to capture students whose experiences and trajectories are not necessarily encompassed by current dominant conceptions of disadvantage and need.

'In-between' students like Rina and Eddie exemplify the need for an expanded, more complex perspective on student experience. These students are commonly referred to as Generation 1.5 in applied and educational linguistics scholarship in the US and Canada; however, the moniker is not in popular usage in Australia. While Generation 1.5 can be conceived of broadly as a demographic label, referring to anyone who migrates during primary or early secondary school and displays characteristics of both first and second-generation migrants, (Rumbaut and Ima 1988) in this thesis, I am interested in a particular subset of Generation 1.5. As with the predominantly US applied linguistic scholarship, this thesis conceives of Generation 1.5 as early-

arriving migrant students who have low or no literacy in their first language as well as an incomplete command of English, due to the often inadequate English language provision in the school system. In addition, because of patterns of post-migration settlement, the students this thesis is concerned with tend to come from more socioeconomically disadvantaged areas.

While this thesis uses the term Generation 1.5 to refer to early arriving migrant English language learners, it is important to underscore from the outset that this label, far from representing a homogeneous group, actually encompasses students with many different ethnic, linguistic, and socioeconomic backgrounds as well as prior educational experiences and levels of proficiency and literacy in their home language/s. Moreover, the term itself experiences slippage: in North American studies, Generation 1.5 variously includes those who have been born locally and those who have received as few as four years of local education (Garnett 2012). While the more recent discourse surrounding Generation 1.5 in the United States has sought to highlight the heterogeneity of the cohort, much scholarship has continued to focus on identifying their distinguishing features; that is, the qualities and attributes, particularly linguistic, that set Generation 1.5 students apart from other student groups such as international EAL students, English-background students, and basic writers (Friedrich 2006, Blanton 2005, Thonus 2003, Matsuda 2003, Blumenthal 2002, Harklau, Losey, and Siegal 1999).⁵ This approach of highlighting the totality of characteristics of the group tends to reduce these students to an abstracted generalisation. Moreover, when taken as a whole, the features identified may not be the most

⁵ 'Basic writers' (Shaughnessy 1976), a contested term in the field of US HE, refers to 'underprepared' students who lack basic competency in formal written standard English.

salient and therefore may not necessarily enhance understandings of the needs of these students. Therefore, the term Generation 1.5 must be used cautiously, lest it becomes part of an essentialising discourse (Menken 2013, Benesch 2008, Ortmeier-Hooper 2008) or feed into the kind of simplified discourses prevailing in Australian HE identified earlier. For these reasons, in this study, the term Generation 1.5 functions as a heuristic to exemplify complexity, rather than as a fixed entity.

Another issue arising in the existing scholarship on Generation 1.5 is the tendency of studies to be siloed into distinct disciplines with associated methodologies. Second Language Acquisition (SLA) theory has been heavily influenced by cognitive and psychological paradigms. These approaches have produced explanations of patterns of differential language acquisition centring on variables such as cognitive ability, first language literacy levels, age of acquisition, and the interaction between these factors (Barac and Bialystok 2011, Birdsong 2005, Birdsong and Molis 2001, Cummins 1991, Long 1990, Cummins 1981, Krashen 1982, 1981, Cummins 1979b). Affective factors such as motivation and self-esteem have also been considered in SLA studies, but have been predominantly conceived of as innate, discrete qualities of the individual that can be measured and compared (Dornyei 2014, Hui 2012, Brown and White 2010, Dornyei and Shoaib 2005, Arnold 1999, Gardner and MacIntyre 1993, Gardner and Lambert 1972). While these approaches have generated many useful insights, there has been a growing recognition of the need to integrate the language learner and language learning context; in other words, to consider the role of learners' social contexts on second language acquisition.

Influenced by post-structuralism, the ‘social turn’ (Block 2003) within SLA began in the early 2000s. In this approach, traditionally interpretivist methodologies, such as ethnography, give prominence to the role of social systems and structures in the development of second language capacities (Darvin and Norton 2014, Menken 2013, Kanno and Cromley 2013, Morrice 2013, Kanno and Harklau 2012, Kanno and Varghese 2010, Miller 2003, Norton 2000, McKay and Wong 1996). Again, while useful, these approaches tend to obscure the role of individual linguistic and other competencies. In this way, current research has largely dichotomised the experience of Generation 1.5 students and their academic trajectories in terms of the linguistic or extra-linguistic. One of the chief concerns then in *Educating Rina* is to address the modularity that has characterised conventional approaches to the study of SLA by synthesising applied linguistic *and* sociocultural approaches. The result is a necessarily interdisciplinary study.

The sociological reality of Generation 1.5

It is for this reason that I turn to sociological approaches. These are commonly applied in the broader field of education, but far less so in the domain of SLA and studies of Generation 1.5. In particular, this study draws on Bourdieu’s notion of ‘habitus’ to negotiate the individual/social nexus in order to make sense of the language and literacy practices of a group of Generation 1.5 students. Habitus refers to a set of durable dispositions, largely acquired through one’s upbringing, that generate perceptions, attitudes, and capacities (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). In this way, habitus is structured by the environment of practices one inhabits. Bourdieu predominantly uses this notion in a collective sense to explain class reproduction, and this is the way the term is regularly applied in education studies.

Applied to the context of Generation 1.5 students who are still acquiring English and more specifically, academic literacy, habitus provides a means to make two arguments: first, that students like Rina and Eddie's current academic literacy practices, needs and overall educational trajectories cannot be understood without reference to their past and present contexts. And secondly, that these past and present contexts, while complex and varied, nonetheless are marked by a fundamental commonality: the experience of early migration, however varied that might be. In this study then, the notion of a collective habitus, or what I term a Generation 1.5 habitus, is used as a conceptual tool to highlight the embodiment of a set of dispositions, significantly shaped by the experiences of early migration.

Further, I draw on the notion of habitus to underscore that this set of dispositions, acquired chiefly through early socialisation, entails cognitive, linguistic and affective orientations. In *Educating Rina*, I heed Nash's call to engage in a 'realist sociology' by paying 'greater attention to the nature and origins of classed dispositions, both cognitive and non-cognitive' (Nash, 2005, p. 289). While a discussion of cognition is often readily associated with deficit discourses and so presents somewhat of a challenge to the current orthodoxy in the sociology of education and related fields, I argue that to ignore the social conditions under which orientations to mental processes are largely shaped is to ignore the elephant in the room. Instead, by exploring the impact of class and migration on the development of cognitive and linguistic resources, my aim is not to prosecute an alternative truth to the orthodoxy but to illuminate the complexities and gaps in our current understandings of Generation 1.5 students' educational trajectories.

However, to speak of a collective habitus, while valuable for increasing the recognition of Generation 1.5 students and the possible educational implications of a certain patterning of dispositions brought about by the experience of early migration, is nonetheless in tension with the inherent heterogeneity of this group. The process of early migration involves not just relocation from one linguistic and/or educational environment to another, but continual negotiations across different linguistic, cultural, ethnic, and generational spaces or fields. Generation 1.5 students then are likely to have experienced multiple modes of socialisation, leading them to acquire not a single, coherent habitus as Bourdieu's concept implies (Bourdieu 1998a, 1984), but rather a plurality of dispositions. The implications of this conception of habitus on practice are captured by Lahire:

Rather than an actor applying invariably and across every context the same system of dispositions (or habitus), what we more commonly see is a more complex mechanism of suspension/application or inhibition/activation of dispositions: a mechanism that evidently presupposes that each individual can be the bearer of a plurality of dispositions and straddle a plurality of social contexts (2010, xii).

This far more complex conception of habitus better captures instances of incongruity in individual Generation 1.5 students' practices, investments and thus, progression through HE. However, the notion of an individual habitus, particularly the plural habitus, when considered together with the notion of a collective Generation 1.5 habitus creates what some might see as an internal contradiction. There is indeed a tension between these two positions; this is precisely the point of *Educating Rina*. The social world is at once experienced in an unfolded and folded state (Lahire 2010). That is, in its unfolded or abstracted form, social reality conflates individual singularities, perceiving groups or classes of people which imply 'a

multitude of individual actors and yet [which are] not capable of being summed up in any individual action or life' (Lahire 2010, xiv). At the same time, the social world exists in a folded, or creased state. Individuals are not defined by any one group but by the entirety of their experiences, past and present. In the same way, I argue that the eleven Generation 1.5 students who are the subject of this study need to be simultaneously conceived of as a group and a group of individuals.

The research problem and purpose

As with Willy Russell's 1980 play (Russell 2005) and the 1983 film *Educating Rita* (Gilbert 1983) to which the title of this thesis refers, a primary concern of this study are the challenges faced by 'non-traditional' students in accessing and succeeding in HE. In *Educating Rita*, society was differentiated predominantly by class. However, in the context of a diverse, globalised Australia, patterns of migration have contributed to a highly differentiated society in which social determinants of education are not necessarily encapsulated by SES alone. For many Generation 1.5 students - who may also have a low SES background - class certainly plays a role in shaping patterns of access and attainment in HE, but there are also issues of language and identity which further complicate the picture. Moreover, the current discourse and policy environments that dominate HE, while impacting upon students broadly, also create local 'field' effects that need to be explored with reference to the interaction of individual students and individual institutions.

This study is premised on the argument that many Generation 1.5 university students have qualitatively and quantitatively distinct experiences and needs to more traditional EAL students, such as international and more recently arrived migrants. While some

students who could be termed Generation 1.5 experience few problems at university (for example, many students of various Asian backgrounds who often outperform monolingual English speakers), there are many such as Rina who do not make such a smooth transition. And, in Australia, despite relatively comparable numbers of students who could be classified as Generation 1.5 entering universities, students like Rina are all but invisible (Williamson, 2012) with few if any formalised mechanism for identifying and supporting these students' English language and academic literacy development post-enrolment (Murray 2010). Nor has any concerted effort to understand the needs of Generation 1.5 students been undertaken (for exceptions see Chanock and Cargill 2003). As such, this thesis argues that Generation 1.5 constitutes a blind spot, certainly in the Australian higher education context.

Educating Rina seeks to redress this gap by exploring this complex cohort in the folded and unfolded state. It explores the educational and academic literacy practices of eleven “non-traditional” students in a culturally diverse, working-class region of Australia attending a large, relatively new metropolitan university. The students migrated to Australia from Afghanistan, Iraq, Kuwait, Palestine, Iran, South Sudan, China, Hong Kong and Vietnam between the ages of three and fourteen. With the exception of one, they all experienced interrupted schooling, integrated into low SES settings post-migration and attended public primary and secondary schools. More details of the eleven students are provided in Chapter Three.

The central questions driving this research are:

1. Who are the students described as Generation 1.5 in the Australian tertiary context? In particular,
 - 1.1 What are their linguistic and ethnocultural features?

1.2 How appropriate is the use of this label?

2. What are English language and academic literacy experiences and practices of these students?

3. What are the theoretical and pedagogical implications for supporting these students' academic literacy development in higher education contexts? In particular,

3.1 How do this cohort's academic literacy practices align with current academic literacy frameworks and pedagogies?

Outline of thesis

Chapter One of *Educating Rina* brings together the various areas of scholarship that contribute to current understandings of Generation 1.5. This research, chiefly drawn from SLA and bilingualism scholarship, details the empirical basis for many of the claims and explanations made in relation to Generation 1.5 students. The chapter concludes by suggesting that both cognitive and sociocultural perspectives are valuable for illuminating the educational experiences of Generation 1.5, but that neither is sufficient alone. Chapter Two therefore presents a reframing of Generation 1.5 in which a reconceptualisation of Bourdieu's notion of habitus is offered. Foregrounding cognitive, linguistic, and affective dimensions of habitus, this reconceptualisation also challenges treatments of habitus as a unitary, stable construct. The implications of this position for the trajectories of Generation 1.5 students through HE are considered with reference to Bourdieu's notion of field. In Chapter Three, these considerations are then discussed in relation to the methodology of the empirical study, detailing how, with the aim of capturing complexity, a mixed-methods approach was adopted. By drawing together 'numbers and narrative' (Nash 2002c), a rich and

nuanced picture of the educational lives of eleven Generation 1.5 students is provided.

Chapters Four to Seven detail findings from the empirical work undertaken. As the study is situated in the field of HE, Chapter Four begins by outlining the practices and capacities of the Generation 1.5 students in their first year of university. It couples analysis of the students' self-reported academic practices with a detailed linguistic analysis of their academic writing. An emergent picture of a Generation 1.5 habitus, with discernable cognitive and linguistic features, is then contrasted with the prevailing expectations of university academic reading and writing. By providing a sociobiographical account of the early lives of the eleven students, Chapter Five explores how and why these Generation 1.5 students came to think, write, and act in the way they do, tracing the development of the cognitive and linguistic aspects of the Generation 1.5 habitus glimpsed in Chapter Four. It also examines the impact of this habitus on the students' experience of schooling in Australia through their own accounts of their first years in the Australian schooling system. Chapter Six turns to exploring the ways these early experiences of socialisation crystallised into distinctive and differing orientations towards learning, and the influence of processes of self-identification on the often divergent dispositions that result. It highlights how ambivalence is integral to the Generation 1.5 experience, with the second part of the chapter exploring how this ambivalence impacts upon these students' willingness and ability to invest in HE. The final empirical chapter returns to the field of HE, where the study began. It investigates the impact of students' early experiences both at home and school, and their differing dispositions on their academic progression at one Sydney university. This chapter returns the gaze to the field of Australian HE broadly, as well as to

local institutional policies and individual teachers' practice, by examining the results of the interaction between field and individual students in terms of academic progression, retention, and engagement.

Finally, in the conclusion, I draw together the implications of the complexity of the Generation 1.5 cohort for their experiences and trajectories through HE by outlining the many constraints that HE presents both systemically and locally. The HE sector needs to better address the needs of students like Rina both in terms of what can be characterised as a collective habitus as well as that specific to individual students. As a result of varying migration and settlement histories, together with a range of other factors, these students have developed different dispositions to learning, and so different individual resources from which they can draw, as they grapple with the complexities of academic literacy within the HE sector.

Chapter One – Framing Generation 1.5

Due to mass migration, globalisation, and transnationalism, there is an increasing diversity in the linguistic and ethnocultural backgrounds of student populations in countries like the US, UK, Canada, and Australia. This has seen a rich and broad nomenclature of student cohorts emerge in educational literature. One of these terms – ‘Generation 1.5’ – captures the experience of a particular cohort of EAL students, who, unlike so-called traditional EAL students (that is, international students or recently arrived migrants) have ‘experiences, characteristics and educational needs [that] may lie somewhere between those of first generation adult immigrants and the US [or Australian] born second generation children of immigrants’ (Roberge 2002, 107-108). Generation 1.5 is most commonly defined as a group of EAL students who arrive in their settlement country during childhood years, are educated extensively in the local educational system, and who enter tertiary education with ‘patterns of language literacy’ that deviate from traditional formal English (Roberge, Siegal, and Harklau 2009).

This chapter explores what is currently known about Generation 1.5, drawing predominantly on research from the fields of SLA and applied linguistics. Studies in these fields have generally considered language acquisition as primarily a cognitive process, and the focus of investigations has been on the written outputs of language learning (Doolan 2013, Doolan and Miller 2012, di Gennaro 2013, di Gennaro 2009, di Gennaro 2008, Frodesen and Starna 1999). Attention to non-linguistic factors, such as motivation and SES, tend to be considered as variables that can be readily defined and quantified (Garnett 2010, Gardner and MacIntyre 1993). That said, in the last ten

to fifteen years, research into bilingual student attainment has increasingly adopted sociocultural perspectives (Menken 2013, Cummins 2012, Faez 2012, Kanno and Harklau 2012, Kanno and Varghese 2010). These investigations are more relevant to this research as they broaden understandings of the English language and literacy development of Generation 1.5 students. However, insights from both cognitive and sociocultural approaches to SLA are needed to capture the complexity inherent in such a group, as well as the processes of language and literacy development.

The group that is not a group

The label 'Generation 1.5' emerges from the American experience. The term was coined by Rumbaut and Ima (1988) and was introduced to the educational mainstream by Harklau, Losey, and Siegel (1999) in *Generation 1.5 Meets College Composition*. Despite the label being used extensively among North American researchers and teachers as well as the mainstream media, it has not been adopted elsewhere. In Australia, whose most populous state, New South Wales, has almost a third of students in government schools coming from homes in which a language other than English is spoken (Barrett 2014), the term is rarely used. This has had the effect of rendering Generation 1.5 students in Australia – in particular, in HE – relatively invisible.

Part of the reticence in adopting the label Generation 1.5 may stem from disagreement in the literature about its boundaries. For example, some studies use the term broadly to denote bilingual resident students who emigrated from a non-English speaking country at some stage during kindergarten to Year Twelve. Other studies are more prescriptive, stipulating immigration between certain ages, arguing that as the focus of research is on 'adaptive outcomes affected by language competencies' (Rumbaut 2004, 1168),

it becomes necessary and appropriate to define the boundaries of the group. Still other studies examine the educational outcomes of immigrant youth but refer to them by other names, such as first generation migrants (Kanno and Varghese 2010).

Consequently, these differences in the way the group Generation 1.5 is defined have led to differences in reported outcomes. For example, in some studies, migration after the age of nine is associated with an increased risk of dropping out of secondary school (Corak 2011, Beck, Corak, and Tienda 2011). In Australia, the few studies that have explored the educational attainment of local EAL students (not referred to as Generation 1.5) have reported mixed results. Dobson and Sharma (1993) compared the performance of resident EAL (although not disaggregated by age of arrival) and international students at 10 universities in the Australian state of Victoria. They found that these students outperformed international students in two out of 10 universities, while the reverse was true in three out of 10. In a more finely tuned study of the 1994 cohort at one Victorian university, Borland and Pearce (1997) found only small differences in mean weighted average marks (WAM) between late-arriving resident EAL (arriving within 10 years of university admission) and early-arriving resident EAL (arrived more than 10 years before starting university).

Other issues with the use of the term Generation 1.5 stem from what some argue has been a discourse characterised by unitary constructions of identity (Benesch 2008). Certainly, a significant proportion of the literature concerning Generation 1.5 students tends to ignore the inherent heterogeneity of the cohort, which has led to a degree of essentialism. But, as the often contradictory findings in research into this group attest, not all Generation 1.5 students occupy

a position of educational disadvantage, nor do many perform significantly differently to their monolingual English counterparts. As such, the term Generation 1.5 has attracted criticism in recent years, resulting in some researchers distancing themselves from it (Matsuda and Matsuda 2009, Benesch 2008, Reyes 2007, Talmy 2001).

Consequently, divergent views and uses of the label have produced doubts over the utility of the term. Doolan (2010), for example, argues that applying the title Generation 1.5, while increasingly underscoring the heterogeneity of this group, at times creates the sense that this is a group that is not a group. Schwartz (2004) goes further, arguing that the term is overused and diluted. What these concerns reveal is the difficulty inherent in attempting to frame such a diverse and complex group. And yet, as institutions largely operate above the level of the individual, some form of institutional categorisation is unavoidable. In Australia, where the situation is very different to North America, the danger is not misplacement or pigeonholing students classed as Generation 1.5, but overlooking these students altogether. With the emphasis on international students outlined earlier, the needs of local EAL students, particularly those that fall into multiple categories of potential disadvantage, are often neglected. Therefore, while the goal of making the complexity of a group such as Generation 1.5 visible and therefore intelligible remains, some form of soft categorisation is warranted.

Labels provide a frame of reference. However, the very act of labelling entails a process of selectivity, grouping, and lumping together on the basis of perceived commonalities, and splitting apart on the basis of perceived difference (Zerubavel 1997). In this case, then, it is not the practice of institutional identification itself that is inherently problematic, but how such identification is institutionalised (Kanno

and Harklau 2012). As well as expressing concern over the potential for reified and reductionist discourse in which the term Generation 1.5 is treated as a fixed entity rather than a heuristic device, Brubaker and Cooper (2000) take issue with the unproblematic acceptance and usage of social categories. However, this does not mean that any form of categorisation should be rejected outright. On the contrary, categories remain useful structures of analysis (Brubaker and Cooper 2000). The point, then, is not to deny the importance – both material and discursive – of categories, but to focus on the processes by which they are *produced* and *experienced* in everyday life (Glenn 2002, Fernandes 1997). The contribution of SLA and bilingual research to the production and understanding of the categorisation of Generation 1.5 is outlined below.

Bilingualism and academic progression

Patterns of bilingual development are shaped significantly by the age at which someone begins learning an additional language. Learning two languages from birth results in simultaneous bilingual acquisition, whereas learning a second language (L2) after puberty is considered sequential adult bilingualism. Exposure to an L2 in an immersive environment between the ages of five and puberty is known as sequential childhood bilingualism, and it is this pattern of bilingualism that many Generation 1.5 students exhibit. These different patterns tend to align with different levels of proficiency, and age of arrival is considered highly predictive in terms of proficiency in the L2 (Birdsong 2005, Stevens 1999). At the heart of this dynamic between age and language attainment is the notion of a critical period for second language acquisition (Penfield and Roberts 1959). While this notion is not uncontroversial and is understood in a variety of ways, the presumption that increasing age of arrival negatively correlates with resultant second language proficiency is

fairly consistent across the literature (Birdsong 2005, Birdsong and Molis 2001) (although see Newport, Bavelier, and Neville 2001 for counterclaims).

It is generally believed that maturational constraints – that is, biological constraints to ultimate attainment – impact the capacity for ‘native’ proficiency, with the pace of acquisition of morphology and syntax reducing rapidly after about age 15 (Birdsong 2005). However, this is by no means uncontested. For example, rather than supporting the notion of younger age of arrival being advantageous, a Swedish/Finnish study found that children who migrated at school age (in this study, seven to eight year olds) were actually at the greatest risk of becoming ‘semilingual’; that is, not proficient in either their first or second language (Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukoma 1976). Similarly, if a second language writing system is introduced too early and quickly, it may result in two weak sets of reading and writing skills (Thonis 1981). Also indicating the possible advantage of a later start, Niyekawa (1983) argues that the older the child at the time they commence studying in their second language, the faster they catch up, as they have more linguistic knowledge to serve as context and more skills to transfer from their first to second language. Clearly, then, the tension between the potential for transfer and interference between languages indicates that age of arrival is a complex and multifaceted factor, with little consensus in the literature.

In an attempt to capture this complexity, Cummins (1979b) offered the linguistic interdependence hypothesis. This explores two related hypotheses: the developmental interdependence hypothesis and the threshold hypothesis. Together, these hypotheses make a strong case that a cognitively and academically beneficial form of bilingualism

can only be achieved when there is an adequately developed L1. Firstly, the developmental interdependence hypothesis indicates that the level of L2 competence is in part due to the type of competence in L1 at the time intensive exposure to an L2 begins: in other words, how well students can use their first language and how much education they have had in that first language impacts upon their achievement in a subsequent language. Extending this notion further, the maintenance of L1 skills is seen as a prerequisite for realising the cognitive advantages of bilingualism. This notion, encapsulated in the related threshold hypothesis, suggests that there is a minimum level of L1 competence needed to be attained in order to avoid cognitive disadvantage and a higher threshold of competency in a first language is required to potentially realise the educational benefits (Cummins 1979b).

There is a raft of empirical evidence that suggests that home language maintenance or additive forms of bilingualism are thought to lead to greater and faster acquisition of proficiency in a majority language (Barac and Bialystok 2011, Cummins 2000, 1999, Thomas and Collier 1997). Specifically, lexical development in an L2 may be enhanced by the existence of a developed L1 vocabulary (Leki 2006, Boshier and Rowecamp 1998, Cummins 1981). Similarly, there is evidence for transference of reading comprehension ability in bilinguals (Dressler and Kamil 2006) and importantly, that the effect on reading is bidirectional – that is, from the home language to a second language (English) and back again.

The mechanism for this interdependence of languages is thought to be the common underlying proficiency (CUP) (Cummins 2000). The CUP consists of the skills and knowledge that provide the base for the development of both the first language and subsequent languages. It

follows that any development of the CUP that takes place in one language will have a beneficial effect on the other language(s). Conversely, any delay or gaps in the development of the CUP in a first language may similarly impact proficiency in a second language. While many Generation 1.5 students who migrate during primary school years may readily acquire fluency in spoken English, this is often at the expense of proficiency in their home language; in particular, proficiency in reading and writing. In other words, unlike older-arriving migrants or typical international students, Generation 1.5 students are often bilingual but not biliterate, a distinction explored extensively by Hornberger (1989). Similarly, many Generation 1.5 students have had little explicit instruction in their home language prior to being exposed to English. In other cases, they may have experienced interrupted schooling, resulting in limited literacy in their first language (Miller and Windle 2010). This may mean that few have developed a strong foundation of conceptual and linguistic proficiency in their first language before beginning to learn English. As such, gaps in the development of CUP are likely to have longer-term consequences not only for English acquisition but also for academic progression.

However, it is not simply that proficiency in the L1 confers advantage in the subsequent development of an L2. The manner in which that home language is acquired is also thought to be significant to later linguistic and academic development. Anecdotal as well as empirical evidence suggests that formal language education (presumed to lead to literacy in the L1) is important for the acquisition of an L2 (Collier and Thomas 2009, Verplaetse and Migliacci 2008, Rutter 2006, Carrasquillo and Rodriguez 2002, Cummins 1991). Indeed, studies have indicated that many of the most successful students are not long-term immigrants, such as Generation 1.5 students, but more

recent arrivals who have greater literacy in their L1 but also, importantly, are more likely to have received longer periods of formal instruction in it (Reid 2006, Frodesen and Starna 1999, Boshier and Rowecamp 1998, Muchinsky and Tangren 1999). Furthermore, international students, despite being found overall to have weaker L2 skills in certain areas are nevertheless at an advantage 'because their familiarity with context-reduced academic language is greater than that of Generation 1.5 students whose skills are stronger with context-embedded language' (di Gennaro 2008). Therefore, formal education and home language literacy can be seen to separately facilitate progression in a second language, particularly second language literacy.

The impact of formal education versus immersive and communicative learning contexts has been used to explain the often observable differences between resident and international EALs. These differences have been encapsulated in the terms 'ear' and 'eye' learners, which are strongly associated with Generation 1.5. Reid (1997) developed these labels to distinguish between the nature of L2 learning as well as the degree and style of education in L1. Eye learners are described as literate and fluent in L1 and as having learned English mostly through their eyes; that is, studying grammar patterns, rules, and metalanguage (generally through overt formal instruction). Eye learners have often studied vocabulary formally in class and so have strategies such as using context and/or word class at their disposal to decipher the meaning of an unknown word. This category fits most international students as well as late-arriving migrants who have had the majority of their education in their L1, although there are, of course, many exceptions. In contrast, ear learners have predominantly learned English by listening to fellow

students, friends, teachers, television, and radio: generally, by immersion in the English language and mainstream culture. By virtue of being in an immersive second language environment, many Generation 1.5 students are said to acquire English as a second language 'naturalistically', as a child might acquire a first language. In this way, they may subconsciously develop English grammar, vocabulary, and syntax rules through oral 'trial and error' (Reid 1997, 77). Often their oral/aural dominance means that they do not pick up on non-salient grammatical features. Subsequently, these features do not become part of their repertoire, leading to highly inaccurate language (Reid 2006), as was clear in Rina's first university assignment. Moreover, these students may have little metalanguage or metalinguistic awareness. While typically resulting in greater fluency than eye learners, this ear pattern of acquiring English is considered to be the foundation of many of Generation 1.5's academic difficulties. Having learned English predominantly through speaking then, these students are thought to transfer oral discourse patterns to writing (Ferris 2009, Thonus 2003), reproducing patterns of written expression that are considered inappropriate in the academic context.

The ear/eye dichotomy pervasive in Generation 1.5 applied linguistics literature appears, at first glance, to be about learning pathways - acquisition in the case of ear learners and formal learning in the case of eye learners. Certainly, the distinction between acquisition and learning put forward in the Acquisition-Learning hypothesis (Krashen 1981) is one which persists in applied linguistics today. Acquisition - the result of meaningful and naturalistic interaction in a target language - is said to lead to mastery, whereas learning - a conscious process in which knowledge about language (for example, grammar rules) is developed - facilitates meta-knowledge and possibly accuracy. However, while it may be reasonable to claim that by virtue

of living in an immersive L2 environment, many Generation 1.5 students do acquire much of their English, it is counter-productive to ignore the *learning* that takes place inside the classroom, particularly when it is a combination of fluency and accuracy that is desirable. Yet while pedagogical approaches such as the debate over communicative language learning have featured prominently in research into adult second language learning (Karakas 2013, Ellis 2003), investigations into different pedagogies have rarely featured in Generation 1.5 studies. Instead, the ear/eye distinction presents a distraction, focusing attention on determining where in the binary a student falls. If we accept that the kind of language required for academic success is likely to be learned in a formal setting – that is, requiring explicit teaching – then research must turn its attention to pedagogy: in particular, that which takes place inside the ESL and mainstream classrooms.

Pedagogical effects on the educational trajectories of Generation 1.5 students may operate at an even more basic level than that already discussed. Besides exerting an influence on the acquisition of linguistic structure, such as syntax, students' age at migration determines the nature of exposure to educational institutions. For example, children arriving after the age of five miss out on many benefits associated with attending preschool in the host country, and those arriving in their secondary school years often do not receive the intensive instruction in numeracy and literacy skills that they would have received in primary school (Cobb-Clark, Sinning, and Stillmac 2011, Cobb-Clark and Nguyen 2010, Castles and Miller 2009). These pedagogical gaps are significant and many researchers argue that proficiency in the national language is critical if children with a migration background are to close the cognitive skills gap vis-à-vis

other children (Dustmann, Frattini, and Lanzara 2011, Schneeweis 2010).

The nature of language proficiency

In addition to the heterogeneity of the cohort and the complexity inherent in bilingual language acquisition, linguistic competence itself is comprised of several different aspects. In order to distinguish between conversational and literacy-based language skills, Cummins and Man (2007) identify three distinct dimensions of language proficiency: conversational fluency (also known as Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills, or BICS), discrete language skills, and academic language proficiency (also known as Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency, or CALP). They argue that each dimension has a different path to acquisition and requires differing kinds of instruction. BICS, associated with context-embedded, face-to-face communication, is acquired through immersion in the target language. In other words, BICS is the result of what has already been discussed as ear learning. Discrete language skills, which lead to CALP, are essentially enabling skills for more demanding cognitive and academic language skills, associated with context-reduced, academic situations. They involve learning 'rule-governed aspects of language' (Cummins and Man 2007, 800) such as phonology, spelling and grammar. These skills are typically learned through direct instruction and/or at home, provided the home is one in which language and literacy are privileged.

Cummins and Man observe minimal direct transfer from the conversational and discrete language skills to academic language proficiency (Cummins and Man 2007). This means that it is not simply a matter of time before a student with BICS becomes a student with CALP. The time it takes to develop competency in different aspects of English has been investigated, with the development of English

academic language and literacy thought to take anywhere from four to seven years (Hakuta, Butler, and Witt 2000, Cummins 1981), or even up to 10 years (Thomas and Collier 1997, Collier 1987). Accordingly, even if Generation 1.5 students have spent all of their secondary schooling in Australia, they may still be in the process of developing age-appropriate academic language and literacy by the time they enter HE, a point which is explored further in Chapter Four.

It is this gap between oral and written academic communication that first drew educators' attention to Generation 1.5 students and which led to a wave of research on the writing of this cohort of students (Williamson 2012). Closely following the methods of L2 writing scholarship (see Hyland 2002, Silva 1993), studies of the writing of Generation 1.5 students have largely been comparative in nature. The primary goal has been to determine Generation 1.5's uniqueness as a cohort so as to better address the writing difficulties these students reputedly face. Overwhelmingly, studies have been quantitative, using error counts as a unit of measurement and comparing writing samples from different student cohorts - more recently arrived L2 cohorts, such as international students, and L1 students - without any attention given to specific language backgrounds. Some research has claimed that there are differences in the writing of these groups, portraying Generation 1.5 writing as overall less accurate, featuring more errors in formation of prepositional phrases, verbs, word forms, and idiomatic expressions, as well as inappropriateness in word choice and register (Doolan 2013, di Gennaro 2013, Doolan and Miller 2012, di Gennaro 2009, di Gennaro 2008, Blanton 2005, Thonus 2003, Blumenthal 2002, Frodesen and Starna 1999). Other research has been more circumspect about claims for the uniqueness of Generation 1.5 writing (Doolan 2010). This indicates that there is disagreement over

the existence of measurable differences between the writing of Generation 1.5 students and other cohorts.

Writing scholarship has also compared Generation 1.5 student writing against a cohort termed 'developmental' writers or 'basic' writers. Basic writers are beginning level writers who, through limited exposure to or experience in writing, have not yet acquired the discourse/s valued in academic contexts like HE. While not an uncontroversial term (Curry 2003), what the notion of basic writing does in the context of Generation 1.5 research is expand understandings of literacy issues to include possible social factors. However, rather than illuminating the intersecting nature of factors affecting the development of first and second language literacy, much of this scholarship regarding Generation 1.5 and basic writing focuses on compartmentalising student cohorts based on writing output (Matsuda 2003, Leki 1992). Friedrich (2006), for example, maintains that basic writer status concerns academic development, whereas ESL status is about proficiency in English. However, when examining the features of basic writers described in these studies, one cannot help but be struck by the similarity between them and the writing features said to characterise Generation 1.5 writing. Moreover, the features enumerated by Friedrich (2006), which are intended to contrast resident ESL and monolingual basic writers, instead serve to highlight the overlap between the first two categories. It may be the case, then, that in terms of academic writing ability, many Generation 1.5 students present at university as basic writers. In other words, the kind of learning experiences and literacy practices students bring to university, shaped by their socio-historical contexts, may have just as much impact on their academic outcomes as their actual proficiency in English. In this way, current approaches to the study of Generation

1.5 writing fail to take a contextualist approach, by not bringing together text and context as one phenomenon.

In general, then, while providing detailed descriptions of error patterns that may inform pedagogy and assessment practices in US institutions, current approaches to Generation 1.5 writing research are somewhat limited. Apart from the difficulties inherent in generalising patterns in written language across a highly diverse cohort, a focus on error analysis reduces literate practice to the production of standard forms, structures, and conventions. Questions about how students go about writing and why they write the way they do are conspicuously absent in this research. This predominantly quantitative approach fails to acknowledge the potential for a range of social factors, such as early socialisation, home-based literacy practices, parental attitudes, education, and SES, to influence language and literacy development. As such, the current approach to studying Generation 1.5 writing overlooks the complexity inherent in literacy, especially literacy in an additional language.

Moreover, the view of literacy as a discrete skill, evident in the above approaches to the study of Generation 1.5 writing, limits the role reading and other literacy practices may have on the development of writing. The role of reading in shaping educational attainment is currently an area of research in the educational outcomes of migrant youth. For example, in a study drawing on Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development Programme for International Student Assessment (OECD PISA) data for 15 year olds, gaps in reading achievement were found to increase sharply with age at arrival in students who do not speak the host country language at home (Cobb-Clark, Sinning, and Stillmac 2011). Those students arriving during primary school years (ages five to 10) achieved results significantly

lower than 'native-speaking' counterparts, and students arriving between ages 11-15 had even lower rates of reading achievement.

Despite this, the role of reading has been largely neglected in Generation 1.5 literature and HE research. This is a significant oversight, as Generation 1.5 writing is studied almost exclusively in the context of students' command of academic language, and low frequency and other academic vocabulary is found principally in written texts and not conversation (Corson 1997). In other words, without reading, and reading of a particular type, students are unlikely to be exposed to the kind of language they are required to reproduce in formal education contexts. Moreover, as the earlier discussion of the dominance of ear learning and the nature of community and familial language practices suggests, many Generation 1.5 students may not have sufficient access to the kinds of discourses and vocabulary valued by academia.

However, not only does reading provide a means for accessing the 'right' kind of language, it also may provide cognitive advantages. Reading skills may actually facilitate the development of logical or ideational functions of language (Olson 1977) as well as vocabulary knowledge, including concept knowledge and metalinguistic insights such as grammatical functions. Moreover, reading assists in the recognition of the differences between written and spoken text as well as the fact that language can be decontextualised; that is, students recognise that writing is an 'autonomous' representation of meaning. As the above discussion of the cognitive affordances that a solid foundation in any language provides (captured in the Cummins' CUP construct), as well as the differentiated nature of language proficiency shows, any investigation of Generation 1.5 writing would benefit from an expanded view of literacy. The inclusion of a broader

analysis of students' language practices and experiences would illuminate the social dimensions of literacy.

The concept of 'literacy engagement' (Guthrie 2004) brings such a social dimension to the study of the relationship between language and literacy acquisition and academic attainment. Incorporating measures of time on task (the amount of time spent reading), affect (enthusiasm and enjoyment of literacy), depth of cognitive processing (strategies to improve comprehension), and active pursuit of literacy activities (number and diversity of literacy practices in and out of school), print access and literacy engagement have been found to be a direct determinant of literacy attainment (Cummins, Mirza, and Stille 2012). Drawing on OECD PISA data (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development 2004), Guthrie (2004) found that students with both low SES and limited or interrupted education backgrounds outperformed those with high SES and education backgrounds when they were engaged readers. In addition, a study into the reading achievement of 15 year olds in 27 countries concluded that reading engagement is a better predictor of educational attainment than SES (Cummins 2011). Finally, literacy engagement has been found to be a major determinant of educational outcomes for EAL students, particularly when paired with teaching that accommodates students' use of L1 (Cummins, Mirza, and Stille 2012). Importantly, research has also indicated a relationship between the development of literacy capacities and school and home-based literacy practices as well as access to literacy resources (Lindsay 2010, Guthrie 2004). Again, this highlights that linguistic factors alone are insufficient to capture the complexity of language and literacy development.

The role of non-linguistic factors in educational attainment

As with the lack of attention paid to the influence of pedagogy and students' language practices beyond writing, the home environment is also not adequately accounted for in the literature. Bilinguals have differentiated language systems and use their languages in contextually specific ways (Genesee 1989). Many bilingual communities are diglossic (Fishman 1967) – communities in which there is a clear dichotomy between language use. In general, the L1 is used in domestic situations. The use of so-called 'kitchen languages' – that is, non-standard varieties of language that serve predominantly oral communication needs around restricted, mostly domestic topics (Eisenclas, Schalley, and Guillemin 2013) – may mean that Generation 1.5 students do not routinely acquire less common vocabulary and more context-reduced forms of language. As discussed earlier, the interdependence of students' languages may mean that this more restricted foundation in the L1 has implications for the development of academic language and literacy in a second language.

In a similar vein, exposure to contact-varieties of English in the home and local communities – that is, English inflected with other languages and/or local vernacular – may also have implications for the way Generation 1.5 students acquire English. While hybrid language repertoires (Blommaert 2010, Makoni and Pennycook 2007, Cruickshank 2006, Makoni 2003) and practices such as translanguaging (Garcia 2009) are increasingly being recognised as linguistic resources, the form of language and discourse valued and expected in schools and university remains formal and standard. As this may be quite different to the language routinely used by these

students, they may experience difficulties meeting the demands of formal education, particularly HE.

This potential for home- and community-based practices to shape the language, and, by extension, educational attainment of students, indicates that factors beyond the linguistic need to be considered in accounting for many Generation 1.5 students' issues with academic language. Chief among these is SES. While SES is a factor strongly linked to differential educational attainment, particularly in HE access and attainment (David 2010, Education 2008, Shiner and Modood 2002, James 2001), this factor has not featured prominently within studies of language learning (Darvin and Norton 2014, Vandrick 2014, Simpson and Cooke 2010). Where it has been considered specifically in relation to Generation 1.5 students, its role has been unclear. For example, in a Canadian study, Gunderson (2007) found that socioeconomically disadvantaged students from refugee backgrounds were overrepresented in the poorly performing groups in secondary schools, whereas the socioeconomically advantaged students had the highest GPAs across subject areas. However, in another Canadian study, Garnett (2010) concluded that family-level SES was only weakly associated with graduation rates of EAL students, and Garnett and Aman (2009) found no link between SES and EAL graduation levels.

These studies indicate the difficulty in attempting to explain variation in academic outcomes through SES alone. For one, immigrant status alone is an imperfect indicator of SES, as immigrants may represent a range of social classes. Also, the often crude way SES is measured, such as by postcode or parental income and occupation, renders it a fairly blunt instrument for interrogating educational trajectories. Moreover, large analytical categories such as class may be useful only up to a point, as they seldom address the mechanism by which

academic competencies and orientations come to be acquired and then unevenly distributed (Watkins and Noble 2008). The point here is not to dismiss SES as a potential factor impacting upon academic achievement of Generation 1.5 students. However, if SES is to be helpful, then the relationship between class, family, and educational attainment needs to be better understood.

One way of exploring the connections between socioeconomic backgrounds and educational outcomes may be the notion of 'academic home climates' (Campbell and Verna 2007) – that is, the creation of family environments in which there is a strong expectation of and support for academic achievement. These environments, which also encompass home literacy practices such as the shared activities of reading, storytelling, and games, are associated with middle-class families and relatively high educational achievement (Lareau 2003). However, while a patterning along SES lines is recognised, there have been many studies that have demonstrated exceptions (Watkins and Noble 2008, Modood 2004). Therefore, a more complex conceptualisation of socioeconomic background that considers connections between various forms of cultural, social, and economic capital, parental aspirations, cultural contexts, and specific family settings is required (Watkins and Noble 2008, Majoribanks 2005, Modood 2004).

Similarly, the relationship between ethnicity and language and educational achievement is multifaceted and complex. Despite this, research has repeatedly identified broad patterns of academic success and vulnerability across ethnocultural groups. For instance, many claims have been made about the success of 'Asian' students. In a review of Canadian research, students of Chinese backgrounds have been found to graduate from secondary school more frequently than

other EAL groups, even when compared to monolingual English students (Garnett 2012). These Canadian findings echo US research in which Chinese background students are seen as ‘model minorities’ (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). In Australia, there is considerable variation in performance in national literacy and numeracy tests (NAPLAN) in Australian primary schools among different language groups, with Mandarin and Cantonese speaking children outperforming other groups, including English-background students (Watkins 2011). Conversely, EAL students have been associated with school level educational underachievement, such as Pasifika groups in Australia (Singh and Sinclair 2001, Dooley, Exley, and Singh 2000).

Research in the HE sector has also produced a similarly complex picture. In the United Kingdom, ethnic minority students (here predominantly Indian, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi as well as Chinese-background) have been found to be significantly more likely to access HE than their white British counterparts (Vignoles and Crawford 2010). However, many of these groups are more likely to attend lower-status institutions, with the exception of Chinese students, who are more likely to attend high-status institutions. In contrast, other studies have not found any significant difference between university offer rates for ethnic groups and white British students (Noden, Shiner, and Modood 2014). Therefore, as with SES, the role of ethnicity in educational outcomes needs to be conceived more broadly in terms of the complexity of the relationship between language, social class, and ethnicity, and between first, second, and third generation migrants (Watkins and Noble 2008, Khoo and Birrell 2002, Kalantzis and Cope 1988).

Beyond the role of ethnocultural and socioeconomic factors discussed above, the role of affect in language learning and learning in general

has been widely acknowledged (Dornyei 2014, Pavlenko 2006, Dornyei 2005, Dornyei and Shoaib 2005, Dornyei and Skehan 2003, Arnold 1999, MacIntyre, Dörnyei, et al. 1998, MacIntyre and Gardner 1989), but still remains unclear (Brown and White 2010). A dominant strand of inquiry has been how motivation impacts upon language learning and acquisition. While there are arguments about whether motivation is an affect (Brown and White 2010), it has been treated as such within the field of SLA. Drawing on psychological framings, motivation in SLA studies is largely considered a variable of individual difference, with little consideration of the influence of social context, power, or identity. Krashen (1982), for example, proposes the affective filter hypothesis, in which affective factors such as motivation, self-confidence, and a learner's anxiety state are said to limit or enhance the amount of comprehensible language input a learner receives. Many studies have since focused on these three affective states and, as a consequence, a certain affective profile has been associated with 'the good language learner' (Naiman et al, 1978). Firstly, in their seminal work, Gardner and Lambert (1972) distinguished between instrumental motivation - the desire to learn for a tangible outcome, such as employment and integrative motivation - with the desire to learn a language in order to integrate successfully into the target language community. More recent scholarship on the role of motivation on L2 learning has taken a situated approach, highlighting the role of the classroom learning environment on motivation (Dornyei and Shoaib 2005). Related to this approach is the 'willingness to communicate' concept (Zarrinabadi 2014, Wen and Clement 2003, MacIntyre, Clement, et al. 1998), which implicates over 30 affective and cognitive variables, ranging from personality to communicative competence, which are said to influence a learner's willingness to communicate in an L2. This indicates that

motivation and subsequent progress in language learning is more than a matter of cultural affiliation.

Beyond the motivation already discussed, high self-esteem, low inhibition, high empathy, high extroversion, and an assertive personality are also affective states considered advantageous to language learning (Rubio and Rubio 2007). These attributes are said to facilitate language acquisition by fostering persistence and an openness to new learning. Conversely, anxiety is considered to have a negative influence on language acquisition, limiting participation and comprehension. However, Bailey (1983), in distinguishing between debilitating and facilitating anxiety, argues that anxiety, like confidence, is context-dependent, not static. How anxious or confident a language learner feels depends to some extent on who they are talking to. Despite this, the treatment of affect in most SLA literature, as with educational psychology, sees it as an innate quality of the learner rather than as shaped by the influence of social context, power, or identity.

Sociocultural approaches to the study of language learning, however, increasingly underscore that the ability of students to learn is constantly constrained by social background and material and symbolic resources as well as other social and personal factors (Lantolf and Thorne 2006, Norton 2000). Therefore, rather than intrinsic qualities of the individual, the role of affect in language learning in general, and the educational trajectories of Generation 1.5 students in particular, need to be understood in relation to the situated nature of emotion and its interdependence with social factors. In other words, students' social situation (family, friends, pressures to do well) and identity (who and what they identify with

and feelings of belonging) need to be taken into account in the context of Generation 1.5 students.

Identity, belonging and the ‘social’ turn

The ‘social turn’ (Block 2003) in SLA theory addresses this complexity. This shift, characterised by a ‘profound critique against the cognitive foundations of the discipline and by the long-ranging deployment of socially-oriented reconceptualisations of second/additional (L2) learning’ (Ortega 2011, 167), has seen identity emerge as a key construct. The foregrounding of identity in language and literacy education deliberately moves away from notions of stability and fixed categories, such as race, ethnicity, gender, and age, in order to focus on the contextually specific ways people act out and recognise identities. It also focuses on how this is shaped by historical, institutional, and sociocultural forces (Gee 2000). Given this individual and contextual construction of identities, simplistic binaries of native/non-native speaker and first and second language become problematic. Indeed, the construct ‘native speaker’ has been increasingly challenged in scholarship (Faez 2012, Lippi-Green 1997, Phillipson 1992, Davies 1991, Coulmas 1981). Canagarajah (2002) argues that the term is outmoded when people are native speakers of more than one language or variety. Furthermore, criteria for determining a ‘first language’ vary, including assessments of proficiency, order of acquisition, and cultural factors (Faez 2012). In this context, Rampton (1990) has put forward an expanded definition of language background, which includes language expertise, language affiliation, and language inheritance.

In this way, it has become increasingly problematic to generalise the characteristics of EAL students according to a rigidly definable set of linguistic or cultural traits. While ambiguity and instability are

recognised as part of identity, and it is now commonplace to assert the existence of multiple identities as well as a more stable 'core identity' (Gee 2000), this may be even more the case with Generation 1.5 students. Indeed, the complexity and ambivalence of Generation 1.5 students' identity is a topic of much research (Ortmeier-Hooper 2008, Reyes 2007, Harklau 2007, Benesch 2007, Wong and Grant 2007, Rumbaut 2005), which suggests that the way these students identify is far from straightforward, often leading to a sense of disjuncture (Goldschmidt and Ousey 2011). Chang and Schmida's (1999) study into the self-labelling of Asian-American students reflects the perception of fluid boundaries between home and additional languages. Even the question of what Generation 1.5 students consider their first language may not be straightforward: it could be their home language, the language of their parents, the language they use to speak to friends, or the language they dream in (Ferris 2009). Therefore, many Generation 1.5 students are likely to experience 'multiple, unstable and ambivalent identities as immigrants, as young adults, [and] as ethnolinguistic minorities' (Harklau 2003, 155).

This potential for instability and ambivalence is heightened if these students feel that their cultural and linguistic backgrounds are not valued by the mainstream culture (Friedrich 2006). The question of whether to identify as EAL at university is often a difficult one: will it afford an advantage (for example, more accommodation given by lecturers) or will it be stigmatising? For many, the terms ESL/EAL tend to be marginalising labels with strong remedial connotations. In the US, many college students must complete a compulsory ESL or basic writing course if they are judged not to meet university writing standards prior to enrolment. However, the decisions about who must take these courses are often the result of a label that is ascribed

rather than based on language performance in a placement test (Kanno and Harklau 2012). In the cases where these courses are not credit bearing and attract a fee, some EAL students may feel they are punished for identifying as EAL. There may also be an unspoken expectation that those identified as EAL will never really own English but will always remain outsiders. This can potentially contribute to feelings of alienation (Shapiro 2012). Research from South Africa suggests that the fear of being stigmatised in such a way is very real for some, with students ignoring their own obvious language difficulties in order to avoid the label of ESL bestowed by the university (Starfield 2002). In cases where students can self-select either mainstream or ESL composition classes, many Generation 1.5 students actively reject the term ESL, with one student commenting that 'English may be my second language but I'm not ESL' (Ortmeier-Hooper 2008). As a consequence, some students who need writing development support may not receive it.

This ambivalence that some migrant EAL students may feel about their identities also has implications for the formation of an academically literate identity. If learning another language entails acquiring another identity, then entering university with the task of acquiring additional discourse patterns may represent a further challenge. Gee (1996) argues that literacy itself is a discourse and as such, cannot be reified, isolated, or bolted on to already formed social subjects without disrupting or challenging prior discourses and identities. Thus, it is not simply the cognitive and linguistic challenge of acquiring first another language and then learning the privileged form of that language: Ivanič (1998) argues that academic writing in HE potentially poses a conflict of identity for students as the 'self' which is inscribed in academic discourse feels alien to them. While this negotiation between 'selves' takes place to some degree with all

new students, it can be fraught, particularly for Generation 1.5 students who are members of more than one speech community, and may also be low SES and/or the first in their family to attend HE. These students can then experience fluctuating identities in relation to academic literacies (Harklau, Losey, and Siegal 1999).

Despite this, success at university is often predicated on the successful development of an academically literate identity (White and Lowenthal 2011b). This is more than a matter of acquiring academic literacy; it also entails developing a sense of belonging to HE. Belonging and its connection to engagement are considered critical to retention and attainment in HE (Zepke 2013, Morieson et al. 2013, Thomas 2002). Much of the literature around building student engagement speaks of fostering a sense of student belonging through supportive peer relations (Thomas 2012). The establishment of these peer networks is particularly important in first year as the isolation experienced by many new students is a contributing factor in student attrition. Survey data and qualitative research from the UK identified feelings of isolation and/or not fitting in as key reasons behind students' decisions to leave university (Thomas 2012). For Generation 1.5 students who may already hold a potentially peripheral status, belonging and engaging in HE are perhaps even more critical to academic success. For instance, Leki (2007) found that for the EAL students in her study, relationships with peer groups on campus were as necessary to academic success as English language proficiency.

Therefore, for Generation 1.5 students who may struggle with the English language and academic literacy requirements of HE study, finding a way to connect and belong in HE is crucial. However, this task is made more difficult by the prevailing conditions in the HE sector in Australia and elsewhere, where there is an expectation that

tertiary students should, and can, work independently. Accompanying this pedagogical paradigm has been a rapid shift towards the online delivery of teaching. Opportunities for engagement have been further eroded by the limited opportunities for dialogue between students and academics (Lillis 2001) and the fact that many students, particularly low SES students, have increasing financial and family obligations which reduce their time on campus, as well their ability to locate the support they need. These institutional constraints and the impact they have upon students' progress are considered further in Chapter Seven.

Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the research on Generation 1.5 to date. This research has contributed to the development of significant knowledge bases around differential educational attainment, which are linked to age at migration, first language proficiency, SES, ethnicity, and affective factors such as motivation. In particular, Generation 1.5 scholarship has focused on the uneven acquisition of oral competence and literacy and the implications this may have on the academic writing of these students. More recent research in the field of SLA has highlighted the role of identity formation and belonging on Generation 1.5 students' pathways through HE. However, scholarship on Generation 1.5 reflects a distinct epistemological and methodological boundary between cognitivism on the one hand and socioculturalism on the other. The result of this bifurcation has been a compartmentalising of the factors that may be implicated in Generation 1.5 students' access and progression. As such, research on Generation 1.5 fails to encompass the complexity and heterogeneity inherent in the educational trajectories of these students, and many factors remain outside the frame. Chief among these are the role of early socialisation, pedagogy, and the literate

practices of the students themselves. It is to this reframing that the next chapter turns.

Chapter Two – Reframing Generation 1.5

The previous chapter outlined the current scholarship on Generation 1.5 students, arguing that explanations of the educational trajectories of this complex cohort require a broad and encompassing framework that neither the dominant cognitive/linguistic nor more recent movement towards sociocultural perspectives alone can provide. In this chapter, I propose a sociological reframing of Generation 1.5, drawing principally upon Bourdieu's notions of habitus and field. These conceptual tools are helpful in making sense of the practice of the Generation 1.5 students, as they illuminate the dialectics of structure and agency and of production and reproduction. Here, the application of habitus and field is situated in what Nash terms a 'realist sociology' (Nash and Landers 2010, Nash 2005a, 2005b, 2003a, 2002b). Inspired by the scientific realism of Bunge (Bunge 1996) and critical realism of Bhaskar (1997), Nash argues that if the goal of the sociology of education is to understand the nature and causes of differential educational attainment, then it must adopt a common-sense approach to identifying and describing all the various observable effects, regardless of their nature. It must then explain how these effects come about.

Furthermore, a realist sociology entails synthesising knowledge and insights from disciplines outside sociology, rather than maintaining rigid and arguably arbitrary domains of inquiry. For Nash, this means foregrounding the cognitive dimensions of habitus, or what he terms the 'cognitive habitus' (Nash 2002b). For others, this means focusing on the psychosocial dimension of habitus (Ferrare and Apple 2015, Reay 2015, Lizardo 2004). While Bourdieu himself practiced 'principled eclecticism' (Gale and Lingard 2015, 3), advocating the

constructive collaboration between disciplines such as anthropology, economics, and history, some suggest that sociology in general does not draw sufficiently on potential insights from other disciplines, such as psychology (Ferrare and Apple 2015, Probyn 2005, Lizardo 2004, Wacquant 1996). Thus, my goal in *Educating Rina* is to develop a ‘realist narrative’ of the experiences and attainment of Generation 1.5 students in HE by drawing together valuable insights from SLA theory and, to some extent, educational psychology, and then recasting these through a realist sociological lens. To this end, I am taking up the challenge to work both with and beyond Bourdieu (Reay 2015).

Specifically, in this chapter, I propose the notion of a Generation 1.5 habitus as a useful reframing device, highlighting the interconnectedness of cognitive, linguistic, and affective factors on the educational trajectories and outcomes of Generation 1.5 students in HE. To do this, I outline patterns in the development of this habitus, which arise not only from class but also other aspects of a student’s biography: primarily, as the function of migrating at a formative age from one linguistic, social, and pedagogic environment to another. However, while making use of this notion of a Generation 1.5 habitus as an analytic tool, I nevertheless underscore the inherent heterogeneity of not only the cohort but also individuals within it. Therefore, alongside the investigation of the habitus of a specific group, I also account for individual students’ plurality of dispositions, drawing on what Lahire terms sociology at the level of the individual (2010, 2003).

Both the collective and individual conceptions of habitus outlined above invite an investigation of the role of field. This is simply to acknowledge that social reality is perceived to be fundamentally

relational in nature; that is, ‘the structure of the relations between the individual and the environment is central – the former is a function of the latter and vice versa’ (Hilgers and Mangez 2014, 3). Therefore, in the second half of this chapter, I argue that the HE field as a whole and, local educational fields in particular, significantly impact the educational trajectories of all students. This is particularly true of Generation 1.5, due to the patterned life experiences, competences, and schemas of perception that constitute their habitus, as well as the complexity and multiplicity inherent in each individual’s habitus. Moreover, changes to the field of HE in recent decades have seen market forces and neoliberal agendas combine to act as affordances for students like Rina, who may otherwise not have considered going to university. However, once at university, these same forces may present constraints to academic achievement. The responses students make to the likelihood of their habitus being ‘mismatched’ to the teaching practices and expectations of HE then depend very much on the individual habitus. In other words, the conceptions of habitus outlined above somewhat complicates the relationship between habitus and field, requiring a closer examination of what Ferrare and Apple (2015) refer to as ‘local field effects’.

Bourdieu’s conceptual apparatus: Field, habitus, and capital

Bourdieu’s theory of practice views the positions that agents may find themselves in and the practices they adopt as a function of the interaction between their own resources (or capital), the set of dispositions to activate these resources (or habitus), and the rules of the game as determined by the field. According to Bourdieu (Wacquant 1989), fields themselves are relational, multidimensional spaces of activity that create and regulate their own practices and

rules and shape the acquisition of habitus as well as its activation. The 'universal invariant of fields' (Ferrare and Apple 2015, 48) is the struggle for position. This struggle is over the available capital, as well as over what capital is valued in any given field. Capital can refer to wealth and material resources (economic capital), the affiliations, networks, or cultural and religious heritage people possess (social capital), and the knowledge, taste, aesthetics, cultural preferences, educational credentials, and even the linguistic resources people have (cultural capital). Thus, capital shapes not only position in the field but often access to the field as well. In the context of education – in particular, HE – cultural capital deriving from the family is seen as instrumental in academic achievement, as it implicates familiarity with institutional contexts, processes, and expectations, as well as relevant social and cognitive skills such as vocabulary and cultural competence (Watkins and Noble 2013).

However, to be of value in any social field, capital must be activated (Lareau and Horvat 1999). The ability or skill as well as willingness to activate capital derives from the habitus. Habitus refers to a set of dispositions that incline people to act and react in certain ways. It therefore generates practices, perceptions, and attitudes. Bourdieu ascribed four qualities to habitus. First, it is inculcated: that is, it develops almost imperceptibly from childhood and becomes what we might think of as second nature. Secondly, habitus is structured by the social conditions under which it develops. Thirdly, habitus is durable, in that it is ingrained in the body and lasts over a lifetime. Finally, habitus is generative and transposable, capable of generating many practices and perceptions in fields other than that in which it was originally acquired (Thompson 1991).

Habitus is at once stable, durable, and structured, as well as generative, flexible, and dynamic. Herein lies the tension. For some, this tension and the resulting contradictory way Bourdieu portrayed habitus in his writings renders the concept inherently unreliable (Bennett 2007, Sullivan 2002, LiPuma 1993). For researchers, the indeterminacy of the concept can mean it runs the risk of becoming whatever the data reveals (Reay 2004). However, others argue that this tension between stability and dynamism is precisely what makes habitus a useful analytic tool (Noble 2013). The experience of migrants like Generation 1.5 moving across diverse social fields in the process of 'disorientation and reorientation central to resettlement' (Noble 2013, 344) offers an ideal opportunity to explore this tension.

However, rather than addressing such tensions, Bourdieu's dominant interpretation of habitus tends to foreground the unity of the habitus (Lahire 2010, Bennett 2007). Certainly, in empirical work, Bourdieu stressed the class notion of habitus. Even when dealing with the habitus of individuals, Bourdieu's conception of habitus implies a unique but nonetheless unified habitus, suggesting that 'just as no two individual histories are identical so no two individual habituses are identical' (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990, 91). While the use of habitus in the collective sense is valuable for drawing distinction between groups and highlighting probable patterns of disadvantage, particularly in education (see Bourdieu's account in *Distinction*), the collective use of habitus serves to maintain the concept in the abstract. However, reality is far messier than such an abstraction allows. Therefore, habitus needs to provide a framework not only for the commonality of certain dispositions (and, therefore, positions in fields) but also for understanding individual differences in dispositions.

In addition, it is not merely individual differences situated within a notion of a collective habitus that must be accounted for. The inherent messiness of the habitus, with its potential for internal contradictions and flux, has also been highlighted (Lahire 2010, 2003, Appidurai 1996, Wacquant 1992). For Lahire (2010, 25), the coherence of a person's habitus 'depends on the coherence of the principles of socialisation to which they have been subjected'. Young migrants, such as Generation 1.5 students, are likely to have experienced multiple modes and processes of socialisation, many of which may be contradictory. Yet Bourdieu's conception of habitus makes no explicit account of the potentially differentiating impact of race or ethnicity (Reay 2004, Cicourel 1993). Moreover, perhaps presenting the greatest challenge to the coherence of Generation 1.5 students' socialisation, is their bi/multilingualism. As with race and ethnicity, the impact of multilingual contexts on the acquisition of habitus remains underdeveloped. Habitus thus needs to be explored not as a single, unified entity, but a plurality of dispositions or repertoires of habit that are activated in a plurality of social contexts. In other words, Lahire (2010, xi) argues that habitus must be understood as part of an individual sociology that is 'indissociably both dispositional and contextual', taking equal account of the embodied past and the shifting present. This is vital when applying the notion of habitus to a heterogeneous cohort such as Generation 1.5.

The Generation 1.5 habitus

When Reay (2004) rather playfully suggested, 'it's all becoming a habitus', she was critiquing the sometimes uncritical overuse of Bourdieu's conceptual tool in what has been described as a 'Bourdieu-lite' approach (Gale and Lingard 2015). However, she could just as easily have been referring to the proliferation of habituses that the permeability of the concept has allowed to develop (Maton 2008).

Studies in recent years have offered the scholarly habitus (Watkins and Noble 2013, Watkins 2012, 2005), the cognitive habitus (Nash 2005b), the migrant or ethnicised habitus (Noble and Tabar 2014, Noble 2013), the racialised habitus (Cui 2015), and the ESL habitus (Kanno and Varghese 2010), among others. Rather than examples of the practice of overlaying analysis with a theoretical construct, I would argue that these studies instead draw attention to the practices and experiences of often marginalised groups, highlighting hitherto undertheorised aspects of habitus such as cognition and affect. In an Australian HE context in which Generation 1.5 students are all but invisible (Williamson 2012), and as a means of bringing together the multitude of factors potentially impacting upon the educational trajectories of this complex cohort, the creation of yet another habitus – in this instance, a Generation 1.5 habitus – is not only valuable, but arguably necessary.

Here, then, I suggest the notion of a Generation 1.5 habitus as a productive way of reconciling the role of large, structural factors, such as social class, linguistic environments, educational experiences, and family dynamics, on the development of individual mental structures, linguistic capacities, affect, and identity. The notion of a Generation 1.5 habitus captures the pattern of dispositions that arise from the complex and iterative socialisation processes that are a function of migrating at a formative age, changing linguistic environments, settling in often largely under-resourced and economically disadvantaged areas, and moving backwards and forwards across the distinct linguistic and social worlds of home and school. However, the notion of a collective habitus is somewhat at odds with the intrinsic heterogeneity of Generation 1.5. Therefore, it is important at this early stage to underscore that the Generation 1.5 habitus operates as a heuristic, valuable only to the degree that it

assists in reframing current understandings of a subset of Generation 1.5 students' experiences and the ways that these potentially shape choices, practices, and educational trajectories. In other words, as with other conceptions of habitus, Generation 1.5 habitus constitutes a tool, rather than an entity with ontological reality, and it is designed to be put to work empirically (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992).

The first pattern that contributes to what can be conceived of as a Generation 1.5 habitus is the likelihood of the interrupted or incomplete formation of what Nash refers to as the cognitive habitus (Nash 2005b, 2005a). As Nash sees it, the cognitive habitus is the set of dispositions that support abstract thinking, problem solving, pattern recognition, and linguistic structures that underlie academic work and achievement. These 'capacities and capabilities of the body to carry out the kind of abstract problem-solving exercised in mathematics and other language-based, symbolic information processing' (Nash 2003a, 172) are therefore the very foundation upon which academic achievement is built. As part of habitus, these cognitive schemes are durable and embodied, and are most directly and effectively acquired via a process of early socialisation, usually in the home. Therefore, Nash (2005a) argues that the cognitive habitus is necessarily subject to the impact of classed family environments.

The notion of a cognitive habitus also owes a debt to cognitive psychology. It has long been held that abstract mental structures - schemes of perception, thought, and action - have a social genesis (Piaget 1977, Vygotsky 1962). Through the concept of semiotic mediation, Vygotsky (1962), for example, theorised that higher order mental functions are developed via interpersonal activity. Similarly, Bernstein (1971) argued that specific orientations towards language, meaning, and identity are derived from the nature of parent-child

interactions. Bernstein identified two 'coding orientations'. A restricted code is characterised by the use of relatively context-dependent language and meanings which assume shared knowledge among its users. It is more likely in environments in which there is a 'positional' form of authority, whereby people have clear roles such as 'head of the house'. In contrast, an elaborated code explicates ideas and meanings, often involving abstraction, generalisation, and more context-independent language. According to Bernstein (1971), this form of coding derives from a 'personal' form of authority where relationships are discussed and negotiated, and so meanings are made more explicit and rules and decisions explained.

Bourdieu offered a critique of Bernstein's code theory, arguing that it fetishised the language of the middle class 'without relating this social product to the social conditions of its production and reproduction' (Bourdieu 1992, 52). Despite this, the work of Vygotsky and Bernstein points to the influence of the social environment into which children are born and raised on the development of linguistic and cognitive structures. This influence is chiefly via parents' own capacities, orientations to schooling, credentials, and linguistic and other knowledge, which shape their own practices in the first instance and are then transmitted to their children through a process of socialisation. In addition, while cognitive skills continue to develop throughout life, the language-based modes of conceptual thought that are acquired by the age of five or six are thought to establish individual capacities with long-lasting consequences for school-based learning (Plomin, Owen, and McGuffin 1994). Nash (2010) thus argues that the development of literacy-based cognitive skills is the most important form of cultural capital acquired by preschool children.

The impact of different forms of home socialisation have long been explored through the prism of reading and reading-related activity (Cardona, Watkins, and Noble 2009, Crook 1997, Barkon and Avinor 1995). Such literacy practices, considered an expression of cultural capital, are thought to be strongly associated with school success. In one study, which used OECD PISA data, the number of books in the family home was found to be a strong predictor of future academic performance (Evans 2014). However, rather than showing that reading activity contributes to school success by virtue of it indicating the possession or consumption of a cultural product, the presence of literature and literacy resources in early primary socialisation relates to the development of cognitive skills that underpin future academic achievement (Evans 2014, De Graaf, De Graaf, and Kraaykamp 2000, Crook 1997). As with the concept of literacy engagement (Guthrie 2004) discussed in the previous chapter, these studies take a broad view of reading activity, including discussions and verbal engagement in literature, concluding that it is the literacy practices associated with reading that impact on reading achievement and general school performance.

However, it is not only the type of discourse or linguistic ‘code’ used at home (Bernstein 1971) or levels of participation in literacy practices such as reading that impact the development of the cognitive habitus. In the case of Generation 1.5 students, the concept of cognitive habitus provides a way of theorising the impact of the sudden change in linguistic environment that accompanies these students’ migration. The greatest change results from a shift to an English-only formal learning environment. Notwithstanding some students’ participation in community language schools and the continuity of L1 use in the home, a significant amount of time is spent in school, in this case, in an English-only medium. Given the very basic knowledge of English

that many of the Generation 1.5 students arrive with, this may lead to interruptions to the development of language-based modes of conceptual at an age at which the kinds of mental dispositions that constitute the cognitive habitus are forming. As outlined in the previous chapter, Cummins' theory of a common underlying proficiency (CUP) suggests that the underlying cognitive structures that support the development of language, especially academic language, may be negatively impacted by the immersion in a second (or subsequent) language, such as English, before abstract structures have been developed or consolidated in a first language (Cummins 2000).

While a student's cognitive habitus is primarily a product of early socialisation and so most often the domestic sphere, it can also be impacted by other fields or environments. For the many Generation 1.5 students who experience interrupted schooling and possibly inadequate English language provision, certain gaps may emerge that have implications for the development of their cognitive habitus. These gaps may be so fundamental that even if a student has various dispositions positively associated with academic success, they will unlikely be able to succeed without the capacity to do so.

However, contrary to what many suggest is an example of deficit theory, the notion of cognitive habitus does not imply that working class or Generation 1.5 students lack intelligence. Nash makes a careful distinction between intelligence and intellectual skills. It follows, then, that if a student's performance falls short of a required or expected level, it is not that a student lacks the intelligence to achieve at that level, but that they may lack the intellectual skills *at that point*. He argues that 'skills are the possessions of those who have learned and practised them, and the possession of a skill implies

the possession of the tools necessary to its application' (Nash 2005a, 281). By implicating skills rather than attributing the shortfall in performance to innate ability, Nash's cognitive habitus highlights the role of pedagogy and families' and students' own practice. The 'environment of practices' such as home and, to a lesser extent, school in which the cognitive habitus develops then assumes great importance (Nash 2005b, 5), as this environment is a major point of intervention to ensure effective acquisition.

Nonetheless, cognition is generally a concept that receives little attention within sociology and is considered to be the domain of psychology. Instead, Nash (2005b, 2002a) stresses that we must consider the role of the cognitive in any realist account of differential educational attainment, arguing that cognitive aspects of habitus are integral to the structure of the habitus. Furthermore, the separation of cognitive skills and social competence in prevailing conceptions of capital or habitus is not only arbitrary, but not in keeping with Bourdieu's own understanding of the concept (Lareau and Weininger 2003). In other words, to ignore the role of the cognitive habitus and its patterns of classed acquisition in the sociology of education is akin to ignoring the proverbial elephant in the room. As Nash explains:

The relationship between social class, the possession of literate resources, the generation of effective cognitive ability through specialized socialization practices, and the achievement of literacy by children, [are]... real states of affairs and processes, [and] continue to exist even when ignored (2003a, 183).

The cognitive habitus then allows for a more nuanced exploration of the impact of both class and linguistic environments that may facilitate or constrain the activation of Generation 1.5 students' available cognitive resources.

The second aspect of what I term a Generation 1.5 habitus, like cognitive habitus, draws very much on the notion of skills or competencies. In this instance, I want to describe a pattern of linguistic acquisition associated with Generation 1.5 students. Bourdieu (1992) discussed linguistic capital (actual linguistic resources) and linguistic habitus (the activation or embodiment of these resources) in three ways: the capacity to form grammatical utterances, a 'practical sense' of what type of language or expression is appropriate in any given context, and the authority to command an audience. This last aspect of linguistic habitus – the 'right' to speak and the capacity to be heard – obviously emerges from the first two competencies.

While Bourdieu asserted that the linguistic habitus implicates both technical and practical competencies (Bourdieu 1992, Wacquant 1989), he nonetheless privileged the acquisition of practical competence and the ability to command reception. This is evident in the following extract:

The competence adequate to produce sentences that are likely to be understood may be quite inadequate to produce sentences that are likely to be listened to, likely to be recognised as acceptable (Bourdieu 1992, 55).

In this sense, then, the communicative competence that many Generation 1.5 students may have acquired by virtue of living and operating in English for several years does not equate to legitimacy. More so, however, the extract above reveals an implicit assumption: the primary issue is not the capacity to reliably produce grammatically accurate language, but the capacity to produce *appropriate* language. This assumption no doubt reflects the largely monolingual context in which Bourdieu developed the concept of the linguistic habitus. However, while many Generation 1.5 students may

have developed a communicative competence sufficient to produce sentences that are likely to be understood, still many others continue to struggle with this. Therefore, for those students who are in the process of acquiring English, the very mechanics of language – syntax, morphology, and grammar – pose challenges.

To understand the likely patterns of linguistic habitus that Generation 1.5 students may demonstrate, it is necessary to examine the ways in which a linguistic habitus is acquired. Like a cognitive habitus – and, indeed, any habitus – the capacities associated with linguistic habitus are chiefly acquired through a process of familiarisation by prolonged exposure, although they can also be developed to a lesser extent through the ‘deliberate inculcation of explicit rules’ (Bourdieu 1992, 61). For Generation 1.5, unlike their English-background counterparts, any process of prolonged exposure usually comes after migration, and often after the period of early socialisation, a time associated with the most effective acquisition of language structures (see discussion of critical period hypothesis in Chapter One). In these cases, exposure to English is generally piecemeal, as English is most often not the language spoken at home. Moreover, the type of English Generation 1.5 students are exposed to is more likely to be informal, coming via friends (many of whom also speak English as an additional language) and the media (television and music). So-called ‘ear’ learning pathways, documented in Chapter One, thus potentially impact upon not only the grammatical competence but also practical competence of Generation 1.5 students, as features of more informal ‘spoken’ registers of English often find their way into the academic writing of these students (Ferris 2009, Reid 2006, Thonus 2003).

While there is, of course, a process of explicit teaching in the form of schooling in Australia, it can in no way replace the many years of

schooling and early socialisation in English that Generation 1.5 students' English-background counterparts receive. Furthermore, with the need to direct limited ESL resources to the development of communicative English language competence so that newly arrived Generation 1.5 students can 'survive' in an English speaking environment, there is often little time left to develop not only the more high-status forms of language (or schooled literacy), but also the flexibility to move between different forms and registers. In this way, many Generation 1.5 in high school - and, indeed, in HE - may yet still be actively acquiring the three aspects that make up linguistic habitus in English: technical proficiency, sociolinguistic knowledge, and the authority to be heard.

The emphasis on these three aspects of linguistic habitus in the broader heuristic of Generation 1.5 habitus serves to underscore the interrelationship of class and language background in the potential educational trajectories of these students. However, as with Bourdieu's own emphasis on practical or sociolinguistic competence, many studies using the notion of a linguistic habitus focus on the classed development of practical sense. In this way, the very real impact of English language proficiency is not adequately considered. For example, in a recent study into the role of linguistic capital in the educational attainment of non-traditional students in a UK university, Watson et al. (2009) concluded that a lack of linguistic capital was a significant factor for those students who experienced incongruence between their habitus and the field of HE. In particular, the students - who were female, mature age, and working-class - struggled to decipher educational texts, such as learning outcomes, assessment guidelines, and marking criteria, as well as experiencing difficulties employing the valued language of their academic discipline. In this study, then, linguistic capital is equated with a familiarity and level of

facility with the conventions and expectations of academic writing. Similarly, for the African-American students in White and Lowenthal's (2011a, 284) study, 'literacy, or more specifically the academic language that is required for "full participant" status in the discourse community of the university and the successful development of an academically literate identity' was found to be the key factor in students' university success.

It is certainly undeniable that in the context of HE, academic literacy represents a high-value form of cultural capital that provides access to the 'rules of the game', as it allows those in possession to demonstrate 'legitimate' forms of knowledge and understanding. However, in attempting to understand the academic trajectory of EAL students who, like Generation 1.5, may be still developing proficiency in English, there is a need to consider the capacity to produce language that is likely to be understood as well as that which is likely to be listened to. In addition, while some academics value critical thinking and argumentation over linguistic accuracy and may make allowances for non-standard English usage in the context of student assignments, the labour market is likely to be less accommodating of grammatical and syntactic inaccuracies. In other words, English language proficiency - specifically, sentence-level grammar and textual cohesion - needs to be seen as part of one's linguistic habitus. In increasingly linguistically diverse education systems, in which students may have limited or incomplete command over not only the discursive aspects of language but also the structural components of English itself, this aspect of the notion of linguistic habitus assumes greater importance.

The particular linguistic habitus of Generation 1.5, characterised by an incomplete command of English in terms of accuracy,

appropriateness, and authority, also has real consequences for Generation 1.5 students' linguistic 'sense of place' (Bourdieu 1992, 81) – or, as Giddens (1991) terms it, 'ontological security'. That is, there may be a tangible sense of discomfort associated with using a language of which one is not yet in total control. When compared to the familiarity and comfort implied by the term 'mother-tongue', speaking English, regardless of relative proficiency, may continue to feel strange and foreign for many migrants, including Generation 1.5 students. This discomfort associated with using a second or subsequent language may persist despite years of living and operating in an English-medium environment, as the Lebanese-Australian subject of Noble's (2013) study demonstrated. Notwithstanding his forty years of living in Australia, 'Michael' visibly struggled when giving a speech in English. Noble therefore argues that, 'in acquiring English, he has acquired a discomfort with it' (Noble 2013, 342). It is important to note however, that English is not the 'mother tongue' of the majority of its speakers and the pattern of a single migration from an environment where English is absent to one where fluency must be quickly acquired is only one of a wide range of forms of transnationalism and relationships to English.

Moreover, if communicating effectively in English continues to require effort and concentration, it can by no means be considered an unconscious process. Bourdieu claims that the 'practical sense' – the sense of what language is appropriate in the circumstances – is a state of being, a reflex, the result of what feels natural (Bourdieu 1992). For Generation 1.5 students – who are still acquiring not only English but the practical sense of what type of discourse to use in which situations – speaking, and, in particular, writing in English may remain very much a conscious and sometimes laborious action. In this way, using English is unlikely to be second nature: instead, more

akin to wearing ill-fitting clothes. Like the discomfort associated with having to consciously adjust these ill-fitting clothes, Generation 1.5 students may be 'seeking at the cost of constant anxiety to produce linguistic expressions which bear the mark of a habitus other than their own' (Thompson 1991, 8). In other words, a Generation 1.5 habitus can additionally be characterised as one in which English has not yet become embodied.

For many Generation 1.5 students, their position in the field of HE as second language learners and thus not yet masters of English brings about discomfort. This discomfort is central to not only their linguistic habitus but to their habitus more broadly. The connection between language and identity has been a recurring theme in bilingualism and Generation 1.5 scholarship (Darvin and Norton 2014, Faez 2012, Harklau 2007, Block 2003, Cummins 1999, McKay and Wong 1996). Indeed, Blommaert (2008, 82) says that 'one cannot understand identity without looking at language'. Therefore, another aspect of the notion of a Generation 1.5 habitus that needs to be highlighted is the likelihood of a multiple and complex identity. It is considered axiomatic of the postmodern subject that identity is multiple, fragmented and unstable. For some, the multiplicity of dispositions manifests as fragmentation (Crozier, Reay, and Clayton 2010), often implying not only disunity but also conflict and tension. Others, such as Bhaskar (1997) and Stern (1985), break with the postmodern view of the non-unitary self, suggesting that despite the existence of a stratified or layered self, subjects can nevertheless maintain a constant sense of identity and purpose, or what Stern (1985) refers to as a 'core-self'.

This view of identity as sedimentary or stratified is somewhat captured by habitus. The idea of the habitus being layered like rings

of a tree, with current experience and circumstances added to a habitus set down by earlier socialisations, can be seen in the following extract:

The habitus acquired in the family is at the basis of the structuring of school experiences...; the habitus transformed by the action of the school, itself diversified, is in turn at the basis of all subsequent experiences...and so on, from restructuring to restructuring (Bourdieu, 1972, cited in Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, 134).

Again, however, the ostensibly monolingual context in which Bourdieu operated contributes to a conception of habitus that is implicitly stable. The process of restructuring or layering of the habitus is seen by Bourdieu as systematic. In this way, the above notion of layers of home and school do not adequately account for the complexity of Generation 1.5 experience. For these students, nationality, language, class, ethnicity, migration history, settlement experiences, and possibly religion create far more complex forms of identification – and therefore habitus – than Bourdieu’s framing of the construct allowed.

Notions of habitus thus need to consider the conditions of the globalised, postcolonial, and ‘superdiverse’ (Vertovec 2007) world in which we now live. The construct of hybridity can be productively employed to explore this changed context. Ang (2001, 3), for example, argues hybridity is a far more useful concept than identity in this context, as it ‘foregrounds complicated entanglement rather than identity’. Ang goes on to describe the world of the last few decades as one in which ‘nation-states have become spaces of global flows, in which the confluence of cultural difference and diversity has become increasingly routinised’ (2001, 5). This is the world of Generation 1.5: far from being exceptional cases, they are increasingly becoming the norm.

At the heart of the notion of hybridity is a liminality. However, while the very label Generation 1.5 signals an interstitial existence- neither first nor second generation - the notion of hybridity needs to go beyond in-betweenness and the sense of the 'double absence' of the migrant (Sayad 2004) as someone who is not of home or host if it is to capture the complexity at work here. For Generation 1.5, as most migrants, their lived experience is characterised not only by a disjuncture between home and the outside, but also a disjuncture between languages, countries, and ethnicities. While many attest to the creative potential of hybridity as a 'third space' (Bhabha 1994) which people can meaningfully and actively fill with 'new forms of culture at the collision of the two' (Ang 2001, 25), others critique hybridity as being overly optimistic (Hutnyk 2005, Harris, Leung, and Rampton 2002, May 2001), arguing that the concept of hybrid identities exists more in the abstract than in the situated practices of everyday life. Moreover, the tendency to portray 'happy hybridity' (Otsuji and Pennycook 2010, 5) as a fixed state serves simply to reinforce the essentialism it is supposed to counter.

Despite this, a number of studies have attempted to make sense of the experience of hybridity through the lens of habitus. These range from the relatively optimistic transnational habitus (Darvin and Norton 2014, Guarzino 1997), chameleon habitus (Abrahams and Ingram 2013), and the related concept of polycentricity (Blommaert, Collins, and Slembrouck 2005a), to the more pessimistic migrant habitus and ethnicised habitus (Noble and Tabar 2014, Noble 2013). For Darvin and Norton (Darvin and Norton 2014, 113), a transnationalised habitus bears the 'imprint of both countries of origin and countries of settlement... [and] allows migrants to discern and act based on the interplay of dispositions structured by these distinct spaces'. Blommaert's 'polycentricity' - meaning simultaneous

orientations to different centres of authority and normativity, or the different pushes and pulls and affinities that students have to different expectations, values, and norms – also implies a measure of control over the different ‘centres’ and an ability to move between repertoires of the self (Blommaert 2008). However, given the linguistic habitus of many Generation 1.5 students features a distinct discomfort in using English and varying command of and facility with their first language, it could be argued a Generation 1.5 habitus is characterised by less control and choice over these different aspects of their identity and dispositions.

Drawing on notions of the migrant or ethnicised habitus (Noble and Tabar 2014, Noble 2013), rather than assuming levels of control and flexibility, the in-betweenness at the heart of Generation 1.5 students’ experience manifests more as an ambivalence. Such ambivalence is congruent with the cognitive and linguistic dimensions of Generation 1.5 habitus already mentioned. I want to suggest then that a key aspect of a Generation 1.5 habitus is a sense of belonging that is ‘defined by a multiplicity of not-quite-belonging-enoughs, not torn between two cultures, but a subjectivity which is structurally located as neither this nor that, but both and yet not fully either’ (Noble and Tabar 2014, 27), something which is a function of their migration. Underscoring that there is more than an emptiness in being in-between, Noble and Tabar (2014, 23) go on to argue that ‘the process of settlement entails both grappling with the difference of the receiving country, and then identifying *as the difference*: an inside outness, an included outsider, an awkwardness built into the fabric of daily existence [emphasis in original]’. This identifying as ‘the difference’ can generate ambivalence in the way the students relate to both their home and host countries, family and peers, and past and present – and, importantly to this study of educational trajectories,

learning. In other words, discomfort and ambivalence are a function of these young migrant students' histories and current position in the field of HE.

Bourdieu did acknowledge the possibility of a 'destabilized habitus' (2000, 161): specifically, in the form of a habitus clivé, or cleft habitus. Theorised to make sense of his own experience of moving beyond his working class origins, the cleft habitus denotes 'a habitus divided against itself, in constant negotiation with itself and its ambivalences, and therefore doomed to a kind of duplication, to a double perception of the self, to successive allegiances and multiple identities' (Bourdieu 1999, 511). For Reay, (2015, 11), the cleft habitus produces 'ambivalence, compromise, competing loyalties, ambiguity and conflict'. Reay's example of Shaun, a working class boy who struggles to reconcile his classroom disposition with his social disposition, reveals what she terms the 'heavy psychic costs' (2015, 13) of living with a cleft habitus, having to move constantly between fields and adjust his habitus. Nevertheless, as argued earlier, the notion of a layered habitus, which grapples with the various fields that people inhabit simultaneously, is more the norm rather than the exception in an increasingly globalised and diverse modern world. For many, including Generation 1.5 students, rather than bringing about a significant psychological burden, this experience may produce 'everyday mundane reflexivity' (Sayer 2005).

What the notions of migrant habitus and even habitus clivé highlight is the affective dimension of the habitus. While it can be claimed that the concept of habitus already provides for a discussion of affect, as it deals with not only 'categories of thought' but 'schemes of perception', many argue that Bourdieu undertheorised the psychological or affective aspects of habitus (Ferrare and Apple 2015,

Reay 2015, Lizardo 2004, Sweetman 2003). Indeed, Nash states that 'to acknowledge the dispositional properties of people necessarily brings the discipline of sociology into conversation with psychology' (Nash 2003a, 57). In practice, this means acknowledging that habitus includes predispositions to such feelings as 'fatalism, ambivalence, resentment, certainty, entitlement or even rage' (Reay 2015, 10). However, rather than being innate qualities of the individual (as much of psychology would purport), these affective states result from inhabiting certain positions in fields which lead to dispositions towards holding certain emotions.

Several studies have highlighted this affective dimension of habitus. For example, Riazantseva (2012) explored the success of European-origin students in a US university despite what she characterised as 'poor quality writing'. She attributes their success to a range of factors, including high levels of engagement with both peers and academics, ambition and assertiveness, 'talking success', and, significantly, the expectation of success. In short, these students displayed the dispositions of successful students and positioned themselves as 'talented'. This positioning was directly related to the social position of the students' families, who had relatively high levels of education and other forms of cultural capital.

Nash and Harker (1998) also point to certain dispositions associated with relative educational progress. They describe Lottie, a middle-class student who displayed ambition, confidence and a high tolerance of schooling. For Lottie, going to university was a given and the alternative - 'stupid little dead-end jobs' - was unthinkable. Nash argues that through her parents' social position, Lottie had acquired self-assured ways of thinking about herself and her life chances. Therefore, the dispositions positively associated with successful

learning, such as high self-esteem and motivation, can be clearly seen to emerge from classed environments when viewed as part of habitus; that is, affect can be seen as the embodiment of classed conditions. However, as Bourdieu's own experience of moving outside of the classed environment in which he was raised attests, it is foolish to overlook the generative and transformative possibilities of individual habitus.

The recognition of the impact of field position on dispositions towards learning and conceptions of life chances is suggestive of the final aspect of Generation 1.5 habitus I wish to describe. Concomitant with the ambivalence born of being located physically, generationally, and linguistically in-between is the potential for what Hilgers and Mangez (2014) have termed 'hybrid investment'. Many Generation 1.5 students may experience the tension of being pulled in different directions by their own needs, the needs of their family, and their home and host country. This may manifest in patterns of conflicting investment in school or university, where interests may be complicated, divided, and even contradictory. For example, Nash and Harker (1998) describe the case of Kylie, a working class girl who, despite aspiring to become a flight attendant and managing to fit in study around a 16-hour a week part-time job, withdrew from school. The costs of her ongoing participation in school both financially and emotionally on her family were deemed too high.

The work of Bonny Norton also draws on a notion of investment to capture the complex interrelation between the motivation to learn - in this case, language learning - and other conflicting forces at the societal level. Norton highlights the socially and historically constructed nature of investment through an exploration of five adult migrant English language learners and their often ambivalent desire

to learn and practice English (Norton 2000, Norton Peirce 1995). She concludes that, while the migrant women in her study could be said to be motivated to learn English, they were nonetheless uncomfortable talking to those they had a material or symbolic investment in, such as teachers or employers. This was because they felt they had something to lose in these interactions, such as status or even employment. These English language learners' discomfort offset the motivation they had, and is a reminder of the impact of power differentials on language acquisition.

What investment emphasises, then, is that agency is not an individual phenomenon, but is intrinsically linked to social structures; that is, agency and the degree of investment students may be willing to make are often dependent on external factors. In another illustration of this, McKay and Wong (1996) identify multiple discourses that the newly arrived adolescent Chinese migrants in a US high school must negotiate. These discourses, such as the model minority discourse, in turn shape the students' identities and their choice in strategies, as well as the type of and degree of investment in their learning. As with Norton (Norton 2000), McKay and Wong (1996) explicitly link investment in target language with investment in social identities. In this way, agency in language learning and schooling more generally can be circumscribed or mediated by structural issues or social factors. Moreover, this more complicated and socially (as opposed to individually) and psychologically derived notion of investment disrupts the axiomatic of interest: the idea that agents always act with self-interest and seek to maximise position and capital. By considering hybrid investment as a consequence of the ambivalent and complex identities and family and social positions of many migrants, including Generation 1.5 students, the acquisition of

particular dispositions needs to be viewed in relation to whose interest they serve, and at what cost.

A further, and arguably more significant, consequence of this complex picture of habitus is the undermining of the assumption of the unity of the habitus. Contrary to Bourdieu's portrayal, Lahire (2003, 2010) argues strongly that the habitus is inherently contradictory and heterogeneous. Such messiness, acknowledged by Wacquant (1992) and Appadurai (1996), is integral to exploring the likely paths of habitus formation. As has already been argued, Generation 1.5 students, with their complex social, educational, migration, and linguistic histories, typically experience layered processes of socialisation; that is, as a result of early migration, many Generation 1.5 students may have moved through several countries on their way to settling in Australia and so may have experienced several different languages, physical environments, domestic situations, family dynamics, or interruptions to schooling or pre-schooling, if indeed they received any. This stands in contrast to Bourdieu's formulation of habitus in which one type of primary socialisation (via family for the most part) is characterised by the acquisition of cultural preferences linked to a fairly well-circumscribed social class. A Generation 1.5 habitus then captures movement across multiple fields differentiated by country, language, ethnicity, as well as the class-based fields faced by Shaun in Reay's study (2015). To trace the formation of dispositions within the habitus through various modes of socialisation then should be fundamental to a sociology of education (Lahire 2003).

However, as Noble (2013) suggests, it is not enough to replace the unity of the habitus with a proclamation of perpetual disjuncture. Noble (2013) asks what impact migration has on the habitus, and, in

turn, how the presence of the migrant might affect the culture of the host country. Lahire (2003) offers a way to explore these impacts by urging a sociology at the level of the individual. At this point, then, I move from considering the collective habitus of Generation 1.5 to that of the individual students. The methodological implication of this shift is that equal weight in analysis needs to be given to instances of dissonance as well as commonality across the group. In Lahire's words, a sociology at the level of individual reveals how, the coherence and homogeneity which sociologists attribute to individual dispositions at the level of the group, or of institutions, will then be replaced by a more complex vision of the individual as being less unified and as the bearer of heterogeneous habits, schemes, or dispositions which may be contrary or even contradictory to one another (2003, 344).

Certainly, in applying the notion of a collective habitus to a cohort that is inherently heterogeneous, the 'exceptions' will never be far from the 'rule'. However, by making room for instances of dissonance as much as commonality, the notion of habitus not only remains a powerful analytic tool, but can be extended to account for a plurality of dispositions that individual Generation 1.5 students might possess. Importantly, this plurality can accommodate discrepancies between students' individual affect and practice, or, in Lahire's (2003) terms, dispositions to believe and dispositions to act. This distinction is key to understanding how agents may say one thing but do another. Indeed, this localised, individual perspective on habitus allows us to account for the exceptions: those who manage to adopt practices distinct from the majority in their class and potentially break free of class or collective habitus. This is a phenomenon that has remained inadequately explained by Bourdieu's sociology (LiPuma 1993). Reframing Generation 1.5 in this way thus supports an account of the

multiple and often contradictory sets of dispositions that students may present with, as well as their struggle to reconcile this plurality of dispositions with the plurality of social contexts they encounter in moving between home, school, and HE. It is the interaction of the Generation 1.5 habitus and these multiple social contexts that I now address.

Generation 1.5 in higher education: Insights from the field

As with the consideration of habitus as both a collective and individual concept, I propose to consider the contribution of field to habitus on two levels. In the first instance, field needs to be seen as a whole - in this case, the field of HE and the way it exerts influence over all students. However, this is to be supplemented by a consideration of local field effects (Ferrare and Apple 2015); that is, the potentially divergent ways that individual Generation 1.5 students perceive and respond to various local field and institutional practices as either affordances or constraints.

That education - and in particular, HE - has the potential for both emancipation and inculcation has long been recognised (Ranciere 1991, Freire 1972). However, in *The State Nobility: Elite Schools in the Field of Power* (Bourdieu 1996) and *Reproduction* (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977), Bourdieu turned most of his attention to demonstrating the role of educational institutions in the reproduction of an inequitable social order. In the same vein, many studies of the experience of non-traditional students, - here defined either as working class, mature-age, linguistic minority, or, more often, a combination of these classifiers - have tended to emphasise the constraints of HE: with good reason. For example, despite being

granted entry, the migrant EAL university students in Kanno and Varghese's (2010) study experienced several other barriers to meaningful participation in their US-based university degree program. While issues with English language existed, these were seen as less disabling than significant structural barriers. These included low expectations of university teachers, additional economic burdens through having to enrol in compulsory non-load bearing ESL courses, and institutional constraints that only applied to ESL students.

Similarly, in her study of students enrolled in an ESL/pre-college basic writing course, Curry (2007) argues that the very inexperience of some students with post-compulsory education constituted a tangible barrier to progress. Unlike those students with more experience of formal education, who possessed the requisite cultural capital to help them successfully negotiate the practices of the community college, those lacking significant prior educational experiences did not have such a level of comfort with the scholastic field. Instead, they experienced difficulties navigating institutional structures, understanding implicit pedagogical purposes, and engaging in the kinds of academic practices required, such as reading academic texts. This barrier, which resulted from the incongruence between some of the students' prior experiences and the expectations of the field, was compounded by the material conditions of the local field. In particular, Curry (2007) points to the lack of training and support for part-time teachers, with one staff member's own inexperience in teaching EAL students leading to inappropriate writing pedagogy that managed to confuse and disengage the students.

In seeking to understand how students like Rina might interact with the field of HE, it is useful to turn to work conducted from an Academic Literacies stance. An Academic Literacies perspective

highlights how ‘student academic writing and the pedagogy in which it is embedded seems to thwart opportunities for a higher education premised upon inclusion and diversity’ (Lillis 2003, 192). With its critical, ethnographic, and sociological orientations, *Academic Literacies* takes a contextualist approach, using autobiographical accounts of language and academic literacy learning so that current practices and perspectives can be understood within the broader sociohistorical context of an individual’s life trajectory (Coffin and Donohoe 2012). Importantly, *Academic Literacies* pays close attention to the role of field in the form of the HE institution. Students’ practices and the texts they produce are seen as a direct function of institutional policies and pedagogies. Therefore, *Academic Literacies* approaches concentrate the lens on the influence of universities themselves on individual students’ educational experiences and outcomes.

One of the constraints of HE that work around *Academic Literacies* identifies is the tacit nature of the rules of the game, specifically in the form of the expectations for student writing operating in universities (Thies 2012, White and Lowenthal 2011a, Wingate 2007, Turner 2000). In her longitudinal study of the academic writing experiences of ten non-traditional HE students, Lillis found that, rather than being explicit about what they expected in students’ written assignments, teaching staff engaged in ‘institutional practices of mystery’ (Lillis 2001), regularly providing feedback that contained confusing and often contradictory comments. Part of the issue was a sense that the tutors themselves were not in agreement over what constitutes an essay or what a certain question required, revealing a lack of consensus in assessment practices more broadly amongst members of the academic discourse community (Starfield 2001, Angelil-Carter 2000). Staff may also lack the metalinguistic knowledge

to clearly articulate what they see as problematic in student texts, as well as what is required of students in assessment tasks (Leki 2007, Lea and Street 2006).

As the principal assessment tool, writing in the field of HE has an overt gatekeeping function. As such, success at university depends for a large part on students' ability to produce legitimate forms of language: that is, writing that is recognised as adhering to dominant codes and therefore being listened to, as Bourdieu would see it. Yet, as argued earlier, the ability to produce this language via a linguistic habitus requires prolonged exposure to the valued forms of English as well as explicit instruction. These are conditions that many Generation 1.5 students, like other groups of non-traditional students, may not have experienced (White and Lowenthal 2011a, Canagarajah 2002, Ogbu and Simons 1998, Gee 1996, Delpit 1995).

Furthermore, Academic Literacies scholarship highlights how the field of HE, far from being a homogeneous space, requires students to meet a multiplicity of legitimate discourses and conventions (Ivanič 2004, Lillis 2001, Lillis and Turner 2001, Lea and Street 1998). This means that students need to develop the capacity to write in more than one academic discourse. Indeed, this heterogeneity of academic discourses results in students having to switch their writing styles and genres between one setting and another, deploy a repertoire of literacy practices appropriate to each setting, and manage the social meanings and identities that each evokes (Lea and Street 2006). In other words, students need to be able to activate different forms of capital to suit different fields within higher education. However, the notion of repertoire implies a linguistic control that many Generation 1.5 students may not yet possess.

Moreover, with the movement towards student-centred and progressivist pedagogy (Hodge 2010), the responsibility for learning is increasingly seen as that of students, rather than teachers (or teaching). The corollary of this shift is that when students fail to meet the expectations of university, it is more readily viewed as their fault. This would seem to be at odds with the anti-deficit model that progressivism espouses (Watkins 2007). In this way, institutions may conceal the power they wield to reproduce the social hierarchy, leaving some students to conclude they only have themselves to blame. Without access to these legitimised forms of discourse, acquired through overt instruction, students may not only struggle to meet the academic requirements of their degree but may also disengage from their studies altogether. Therefore, research adopting an Academic Literacies perspective highlights how, in many cases, universities admit non-traditional students like Rina but often fail to adjust the rules of the game to meet the needs of these students.

The implications most often drawn from these kind of studies is that poor academic outcomes are the result of a mismatch between the behaviours, cultures, and expectations of the students on the one hand, with those of HE institutions on the other. Bourdieu (1977) offered the term 'hysteresis' to describe such a misalignment between habitus (and, by extension, practice) and field. According to Bourdieu (1979b, 78), this mismatch means that 'practices are always liable to incur negative sanctions when the environment with which they are actually confronted is too distant from that in which they are objectively fitted'. These negative sanctions are commensurate with agents feeling like a 'fish out of water'. Such a sense of 'unbelonging' produces a measure of reflexivity or awareness of their situation, when, at all other times, habitus functions below the level of consciousness, as second nature. While Bourdieu provides for the

possibility that some agents may opt to adjust their practice and habitus, he suggests in light of this that the hysteresis effect more often produces a kind of inertia of the habitus and a 'structural lag between opportunities and the dispositions to grasp them which is the cause of missed opportunities' (Bourdieu 1977b).

As with the project of detailing the nature of the disjuncture between certain groups of students and HE, research has begun to explore student responses to hysteresis (Stuart, Lido, and Morgan 2011, Horvat and Davis 2011, Reay, Crozier, and Clayton 2009, Mills 2008). Typically, studies divide students into those that adapt, those who resist, and those who opt out. For example, Watson et al. (2009), among their cohort of mature-age working class women, identified adapters as by far the largest group. These were students who were meeting the minimum requirements of university but not without some academic struggle, especially when the conventions and expectations of HE were obscured. The study also identified resisters. These were far less common, but included those who were questioning and challenging the way things were done and were unwilling to adjust their practice to meet requirements.

Another consequence of the mismatch between a student's habitus and the field of HE is exclusion - either exclusion by an institution or self-exclusion. In their study of longer-term migrant students accessing four-year college degrees in the US, Kanno and Varghese (2010, 323) describe their ELL subjects' propensity to 'self eliminate because of their perceived lack of legitimacy as full members of the university community' as a function of their 'ESL habitus'. Drawing strongly on Bourdieu's sense of habitus as the 'subjective expectation of the objective probability', Kanno and Varghese argue that their migrant ESL subjects were inclined to drop out even when they were

talented, as they lacked confidence and self-belief and did not expect to do well at university. In contrast, one student in Watson et al.'s study (2009) was excluded by the university, although the authors conclude that they could just as easily have self-excluded.

The experience of the adapters has prompted some to view hysteresis less as a constraint leading to resistance (or, as Bourdieu asserts, inertia), but instead, to see this discrepancy between field and habitus as a precondition for the production of 'pockets of freedom' (Yang 2013). The very visibility of the mismatch forces some agents to monitor and adapt their behaviour, creating the potential for the transformation of practice. So, unlike Bourdieu's accounts in which the ill-fit between habitus and a new field rarely leads to upward social mobility or a durable change in habitus, the possibility of the mismatch being necessary for the consciousness-raising required to change habitus - and, therefore, practices - reimagines hysteresis as an affordance. Such a position helps to explain how some Generation 1.5 students may adjust their practices to better suit the field of HE and succeed academically.

While helpful in drawing attention to the very real 'culture clash' many students experience when first entering HE, the notion of hysteresis, as with habitus itself, is underpinned by an assumption of unity. The way the concept is commonly applied assumes that a single, unitary habitus meets a single, well-circumscribed field. In this way, hysteresis seems akin to an unstoppable force meeting an immovable object. Yet, as argued earlier, the Generation 1.5 habitus itself entails ambivalence and multiple, sedimentary dispositions which disrupt the very notion of the unitary habitus. Furthermore, the layers that make up this plurality of dispositions occur as a result of regular and long-standing movements back and forwards across

different and contradictory fields, such as school and home, English and heritage language, peers, and family.

Bourdieu describes hysteresis as a temporary lag, but it could be argued that discordance for many Generation 1.5 students is likely to be embodied, constitutive of their subjectivity. In other words, reflexivity, rather than being a product of exceptional circumstances, can be seen as part of the habitus itself (Watkins 2012). However, hard-wired as it were, the resultant reflexivity need not be of the epiphanic kind but more of a 'mundane, everyday reflexivity' (Sayer 2005). What this implies is that the Generation 1.5 habitus, when met with the kind of expectations and teaching practices outlined earlier, may operate according to a 'teleological principle' (Hilgers and Mangez 2014, 23) which leads individuals to act without necessarily being aware of it in ways that 'achieve the objectives inscribed in the logic of a particular field, at the lowest cost' (Bourdieu 1990a). Furthermore, the ambivalence and hybrid patterns of investment associated with many Generation 1.5 students' habitus suggests that their responses to HE are not always the most straightforward or predictable, as some of the work applying hysteresis thus far has suggested.

In addition, the notion of hysteresis and the response of agents to this mismatch between their habitus and field seem to imply that the interaction of habitus and field, far from simply bringing about reproduction, is in fact the primary mechanism for change. It is important, therefore, to underscore again that it is not only habitus which 'makes some possibilities inconceivable, others improbable and a limited range acceptable' (Reay 2004, 435). Field also shapes opportunities and constraints, and these affordances and constraints can shift as the field conditions themselves shift. Indeed, despite all

fields, including HE, traditionally being relatively autonomous, fields are by no means fixed. Indeed, as a result of increasing external influence, fields have arguably become more porous (Marginson 2008).

Mapping the field of higher education

This porousness and its impact need to be explored when seeking to better understand how students like Rina gain access to and then experience HE. The dual processes of hierarchisation in Bourdieu's conception of field – namely autonomy/heteronomy and dominant/dominated – illuminate the field of HE in its current form. These processes help to make sense not only of the field of HE as a whole, but the place of individual institutions; that is, the position of universities relative to others within the HE sector, and the effect on students such as Generation 1.5.

Traditionally, HE in Australia, as in comparable nations such as the US, UK, Canada, New Zealand, and South Africa, has enjoyed relative autonomy. The university sector has been relatively self-contained in terms of activities, specific capital, languages, representation, and practices – in other words, the rules and sense of the game has its own logic. These 'closure effects' are considered a feature of all fields, not simply HE: that is, fields are somewhat insulated from the outside world (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). However, the outside can and does exert influence on fields. The external or 'heteronomous' principle constitutes influence in the form of the field of power. The field of power is 'the space of relations of force between agents or between institutions having in common the possession of the capital necessary to occupy dominant positions in the different fields' (Bourdieu 1992, 300). It is an abstract concept capturing the space of power – usually economic – that has the potential to influence all

other fields through a kind of 'club' created by those in positions of power in their respective fields.

In the case of HE, the influence of the field of power, manifested as the primacy of economics, has increased over the previous decades (Bathmaker 2015, Maton 2005, Naidoo 2004). Researchers point to the neoliberalisation of HE in the UK, in which the idea that the social and economic good of a nation is served by universities producing knowledge for knowledge's sake has been replaced by a utilitarian view, whereby universities produce a workforce to meet the demands of a globally competitive knowledge economy (Naidoo and Williams 2014, Maton 2005). The erosion of autonomy in the field of HE can be seen in governments' push for democratisation via the setting of university participation targets for underrepresented groups. It can also be seen in the process of marketisation, culminating in the proposed deregulation of the sector (Naidoo and Williams 2014). The democratisation of universities in Australia has seen so-called non-traditional students, such as Generation 1.5, enter university in greater numbers than before, and marketisation has meant universities are competing openly for these students.

The degree to which different institutions within the field of HE are affected by these external pushes depends to some extent on their position relative to others in the field. High-status institutions, such as those a part of Oxbridge in the UK, the Ivy League in the US, and the Group of Eight (Go8) in Australia, occupy relatively dominant positions in the field and continue to experience relatively strong autonomy. In comparison, lower-status institutions may be more subject to influence from the field of power, as well as having a smaller and potentially less stable market share of student enrolments and income stream (Gale and Parker 2013). This has

implications for the experiences of students on the ground, most obviously in terms of admission policies (Bathmaker 2015, Naidoo 2004). For example, Naidoo (2004) demonstrated how the relative autonomy and position of dominance allowed one South African university to control admission by using purely academic criteria, compared to another university more affected by the external political context, which developed admission policies based on social criteria such as disadvantage.

In the climate of widening participation, all universities have been subject to some heteronomic change. Such changes are likely to have directly impacted upon many Generation 1.5 students by means of sector-wide and institution-based policies designed to further putative social inclusion agendas. For instance, as they often live in socioeconomically disadvantaged areas, Generation 1.5 students may be the recipients of the targeted outreach and aspiration-building programs that most Australian universities now typically undertake (Gale and Parker 2013). Such programs work to recalibrate students' sense of what is a reasonable or even normal post-secondary school pathway. In this way, students like Rina, without any significant changes to their own circumstances, and despite likely difficulties and discomfort using English - especially academic English - may enter HE.

This practice on the part of universities seeking new enrolments to meet certain governmental targets is arguably interpreted by students like Rina as an affordance. Certainly, the intention behind such practices is to open doors to HE, a social outcome many in the community and education sector support. What the example of aspiration-building programs outlined above, or even the practice of providing opaque and confusing feedback on students' written

assignments detailed earlier (Lillis 2001), points to is that practices in fields themselves have pedagogic value such that they may be interpreted differently by different people (Ferrare and Apple 2015). This underscores the fact that ‘field positions - not just habitus - are inscribed with information that selectively “speaks” to individuals and suggests strategies for action’ (Ferrare and Apple 2015, 46).

The question then becomes how agents come to perceive similar practices differently, as possibly either affordances or constraints. According to Ferrare and Apple (2015), this depends on the particular local field conditions. These interpretations are in turn impacted by the relative positions the students occupy:

When considered at the local level, the positions constituting educational fields are not simply vessels of action that are occupied by actors. Rather, these positions embody meanings that students and educators actively - and thus differentially - read, interpret and act upon. Put simply, local field positions have pedagogic qualities (Ferrare and Apple 2015, 45).

To explain this notion, Ferrare and Apple (2015) cite the example of the different ways African-American students interpret ‘curricular differentiation’: the practice of placing students in secondary school (or even earlier) into a rigid ‘tracking’ system that links their subjects to preordained post-school outcomes, such as university, vocational education, or employment. The authors synthesise research that indicates that black students in schools in which college-bound tracks are heavily dominated by white students are more likely to reject opportunities to take those college-track classes on the basis that they are ‘for the white students’ (Tyson 2011). In this respect, the context of the school renders what could be an opportunity a constraint. Conversely, black students in other schools with either no practice of tracking, or, at least, more racially integrated systems,

view the possibility of taking advanced coursework as normal. In other words, not only the field but the position of the students within the field influences how practices are perceived. In this way, the practice of local institutions embodies meaning that individual students then interpret based on their own relative position.

For many Generation 1.5 students, the affordance represented by gaining access to university may quickly become a constraint. While the boundaries of the field (or, at least, the boundaries of some less autonomous institutions in the field) may have shifted or become more porous, those in relatively dominant positions within these institutions, such as university management and lecturers, maintain the power to legitimate or reject the efforts of students to activate their resources. In other words, while the boundaries of the game may have expanded, it is still the same game. In the words of Engstrom and Tinto (2008), 'access without support is not opportunity'.

But perhaps more problematic is a further constraint masquerading as an affordance: that of student retention or persistence. Retention is a significant driver of university policy and practice as,

It matters morally, as we know that the life chances of people who complete a degree are dramatically improved. It matters financially, as students who leave a university before graduating takes their fees with them. And it matters nationally, as the higher the education level of the population, the greater the nation's levels of productivity and innovation (Scott et al. 2008).

My point here is not to undermine the importance of encouraging students, particularly non-traditional students like Rina, to complete their degrees. However, if many Generation 1.5 students enter university without having adequately developed dispositions, capacities, and prior experiences that will allow them to meet current

expectations of university study, and if local field conditions outlined earlier prevail, the question has to be this: at what cost is persistence?

Of course not all Generation 1.5 students merely persist. Like all students, there will be some who succeed and others who fail. And yet, with a Generation 1.5 habitus and hysteresis ‘fatigue’, the inclination of many students may be to do as little as possible to meet the requirements of study. This interaction between habitus and field may mean that many students like Rina may not enjoy the same financial and social outcomes from higher education as other students might. Instead, they may graduate with low-mobility forms of literacy and limited graduate skills. In a climate of spiraling credentialism and academic inflation (Vedder 2010, Collins 2002), it is probable that Generation 1.5 students, despite possessing a degree qualification, will face poor employment prospects at the same time as being saddled with significant educational debt. In this way, the affordances of social inclusion in HE quickly not only become constraints, but also ‘false hope’ (Bourdieu 1984), and a means of social reproduction.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined a reframing of current conceptions of the group Generation 1.5. Firstly, it has signalled the need for a realist approach to sociology as a way of taking some of the insights from psychology, linguistics, and SLA theory detailed in Chapter One and refracting them through a sociological lens. To this end, Generation 1.5 habitus is proposed as a way of identifying broad cognitive, linguistic, and affective patterns emerging from social conditions directly impacted by early migration. However, the nature of this experience of migration and resettlement produces multiple processes of socialisation, ensuring that many Generation 1.5

students experience distinct ambivalence, undermining the notion of the unity of the habitus. Therefore, the notion of habitus must be modified to accommodate the heterogeneity inherent in the group Generation 1.5. Lahire's (2003) construction of a sociology at the level of the individual, emphasising as it does the plurality of disposition, is helpful in accounting for the differences within the group as well as within individuals, and the complex and contradictory practice, beliefs, and investments that result.

These practices, beliefs, and investments do not occur in a vacuum, and to understand the behaviours and trajectories of these students, a consideration of the conceptual tool of habitus alone is insufficient. However, as with habitus, Bourdieu's field theory needs to be extended beyond the identification of a straightforward mismatch between the habitus of non-traditional students like Generation 1.5 and the 'culture' of HE. The interaction of local field conditions with individual students' often ambivalent and contradictory patterns of investment and practices is likely to result in a greater range of responses that further complicate understandings of the relationship between habitus and field.

Chapter Three – Gathering Voices

In the previous two chapters, I outlined the current theoretical framing of the group known as Generation 1.5 and argued for a reframing informed by both linguistic and sociological perspectives. In this chapter, I examine the methodological approach underpinning this research project. Heeding the call for more research in second language acquisition that derives not only from theoretical pluralism (Larsen-Freeman 1997) but also methodological pluralism (Johnson et al. 2004), I outline the mixed-method design that I have employed: one which combines both quantitative and qualitative approaches and linguistic analysis. I then introduce both the site and subjects of the research by providing key demographic and biographical details.

Capturing complexity

The complexity outlined in the previous two chapters required a methodology to both reveal and explore it. Learning English –in particular, learning academic English – is a complex undertaking. As already discussed, differential rates of language and literacy attainment among EAL students suggest there are multiple contributing factors involved. The process for Generation 1.5, often entailing the development of bilingualism and biliteracy, can be particularly complex, as intersecting educational, familial, and social dynamics impact upon learning. However, as discussed in Chapter One, despite this evident complexity, the dominant approach to the study of SLA and Generation 1.5 tends to be reductive, whereby the complexity inherent in language and literacy learning is broken down into separate, rationally manageable components. Influenced by cognitive psychology, a discipline that developed alongside applied linguistics, studies of SLA have tended to be quasi-experimental,

examining correlational or cause and effect relationships between variables, including social-psychological variables such as motivation and attitude. Underpinning this approach is a positivist epistemology, which focuses on that which can be measured. However, ‘everything that can be counted does not necessarily count; everything that counts cannot necessarily be counted’ (Cameron 1963, 13).

In contrast, the more recent so-called ‘social turn’ (Block 2003) in applied linguistics has broadened the view from causal/correlations between variables, looking instead at the role of the social and human agency in language learning (Kim and Duff 2012, Miller 2003, Lillis 2001, Norton 2000, McKay and Wong 1996). Investigations into the role of access, power, disparity, desire, differences, and resistance in language acquisition have been influenced by poststructuralist thinking, in which reality is socially constructed and subject to multiple and constantly changing perspectives. This ontological and epistemological shift has been accompanied by the adoption of different research methodologies. In particular, ethnographic approaches, such as participant observation, have become prominent in these studies of SLA. In the main, these investigations have tended to be small-scale, often with a handful of participants, and have privileged etic perspectives: that is, these studies often explain the phenomenon of language learning from the perspective of the observer-researcher. Qualitative approaches, including in-depth interviews, may also sometimes result in research that explores the detail, but this comes at the expense of a more holistic perspective. In this way, some researchers risk overlooking crucial aspects of the problem due to their intimate and immersive perspective (Kemp and Holmwood 2003). Other approaches favoured by the more recent sociocultural approach to SLA include the use of qualitative surveys. However, surveys can sometime obscure individual differences,

especially when research subjects are categorised into homogeneous groups with arbitrarily defined labels (Huster 2011).

The tension between qualitative and quantitative research methodologies is apparent, with ‘thick description’ (Geertz 1973) often pitted against broad generalisable data. This has led to what some describe as a methodological divide within the discipline of applied linguistics, such that ‘methodologies, theories, and foci within SLA reflect an imbalance between cognitive and mentalistic orientations, and social and contextual orientations’ (Larsen-Freeman 2007, Zuengler and Miller 2006, Firth and Wagner 1997). This is an issue not only in applied linguistics. In traditional social science research, statistical analyses and modelling have been effectively employed to ‘establish the extent of social disparities and the relative weights that should be accorded to distinct processes’ (Nash 2005, 191). For example, such an approach has been most commonly used to measure the role that different forms of capital, SES, and language background have on educational disadvantage. Indeed, some argue that only at the systemic or structural level can we detect emergent statistical regularities or patterns of connection (Kemp and Holmwood 2003). However, these approaches do not provide answers as to why and how macro social factors are implicated in educational attainment. Instead, in-depth ethnographic analyses, case studies, and narrative accounts centred on specific sites of practice, individuals, and groups in particular social contexts have been invaluable in enriching understandings of mechanisms inaccessible to quantitative techniques. But neither quantitative nor qualitative approaches are sufficient alone, and such a dichotomy in research design hinders the ability to make connections between macro and micro-scale factors. It is these interactions between variables that lie at the heart of the complexities and intricacies of literacy

development and language learning (Larsen-Freeman and Cameron 2008, Blommaert 2007).

Since my chief concern in undertaking this research was to elucidate the complexity inherent in the language and literacy learning experiences of Generation 1.5 students, questions such as how and why the students write and think the way they do were of far more significance than quantifying the grammatical and lexical errors they made. Clearly, any approach to studying the SLA of this group of Generation 1.5 students needed to utilise the students' own voices. However, being trained in applied linguistics, I maintained a belief that language analysis could also offer insights into not only the writing proficiency of the students, but also their practices around literacy. This led to an approach that combined linguistic analysis and the use of interview data, such as Lillis' (2001) use of 'talk around text'.

Of equal interest to this research was the role of institutions such as schools and universities in shaping the development of students' language and literacy practices and their orientations to learning and language. Therefore, a methodology was required that would give consideration to institutional roles and responses. Finally, as much previous research has tended to create an artificial dichotomy between the individual and the social, what was required was a way of exploring the individual in a sociocultural context. With this in mind, I sought to work at the level of the individual as well as the group, mindful of not collapsing the former into the latter.

Clearly, a methodological pluralism that adopted a phenomenological approach to sociological research, such as in that recommended by Ferrare and Apple (2015), was required. Many have advocated an

incorporation of macro and micro features in a single historically and contextually situated research program. Dell Hymes (1996), for instance, calls for research that combines social theory, ethnographic perspectives, and linguistic skills, and warned against the separation of text and practice by privileging the analysis of text over practice (Lillis and Scott 2008). Other researchers also recognise the need for both attention to text (linguistic evidence) and context/practice (ethnographic perspectives) (Susan C. Jarratt 2006, Lillis 2001, Ivanič 1998, Fairclough 1995). As such, a pluralistic approach which accounts for both the social and individual appeared less as a choice and more as a necessity.

Designing for complexity

In seeking a research design that could capture this dual perspective, my original intention was to adopt the linguistic methodology known as ‘textography’ (Swales 1998). Borrowing from ethnographic approaches, textography moves beyond the text in order to discover why texts are written in the manner they are by exploring the wider context informing text construction (including languages, ethnicity, cultural values, and educational experience). Its goal is to elucidate the form and formation of the written texts themselves via an exploration of the discourse that informs their construction. But textography has certain limitations, given it suggests a boundedness and specificity in each case that was not relevant to my context. Indeed, it was the fluidity of the group Generation 1.5 that I wanted to emphasise – the heterogeneity and differences, and the seeming unwillingness of the data to fit any predetermined ‘factors’, variables, or correlations. Consideration was also given to institutional ethnography, as in the work of Dorothy Smith (2006). This approach focuses on the relationship between everyday activities and experiences and larger institutional imperatives, thus linking

phenomenology and sociology. Certainly, the relationship between structures of power (such as institutions) and the micro-level practices that make up everyday life was germane to this project. However, as with textography, it seemed that institutional ethnography was too narrow a methodology for my purposes, as it was not simply the institution that the Generation 1.5 students attended that was the focus.

The investigations of the possibilities afforded by textography and institutional ethnography did not result in an adoption of either methodology, but did confirm the importance of interrogating the relations between beliefs and practices of participants and those associated with educational institutions. As indicated earlier, one way of accommodating complexity is to allow the perspective of the students themselves to come to the fore. Narrative inquiry offered a way of approaching interviews, and was particularly useful for capturing the emic perspective. Drawing on life history, narrative inquiry is a method that consists of obtaining first person narratives and accounts of life histories of participants. In this way,

the question and answer (stimulus/response) model gives way to viewing the interview as a discursive event. Participants engage in an evolving conversation; narrator and listener/questioner, collaboratively produce and make meaning of events that the narrator reports (Kohler Riessman 2006, 189-190).

Taking a narrative approach to interviewing both students and staff also allowed me to retrace the students' linguistic and academic development from pre-arrival to higher education. This construction lent the research a longitudinal aspect that was strengthened by the tracking of students' results over the first three semesters of university (see below). Furthermore, an engagement with narrative

accounted for what learners themselves were saying. It also allowed for a focus on the way individuals understood their own experiences, which could act as a safeguard against the temptation to impose significance on certain biographical details. However, as indicated earlier, I did not want to present my data as a series of case studies, but wanted to remain open to the possibility of broader patterns across participants. Therefore, while influenced by the broad intent of narrative inquiry, the interviews included semi-structured questions to allow comparison between participants, but, at the same time, had the flexibility of an elaborated, narrative account.

Despite the richness and flexibilities afforded by the use of interview data, particularly that which is semi-structured, and narrative forms of inquiry, interviewing as a method of data collection is not without its limitations. Interview data can lead to researchers ‘treating the informants as witnesses, as self-analysts, and as indirect sources of evidence about perspectives’ (Hammersley 2003, 760). Edgerton and Roberts (2014, 67) point to the performative nature of interviews and argue that the ‘potential instability of respondent constructions’ can be confused for fact or truth by researchers. Moreover, the phenomenon of ‘social desirability bias’, in which participants are influenced to respond to questions in a way they feel will be well received, suggests the need for caution when interpreting results based on self-reported data (Polkinghorne 2005, De Vaus 1995). Indeed, the validity of self-reported data, particularly in terms of linguistic proficiency, has been questioned, with age and affective factors potentially exerting influence over how people rate their own abilities (Dornyei 2001, MacIntyre, Noels, and Clement 1997). Therefore, I sought a design that would validate the responses of students. This came in the form of the students’ texts and, to a lesser extent, their academic records. While it is clear that what people say is

not always the same as what they do, such inconsistencies are useful in understanding varying influences on their dispositions and practice.

Numbers and Narrative

Therefore, a mixed-method approach, or what Nash (2002c) refers to as ‘numbers and narrative’, seemed the most effective in terms of capturing the data necessary for examining such a heterogeneous group. In this case, numbers and narrative involved a combination of in-depth interviewing, descriptive statistics and student academic results, linguistic analysis, and document analysis. In this way, a mixed-method approach draws on the macro-level to explore micro-level phenomena and vice versa. Moreover, by deriving data from multiple sources, inherently subjective self-reported data generated through interviews and surveys could be triangulated with more objective sources of data, such as student results, grade point averages (GPAs), and writing samples. Similarly, staff interview data could be fleshed out by analysis of relevant policy and curricula documents, such as the unit outlines, marking criteria, and university policies on academic writing. Therefore, the openness of narrative-based, semi-structured interviews in which students and staff suggested what they themselves saw as significant was matched by the more ‘objective’ language samples, survey data, curriculum materials, and teaching documents.

However, the practice of combining quantitative and qualitative methods in a single research paradigm is not without its critics. Indeed, some argue that qualitative and quantitative approaches are derived from two quite distinct views of the world – interpretive and positivist respectively – and that these two approaches or strategies cannot and should not coexist in the one study (Yanchar 2006).

However, others hold that this is not the case (Duff and Talmy 2011), contending that quantitative and qualitative research methods are distinct but not incompatible, and the positivist and constructivist epistemologies cannot only be reconciled but also productively combined to generate a more complete and richly detailed picture. In this way, quantitative and qualitative research methodologies are increasingly seen as complementary, and many within applied linguistics (Duff and Talmy 2011, Teddlie and Tashakkori 2009, Bergman 2008, Dornyei 2001) and sociology (Edgerton and Roberts 2014, Nash 2002c) recommend mixed paradigm research.

Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations are an important aspect when undertaking any research. In this research, participants' desire for and right to anonymity, the potential for inequitable power relations, and the possibility of misrepresenting what interview participants said and/or meant were ethical issues requiring consideration. To begin with, as it was used as the method of recruitment for interview, any student who took up the invitation to provide their contact details on the survey was necessarily identifiable. In most cases, student surveys were allocated a number and the data they contained entered into Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) in a de-identified form. The raw data was then analysed as aggregated data. The 11 students selected for interview were assigned a pseudonym early in the process of collating and analysis. Students' identity was further protected by changing any potentially identifying details, such as the names of the schools they attended. The identity of staff also needed to be protected and as such, they too were given pseudonyms.

The task of managing what could be perceived as unequal power relations with students was one I took seriously, particularly when it

became apparent that some students took interest in the study as they believed I could offer advice and feedback on their academic writing. To ensure transparency of intention, each interview began by describing both the purpose of the research as well as my role within the institution. I was at that time employed as an academic within a specific peer support program. This was a free and voluntary program, widely perceived by students as a source of support and connection with other peers. As such, I was not directly involved in teaching or assessing any of the students in my study. Despite this, as the program I administered was linked to units the students were undertaking, students could have perceived me as having control over their access to that program. To ensure this was not the case, I finished each interview by providing details as to how and where students could access the peer support program if they wished. I also accepted requests to review a couple of students' writing at the end of the interview, giving advice on structure and language as I would in my capacity as a language and learning advisor.

Finally, the possibility of misrepresenting what participants said or meant was a very real one. To offset this, every opportunity was taken to clarify students' and staff's responses, including rephrasing of opinions and anecdotes to confirm my understanding. Wherever possible and appropriate, interviewees were encouraged to provide concrete examples of what they were saying and to describe specifics as much as possible, especially where the preparation of assignments was concerned. Participants were also made aware that they could review the results if they wished. The prospect of having participants read accounts of themselves informed the writing of the thesis, assisting me in returning to original data (which had been recorded and then transcribed) to check and recheck details until I was sure I was accurately relaying what had been said or written.

Gathering voices

Numbers: Demographic and attitudinal survey

The first stage of data generation was a survey. The purpose of the survey was twofold. First, it was designed to amass data on the cultural, linguistic, and educational backgrounds of students enrolled in two large core first year units at the university, which for the purposes of this study is referred to as Ward University. It also provided the broad context for understanding Generation 1.5 in this research site - how common and significant the group was, and what kind of patterns, if any, could be identified in educational experience, including English language learning. As such, the survey was not designed to be analysed statistically, but to identify broad trends in prior education, language use, and literacy practices, as well as attitudes towards language and tertiary study that could then be explored in more detail through interview and analysis of students' texts. The second purpose of the survey was to identify and recruit students who met the criteria for categorisation as Generation 1.5, to participate in one-on-one interviews where aspects of practice and orientations to learning could be considered in more detail.

With this dual purpose in mind, the survey consisted of questions from the following domains: the biographic (age, gender, country of birth, country of birth of parents, age of arrival in Australia and from where); the linguistic (language background, perceptions of fluency in home language and English, how the home language is used, practices in English, how others in the communities and families use the home language, the amount and type of any formal education in home language); the educational (duration and location of schooling in Australia, duration and type of English language education, pathway to university, previous experience writing and reading in English, level of academic support from family/friends, perceptions of confidence

in aspects of written academic English, perceptions of preparedness for university study); and aspects of identity and belonging (importance of home language to identity, strength of connection to language/culture of parents, friends, Australia etc., any differences experienced when using home language and English, experience of tension or uncertainty in identity, linguistic/ethnic/cultural/religious labels used to describe self).

Students enrolled in one of two first year compulsory units within the Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Business and Commerce degree programs were surveyed. These units were selected because of the different demographic makeup of both disciplines. A greater number of females and domestic EAL students were enrolled in the Humanities unit. In contrast, the unit within the Bachelor of Business and Commerce degree had more males than females enrolled, a relatively high number of international EAL students, and a higher proportion of vocational education pathway students. Staff responsible for these units were contacted and the nature of the study was explained in order to conduct the survey in lectures during weeks four and five of the first semester of 2012. The survey took approximately 10 minutes to complete, and completion of the survey was taken as consent to participate in the study. A total of 367 students completed surveys and 49 indicated a willingness to be contacted for interview. A copy of the survey is included as Appendix A.

Narrative: Generation 1.5 student and university teaching staff interviews

Of the 49 students who provided their contact details on the survey, not all of them had backgrounds relevant to the study. Deciding which students to interview was complex, as it entailed making a

determination as to the boundaries of Generation 1.5. As already outlined, the definition of Generation 1.5 is far from stable and many studies operationalise the cohort in different ways, ranging from native-born to recently arrived students. Those students who had arrived in late primary or early secondary school seemed the most likely to embody the features of both first and second generation migrants associated with Generation 1.5. Despite this, after much consideration, a purposeful choice was made to privilege diversity over similarity so as to provide a broad cohort in terms of age of arrival and language background. Therefore, in terms of participant selection, variability became an inbuilt element of the design.

Students with a range of languages that reflected not only the linguistic makeup of the university but also the wider community were prioritised. As such, students with certain home languages – Mandarin/Cantonese, Arabic and Vietnamese – were selected, as these are prevalent in the university and the local community. The other languages – Dinka, Farsi, and Dari – were chosen less on the basis of demographic representation and more in the interests of representing the complexity and variability inherent in the cohort Generation 1.5. The students who spoke these languages came from South Sudan, Iran, and Afghanistan respectively, and so were likely to have experienced significant interruptions in their schooling.

In the end, eleven students were interviewed, with arrival ages ranging from three to fourteen years. Four were Arabic speakers from different countries of origin, two were Vietnamese, one spoke Cantonese, and another Burmese and Mandarin. Another student spoke Dinka, another Farsi, and one student spoke Dari. This diversity allowed for a richer sample, but limited the likelihood that clear patterns, such as those claimed by some studies (see Chapters One

and Two), could be discerned through the data. Nevertheless, all students could be termed Generation 1.5, and so were characteristic of the heterogeneity of this broad categorisation.

As outlined earlier, the interviews were approached from a narrative inquiry perspective. My interest was to allow students an opportunity to tell their individual educational life histories – in particular, that specific to their language and literacy education – in their own words. However, as indicated, I was also interested in exploring group characteristics, and so needed to ensure some degree of consistency across interviews in order to be able to make comparisons across and between students. For these reasons, I favoured a semi-structured, dialogic interviewing technique. This allowed for flexibility in relation to individual responses whereby questions could be modified when necessary while at the same time having consistent prompts around key themes and issues. These themes included: students' background, with an explicit invitation to tell their 'story'; students' home language; English; students' educational experiences, with particular reference to university; reading and writing, with specific reference made to their current practices; and students' cultural identity (see Appendix B). As the interviews were designed to drill down into issues identified in the survey, students were invited to expand on or clarify responses they gave in the survey on many occasions in the interview.

The role of institutions and pedagogical approach in the educational trajectories of the Generation 1.5 students was also of interest in this study. Therefore, after selecting and interviewing the 11 students, staff from the university were interviewed. Each of these were tutors on the Humanities units because, despite repeated requests via the coordinator of the business unit, no business tutors expressed an

interest in participating. The decision was made to interview the four tutors together in order to facilitate a more relaxed, informal dynamic. In this way, it was hoped that the tutors would engage in a broad discussion around the issues of identification and supporting EAL students. On the day of the interview, only two tutors attended – one male and one female. Like the student interviews, the staff interview was semi-structured, allowing the two staff members to digress and offer opinions and anecdotes in response to issues one or the other raised (see Appendix C for examples of questions). In this way, the interview proceeded as an informal discussion around their awareness, experience of, and approaches to teaching EAL students in their class, including their understandings of differences between EAL groups. At this point, it should be noted that due to the small staff sample, any conclusions drawn are not generalisable. However, given the depth of the data obtained, the staff interview provides important insights into staff attitudes, individual pedagogical practices, and the impact upon teaching staff of broader HE sector policies and practices.

After interviewing the students, it became clear that insights into the ESL schooling these students received was also needed. Accordingly, an interview was held with three teaching staff from a local Intensive English Centre (IEC) where three of the Generation 1.5 participants were previous students. As with the university staff interview, the IEC staff interview was designed to be an informal and relatively free-ranging discussion in order to examine what these ESL teachers considered to be the issues facing newly arrived EAL students, as well as the challenges they faced teaching them. Questions also related to the ESL curriculum operating in the IECs and particular methods teachers used for teaching literacy.

Text and context: Written language samples

Samples of written academic language were collected from each of the 11 students interviewed (see Appendix E). This was an essay in the case of the students undertaking the Humanities unit and a business letter in the case of the students enrolled in business. On receipt of the eleven pieces of academic writing, the framework by which the texts were to be analysed was established, moving away from the type of linguistic analysis that has hitherto characterised most studies of Generation 1.5. As indicated in Chapter One, many studies of L2 writing and Generation 1.5 writing focus on syntactic, lexical, and grammatical errors, with little analysis and discussion of the text at the level of discourse. However, most studies of Generation 1.5 students are in the context of tertiary study, and university students are required not only to use the English language accurately and deftly, but also to use it in a highly specialised way. Academic language is formal, abstract, dense, often agonistic, and discipline-specific, and it is this specialised writing ability, often more so than grammatical accuracy, on which students are assessed. Moreover, being proficient in English does not necessarily entail academic literacy capabilities, a key but often neglected point within the literature. Therefore, a framework was required that reflected the view that, in the context of university students, English competence exists at the intersection between language proficiency, discourse awareness, academic culture, and academic literacy.

The result was a framework (included as Appendix D) that took both a micro (sentence level) and macro (text level) approach to the analysis of the student texts. This approach allowed for a distinction between aspects of English language proficiency and academic literacy at the same time as highlighting the similarities between the two. The linguistic aspects that were analysed drew from measures of English

language proficiency (ELP) commonly in use in the HE context in Australia as well as internationally, such as IELTS and more recently, some post-entry language assessments (PELAs). Specifically, I examined vocabulary in terms of range, accuracy, and flexibility, and grammar in terms of range and accuracy of clause combination, accuracy and appropriateness of tense, and number agreement. In terms of analysing academic literacy, the focus was on the ability to create academic register through word choice and to comply with academic conventions through grammatical techniques such as nominalisation and modality. The students' writing was also analysed based on their ability to structure a text logically and sustain and support an argument. In addition, cohesion was considered both at the lexical and grammatical level and at the discourse level in terms of the patterning of given and new information.

More numbers: Student results

In keeping with a mixed-methods research design, a comparatively objective measure of the students' academic progress was required to triangulate the language analysis and interviews. As such, with their permission, students' academic transcripts were accessed at regular intervals over the course of the study. These academic transcripts provided not only the overall mark and corresponding grade in each unit attempted, but also each student's grade point average (GPA). This data lent the project a longitudinal aspect, as it enabled the monitoring of students' progress. In a study investigating English language and literacy acquisition, the ability to track academic results over time is significant, as literacy is inherently developmental: one does not become a good writer overnight. The tracking of student results also provided information about individual student's circumstances over time, such as withdrawal, reduction of load, or change of degree. In addition, tracking students' results provided an

insight into the institutional response to these students, allowing for a comparison of the students' academic writing capabilities with the marks they received at the end of their first semester.

More narrative: Follow-up contact

As has been argued in the previous two chapters, far from constituting a homogeneous group based on age of arrival and experience of the school education system, Generation 1.5 is a complex and heterogeneous cohort. After the in-depth interviews, and from monitoring students' progress via academic results, it became clear that each student's experience in university was highly situated, contingent, and changing over time. It became apparent that periodic contact with the students would be beneficial. In some cases, this was easy, as the students made contact in order to seek advice on where to find help with their writing or mathematics. In the case of one student, semi-regular contact was maintained, as he would periodically email me with an update on how he was faring. Approximately 14 months after the initial interview, all the students were contacted again to ascertain how they were progressing, their views on the feedback they had received on their writing, and what they were considering to be future options. Six out of the 11 responded with updates and reflections on their progress. One other student, who had withdrawn from study, made contact nearly a year later to explain the circumstances under which he came to leave and then re-enrol in university. This, as with the tracking of students' results over three semesters, conferred a 'quasi-longitudinal' aspect on the study, as some students were tracked over three semesters, with varying degrees of contact and continuity. Moreover, making follow-up contact allowed me to clarify, expand on, and 'test' ideas that had arisen through the initial stages of data collation and analysis.

More text and context: Document analysis

To provide an even more contextualised perspective on the educational trajectory of Generation 1.5 students, a range of documentary material was collected and analysed. This material included policy documents (national, state, and institutional level), curriculum documents, teacher guidelines and resources, unit/subject outlines and guides, reports, marking matrices, and competency descriptors. Rather than conducting detailed analysis of this material, the documents were used as supplementary data to inform my overall understanding of the nature of language and literacy education in NSW public schooling, as well as the specific academic writing requirements of first year university students. Together with the survey, interviews and follow-up contact, language analysis, and tracking of student results, the document analysis constituted a rich source of data that enabled a broader and deeper description of Generation 1.5 students' experiences.

Making meaning

From the outset of this research project, the decision was made to let the data drive the theorising. Clearly, though, the very act of designing a survey and determining themes for interview entails judgments about the relative significance of factors. However, in terms of the process undertaken to make sense of the data, I tended to work from the bottom up, rather than seeking out verification of the role of certain factors (or combinations of factors) on the academic progression and language competency of the Generation 1.5 students interviewed. The process of data collation and analysis was an iterative and cyclical one, starting with one data set and arranging and classifying its information before turning to another. As this process continued, I began what became a frequent process of reflection and revision. This constant movement between survey

results, interview transcripts, language analyses, and students' results facilitated the process of meaning-making through the search for connections and patterns in and across the data. Eventually, a sense of the whole 'story' emerged. It was at this point in interpreting the story that recourse to sociological theory was required: specifically, the work of Bourdieu, as discussed in Chapter Two. The following account of the process of collation, analysis, and interpretation of the data is presented in a linear fashion. However, as outlined above, this by no means reflects how I went about making sense of the data.

As the survey was by far the largest data set (367 responses), I utilised SPSS to conduct a descriptive statistical analysis. Frequencies on each variable provided a useful overview of the sample, which included many different cohorts of students, including Generation 1.5. Through this process, certain variables emerged as more salient than others, so cross-tabulations and calculating means were undertaken before breaking the sample into discrete populations (such as by language background or age of arrival) and comparing frequencies across cohorts. In addition to this quantitative analysis, the survey contained open-ended questions. These were collated in a separate document and analysed thematically. These simple statistical and thematic analyses were sufficient to gain broad insights into the educational, biographical, and linguistic backgrounds of EAL university students. Furthermore, by specifying and quantifying the types of concerns, practices, and attitudes of all the survey respondents, the survey analysis provided an important perspective on the more specific experiences of the Generation 1.5 students that were interviewed.

The interviews also involved some degree of observational data generation. The experience of making contact and arranging an

interview was recorded: interviewees' demeanour on the phone, their preference for texting, their choice of words or locations. All these impressions contributed to a more detailed picture of the person interviewed. Similarly, after each interview of staff and students, I recorded impressions and observations of dress, body language, attitude, and personality, which became additional data to inform the transcriptions of the interviews. At the same time, those parts of the interviews that seemed at that early stage to be significant – such as idiosyncratic phrasing, specific places, dates, experiences, biographical details, and opinions – were noted.

Following initial transcription, each transcript was matched line by line with the audio recording. In this way, the transcriptions could be augmented with details relating to accent, the use of specific and local terminology, and students' grammatical errors and syntactic mishaps, which were essential to give an accurate representation of students' language use. Despite attending Nvivo training, the process of interpreting the data using this software was hindered by a sense that the data was fragmented. In the form of nodes, (or key words and phrases classified into themes), the thoughts, experiences, and attitudes of the students and staff were reduced to little more than isolated words and phrases, as they were divorced from their context. Therefore, the majority of the analysis of the student and staff interview data was undertaken using more traditional paper-based methods, such as text coding, pattern coding, and summarising. This was followed by the compilation of a meta-analysis document, which combined extracts from all the student interviews under key themes and subthemes. I did the same for the staff interviews. It was from close reading, re-reading, and reflection on these two documents that the framing of the four empirical chapters came about.

In order to arrive at a framework for investigation of the student texts that allowed for the distinct but related analysis of aspects of English language proficiency and academic literacy, several different methods of analysis were trialled. These included topical structure analysis (Lautamatti 1995) and systemic functional linguistics (Halliday 2004), with each being applied to one or two student writing samples. In the end, these approaches were too narrow, not adequately capturing the intention behind the inclusion of the linguistic data in the overall thesis: that is, to provide a measure of each student's control of language and academic literacy in order to draw conclusions about the adequacy of their pre-university language and literacy education and their current needs for language and literacy support in the university context. As such, a more holistic approach was warranted. Each student text was analysed in terms of grammar, vocabulary, syntax, textual organisation, argumentation, and adherence to the conventions of academic discourse. This provided me with a comprehensive grasp of the linguistic features of each student's writing.

As argued throughout this chapter, my focus was to map the complexity engendered by interactions between particular experiences, histories, and practices in the lives of the group Generation 1.5. Therefore, as with this detailed corpus of data, the interpretation of the linguistic data was approached with an acknowledgement of complexity. In order to make connections across the group and across domains such as language capacity, practices, dispositions, early literacy experiences, and pathways to university, a way of summarising the results of the linguistic analyses was needed. The practice of ranking student performance was adopted. Ranking the students in terms of their English language proficiency and academic literacy was relatively uncomplicated, and was based on

linguistic accuracy (measured by an error count), use of appropriate academic register, vocabulary, argumentation, and structure of whole text and paragraphs. At the same time, care was taken to consider the relative difficulty of the writing task each student completed, as they were by no means equal. For example, one student's text had more errors than another, but the task was significantly more difficult, as she had attempted a more sophisticated response and had produced a much longer text. In an effort to triangulate the ranking, another table was created in which the rankings were compared to two external measures. The first was the students' GPA after their first 18 months of university, and the second was each student's average mark out of four predominantly writing-assessed units. With the exception of three students whose performance over the 18 months did not accord with the language and academic literacy attainment evidenced by their writing sample, these three sets of results (my ranking, the average of mark across four units and GPA) were fairly consistent.

The ranking also allowed for a meta-analysis across the group on a range of variables identified in the literature. Data tables were created in which the students' overall linguistic attainment was compared to the following: age of arrival; self-reported degree of home language literacy; parents' educational capital (operationalised as home and second language literacy, attitudes towards education and involvement in children's schooling); educational background (operationalised as amount of ESL input and previous tertiary education experience); and their degree of investment in their own learning, insights into their needs as learners, and their actual educational practices. In this way, I was able to make connections, see contradictions and inconsistencies, and begin to interpret the impact of language and literacy capabilities on academic outcomes.

However, as useful as these data tables were for seeing the bigger picture, a connection between what students were doing with their written language and their backgrounds, current practices, and orientations to English literacy was also required. In other words, the texts needed to be linked to the stories behind the texts. To do this, a narrative account of each student was produced in summary form, locating the actual linguistic data – the errant clause combining, idiosyncratic punctuation, wayward tenses, and absent argument – in the context of their life story, making links wherever possible to what was observed on paper and the student’s pedagogical experiences and practices as relayed in interview and survey responses. These narrative accounts of the writing of each student became the building blocks for the thesis and appear throughout: from Rina’s opening story, the vignettes later in this chapter, and discussions and examples.

Understanding the research site and students

The purpose of the final section of this chapter is to introduce the context of the research project – the university where the bulk of the data was collected – before providing a ‘numbers and narrative’ overview of the students that informed the study. Providing biographic and demographic details about each of the students builds a holistic account of the students as well foregrounding the diversity and heterogeneity within this group. When read together, the information provided by the statistics, tables, and vignettes brings into sharp relief the intersecting complexity of factors that shapes the educational trajectories of the Generation 1.5 students.

The research site: A snapshot

The research project was undertaken at a large Australian university which draws in students from a wide geographical area.

Comparatively speaking, the region surrounding the university is one of economic disadvantage (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2011), with higher levels of unemployment and lower levels of educational attainment than the city as a whole. It is also an area of significant ethnic, cultural, and linguistic diversity, with close to one third of its residents being born overseas, and half being first or second generation Australians (Aquino 2012).

The students attending this university tend to reflect the demography of the region. More than 60 per cent of students are the first in their family to attend university, and approximately 15 per cent gain entry on the basis of a vocational qualification (Butcher). The university also has one of the greatest proportions of low SES students of any Australian university (Gale and Parker 2013). In terms of ethnolinguistic diversity, over 30 per cent of students speak a language other than English at home, and represent some 170 different countries of birth. While each Australian university has a distinct demographic profile, university cohorts in the main are increasingly ethnoculturally and socioeconomically diverse, particularly given the trend towards institutions with multiple campuses, both urban and regional. Therefore, while this research project draws on data from a single university and could be said to be a study of one particular institution's response to the needs of its Generation 1.5 students, there is doubtlessly wider applicability to those students who 'fit' the Generation 1.5 category than found elsewhere.

The sample: A snapshot in numbers

Of the 367 students who responded to the survey in March 2012, 61 per cent (224) were female and 39 per cent (143) were male. The

survey also provided information about their language backgrounds, education, practices, and attitudes.

Language background

A significant feature of the sample was linguistic diversity.

Approximately two thirds of respondents indicated they spoke a language other than English at home. While this is more than twice the average reported at the university as a whole, this increase is most likely due to the fact that, as the survey was about linguistic diversity, those with an additional language may have opted in at greater rates than those without.

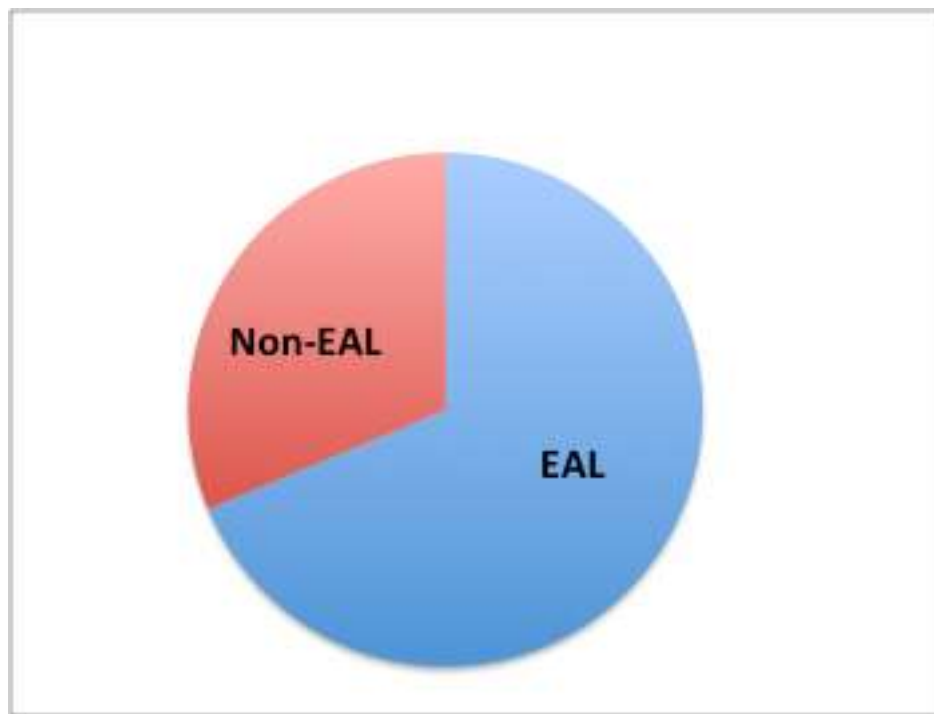


Figure 1 - Breakdown of English as an additional language (EAL) status

In keeping with the demographic trend of the university, in which over 86 per cent of undergraduate EAL students in 2013 were local, EAL status in the survey was overwhelmingly local/migrant: that is, non-international. In total, 82 per cent of respondents indicated they were domestic students, compared to 18 per cent international.

In terms of diversity, 42 per cent were born outside Australia, with 51 different countries of birth and 52 different languages spoken besides English. Figure 2 shows the five most common languages spoken by survey respondents. These languages correspond to large migrant populations in Sydney, with China, India, Vietnam, Lebanon, and Hong Kong featuring in the top 10 source countries. Another feature of the sample was the high percentage of students whose mother and/or father was born outside of Australia. Just over 70 per cent of students surveyed indicated that one or both of their parents was born overseas, making cultural and/or linguistic diversity a significant feature of the group.

Also, many respondents - 13.4 per cent - indicated that while they themselves they did not speak a language other than English, they strongly identified with another language; for example, Maori. This reflects the complexity of language background, suggesting that it is not only language proficiency that can influence identity. Language affiliation and heritage also impact on people's sense of self.

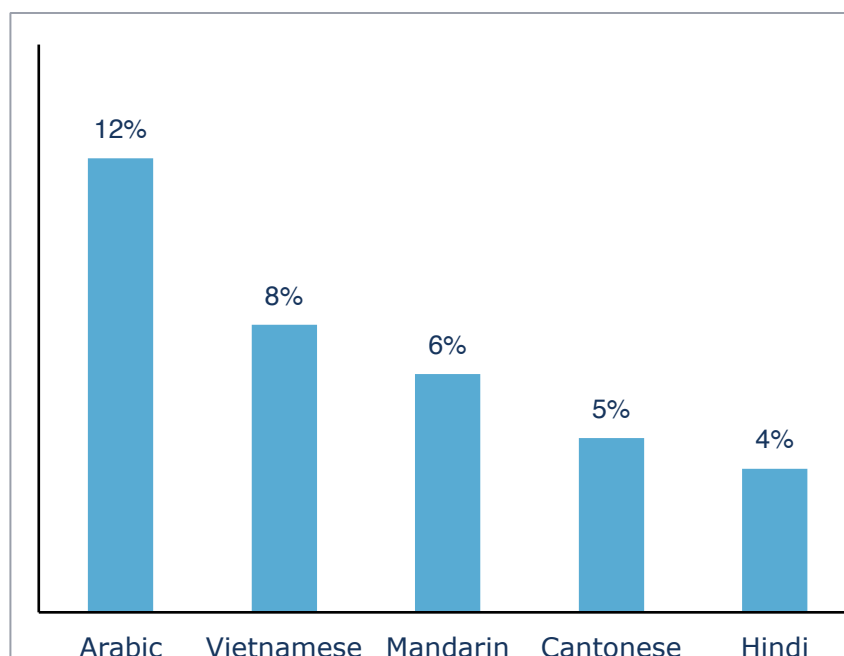


Figure 2 - Breakdown of top five languages spoken, excluding English

Language education and practices

Patterns of education in a home language were also of interest. Of the 68 per cent of respondents who indicated they spoke a language other than English at home, over 37 per cent indicated they had had no formal education in their home language. This compares with 23 per cent of respondents who learned their home language as a language other than English (LOTE) in Australia at either their mainstream school or in a dedicated language school such as a community language school. In terms of practicing English language and academic literacy skills, 22 per cent of EAL respondents reported writing regularly in their home language, while slightly more – 28 per cent – reported reading regularly. These rates of reading and writing are compared with just under 65 per cent of participants who reported speaking regularly with their family in their home language. These figures correspond to self-reported rates of proficiency in the first language. With one indicating not at all fluent and five indicating extremely fluent, speaking was rated on average four out of five. In comparison, reading and writing in a home language were rated at an average of three and two respectively. As was outlined in Chapter One, both the amount and type of education in a home language, as well as language practices, have implications not only for rates of home language literacy, but also literacy in English.

Attitudes towards academic writing

Surprisingly, the average level of self-reported confidence in writing university assignments across the sample was high. With one representing not at all confident and five representing extremely confident, the average level was three point five. This could be due to the fact that at the time of conducting the survey, many students would not have submitted or received grades on any formal pieces of written assessment. However, when the sample was divided into EAL

and non-EAL cohorts, differences in levels of confidence emerged. Figure 3 compares self-reported ratings of confidence with university-level writing between those students with a language background other than English and those who spoke English only.

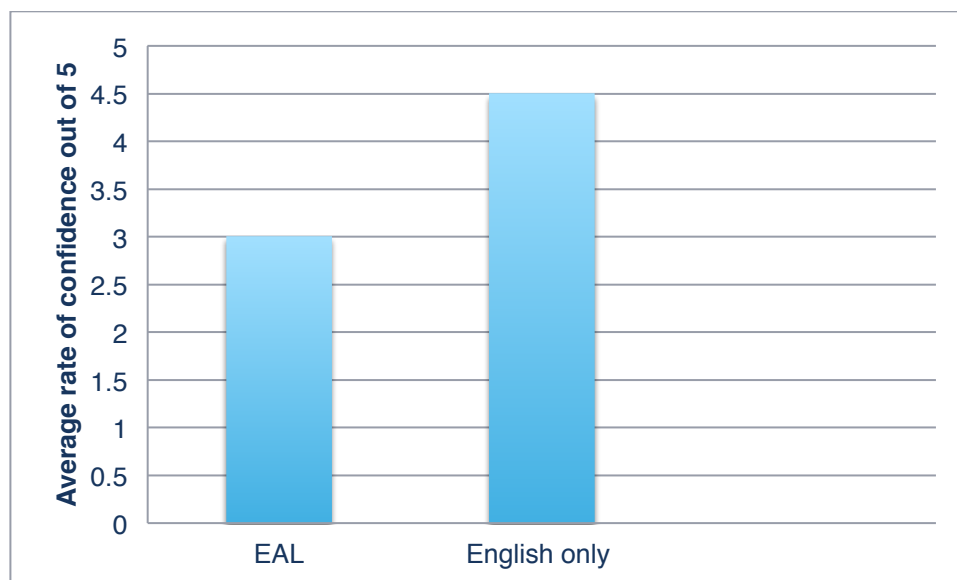


Figure 3 – Comparison of confidence level between EAL and non-EAL students

Clearly, those students for whom English was an additional language felt less confident about writing at university. However, in terms of which aspects of academic writing students were most concerned with, there was no discernable difference between students with different linguistic backgrounds. Essay construction ranked first, followed by paragraph construction, and then construction of an argument. This indicates that the new students in this sample were generally more concerned with aspects of academic literacy than English language proficiency.

Generation 1.5

Patterns of migration are of particular significance to this study. I was therefore interested to gauge the numbers of EAL students in the sample who might be considered Generation 1.5 in regards to

migration patterns. A total of 31 per cent of the EAL cohort surveyed were born overseas and migrated to Australia between Kindergarten (age five) and Year Nine (age 14). This means that just under a third of students for whom English was an additional language could be considered part of Generation 1.5, entering university as domestic students. Across the sample, the average age at migration was 13.7 years old. As such, many of these university students had experienced schooling in Australia before entering university. This size is significant – even more so given the lack of recognition in Australian HE of this cohort.

The students: A snapshot in numbers

In this final section, a snapshot is provided of the eleven Generation 1.5 students about whom the study is concerned. The two tables indicate demographic, linguistic, and educational backgrounds of the students. These tables, taken in conjunction with the vignettes that follow, provide a detailed backdrop against which the subsequent analyses and interpretations in the ensuing chapters can be read. The information is presented in order of age of arrival, beginning with Tien (age three) and ending with Zafiah (age 14).

Student	Country of birth	Home language	Age of arrival	No. of years of Australian schooling	L1 literacy (self –reported out of 5)	L2 literacy (self-reported out of 5)	Refugee background	Interrupted schooling
Tien	Indonesia	Vietnamese	3	12	0	5	Yes	No
Warda	Palestine	Arabic	6	10	3	4	No	Yes
Haajira	Saudi Arabia	Arabic	7	10	2.5	3.5	No	Yes
Talayeh	Iran	Farsi	11	7	1	3	No	Yes
Thanh	Vietnam	Vietnamese	11	5 + TAFE	2.5	3	No	No
Gabriel	South Sudan	Dinka	11	4 + TAFE	0	3.5	Yes	Yes
Mirwais	Afghanistan	Dari	12	6	2.5	4	Yes	Yes
Mya	Burma	Burmese, Mandarin	12	6	1	3	No	No
Daniel	Hong Kong	Cantonese	13	4.5	4.5	4	No	No
Rina	Iraq	Arabic	13	4.5	2.5	2.5	No	Yes
Zafiah	Iraq	Arabic	14	5	5	3.5	No	No

Table 1 - Background of Generation 1.5 students

Student	Age	Degree program	Pathway to university	SES ⁶	FIF	Fathers' highest educational attainment	Mothers' highest educational attainment
Tien	21	Bachelor of Arts (International Relations)	TAFE	M	Yes	Primary	Below Year 12
Warda	19	Bachelor Arts/Pathway to Teaching	School leaver	L	Yes	Year 12	Below Year 12
Haajira	21	Bachelor of Arts/ Pathway to Teaching	TAFE	L	Yes	Year 8	None
Talayeh	21	Bachelor of Arts	TAFE	M	Yes	Below Year 12	Below Year 12
Thanh	24	Bachelor of Business	TAFE	H	No	Primary	VET
Gabriel	20	Bachelor of Business	TAFE	M	Yes	None	None
Mirwais	18	Bachelor of Arts/Bachelor of Business	School leaver	L	Yes	None	None
Mya	18	Bachelor of Arts/Pathway to Teaching	School leaver	L	No	Tertiary	Bachelors degree
Daniel	18	Bachelor of Business	School leaver	H	No	Tertiary	Bachelors degree
Rina	19	Bachelor of Arts/Pathway to Teaching	School leaver	L	No	VET	VET
Zafiah	28	Bachelor of Arts	TAFE	L	Yes	Not known	Below Year 12

Table 2 - Selected demographic and enrolment details of Generation 1.5 students

⁶ SES - this designation as either H (high), M (middle) or L (low) is based on survey returns of parents' occupations and students' postcodes, and serves as a generational categorisation of SES only.

The students: A snapshot in narrative

Tien

Tien's parents, along with her older siblings, left Vietnam in the late 1980s. Tien was born in a refugee camp in Indonesia, where the family lived for three years before being resettled in Australia. She grew up in outer suburbia in a predominantly white Anglo-Celtic area and attended the local public primary school, followed by the local public secondary school. At home, she speaks Vietnamese with her parents as they speak little English, but she and her older sisters prefer to converse in English. Before enrolling in her Arts degree, Tien completed a Certificate in Social Work at a local Technical and Further Education institution (TAFE). Having lived in Australia since she was three, Tien says she feels no different to any other young Australian.

Warda

Warda was born in Palestine and came to Australia with her parents in 1999 at age six. After arriving, her mother went on to have four more children. Warda, as the eldest daughter, is involved in the raising of her younger siblings. Warda attended Saturday school to learn Arabic, although she feels she doesn't understand much of the Arabic she hears. At school, she always struggled with reading and writing, and it was not until secondary school, when she was placed in an ESL class, that she feels she gleaned some insights into what academic writing involves. Despite this, in her first year of a program that she hopes will result in her being a primary school teacher, Warda appears quite anxious about the challenge that university level reading and writing presents.

Haajira

Haajira's family experienced significant upheaval in the wake of the Gulf War before finally migrating to Australia. Between the ages of five and seven, Haajira moved between Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Iraq.

During this time, she did not attend school. Once in Australia, Haajira attended local schools, immersing herself in English and what she calls the 'Aussie' culture. Partway through secondary school, Haajira developed an interest in Arabic and Islam and began reading Arabic language newspapers and magazines. After school, she attended TAFE before deciding she wanted to be a teacher. We first met during her second semester at university. She is confident and determined to succeed.

Talayeh

As members of the minority faith Baha'i, Talayeh's family experienced persecution in their home country, Iran. After attending only 18 months of schooling there, the family left, spending 18 months in Turkey before migrating to Australia. At age 11, Talayeh's parents enrolled her in the local primary school. However, after experiencing bullying, she moved to another school. Talayeh feels she drifted through her school years, not connecting with fellow students, teachers, or parents. At university, she describes a similar disconnection and uncertainty about how to go about her studies. In contrast, her enthusiasm and direction is apparent, especially when she talks about her work in the Baha'i community and her efforts to help newly arrived migrants find their way.

Thanh

Estranged from his father, Thanh came to Australia with his mother from Vietnam when he was 11 years old. He went on to receive four years of ESL, including one year at an Intensive English Centre (IEC), but experienced emotional difficulties and left school in Year 10. Since that time, he has struggled to find his feet, enrolling in TAFE followed by university, but then withdrawing after failing his first semester. Over the years in Australia, he has consciously distanced himself from his Vietnamese heritage, language, and family. Now, supported and

encouraged by his middle class Australian homestay family, he has embarked on a second attempt at university. When we meet, it is evident that Thanh takes his study seriously, approaching his work with discipline and self-awareness.

Gabriel

Like countless other refugees from South Sudan, Gabriel arrived in Australia without his parents and with little in the way of a formal education. Thrown into the intense and immersive environment of an IEC, Gabriel was quickly overwhelmed by the challenge of learning English, becoming literate, and learning how to learn. By age 15, he had left school and was living independently and working in a sports store. After some time, he realised he wanted to further his education and enrolled in a local TAFE. Soon, he was studying for his Higher School Certificate (HSC) by day and doing language and numeracy classes by night. In this way, Gabriel gained entry into university to study business and commerce, although his ambition is to transfer to law. Like Thanh, Gabriel knows what it is to fail and so he approaches his study with diligence, maturity, and a will to succeed.

Mirwais

Mirwais is from a village in Southern Afghanistan, close to the main route linking Kabul to Kandahar. His family fled Afghanistan when he was about nine years old, spending three years in Pakistan while waiting for his father to arrange safe passage to Australia. In Afghanistan, a primary school education was beyond the family's reach. Most of Mirwais' formal education prior to coming to Australia took place in Pakistan, and thus in Urdu. At the same time, he attended language school three to four afternoons a week to study reading and writing in his first language, Dari. Upon arrival in Sydney, Mirwais was sent to a local primary school, where he spent the last three months of Year Six. After the long summer break, he was

enrolled in an IEC, where he rose to the challenge of learning English. He continued to thrive in secondary school and qualified for a double degree at Ward University. Despite having three older siblings, Mirwais is the first in his family to attend university. There are great expectations for his success.

Mya

Born in Burma, Mya spent her first five years there until being adopted by her aunt and uncle and moving to China. There she remained until the end of primary school. While Burmese is her first language, much of her formal schooling was in Mandarin, and even now, she and her sisters (cousins) prefer to use Mandarin to communicate. Secondary school in Australia was not easy for Mya. After one year in an IEC, she felt ill-prepared for mainstream school. Mya also doubts she was taught to read and write English properly and so now, in her first semester at university, she is anxious and confused. Adding to her discomfort, Mya feels the pressure to succeed from her well-educated family keenly.

Daniel

Daniel never wanted to come to Australia. He resents being made to leave Hong Kong and all his friends at age 13. While he picked up English very quickly at a secondary school in a well-to-do area and uses it effortlessly and with a strong command of teenage vernacular, he worries that English gets in the way of Cantonese, his first language. For Daniel, his business and commerce degree is a ticket back to Hong Kong. All he needs to do is simply pass his subjects and bide his time. When we meet, he is coasting, making minimal effort to study, preferring instead to spend his time using social media.

Rina

Rina migrated to Australia from Iraq when she was 14 years old. As she had an uncle living in regional NSW, her family initially lived outside of the metropolitan area. In this way, Rina found herself the only EAL student in a small town secondary school. She recalls her fear and confusion, wandering around the playground at lunchtime and sitting silently in the classroom with the alien sounds of English all around her. After a year or so, Rina's family moved to the city to an area with a high concentration of Iraqi migrants, and so she finished secondary school surrounded by many other Arabic speakers. Like Warda, Rina feels she never got a handle on reading and writing in either of her two languages. In fact, reading and writing are two activities she avoids. Despite this, she wants to become a teacher as she loves children. However, getting through university is proving a challenge.

Zafiah

Zafiah also came from Iraq when she was 14. Like Rina, her family settled in an area in which there is a large Iraqi community. This made the transition to Australian life and school much easier for Zafiah. In fact, Zafiah loved her time at the IEC. She also enjoyed high school, taking every opportunity to communicate in English, even when she had little command of the language. After school, Zafiah explored several career pathways, enrolling in different TAFE courses. She then went on to have a family. Now, at age 28 and with two primary school-aged children, she has enrolled in a Bachelor of Arts. She admits she is unsure why she is there. She says her husband and parents question the wisdom of her decision to take on a university education at the same time as raising a family. It seems they are right: despite only having a part-time study load, Zafiah is not able to keep up with the pace of learning and is falling further and further behind.

Conclusion

As is clear from the above snapshots, Generation 1.5 is indeed a heterogeneous group. Ranging from Tien, with no literacy and education in her first language, to Zafiah, who undertook majority of her education in Arabic, the only discernable rule is complexity. In this study of eleven Australian Generation 1.5 students and their experiences in a local university, the patterns that underpin much of what is assumed about Generation 1.5 (outlined in Chapter One) do not play out consistently. For example, two of the best writers, Tien and Gabriel, had no literacy in their first language, and other students, such as Zafiah, Rina, and Mya, who had the benefit of foundational education in literacy in their home languages, write comparatively poorly. The same inconsistency is present with the impact of other factors implicated in the patterns of language and educational attainment associated with Generation 1.5 students, such as age on arrival, learner pathway, ethnicity and SES.

Despite this, the absence of predictable patterns has not presented a problem for this research. As this chapter has argued, the goal in this project has not been to develop an explanatory framework for the educational trajectories of this group of 11 students. Instead, the goal has been to illuminate complexity. As such, I have described the decision to pursue an exploratory, descriptive, and interpretive approach that favours methodological pluralism, drawing on multiple sources of data and methods of analysis. The results of this analysis and interpretation, which is presented in the following four chapters, is a thick description of the linguistic lives of Generation 1.5. This is arranged around current educational practices, the impact of early language pedagogy, and family influences on the formation of dispositions towards learning, as well as the power of university pedagogy, policies, and discourses to enable or constrain these students' success in HE.

Chapter Four – From Cut and Paste to Hit and Miss: Writing in HE

This first of four empirical chapters focuses attention on the field of higher education. It begins with an examination of the 11 Generation 1.5 students' account of their own language and learning practices in the early stages of their university degree. In particular, this chapter investigates the processes of academic writing. This is complemented by a detailed linguistic analysis of some of the academic writing the students produced at this early stage, as practices tend to 'sediment' in texts (Pahl 2008, 193). While representing a snapshot in time, this discussion of the students' self-reported academic practices and their writing output nonetheless discloses traces of a collective habitus. In this way, this first empirical chapter begins to give shape to a set of dispositions captured by the notion of a Generation 1.5 habitus in terms of the possession of certain configurations of linguistic and cognitive capacities, as well as attitudes to university study. At the same time, this analysis also exposes differences across the group, as well as incongruences between reported practices and the actual writing of individuals. In this way, the multiplicities, complexities, and contradictions inherent in individual Generation 1.5 students' habitus become evident.

An examination of practice is central to Bourdieu's understanding of the social world, as practices are understood to reflect the interrelationship between habitus, capital, and field (Bourdieu 1990a). Therefore, the different practices emerging from a Generation 1.5 habitus as well as an individual habitus are impacted upon by the wider field of HE, in addition to particular conditions operating at the local field level. In other words, the practices examined in this chapter need to be seen as socially situated. Accordingly, this chapter's

analysis of the students' academic practices and writing is undertaken with reference to the expectations and values relating to student literacy operating in Australian HE broadly, but also at the particular institutional level. Indeed, when evaluating the students' academic writing, it is important to bear in mind that 'any linguistic observation records a discourse which is the product of the relationship between a linguistic competence and the particular market' (Bourdieu 1992, 72). However, this discourse is not necessarily consistent. In the latter part of this chapter, the expectation of the students to adhere to specific and narrow standards in HE, which are encapsulated in the notion of 'essayist literacy' (Lillis 2001), is contradicted in several instances by the results students obtained for their written work. The implications of such a contradiction between language/literacy standards and expectations on the one hand and individual student outcomes on the other is taken up further in Chapter Seven.

Taking the view 'that practices consist of both doings and sayings' (Warde 2004, 17), this chapter asserts that analysis should be concerned with both practice and its representation. That is, the 'talk around text' (Lillis 2001) is as important as the textual analysis itself. However, such an expanded view of the practices of Generation 1.5 students has not received much attention. Scholarship on the writing of this cohort has largely been restricted to the prism of error analysis. This may be due to the fact that practice is a slippery term, used routinely but often inadequately explained (Hagar, Lee, and Reich 2012). According to Warde (2004), Bourdieu uses the term to mean three things. First, practice is understood as an automatic, unconscious response, set in opposition to scientific reasoning, invoking the distinction between practice and theory. Second, Bourdieu uses practice simply to refer to the carrying out of some action: in other words, synonymous with performance. Lastly, practice is used in the sense of *praktik*, a coordinated, recognisable, and

institutionally supported practice, such as tennis. It is in this last sense that I use the term practice: to denote a type of routinised behaviour (here, reading and writing) that includes several interconnected elements of mental and physical activity, such as the mobilisation of background knowledge in the form of understanding, capacities, emotions, and ‘motivation (Reckwitz 2002).

‘I’m kind of stuck there’: The assignment preparation practices of Generation 1.5

The students interviewed were asked to describe the process they undertook when preparing a written assignment for university. In terms of the development of academic literacy, the first step more experienced students generally undertake when beginning to write an assignment is some form of task analysis, which requires identifying the topic, focus, and limits to any given university assignment.⁷

However, these students rarely described such a step. Only Gabriel and Thanh alluded to any kind of question analysis. For Gabriel, the Sudanese refugee undertaking a Bachelor of Business and Commerce, this involved seeking out assignment guidelines. He explained, ‘first, I sort of understand what is expected of me by reading and learning about it, and going through the criterion, just looking at tutorials and lectures notes to see how it’s like they give some acts of hints sometimes’. Thanh, also enrolled in a Bachelor of Business and Commerce, similarly alluded to a process of task analysis when he described planning his assignment:

So I started off with a plan, although not very well constructed because they asked us to write an essay, but it’s a two-question thing. And in question 1, there is two parts. In question 2, there are two

⁷ See a number of academic writing guides, such as *Teaching Academic Writing* (Paltridge et al. 2009), *Teaching Academic Writing: A Toolkit for Higher Education* (Coffin et al. 2003), and *English for Academic Purposes: An Advanced Resource Book* (Hyland 2006).

parts. So it's quite hard to put it all in one essay. And given there's only 700 words, that's just too much information to put in it. Here, it is evident that Thanh not only undertook a process of analysis and planning but also engaged in critical thinking about the expectations of the assignment. Gabriel and Thanh's approach to assignment writing emerges from their familiarity with university writing expectations. In Gabriel's case, he enrolled in an intensive two week pre-university preparation course which focused on academic literacy. While Thanh did not attend a pre-university program, he had already completed two subjects at university, one of which was an academic skills unit that gave students instruction and practice in the academic writing process.

Other students also appreciated the value of unpacking the requirements of a given assignment before beginning. However, this was not a process they necessarily felt able to undertake alone. For example, Rina drew on assistance from friends, indicating that 'I would like someone explain questions. I might ask my friends to make it simpler, the question make it simpler to understand'. Likewise, Mya, the Burmese student who spent her primary years in China, drew on guidance she had received from a high school teacher about how to prepare academic writing assignments, claiming that she planned her university essays because 'the teacher advises you to do a plan, so of course you have to do a plan. Just follow that'. But what constituted an essay plan for Mya was little more than highlighting parts of a recommended reading, suggesting that she had not fully grasped the purpose of the essay analysis and planning. Moreover, as will be shown later, Mya tended to take a surface-level approach to her studies, perhaps indicating that she had not yet acquired the cognitive habitus to support the higher order mental tasks that underpin much university study.

Zafiah, the mature-age student from Iraq who was studying part-time, also sought advice on the best way to approach the preparation of her university assignments. As with Mya, she was somewhat limited in her ability to make use of such advice. She described how,

At the beginning, I knew that there was a set of outlines to be read and to follow the sequence of the outlines. But it's still, when you look at it, it's way different than you involved in it. And then afterward, realise that, okay, you should've done that and you should've read that. So, that's what pretty much had happened so far with me.

Mya's unquestioning adherence to her secondary school teacher's advice and Zafiah's inability to apply similar advice is suggestive of the gap that sometimes exists between dispositions to believe and dispositions to act. These students were aware of what they should be doing in terms of approaching their written university tasks. However, the application of this knowledge is not always straight forward. For example, Zafiah was more comfortable and efficient reading in her home language than English. Despite living in Australia for seventeen years, she used Arabic almost exclusively in her daily life: she lived in an Arabic-speaking community, insisted on Arabic in her home (even though her children preferred English), and engaged with Arabic-only media (radio, television and internet sites). Not surprisingly then, Arabic was very much a part of Zafiah's academic practices. In explaining why she used Arabic to take notes, she said:

If I understand that thing and I wanna catch up so quickly on what the teacher's saying and I find it very difficult to write a word or I might misspell it and at the end if I go reread that I won't understand anything out of it because it's misspelled, straight away, I'll write it in Arabic. And when it comes to essays and preparing some articles and things, I do write it straightaway in English but I think in Arabic.

However, rather than being a resource, Zafiah perceived the dominance of Arabic as a hindrance:

I need to see it in translates instead of read it. If you would go over it a few times until it sinks and I understand what's going on. So, that takes time to do that, it *takes way, way long time* to sort of, you know [emphasis added]?

Many of the students, however, had limited knowledge of the expectations of university writing on which they could draw. When presented with a new assignment, these students sought out external guidance in the form of examples of similar text types available on the Internet. As Warda, a school-leaver from Palestine, explained:

I wouldn't know how to write straight from my head into a long response or a long essay. I have to look at stuff first... I would get examples from the Internet, put it all next to each other and I would look at the differences between them and then from that I can get ideas and put them all together. It's just that, I want an example of how to write or what like kind of information.

For Warda, there was an acute sense that the knowledge she had gained in life was somehow not valid in the university context. Legitimate knowledge did not come straight from her head but rather from external sources. The innate distrust Warda felt for her original ideas is therefore suggestive of a lack of confidence and feeling of legitimacy, notions I explore further in Chapter Six.

Having gained a general sense of textual conventions and expectations from the Internet, many of the Generation 1.5 students turned somewhat reluctantly to the prescribed or recommended readings to decide what to write. However, without having analysed the task or planned (even in the most rudimentary sense), this research stage became an often uncritical exercise in populating their assignments with, in Rina's words, 'stuff'. This grab for content manifested in a copy and paste 'harvesting' approach that Haajira, another Arabic speaking student, also engaged in: 'well, I highlight if it is reading, I'd highlight what's in there, and then I'd start writing, and then I'd look

at the reading and say, “Okay, this is the first point. *I should get it in.*” So, I *copy and paste* [emphasis added]. Rina described a similar process, saying, ‘you have to quote it [source material] and then reference it and go back and change stuff’.

For students like Haajira, Rina, and Warda, a heavy reliance on source material was a means of temporarily overcoming their fledgling confidence in their understanding of the expectations of university writing. Transferring chunks of text into their assignments then became a way of alleviating the anxiety of the blank page. This type of writing, very common among EAL students and known as ‘patchwriting’ (Pecorari 2008), is considered a transition phase in the development of students’ writing skills. While it may be associated with more limited academic English language proficiency, in particular, an absence of a broad and flexible vocabulary and sound syntactic knowledge, it is also considered a necessary step in the development of academic discourses. Haajira, Rina, and Warda’s copy and paste approach to writing then suggests a linguistic habitus in which academic discourse, including the more sophisticated grammatical competence required, had not yet been fully acquired. By acknowledging this ‘gap’, the point is not to suggest an inherent and immutable deficit in students like Rina but to highlight their current position on an educational trajectory. Not surprisingly, as novice academic writers and active English language learners, these students not only indicated on-going struggles with academic skills’ but also lacked confidence with academic English.

Moreover, the appropriate use of source material requires not only linguistic skills to be able to paraphrase, but also requires that students have sufficient comprehension skills to discern the meaning and relevance of ideas contained in the original text. This often necessitates inferential thinking (Yamada 2003). In the context of

academic literacy, identifying relevant points in an academic text requires a clear identification of the purpose and theme of the text as a whole, as well as more micro-skills such as evaluating how much text to take and where the most important points are most likely to be located. In other words, paraphrasing requires language skills as well as familiarity with the discourse elements of a text. However, in an indication of how Generation 1.5 students such as Rina may be still developing these necessary and specific academic capacities, simply identifying what parts of a text may be relevant to copy and paste can be problematic: in Rina's words, 'I went to the reading and then asked about which section I have to pick because I'm really bad at picking the right one... and then I took it and then I started putting the things in'. Rina's comment that she is 'really bad at picking the right one' suggests a further implication; here, it is clear that Rina identifies as someone who is not good at reading. Like Warda, this suggests an underlying self-doubt about her abilities and also legitimacy as a university student. These sentiments have the potential to undermine the students' perception of belonging in HE and may contribute to a sense of ambivalence associated with a Generation 1.5 habitus.

However, for Rina, the 'change stuff' approach to paraphrasing was not simply an intermediate strategy for managing the incorporation of scholarly literature into her assignments. Rather, the word-by-word 'change stuff' method constituted Rina's approach to composition in general, whether she was using her words or someone else's. She said, 'I always write in simpler way and then kind of using bigger words to make it academic'. This direct association of academic language with 'big words' reveals a still nascent understanding of the nature of academic discourse. It is clear, then, that by the time Rina reached university, she had not had sufficient exposure to or possibly instruction in the forms and methods of expression valued in academia. In other words, she had not yet developed a sophisticated

understanding of different discourses and the ability to move flexibly between them – or, in Bourdieu’s words, a practical sense of English.

In contrast, for Daniel, the middle-class boy from Hong Kong, the copy-paste approach seemed more to reflect his attitude to his studies rather than linguistic knowledge or aptitude. Unlike many of the others interviewed, Daniel appeared to be very familiar with the content of his introductory business law course, as he had studied a similar course in his final year of secondary school. Moreover, as part of a compulsory first year literacy skills-based course he was taking when we met, Daniel had attended lectures on reading, note-taking, and paraphrasing. Despite these advantages, when asked if he took notes from readings, he described the following process:

No actually. I just read some part of it, if it’s useful then I’ll apply it to... Like *copy the whole paragraph* to the answer the question. But when I finally I’ve got all the resources I need for that question, then I just cut out the words and put it in my own words and then just try to change the meaning of it and try to put all the resources, all the paragraphs into one single, meaningful paragraph [emphasis added].

Such a strategy is suggestive of an ambivalence towards his writing. Daniel’s practice also indicates the effect of feedback from the field. In secondary school, Daniel had done quite well in English, albeit the less-demanding ESL course. This result, achieved in part by engaging in writing practice similar to that described above, meant that Daniel felt no need to change practices that had served him well in the past. He said, ‘I know [they work] because I get high marks in my ESL class using reading and writing but oral was my weaker subject’.

The students’ approaches to paraphrasing and incorporating source material into their own texts described above, whether they were gleaned from the school context, taught as part of a pre-university preparation course, or intuited, nonetheless ignore the role of note-taking, which is a strategy commonly associated with more effective

student literacy practice (see footnote six). Indeed, only two students explicitly mentioned note taking in the context of their writing process, a finding that is echoed in other research into the actual reading practices of students (Reid, Kirkpatrick, and Mulligan 1998). According to Thanh, 'I went to do my research. I read up a lot of different articles and websites, and interviews about this person. Then I made notes of it'. Talayeh also made notes, but this was less of a conscious step in a well-defined writing process than a default action. As she explained, 'I guess like I read through everything once and try to get it for the first time. Then, second time, I go through and write the points I thought was important. And then, I'm kind of stuck there'. Talayeh's inability to move beyond the reading and note-taking stage to planning and composing her essay is a reminder that language skills alone are not sufficient to progress in HE. Instead, students need exposure to and guidance in writing the kinds of texts expected of them at university (White and Lowenthal 2011a, Lillis 2001).

However, as will be seen in the following chapter, a strong grounding in essayist literacy, including how to structure different academic texts, was an experience that few of the Generation 1.5 students had prior to commencing their university studies. For example, Thanh, with the benefit of four years of ESL instruction and a previous semester at university, was only able to articulate a basic understanding of academic text structure, describing his practice of writing the introduction to his essay as, 'I tried to put all the topic sentences that you're going to write in the other four sections in the introduction'. Other students had even less of an understanding. Talayeh admitted that, 'I think that like it confuses me more the way academic [writing] needs to be structured' and Haajira also said that she did not plan her essays, as she was unsure of how to structure them.

In the absence of any clear guidance about how to structure academic texts in English, Mya turned to her knowledge of writing in another language. As she explained, 'because I learnt Chinese, right. So they have that system to do essays. You have these introduction topics, something like that. You get that idea. Then you just put it in English'. Mya's practice highlights the complexity inherent in the experiences of Generation 1.5 students. Mandarin was not her first language but second (albeit the first language she became literate in). Furthermore, Mya's mediation through Mandarin was not a practice that was modeled at home, as Mya's Burmese parents communicated only in Burmese. It appears, then, that the instruction Mya received about writing in Mandarin was more useful to her in terms of structuring academic texts than any guidance she may have received as part of secondary school ESL or English study.

The final stage in the writing process that more experienced, accomplished, and organised writers purportedly undergo is drafting and redrafting. However, as with note-taking, very few Generation 1.5 students suggested they did this, giving little indication that they saw writing as a process. While Mirwais, Gabriel, and Tien talked about editing their work for spelling and grammatical errors, only Thanh prepared multiple drafts of the one piece of writing. Further suggestive of his diligence, Thanh arrived at our interview with a draft of an assignment, seeking feedback. In contrast, for the other students, there was a sense that it was enough of an achievement to submit work on time. After that point, they wanted little to do with it. As Rina explained, 'because I'm like really annoyed from the assignment, I just don't read it. I just want to finish it'. Mya too indicated her reluctance to edit her writing, claiming that she was:

Not confident with reading back again. Not confident that's the first thing. The second thing is I'm scared to look it back. If I have mistake

and stuff, I have to redo it. I'm the person if I find some little mistake I just rewrite.

Both these students' hit and miss techniques clearly implicate their ambivalence towards university study. Redrafting necessarily involves objectifying text so that it can be examined, changed, and added to: in other words, manipulated until it fits as closely as possible with what one wants to say. However, the discomfort that Rina and Mya expressed regarding their finished writing suggests that this objective perspective was unavailable to them, thwarting more detailed and conscientious engagement. Moreover, for Rina, the ongoing difficulty that writing presented was a cause of significant frustration and impatience. For Mya, writing was a risky undertaking with possible consequences she felt unable to face. Both Mya and Rina's experience here highlights the discomfort they perceived when using academic English, a discomfort that is characteristic many non-traditional students who have had limited exposure to academic discourse.

'I've read a couple of stories back in school': The role of reading and other educational practices

Beyond the narrow practice of academic writing, it is also useful to consider other literacy and language practices in which students may engage. Of most pertinence to a study of the patterns and outcomes of language and literacy acquisition is the role of reading. As outlined in Chapters One and Two, the facilitatory link between reading and academic outcomes has been well established, and yet research into Generation 1.5 writing has largely ignored the role of reading. It is not simply that the practice of reading is beneficial for writing. Reading and the associated practice of verbal engagement in literature have been shown to contribute to analytic and cognitive capacities as well as to social and cultural capital (Evans 2014, Cummins 2011, Guthrie 2004, De Graaf, De Graaf, and Kraaykamp 2000, Corson 1997, Crook

1997). As such, the notion of literacy engagement (Guthrie 2004) introduced in Chapter One, with its explicit inclusion of the social as well as cognitive aspects of reading, is a useful focus of analysis.

Mirroring the absence of note-taking, very few of the Generation 1.5 students were actively engaged in regular reading, either at university or prior to university. Only two of the 11 students interviewed could be considered to be 'literacy engaged'. For Mirwais, reading was a particular passion and a practice to which he attributed the development of his early English language skills. He explained:

Because of my interest in reading I picked up English most there. And I'm the type of person who talks a lot... I learned very quickly because I spoke a lot and I read a lot. Whenever I read something and I liked it, I usually talked about it with my friends and my teachers... so I tended to be in a lot of conversations and discussions in class and outside class, and I read a lot at home and wherever I had the chance.

Here, Mirwais' engagement with ideas contained within text is clearly evident. Significantly, in Guthrie's (2004) notion of being literacy engaged, this practice is not merely a solitary one but manifests as social interaction with friends and teachers. For Mirwais, his social engagement via text mediated his acquisition of English, with the dialogic nature of speech acting as a support for the development of the more monologic nature of writing.

Another characteristic of literacy engagement is the active pursuit of literacy activities and focused attention on reading strategies and language itself. Here Mirwais described just such a practice:

I'd stay after school just to read and write. One of my friends said that you shouldn't actually translate it into your own language, because it's much harder when you translate it back into English because some of the vocabularies in English does not even exist in Dari. So I try to stop doing that. What I did was before I tried to use English to Dari dictionary, but my friend for my birthday gave me an English to

English dictionary, a Macquarie dictionary. So when I started using the Macquarie dictionary, and I try to break words up and try to learn new words, I learned much faster.

This discipline and self-awareness, evident from the early stages of Mirwais' language and literacy learning in Australia, continued into his first year in HE, suggesting Mirwais was disposed to learn (Watkins and Noble 2013). In terms of reading for study purposes, Mirwais was the only student who not only claimed to complete his weekly tutorial readings but also revisited them. Despite this, as will be seen later, there is a discrepancy between these practices and Mirwais' proficiency with academic literacy as evidenced in his writing. This reveals the complexity and contradictions that inhere in the Generation 1.5 habitus at the level of the individual.

While Tien did not profess a particular passion for language and reading, she, like Mirwais, displayed signs of engaged reading. She kept up with her tutorial readings, as well as reading regularly outside of university. Her inclination was toward biography, stating that, 'I like to know about people from other countries. But, I read anything that interests me'. Tien's understanding of the value of reading, especially critical reading, is also apparent in her evaluation of her own readiness for university. She explains that, 'I guess, when you read something, like an article, trying to make up, trying to decide on an argument, I think that could've been taught more in high school'. This evaluation of academic literacy pedagogy at school shows a degree of reflexivity. Like Mirwais and Thanh, it is this reflexivity or meta-awareness that enables students to discern what they need to know and so to make the most of the teaching they receive, even if it is less than effective.

Gabriel too clearly recognised the value of reading. Like Tien, he had a preference for biography, and said he enjoyed reading about people like Nelson Mandela and Ayaan Hirsi Ali. However, it was apparent

that his comprehension skills were still developing when he explained, 'well, when I first read my first novel, it was like reading a maths textbook, but now it's sort of not a confident high level student, but I can comprehend pretty much what it's all about'. This is not surprising given the short period in which he has had access to the literate world. As he explained:

I started being able to read fluently in 2006, if I remember correctly... there was a time I was in the church youth group and we had to learn a Christmas song. This was approximately 2005, no 2004 something like that. And we were given the lyrics. I was given the paper and I couldn't really read the lyrics out and the youth group teacher, when she sort of read, I would sort of like follow along, but I was not able to independently pick up the words.

While he might have liked the idea of reading, Gabriel's relatively recent acquisition of literacy in any language as a result of severe social dislocation and delayed schooling meant he was still engaged in the act of simple comprehension - that is, understanding explicitly stated information in texts. However, successful study at university, particularly beyond the first year, requires students to interpret text by going outside it (Moore, Morton, and Price 2007). Therefore, despite wanting to be a keen reader, the incomplete formation of his cognitive habitus - in particular, language-based modes of conceptual thought - resulted in him not yet being able to derive all the possible cognitive, social, and cultural benefits from being literacy engaged.

Despite these examples, the majority of Generation 1.5 students were in no way engaged readers. Daniel and Thanh both reported reading their prescribed readings each week for their classes, but read very little outside of university. In addition, what they did read were not the types of text that would expose them to the vocabulary and structures common in academic writing and the kind they were in turn expected to produce. Daniel read daily for the purposes of participating in social media, explaining that, 'I stopped reading novels

after I finished high school because I don't have much good books to read, but yeah, just in casual forms of English, then yes, [I read] daily on Facebook'. Thanh also limited his reading to the daily (Australian) newspaper. Warda and Maya both indicated they enjoyed reading, but this pleasure seemed entirely in the abstract. There was no evidence, apart from reading the suggested tutorial texts, that they engaged in reading at all. For Warda, reading was an activity that occurred for a finite period in her past: she explained that, 'I've read a couple of stories back at school. Yeah, I used to love reading'. Mya too spoke only of reading as a hypothetical activity, suggesting that if she were to read for pleasure, she would read Chinese novels or Japanese anime. These choices reveal her level of comfort and confidence in English compared to other languages, and, like Gabriel, suggest that her ability to process and comprehend written text in English may still be developing as part of her cognitive and linguistic habitus.

Finally, Haajira, Zafiah, and Rina confessed to not deriving any pleasure from reading at all. Haajira, who was 'not a fan of reading' (in spite of the fact that she was enrolled in a Bachelor of Arts, majoring in English and went on to do a teaching degree), said she would never read a novel, but might pick up a magazine in Arabic or in English: 'just something light, and quick, and easy, just to flip through'. For Zafiah, whose experience of reading had been confined to her first language, Arabic, and for study or religious purposes only, felt that reading was 'too annoying and it takes too long to finish and sometimes when we open the book, we just sleep and we end up tired'. And so, despite being encouraged to read in both her languages during formal schooling, Zafiah did not.

Rina also had not developed a habit of reading in either Arabic or English and the notion of reading for pleasure seemed entirely novel to her. Rina explained that the reason she did not enjoy reading was

that she did not like 'theory and stuff'. This aversion more than likely reflects the fact that Rina has not yet acquired a vocabulary that includes more low frequency and academic terms, making comprehension a struggle. This was a difficulty Rina was only too aware of when she said, 'that's why I'm finding it so hard to read, especially the words that's used here [at university]. It's like really complex and really hard to understand'. However, Rina's reading problem placed her in somewhat of a conundrum. As these very lexical items are found in writing and not conversational contexts (Corson 1997), their acquisition is crucial for reading comprehension, particularly in the later stages of secondary school and into tertiary studies. Moreover, the way to acquire these low frequency words is through reading, which Rina and others like her avoided. Therefore, many of these Generation 1.5 students missed the cognitive and linguistic advantages afforded by the establishment of a durable habit of reading.

The pattern of engagement in literacy practice detailed here very much mirrors the patterns of other forms of academic or educational practice. For instance, the hours the students claimed they spent studying alone outside of university is revealing. Mirwais said he studied 35-45 hours per week suggesting not only diligence but perhaps also anxiety. Similarly, Mya, Gabriel, and Haajira also indicated that they spent a significant amount of time studying at home, ranging from 15-21 hours each week. Towards the other end of the spectrum, Thanh said he spent 10 hours per week studying, Tien only two, and Daniel did not specify how much. Warda, Rina, Zafiah, and Talayeh said they did not study at home at all.

A similar pattern emerges when it comes to accessing academic assistance. As detailed earlier, Gabriel attended a pre-university preparation course. He also made regular use of an online writing tool

provided by the business faculty. However, only Mya, Mirwais, and Zafiah attended any of the free academic support programs offered during semester. For Mya and Mirwais, this was a way of improving their academic writing. Mya was also one of only three students (the others being Haajira and Warda) to use the library. In Mya's case, her seeking out assistance may reflect a lack of confidence in her language ability mentioned earlier. In contrast, Zafiah attended one of two peer-facilitated study group study sessions, using them as a way of catching up if she had not done the tutorial readings. She explained:

I tried PASS [the peer study group] as well, but I noticed that PASS is pretty much, not helping with much more grammatically, it's where you sit as group, you express the idea and what I've done is I tried to grab the ideas and just quickly note them down, so at least I could catch up.

In Zafiah's case, then, participation in this academic support program demonstrated a strategic approach to her studies, using available resources as time saving measures.

The elephant in the room: Cognitive and linguistic habitus in the field of higher education

The self-reported practices analysed above give some indication of the levels of knowledge and awareness that Generation 1.5 students brought to their first year of university. These patterns of independent study and help-seeking, interpreted alongside the other practices already detailed, suggest that students such as Mirwais, Gabriel, Thanh, Mya, and Haajira took their studies seriously. However, as Nash (2005) argues, people can have a disposition to be academic without necessarily having the capacity to do so. For instance, Mya reported devoting hours to her studies each week, but without expert guidance, this effort alone would be unlikely to help her to adopt more effective writing strategies and acquire the linguistic habitus better aligned to academic work at the tertiary level. Such a discrepancy between belief

and desire on the one hand and practice on the other suggests a need to consider the role of current capacity in students' differential educational trajectories. However, as was argued earlier, such a discussion is rarely had in the context of the sociology of education for fear of evoking the accusation of deficit thinking (Nash 2005b). Yet to acknowledge that all students require fundamental tools - in this case, cognitive and linguistic - that allow them to activate and generate the skills that underpin academic study is merely to acknowledge a reality. Therefore, I argue that the orthodoxy around the notion of deficit discourse within the sociology of education needs to be countered.

Such a challenge to this orthodoxy does not imply an inherent deficit in the intelligence of students such as Rina. What such a challenge does point to is the impact of the socioeconomic and linguistic environments of many Generation 1.5 students' early years, as well as the reality that many settle in disadvantaged areas with under-resourced schools. As Nash's arguments for a realist sociology (2005, 2002b, 2001) and in particular, his concept of cognitive habitus (2005b, 2005a, 2003a) as well as work by Vygotsky (1962), Bernstein (1971) and Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) underline, early home socialisation significantly shapes not only language acquisition but also the development of reasoning and other mental processes. To deny this and the role that early environments have on differential educational attainment is to ignore the proverbial elephant in the room. Indeed, the notion that many students do not necessarily arrive at university with the requisite linguistic and critical skills adequately developed is clearly acknowledged through the existence of compulsory first year composition courses in the US university system and the more recent shift to academic support units in the British model universities. However, for Generation 1.5 students such as Rina,

gaps are exacerbated by a layering of linguistic, socioeconomic and biographic constraints.

In the field of HE, a narrow range of critical capacities and linguistic skills constitute the valued and legitimate forms of capital, sometimes referred to as academic capital. This institutionalised form of cultural capital stems from a disposition to be academic and, crucially, access to a suite of related academic skills and competencies (Bourdieu 1996). Academic capital manifests as the capacity to demonstrate comprehension, analysis, synthesis, application, criticism, interpretation, argumentation, and so on. While the work of Canagarajah (2002), Gee (1996), Street (1984) and others highlights the arbitrariness of the association of these features with legitimate language, the fact remains that students are largely judged, via their production of academic writing, by the degree to which they adhere to a narrowly conceived standard.

Academic writing itself requires a habitus which engenders a 'practical sense' of the valued ways of communicating in academia – that is, discourse or sociolinguistic knowledge. This is indeed vital when the discourses of university are highly specialised. In the context of academia, this translates to a facility with the conventions of academic writing in general, including nominalisation, abstractions, the appropriate use of formal register, and referencing conventions, as well as discipline-specific conventions, vocabulary, and genres. While the aforementioned sociolinguistic aspects of a linguistic habitus are obviously valued and indeed expected in HE, it is hard to see how these could be demonstrated in the target language without having a solid foundation in the more mechanical aspects of that language. Therefore, beyond knowledge of discourse and register, a linguistic habitus well-aligned to university study includes a sound knowledge of and competence in the 'nuts and bolts' of the language of instruction:

in other words, English language proficiency. The development of this grammatical competence as part of a linguistic habitus is not only particularly salient for Generation 1.5 students – all of whom continue in the active process of learning English – but for the same reasons, cannot be assumed to have taken place prior to arrival at university.

Yet this is often the expectation in HE, as is evidenced by the ‘literacy minimum standard’ (see Table 3 below) stipulated for all level one units (first year) within the Bachelor of Arts at Ward University, communicated to students and teaching staff alike in the unit guidelines. The expectations of first year student academic writing is made clear in the following summary of the standard:

At this level, your written expression should be clear, concise and direct, free of major structural and presentational faults and, most importantly, not require any ‘deciphering’ on the part of the reader. That is, it can be read and understood on a first read through and that it has ‘flow’.

Literacy Minimum Standard – Level 1	
Formal writing requirements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Complete sentences, typically with Subject Verb Object order. • Avoidance of minor sentences, sentence fragments and run-ons. • Conciseness, coherence and cohesion. • Grammatical agreement and consistency including the correct use of tense, syntax, word class and lexical choices. • Correct and consistent spelling and punctuation. • Correct and consistent use of terminology relating to the unit that the student is writing for. • Correct use of phrases, clauses and conjunctions. • Consistency in the register appropriate for the unit that the student is writing for. • Correct use of cohesive devices linking sentences and paragraphs: including topic sentences and thesis statements. • Use of formal structure: including introduction and conclusion. • Integrated use of quoted and paraphrased material: including meta-commentary and linking phrases.

Academic Conventions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A degree of integrated use of source material (quotes, paraphrases etc.) • A reasonably accurate and consistent use of a recognised referencing system
-----------------------------	---

Table 3 Minimum literacy standards applying to the Bachelor of Arts program, Ward University

This standard provides a detailed account of the language at both the sentence and text level that is deemed acceptable for students undertaking level one units. The degree of transparency is laudable given the propensity of such standards to remain hidden (White and Lowenthal 2011b). Moreover, while a single focus on grammatical features in academic writing is criticised in academic and critical literacies scholarship (Lea and Street 1998, Canagarajah 2002), the attention paid to grammar in the above criteria appears consistent with the stated aim to have students produce writing that requires little if any ‘deciphering’. In fact, while an obsession with surface-level grammatical errors such as the common absent ‘s’ in the third person singular is certainly misplaced, I argue the requirement of syntactic accuracy is not. Blurred clause and sentence boundaries can and do impede meaning. In this respect, the ability of a student to demonstrate their understanding of content and to sustain an academic argument may be severely undermined by issues at the sentence level.

However, what pedagogic value the above minimum literacy standard might have had is significantly undermined by an inconsistent use of metalanguage, drawing on a mixture of terms from traditional grammar, systemic functional linguistics, composition studies, and rhetoric. Furthermore, the term ‘cohesive device’ is ambiguous as it covers a wide range of grammatical structures. Indeed, the use of grammatical metalanguage such as ‘cohesive devices’, ‘run-on sentences’ and ‘lexical choices’ assume that this language is widely understood by staff and students alike. But, the specialist nature of

the terminology suggests that this assumption is unwarranted. Finally, the requirements themselves are incorrect and inconsistent in their use of punctuation, prominently featuring stranded prepositions, and include opaque phrases such ‘a degree of integrated use of source materials’. Finally, and most problematically is the fact that the standard appeared to exist in the abstract, with little evidence of it being applied to the actual written work of students, as will be discussed next.

In 2012, these standards notionally applied to all the Generation 1.5 students except Daniel, Thanh, and Gabriel, who were not enrolled in the Bachelor of Arts program. However, even these students would have been subject to similar standards, as such expectations for accurate, formal English that follow the conventions of academic language exist across HE in Australia and elsewhere, albeit often unspoken (Lillis 2001, Lillis and Turner 2001). This decision may reflect a tension between the autonomy of the institution to set and uphold what it sees as educational standards and heteronomous change in the form of shifts in admission practices: practices that see increasing numbers of non-traditional students entering the university, many of whom, like Rina, may be underprepared for the language and literacy expectations of HE.

Fit for purpose?

Following the examination of the measure of legitimate language operating at the local field level, the second half of this chapter presents a portrait of the Generation 1.5 students’ linguistic and critical capacities at an early stage of their university studies via a detailed analysis of their academic writing. As was outlined in Chapter Three, the linguistic analysis of student texts was designed to take into account both macro (textual) and micro (grammatical) aspects of student writing, arguing that not only are both expected by the

institution (see previous discussion of the literacy minimum standard) but also that these are intimately related competencies, a point which academic literacies scholarship tends to overshadow with its chief concerns of investigating how students come to acquire the knowledge and attributes that enable academic success. However, when institutions and the market more broadly explicitly judges students on sentence level competencies, then an Academic Literacies approach requires an acknowledgement of these surface-level capabilities. As such, the following analyses consider four dimensions of text that span both issues of language proficiency and academic discourse: *overall linguistic accuracy*, taking into account the number and type of grammatical errors made; *vocabulary*, analysing range, flexibility, accuracy, and appropriateness of vocabulary, as well as how it is being used to convey ideas, create academic register, and engage in a disciplinary domain; *syntax*, looking broadly at types of sentences and how effectively and accurately they are formed through clause-combining, as well as the ability to use more complex syntax; and *discourse management* (or text structure and argumentation), examining the effectiveness of structure in terms of the logical presentation of ideas and appropriateness in terms of adherence to conventions of academic genre. This final criterion also includes the ability to make, support, and sustain an argument throughout the text. Beyond these four criteria, the analyses of the student texts should also be read in the context of the literacy minimum standard outlined above: chiefly, the degree to which each text requires ‘deciphering’.

In viewing text as an instantiation of practice and therefore the culmination of a complex interaction between habitus, capital, and field, it is important to underscore that the samples of writing analysed below represent a single snapshot in time. However, language and literacy are developmental in nature, and habitus, as an activator of capital, is not fixed; indeed, habitus has the potential to be

transformed and practices adjusted to better meet the conditions of a given field. Therefore, each student's level of writing captured here in the early stages of their degrees does not necessarily reflect the level many of the students may have gone on to achieve during their studies. Despite this, it provides an initial indicator of their English language proficiency and academic English on their commencement of HE.

It is also worth noting the difficulty of judging linguistic proficiency across different texts. The students' writing tasks were of varying levels of difficulty, undertaken in different disciplines, composed at different stages of the first year, and under various conditions. For Rina, Warda, Zafiah, and Talayeh, the texts analysed were their first attempt at writing at university. For the other Generation 1.5 students, the texts came from later in their first semester or, in the case of Thanh and Haajira, from their second semester. The texts are also different in other ways. Rina, Warda, Mya, Talayeh, Mirwais, and Tien's texts were all essays completed as part of the assessment for a core first year unit within the Bachelor of Arts program. However, despite being part of the written assessment from the same subject, the topics of these students' essays were wildly varying. This is because tutors were allowed to set their own topics. In effect then, within the same subject, Mirwais was obliged to tackle a critique of the Australian middle class using Frantz Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth* while Rina was required to analyse popular culture through the film *Bend it Like Beckham*. Furthermore, Warda's text was composed in class time under timed conditions, whereas the others' texts were written outside of class and over a longer period.

Haajira and Zafiah's texts both came from a different subject to the others above. Their texts were part of the assessment for a core history unit within the Bachelor of Arts degree. However, again, these

texts were different. Zafiah's was the first assessment – a critical review of a chapter of a textbook – while Haajira's text was a final expository essay evaluating the relationship between Australia and her allies. Finally, Gabriel, Thanh, and Daniel's texts were different again. Unlike the essays by the other Generation 1.5 students, these three texts were business letters submitted for the same assessment within the same business law subject. Table 4 summarises the tasks and the conditions under which they were written as well as the mark awarded each student for that text. The complete student texts also are reproduced in Appendix E.

The following analyses of the writing of the Generation 1.5 students is presented in three groups, designating differing levels of capacity with both English language and academic literacy. The linguistic analysis also makes links to the students' practice already discussed. However, as I have indicated, practice and capacities do not always align, with some students making great efforts for small results and conversely, some making little effort with more favourable results. The complicating role of field in these incongruences is discussed later.

Limited Proficiency: Rina, Warda, Zafiah, & Mya

As with the complexity that characterises the group Generation 1.5, these students had varied backgrounds and educational experiences. While three had Arabic as a home language, they arrived in Australia at different ages, with Warda beginning a local school at age six compared to Zafiah and Rina, who began at age 14. Mya's experience was different again, having lived her first five years in Myanmar before migrating to China. The writing tasks the students in this group completed required them to summarise, analyse, incorporate source material, and arrange their ideas and text logically. While these students all had some sense of what the tasks required of them, they appeared to have limited ability to apply this knowledge to their actual

writing. However, the main issue is that Rina, Warda, Mya, and Zafiah's English language skills, particularly reading, simply did not enable them to fulfill the requirements of the writing task even at the most rudimentary level. As a consequence, all four students struggled to maintain coherence throughout their texts.

Grammatical accuracy

Overall, the level of accuracy of the writing was very low, with few, if any, sentences being error-free. The types of errors made included those associated with second language writing, such as tense, subject-verb agreement (typically with third person plural verbal inflections), prepositional phrases, and frequent errors in spelling and punctuation (Silva 1993). While these surface-level errors do not necessarily impede meaning, issues with tense formation and most noticeably, appropriate tense selection do compromise intelligibility as this extract from Mya's assignment below shows:

B. Bettelheim perspective regarding to 'Little cap and the Pubertal Girl, where he stated 'it is fatal for the young girl if this older women abdicates their own attractiveness to males and transfer it to the daughter by giving her a too attractive red cloak'. (P. 176-177).

Bettelheim version of little cap, is more extensively compare to other version of 'Little Red Riding Hood', he had consider that red cloak is symbolism of attraction. Evidently, Bettelheim stated 'The red velvet cap given by grand-mother to Little Red Cao thus can be viewed as a symbol of premature transfer of sexual attractiveness (P. 176).' Form Bettelheim perspective he suggest that not red cap is little, also is a girl.

Such problems in the selection and formation of tense, combined with the structural and syntactic errors discussed below, produced consistent breaks in the coherence of these students' texts, causing considerable strain on the reader and rendering them almost indecipherable.

Vocabulary

Rina, Warda, and Zafiah's texts were significant in their use of imprecise and overly general vocabulary. Very few words in their essays were those low frequency items characteristic of academic texts (Coxhead 2000). Furthermore, frequent repetition indicated a somewhat limited and inflexible vocabulary. For example, in the extract below, Rina uses the verb 'shows' five times in one paragraph:

The text *shows* culture change when the main actor Jess, Tried to sneak out to play soccer and she hired her sport cloths outside and snake out to play in the local women's league with Jules her friend that convinced her to join the team, That *shows* the change of cultures according to India people, women do not play soccer and it was *shown* that it is not appropriate in the Punjabi culture to do so. This *shows* that even though Jess family are not living in an India's country but they still do and behave like living in India that *shows* culture change and not been able to belong to the new society [emphasis added].

Rina's limited vocabulary was also evident in the use of the phrases 'according to India people' and 'living in an India's country' above. Such circumlocutions indicate inflexibility in vocabulary, meaning that students need to use several words to achieve the meaning of a single item. For Zafiah and Warda, limitations in their vocabulary most often manifested as word class errors. Lacking a sufficient understanding of morphology, Zafiah's text contained infelicities such as 'to the extend', 'a woman-centered approached to public life', and 'woman lives were so heavily restricted by masculine'. Warda also made similar mistakes with high frequency words such as 'aware', 'beliefs', and 'lives' being confused for 'awareness', 'believes', and 'lives'.

Other vocabulary errors may reflect the influence of the oral language-learning pathway suggested by the ear learner theory outlined in Chapter One. Warda's use of homophones in the wrong context (such as 'the fact *where* living in a culture...' and 'due to *been* a mixed culture') suggest the dominance of phonetic over lexical awareness.

Rina's essay also had many errors in high frequency vocabulary: 'hired' instead of hid, 'cloth' instead of clothes, and 'snake' instead of sneak. As with Warda, these types of errors may indicate not just the influence of oral language, but also these students' lack of experience with writing, particularly academic writing. For both Rina and Warda, this lack of experience led to a pronounced anxiety surrounding vocabulary and the sense that academic writing required the use of complex, obscure words that were beyond their reach. As Warda explained, 'I'm not that good in writing, like I wouldn't know how to use like formal words or hard words, big words that you usually use in essays and stuff. Yeah, that's where I have trouble'. Mya was also aware that her limited vocabulary restricted her ability to express herself, claiming that as 'ESL students, when we express our self we couldn't find standard word phrase to replace our thought and thinking therefore it's show our poor expression'.

However, unlike Warda, Rina and Zafiah, Mya's essay contained many instances of academic vocabulary, as well as discipline-specific terms such as 'evidently', 'juxtapose', 'metaphorically', and 'academic textualisation'. The presence of such terms lends Mya's text a situational relevance (Enkvist 1990) that the other student texts in this group do not have. This vocabulary also indicates Mya's conscious effort to acquire not only academic vocabulary but specific lexis from her discipline - in this case, English literature. Drawing on Bakhtin's (1981) notion of language use being an appropriation of others' words, Mya's use of academic vocabulary language learning is a process in which learners 'try on other people's utterances; they take words from other people's mouths; they appropriate these utterances and gradually (but not without conflict) these utterances come to serve their needs and relay their meaning' (Toohey 2000, 13). However, while these words are often appropriate to the context, there are many instances where they are not. An example is Mya's problematic use of

reporting verbs as in ‘Saintyves critics that...’, and ‘P. Saintyves quoted that...’ which suggest that Mya was attempting to appropriate academic register before she possessed the capacity in English to support it.

Syntax

More significant than word choice and morphological errors is syntax. This issue proved the greatest impediment to coherence for all the students in this group, with sentence boundaries and therefore units of meaning frequently blurred. In Mya’s case, there was only one sentence in her essay that was syntactically correct, and it is highly likely that it was plagiarised. Rina, Warda, and Zafiah displayed a ‘psychological resistance’ (Shaughnessy 1977, 18) to the full stop, as Zafiah’s introductory paragraph below demonstrates:

Holland’s chapter reviews some of the issues that had happened which are at the centre of debate about Australia’s future, Identity, Belonging, Nationhood, Social Rights, Multiculturalism, Racial Tolerance, Indigenous Right, Feminism and Citizenship Value, these are the subject of her debate, how they were dealt with or how it could be dealt with differently yet what did the government do about these issues also how long it took them to get these issues to be solved and are they solved yet or not?

The task of beginning is difficult for an inexperienced writer, and so developing writers may prefer the use of a comma to a full stop, allowing them to string together clause after clause to form seemingly endless sentences (Shaughnessy 1977). Certainly, Rina, Zafiah, and Warda’s texts included many extended sentences: half of Rina’s paragraphs consisted of one long sentence with one paragraph comprising fourteen separate clauses; two out of five of Zafiah’s paragraphs consisted of one sentence only, and four out of Warda’s nine paragraphs consisted of one sentence. Such long and loose sentences could also be a function of the influence of the first language that these three students share. In Arabic, the use of commas

and full stops is 'much freer' (Swan and Smith 1987), resulting in English sentences that are frequently joined by commas and the conjunction 'and'. However, as was discussed earlier in the chapter, only Zafiah mediated her academic writing through her home language, Arabic.

What is more likely is that the syntactic errors made by these students are the result of faulty punctuation. Comma splices (the joining of two sentences with a comma), run-on sentences (containing no internal punctuation at all), and fragments (incomplete sentences) were very common in the writing of these Generation 1.5 students. As was seen with morphological and lexical errors, punctuation errors are not only the result of inconsistent language acquisition and inexperience with writing, but also a function of poor educational experiences. If, as a result of gaps in education, students do not have a familiarity and sense of a sentence, whether in English or in any language as a grammatical unit, then punctuation becomes almost arbitrary.

Furthermore, speaking does not require such awareness: it is full of redundancies, repetition and loose sequencing fragments (Halliday 2004, Kress 2003, Finnegan 2003). As proficient oral communicators, it is not that these students had no competence with sentences, but that writing requires a specific understanding and different grammatical structures (Halliday 2004). Given these Generation 1.5 students primarily learned English through speaking and listening and did not participate in regular English literacy practices, it is not surprising that punctuation is problematic.

Another way in which problems with syntax were revealed is through the students' attempts to paraphrase. As argued earlier in the chapter, the ability to paraphrase calls on multiple linguistic resources, including syntax. The burden on a fragile control of syntax increases when students are required to incorporate paraphrases into their own

sentences through indirect citations. The situation was made worse by the cut and paste practices upon these students relied. The result is plagiarism, as can be seen in the comparison of Warda's own text below, and the textbook extract which follows it. For ease of comparison, the parts of Warda's text that are plagiarised appear in italics:

To counter our tendency, to use our own culture as a standard relativism is that, this would mean looking at how a cultural relativism is that we can try to understand a culture on its own terms. This could mean looking at how the elements of that culture would fit together without judging those elements as superior or inferior to our own way of life.

To counter our tendency to use our own culture as the standard by which we judge other cultures, we can practice cultural relativism; that is, we can try to understand a culture on its own terms. This means looking at how the elements of a culture fit together, without judging those elements as superior or inferior to our own way of life (Henslin 2011).

As can be seen above, Warda's attempt to paraphrase (however inadequate) resulted in syntactic breakdowns. She was unable to manipulate clauses and punctuation to allow her to alter the structure of the original without losing coherence. Similarly, Mya's fragile syntax was revealed through her use of direct quotations. Mya's use of 45 per cent quoted material in her essay meant that she was frequently challenged by the task of incorporating others' syntax into her own sentences, as this extract demonstrates:

J. Zipes perspective towards 'Little Red Riding Hood: as Male Creation' (P.122-124), Zipes quoted 'Perrault's audience still identified the wolf with the bloody werewolf, the devil, insatiable lust, and chaotic nature'... (P. 122), It's indicate that wolf is figuratively to devil, or man, while standing form the wolf's point of view, Zipes Position

prove that fairy tales are no longer important, the reality of sexist perhaps in dept corruption of our society is most significant. As is clear from the above writing, Mya's limited English language proficiency was unable to support the task of academic writing, especially when that task necessitated the incorporation of complex ideas and grammar into her own text.

Discourse management (text structure and argument)

Despite claiming that they did not know how to structure an essay in English, Rina, Warda, Zafiah, and Mya's texts all had elements of recognisable academic essay structure, with introductions and conclusions being the best managed stages. However, the introductions rarely moved beyond announcing a topic and hinting at an outline, and the conclusions were typically very brief, with little or no summary or reiteration of the main ideas of the essay. Similarly, the body paragraphs suffered from distinct underdevelopment in the case of Rina and Zafiah, and disunity in the case of Mya and Warda, with far too many ideas crowding the paragraph and leaving the reader confused. This type of writing, while clearly related to an inadequate understanding of the conventions of academic essay writing, can also be attributed to these students' practices. As was shown earlier in the chapter, these four students did not engage in any explicit planning or essay outlining, preferring to begin their writing by copying and pasting what they deemed to be relevant sections of readings into their own document.

On the whole, the structure of the body paragraphs was problematic. Mya's body paragraphs were recognisable by formatting only. While some attempt at topic sentences was discernable, Mya did not succeed in any instance. The subsequent sentences attempted to deal with one issue raised in the topic sentence, but with such significant breakdowns in syntax and morphology and the amount of

disconnected quoted material, the body paragraphs lacked not only structure but also coherence. Rina, on the other hand, was not only aware of the need for hierarchical paragraph structure but also managed to execute it in one paragraph of her essay. She explained, 'you have to put the main points and then explain and then examples,' but went on to confess that 'sometimes, I just get confused when I'm putting the information in.' Like Mya, however, her faulty syntax obscured what might otherwise have been a logical relationship between the controlling idea and the supporting statements. So, while in many cases the impact of local mismanagement can be ameliorated through an adherence to logical and conventional text organisation (Enkvist 1990, Swales 1990), the extensive syntactic and morphological problems that Rina, Warda, Zafiah, and Mya experienced make this very unlikely.

Beyond structure, the principle problem of these students' texts was that they said very little. There was a distinct lack of elaboration, explanation, and exemplification. Furthermore, what points were made were often repeated, creating a circular rhetorical style. This is despite the fact that all four students recognised the central role of argument in academic writing. Mya indicated that 'the core unit is about your perspective and how you view the theories or whatever. How do they come up with that idea? How do you explain it... you have to analyse the perspective of the writer'. Also, Rina seemed aware of the need to argue, telling me that 'they [lecturers] wanna see us how we argue. They wanna know if we can argue and which side it is'. Zafiah similarly picked up on the need to summarise and then to take a stance, explaining that 'you just give it in your own words and you just give me your argument if you agree or disagree with that'. And Warda too acknowledged the need to argue, stating, 'I've learned that the first paragraph that you write is you write about the introduction, about

the question and that's when you start arguing, but then I don't know what comes next'.

However, with all of these inexperienced academic writers, knowing what constitutes an argument is a long way from being able to construct and sustain one. None of the students moved beyond description to argument or critique. There was no synthesis of ideas or formulation of a unique position in answer to the question. This can be seen in the following paragraph taken from Zafiah's critical review:

Feminism on the other hand is the other issue, the role and equal right of woman was important and provides a woman-centered approached to public life. Woman lives were so heavily restricted by masculine they suffered a high level of physical abuse, neglect, drunkenness, discrimination and no legal rights at all.

As is evident, the above paragraph contains a summary only (and quite possibly misconstrued). There was no development of an argument or indication of how Zafiah saw this issue relating to the debate about the future of Australian society. This example is mirrored in the writing of Mya, Warda, and Rina. These students lacked sufficient command of English to write at the level expected of them at university or even secondary school. Their proficiency in grammar, vocabulary, syntax, and discourse worked against academic expression of a sophisticated or complex nature. Moreover, while they had familiarity with some of the conventions of academic writing, this knowledge remained in the abstract and, on the whole, these students were unable to convert this information into practice. At this point, they had yet to acquire the linguistic and cognitive habitus necessary to undertake university study.

Developing proficiency: Mirwais, Haajira, Talayeh, & Daniel

As with those considered as having very limited proficiency, the students in this second group had varied linguistic, educational, and sociocultural backgrounds. Haajira completed all of her schooling in NSW while Daniel completed all of his primary schooling in his home country, Hong Kong. Mirwais studied at an IEC but the others had very limited ESL within their individual NSW schools. Moreover, this group comprises students like Mirwais, who had developed some aspects of effective academic practice, as well as Talayeh and Daniel, who had not. However, despite this variability, this group can be characterised by the students' more advanced English language skills, which supported their developing argumentation and more effective textual organisation. Moreover, the inaccuracies in their texts are more often the result of the use of complex structures such as embedding. While these Generation 1.5 students still did not have full linguistic control over these forms, the mere attempt of such structures sets them apart from the students in the first group, indicating a linguistic and cognitive habitus that was relatively better aligned to the requirements of academic endeavour.

Grammatical accuracy

Overall, the writing of this group is more accurate than the writing of Rina, Zafiah, Warda, and Mya. In terms of verbs, Haajira, Daniel, and (to a lesser extent) Mirwais did make some errors in terms of selection and formation of tense, but these most often involved problems accurately inflecting past participles or auxiliary verbs. These same students, especially Daniel, had minor issues with subject-verb agreement, again with errors in third person singular formation. Talayeh managed both tense and agreement well, moving between past perfect and present perfect when necessary. However, some non-standard phrasing occurred, as well as idiosyncratic collocation. She

attributed these to her multilingual home environment. For the preceding three years, she had been living with newly arrived migrants, necessitating her learning the basics of and communicating in several different languages. As she explained:

Yeah, but like I'm with friends who are new migrants. So, it's very basic, like I've tried to even learn their languages, too. Yeah. So, I try to like understand, try to speak like that so they could understand as well. So yeah, like that's been happening for the past three years, and I feel like that's also affected my English.

As with the interference of Arabic in Zafiah's composition practices, Talayeh's perceived her focus on other languages as an impediment to her progress in academic English.

Vocabulary

The texts in this group are noteworthy for their use of low frequency and academic lexis with overall precision and accuracy. In particular, Haajira's academic lexis was evident in her range of verbs:

'acknowledge', 'determine', 'impact', 'dominate', 'sustain', 'jolted', 'advanced', 'wedged', 'constrained', 'invoked', 'endeavour', 'conducted', and 'exposed'. This level of vocabulary suggests a conscious effort on Haajira's part, especially given anxiety about limitations in her vocabulary, explaining that 'I'm caught back by the way I express or I don't know the perfect English word. Like instead of going on like one paragraph of describing the whole thing, there were words that could just describe it in one'. Haajira's varied vocabulary stands in contrast to Rina's overreliance on the verb 'to show'.

Mirwais and Talayeh also displayed a wider vocabulary when they used more generic academic lexis such as 'exemplified', 'metaphorically', and 'reliant' (Mirwais) and 'pervades', 'to disclose', 'perturbed', 'ambiguous', and 'precipitously' (Talayeh). Daniel, while less impressive, also used language appropriate to the legal and business

domain of his course, such as ‘valid’, ‘entitlement’, ‘compliance’, and ‘dismissal’. But in a sign that these Generation 1.5 students were still developing English as well as academic language capacities, there were instances of inflexibility, with Haajira using the verb ‘decreased’ five times throughout her essay with only one instance of substitution of the synonym ‘reduced’. Similarly, Mirwais made repeated use of ‘fail/failing’ when many synonyms exist, and Daniel produced the clumsy sentence ‘we want to put the contract with a contractor “on hold”’. As with Rina, Warda, Mya, and Zafiah in group one, this second group also made morphological errors, such as Haajira’s ‘a protector was a need’, Mirwais’ ‘intellect laziness’, and Daniel’s ‘complains’ rather than ‘complaint’. However, unlike the first group, these errors were few and generally did not impede meaning.

Despite the inclusion of the discipline-specific vocabulary noted above, Daniel produced the only text in the whole sample that did not achieve an appropriate academic register. Daniel’s use of phrases such as ‘a big hello’ and ‘I am here to represent’ in the introductory sentence of his business letter created a distinctly spoken register. Similarly, his choice of informal lexis such as ‘right now’ instead of ‘currently’, and ‘My employer Tony’ instead of using the employer’s title and family name seem to reflect not only Daniel’s lackadaisical attitude to his studies (such as not proofreading) but also his views on academic language. In answer to the question about what he understood by the term ‘academic English’, Daniel responded, ‘school’s English’. He went on to explain that:

you don’t need to use formal language that much because like sometimes like unless you need to write formal letter. In other cases, like essays and assignments, casual language can help but you don’t need too much formal language in it.

This suggests that Daniel had a limited understanding of the role of formal language. This can in part be attributed to his own literacy

practices and contexts, using English predominantly to communicate with friends (via social media) and watching large amounts of television – in particular, American animated sitcoms such as *The Simpsons*.

Syntax

Where the first group had significant problems managing clause combination and sentence boundaries, this group had a much firmer grasp of syntax. Furthermore, as indicated before, errors occurred most often as a result of attempting to convey more complex ideas using comparison, elaboration, causality, conditionality, and temporality. Where errors did occur, it was most often due to faulty punctuation rather than to any global gaps in understanding of what constitutes a sentence, and the lack or misplacement of punctuation generally did not lead to a breakdown in coherence. For example, while far from being elegant, Daniel's comma-splice error in 'Rufus is a university student who work as a casual worker at our business, he isn't a model worker, we received numerous complains about hiss manners and attitudes', does manage to convey meaning. Furthermore, unlike the first group of writers, the syntax of students in this group did not break down significantly as a result of integrating quoted material. Talayeh managed to integrate quotes from her text (Hawthorne's *Young Goodman Brown*) with developing skill and sophistication:

Horrified by his finding in that fearful dream he returns to his village in "a stern, a sad" state, "darkly meditative, a distrustful, if not a desperate man" who is confused and distant from those who he had considered perfectly virtuous.

Haajira also managed reasonably well here:

This strongly influenced Australia's Foreign Polices as Australia was interested to sustain its protector by maintaining "Britain strong" and be certain "that she did not evade her responsibility for the protection of her colonies" (Grant,1972.P8).

The main issue with this group of writers then was not the ability to form sentences but to manipulate them to create effective style and tone. Several of the students lacked a variety of sentence types. Mirwais and Talayeh favoured one type of subordination, with relative clauses beginning with 'which' or 'that' predominating. For Talayeh, this led to some incongruence with the placement of the relative pronoun:

Hawthornes' novel is a tale about what goes on in the young Goodman Brown's mind, who one evening decides to leaves his beloved mistress...; one that is based on Brown's mind who takes the reader on a gloomy, spooky and evil tale.

Haajira's almost exclusive use of complex sentences joined by causal links such as 'as' and 'whereby' created several disruptions in logic, as in, 'A perfect example is during 1960's, as 75% of Australian imports were from Britain, whereby in 1970 it decreased to the ratio of one in ten'. Again, however, while the logic is imperfect and the expression is awkward, Haajira's meaning was much easier to discern than that of Mya, Zafiah, and Warda.

As indicated earlier, this group used more sophisticated language structures. Mirwais, Talayeh, and Haajira had the ability to condense information by way of embedded and projected clauses. Mostly, this took the form of nominalised subjects; however, there are examples also of modified objects in which the object is further described through additional clauses, as the following sentence from Talayeh shows: 'The tale has been written by the narrator in a subjective manner, one in which convinces the reader that Brown has been led and betrayed by his community and that he alone is good and everyone else is evil'. Haajira also used embedded clauses, but as these were often combined with other clausal elements, such as dependent clauses, the effect was sometimes labyrinthine:

However, that was not the only factor that determines the relationship with Great Britain and the United States as it is important to

acknowledge and recognise the other factors that also impact the relationships with these two countries as the Australia's economical needs and the cultural, legal and historical links that are shared between all three countries.

Discourse management (textual organisation and argument)

Relative to other features in this group of Generation 1.5 student writing, textual organisation was not a strength. Mirwais and Talayeh's introductions and conclusions lacked the expected funnel structure and also failed to signal a clear thesis and preview of their arguments. Daniel's text, a business letter rather than an essay, also did not adhere to the conventions of the genre. Instead of prose form, the second half of his letter used a sub-heading followed by a list of questions, as the extract below demonstrates:

Here is what we would be most interested in knowing:

Is it legal to terminate a contractor's employment without giving a notice?

Is it legal to terminate a contractor's employment due to inappropriate behaviour from before?

Does Tony have to response to the compliance our customers made to our business, considering Rufus is only a contractor?

Does contractor hold the power to apply for unfair dismissal?

Yours sincerely,

Only Haajira's text adhered more closely to the expected structure. Her introduction outlined the thesis and points to be covered in the essay, and her conclusion restated her thesis and summarised the main ideas with which she dealt. However, as is typical with inexperienced writers, Haajira's conclusion was very brief, consisting of two short sentences.

As was the case with the first group of Generation 1.5 writers examined, the internal structure of body paragraphs was problematic. For Haajira, like Mya and Warda, the issue was a lack of paragraph

unity, with several different and often competing ideas contained in a single paragraph. Also, coherence was lost at times with one sentence not following on from the other, despite the use of discourse markers explicating the writer's perceived links between the various ideas (see Appendix E). While Talayeh maintained coherence throughout her essay, her paragraphs could have been more logically ordered, with the location of the topic sentence at the end or even middle of the paragraph weakening the logic and strength of her argument. On the other hand, Mirwais' essay revealed his awareness of the hierarchical nature of paragraphing, beginning with a topic sentence and continuing with supporting sentences.

However, Mirwais' paragraphs lacked development and, as such, were largely ineffective. His essay contained two instances of exemplification with nothing more sophisticated. Instead, as is typical with many inexperienced academic writers, his essay read as a series of unsupported assertions, as the following demonstrates: 'The current mining industry is majorly foreign owned which once again proves that the national bourgeoisie is still reliant on exporting natural resources to the mother country'. Daniel's letter also lacked analysis, relying instead on lengthy description of the particulars of the case of the worker, Rufus, which is its focus. And while Haajira and Talayeh did develop a cogent argument with some evidence offered in support, their arguments were weakened by the repetition of ideas. For Talayeh, the repetition seems to reflect her lack of detailed understanding of the topic. This is not surprising given she started the essay the day before it was due. In contrast, Haajira appeared to have a solid grasp of her subject matter, but this did not prevent her from making one point repeatedly in the following paragraph:

All of those components (cultural, legal and emotional ties) signify that Australia being in the habit of having keen interest go to the

'Mother Country' for directions and protection (Harper,1971. P122). It is supported as in foreign wars Australia sent aid to Britain as it was not only strictly influenced by Australia's own defensive concerns. There was "a strong emotional attachment" (Camilleri,1973, P18) between Australia and Britain as Australia had a keen interest in providing assistance to Britain. Hence, it is evident that cultural, legal and emotional links have influenced the relationship between Australia and Britain. Through the studies conducted and brought forward it is evident that the relationship ties between Australia and the United States is motivated by Australia's defensive interests. Instead, Haajira's circular argument reflects her inexperience with academic writing, characteristic of a Generation 1.5 habitus shared by other writers in this group. Nonetheless, it is evident that the writers in this group were in the process of developing a cognitive and linguistic habitus that would support the expression of more complex ideas.

Near proficient: Tien, Thanh, & Gabriel

Writers in this final grouping are set apart by a marked obedience to the conventions of academic writing and standard written English. Again, however, the three Generation 1.5 students classed 'near proficient' had varied experience prior to entering university. Tien completed all her schooling in Australia, learning English through immersion. She also had no literacy at all in her first language, Vietnamese. Gabriel too had no literacy in his first language but had significantly interrupted schooling prior to arriving. In contrast, Thanh had all of his primary schooling in Vietnam as well as having the most formal English instruction (both prior to arrival and during secondary school in Australia). Interestingly, all three Generation 1.5 students in this group attended TAFE before entering university. While not always the case (Griffin 2014), it seems that this and other pre-tertiary preparatory experiences engendered a solid understanding of what university writing requires. Certainly in the case of Gabriel and Thanh,

this experience may have allowed them to develop practices and a habitus better aligned with the expectations of academic study. So, while Tien, Gabriel, and Thanh were also continuing to acquire English language skills, their writing was significantly more refined than the other students already discussed.

Grammatical accuracy

With the exception of Gabriel, who I will come to separately, this group's writing was almost error free. In terms of tense, Thanh used perfect, continuous, and simple aspects flexibly and appropriately. Tien also had no issues here, while Gabriel's errors resulted from omitting a past participle and incorrectly using the gerund or infinitive after certain verbs. There were also a handful of subject-verb agreement errors, but these came after complex and nominalised subjects. All other function words (articles and prepositions) were used accurately and appropriately.

Vocabulary

Compared to the second group of writers, Tien, Thanh, and Gabriel did not display such a range of formal and academic lexis. Tien used some lower frequency words such as 'disputed' and 'misconceive' as well as more commonplace words such as 'notion' and 'concept'. However, unlike Haajira's extensive range of reporting verbs, Tien used 'to believe' five times throughout her short essay. Besides the phrase 'subconscious fixture of the human imagination' signaling the psychological domain she was writing in, all other vocabulary was generic rather than discipline-specific. In contrast, Thanh and Gabriel's vocabulary was both technical and discipline-appropriate: for example, 'deductions', 'confidential', 'entitlement', and 'vicarious liabilities'. Apart from this, however, all three students' texts consist of regularly occurring words. This suggests that unlike Mirwais, Haajira and Talayeh, they did not rely on external resources such as a thesaurus,

but relied on their own vocabulary. Finally, indicating his relatively recent acquisition of written English, Gabriel made morphological errors or confused high frequency words such as 'define' when he meant 'definite', 'furnish' for 'furniture', 'planes' instead of 'plans', and 'qualify' instead of 'qualified'.

Syntax

Tien and Thanh both demonstrated a command of English syntax. Their clause combination and sentence formation were not only largely accurate but also effective. As with many of the students in the previous case, these three used embedded and projected clauses regularly, a feature of more advanced English proficiency. However, Tien, Thanh, and Gabriel executed these dense and abstracted language structures far more successfully than the middle group. Tien placed simple sentences in the topic position of each paragraph but communicated complexity through the use of embedding, as in 'Dreaming is one concept that is logical and feasible when it comes to explaining what is thought to be ADC [after death communication]'. Tien also had many examples of complex sentences, predominantly projected clauses, which she used to present the evidence she drew on through indirect speech. Thanh also used embedded clauses with the effect of packaging more information into nominal groups - for example, 'Due to the fact that Rufus has been paid in cash and no superannuation has been deducted from his wages, does this raise any potential legal issues?' However, as with some of the students in the middle group, the use of embedded and projected clauses did occasionally result in slightly laboured sentences, as this example from Tien's essay shows:

I believe that ADC's have a scientific or psychological explanation behind them and there are many possible scientific reasons that can be used to explain the events and experiences that some have believed to be ADC.

In contrast, Gabriel had more errors with syntax. However, while students such as Mya and Zafiah's issues with syntax can be attributed to both the influence of another language (Mandarin and Arabic respectively) as well as a more limited command of English in general, Gabriel's syntactic issues were a result of highly idiosyncratic punctuation, as in the following extract from his letter seeking legal advice:

After considering the control test and examining all circumstance plus various cases, for example, *Narich Pty Ltd v commissioner for payroll Tax* [1983] 2 NSWLR 597. I concluded, that the employee contract with BTR is a contract of service.

If the sentence was correctly punctuated, it would make sense:

After considering the control test and examining all circumstance plus various cases, for example, *Narich Pty Ltd v commissioner for payroll Tax* [1983] 2 NSWLR 597, I concluded that the employee contract with BTR is a contract of service.

Even in less formal correspondence, Gabriel's punctuation was unconventional in the extreme, as this email indicates:

Thank you very much; for considering my situation with math and the subjects, I am likely to take in the future. Furthermore, thanks for finding me this opportunity to develop my math skills. This is an opportunity; I am willing to take and ready to start As Soon As Possible.

According to Shaughnessy, 'idiosyncratic schemes of punctuation and spelling substitute for systems that were never learned and possibly never taught' (Shaughnessy 1977, 10). In other words, rather than the result of form-focused instruction in school, Gabriel's sense of where the clausal and sentence boundaries fall in his writing is entirely self-taught, given his severely disrupted schooling experience.

Discourse management (text structure and argument)

The students in this group made the most effective use of academic structure. Tien's essay was a neat, if unsophisticated, five-paragraph

essay, with a clear and complete introduction and conclusion and a body that followed an explicit claim/counter-claim structure. Thanh also utilised a simple yet effective structure, with his letter consisting of three body paragraphs in addition to the introduction and purpose statement, final reiteration of the request for legal advice, and summary of his previously stated opinion. Gabriel too followed the guidelines for the composition of the business letter, executing each section well. This level of awareness of the requirements of different genres clearly shows the impact that these students' pre-university experience afforded. Unlike the students in the other groups, Gabriel, Thanh, and Tien had all either experienced university before, in the case of Thanh, or had studied at TAFE, in the case of Tien and Gabriel. Not only did these experiences assist them to understand the requirements of their particular writing tasks, as this comment from Tien suggests - '[In TAFE] because we had a teacher that was teaching at a university, as well so he was telling us what they expected and all that' - but they also provided all-important opportunities to practice. This meant that these students were able to apply that knowledge in the preparation of their assignments.

In terms of argumentation, Gabriel presented his propositions in a linear manner. The judicious use of cohesive devices strengthened his argument, linking his thoughts together more explicitly. In terms of the minimum literacy standards, Gabriel's text 'flowed'. Furthermore, unlike Mirwais, Talayeh, and Daniel, his arguments were supported by citation, as the following extract demonstrates:

After considering the control test and examining all circumstance plus various cases, for example, *Narich Pty Ltd v commissioner for payroll Tax* [1983] 2 NSWLR 597. I concluded, that the employee contract with BTR is a contract of service. Therefore, he is an employee and as an employee, he is legally entitled to the possible entitlements under a relevant industry award, enterprise agreement, National Employment Standards (NAS), and the terms of any possible employment contract

in place (Nickolas 2012, pp. 606-607).

In contrast, the level of argumentation in Tien and Thanh's assignments were more like the students in the middle group. Notwithstanding their linguistic accuracy, their actual arguments were rather underdeveloped and lacked evidential weight. Tien relied on one source per paragraph, and Thanh referred to only one source throughout the whole assignment. Despite this, what set Tien's writing apart was her use of meta-commentary to position herself as a writer in relation to the evidence upon which she was drawing. While unsophisticated and repetitive, Tien's use of phrases such as 'on the contrary, I believe' is an attempt to evaluate evidence and suggestive of a capacity for critical thinking. Similarly, while Thanh's assignment did not directly evidence critical thinking, the way he approached the analysis and planning of his assignment tasks detailed earlier shows the ability to think analytically. As Thanh explained, 'when I think of academic writing, I think of critical analysing'.

Feedback from the field: What the marks reveal

The preceding analysis of the linguistic and cognitive capacities of the Generation 1.5 students as evident in their written texts is only a partial reading. Academia uses written assignments as a way of testing students' ability to use written words for communicating ideas and argument. Therefore, the reception that these texts had is a further means of gauging the volume of academic capital that the Generation 1.5 students may have possessed at the start of their degrees. Table 4 below summarises the students' final result in the units for which the assignments were composed. It is important to bear in mind that the final result reflects performance in not just the assignment analysed, but other assignments and possibly examination. Table 4 also details the writing task each student undertook and the stage of their degree that it was submitted.

Group	Student	Academic writing assignment	Mark in Unit	Timing
Limited proficiency	Rina*	Essay: 'Is today's popular culture actually making us smarter?'	63 (pass)	Early semester
	Warda*	Essay: Cultural Relativism	42 (fail)	Early semester
	Mya	Essay: what is the significance of the colour red in Little Red Riding Hood?	65 (credit)	Mid semester
	Zafiah*	Critical review: chapter on Australian Citizenship	42 (fail)	Early semester
Below Proficiency	Mirwais	Essay: Frantz Fanon and the Australian middle class	71 (credit)	Early semester
	Haajira	Essay: The factors in Australia's foreign relations with the United States of America and Great Britain	63 (pass)	Late semester
	Talayeh*	Essay: Can the short story 'Young Goodman Brown' be considered an example of the Gothic genre?	63 (pass)	Early semester
	Daniel	Business letter seeking legal advice	67 (credit)	Mid semester
Near Proficiency	Gabriel	Business letter seeking legal advice	71 (credit)	Mid semester
	Tien	Essay: After death communication	68 (credit)	Mid semester
	Thanh	Business letter seeking legal advice	65 (credit)	Mid semester

*first assignment at university

Table 4 - Summary of student texts and marks received in units in which texts assessed

As is clear, the results awarded in several cases seem to ignore the issues with English language and academic literacy that the students' assignments obviously reveal. For example, from the group of those students described as having limited linguistic proficiency, Rina achieved a high pass and Mya a credit. In the second group, all students passed with high passes and two credits. The credits were earned by Daniel, whose business letter fell far short of the register required in academic writing, and Mirwais, whose essay on Frantz Fanon contained very little in the way of argument or critical thinking. Moreover, none of the students' assignments in groups one and two could be said to have completely met the minimum literacy standards outlined earlier. In the third group, Tien, Gabriel, and Thanh all

received credits, which would seem to recognise these students' relative technical proficiency in English and their use of academic conventions including argumentation. However, given Mya, Mirwais, and Daniel also received credits, the validity of grades to differentiate between linguistic capacities is undermined. What this points to is issues in the way English language proficiency and academic literacy are addressed in the field of HE both as a whole and at the local institutional level. Sanctions from the field in the form of poor results are a primary means of prompting the adjustment of practice and the development of a habitus better suited to the requirements of the field (in this case, English language and academic literacy expectations). In this way, many of the passes and credits received by the Generation 1.5 students constitute affordances that then become constraints. The impact of broad and local field conditions on the Generation 1.5 habitus as well as the individual habitus of the students is discussed in the next three chapters.

Conclusion

This chapter has analysed the self-reported practices of the eleven Generation 1.5 students. Some students, such as Gabriel, Mirwais, Thanh, and Tien, were engaged in academic practice which to some extent aligns well with the expectations of university study. For the most part, however, the students' practice reveals a nascent understanding of what it takes to be a successful university student. Indeed, many of the approaches to writing outlined by Rina, Daniel, Warda, and Zafiah were at best ineffective and at worst liable to lead to academic misconduct proceedings. While approaches to writing such as copy and paste are very common with EAL students and may sometimes indicate different cultural attitudes to learning and knowledge, the practice among several of the Generation 1.5 students described above seems to indicate the presence of more fundamental cognitive and linguistic issues. Indeed, many of the students' English

and academic language proficiency fell significantly short of what could reasonably be considered acceptable for university level study, and certainly fell short of the minimum literacy standard stipulated by one faculty in the university.

For Bourdieu (1992), practice and text bear the traces of habitus. In this way, when taken as a whole, the examples of the students' academic writing provide support for the notion of a Generation 1.5 habitus consisting of a still developing cognitive and linguistic framework required to support the higher-order cognitive tasks associated with university-level reading and writing. In contrast to other research that downplays the influence of socioeconomic background on the acquisition of the skills or competencies required to succeed at university (Hockings, Cooke, and Bowl 2010, Crozier, Reay, and Clayton 2010), this chapter clearly demonstrates a gap between the Generation 1.5 students' capacities, particularly linguistic, and the expectations of academic reading and writing. However, the point here is not to assert that non-traditional students such as Generation 1.5 are inherently less intelligent or capable than other students, but rather to highlight that as part of their habitus, these capacities and practices exist and develop in historical contexts: time, places, and circumstances. In short, they 'take shape at the intersection of complex social forces' (Hagar, Lee, and Reich 2012). For Generation 1.5 students, these complex social forces are not only the socioeconomic conditions of the home and wider community, but also linguistic, resulting from their complex migration and educational histories.

This complexity in habitus formation also becomes evident in a fundamental incongruence between some students' self-reported practice and attitudes towards their study on the one hand and the writing they produce on the other. This discrepancy reveals a tension between what the students feel they should be doing (and therefore

report they are doing), and what they actually do or are able to do, as evidenced by the written output. This incongruence, further complicated by what seems like an institutional failure to identify and address the ways in which students' academic performance may fall short, exposes the plural nature of these students' habitus, or what Lahire (2003) refers to as differences between dispositions to believe and dispositions to act. It may be, for example, that Rina felt she needed to draw on and paraphrase source material in her writing, but this was not evident in the finished product. To better apprehend this complexity in the learning and literacy practices of the Generation 1.5 students requires a closer examination of the conditions of acquisition of the various layers of habitus, as well as the conditions that facilitate or hinder the activation of these.

Chapter Five – ‘I never got taught how to do grammar at all’: Learning and Acquiring English

This chapter presents a sociobiographical account of the early socialisation – educational and linguistic – of the 11 Generation 1.5 students that contributed to their linguistic and cognitive habitus as glimpsed through their writing in the previous chapter. Early socialisation (that is, before the impact of formal schooling is felt) is largely the domain of family: specifically, parents or carers. For Bourdieu, ‘families are corporate bodies [with] a tendency to perpetuate their social being, with all its power and privileges, which is at the basis of reproductive strategies’ (Bourdieu 1998b, 19). One of the biggest factors in the influence of family life is the degree of educational capital – a form of embodied cultural capital – possessed by parents: that is, ‘the knowledge, attributes and practices valued in the educational system and associated with academic success’ (Cardona, Watkins, and Noble 2009, 1). Similarly, the linguistic environment in which children are raised has long been thought to contribute to patterns of language and literacy development (Wells 2012, Hasan 2002, Gee 1996, Bourdieu 1992, Bernstein 1971, Vygotsky 1962). Therefore, sociolinguistic histories contribute to the formation of the Generation 1.5 habitus.

However, rather than suggesting a linear correspondence between Generation 1.5 students’ early lives and their academic trajectories, what emerges in this chapter is the enormous range of pre-migration experiences as well as academic home environments. Again highlighting the heterogeneity of the cohort, the eleven Generation 1.5 students arrived in Australia with disparate levels of English language and literacy skills – first language and literacy skills, prior schooling experiences, and levels of family cultural capital. These experiences

shape the acquisition of capacities that have varying levels of congruence with the discourse and culture of school. The variation and even contradiction in the socialising experience of home and school also contribute to differences in dispositions towards schooling, identity, and patterns of investment in later education. In this way, this chapter begins to trace the plurality of dispositions that many of the Generation 1.5 students possess.

Nonetheless, despite the variation present among the Generation 1.5 students studied, common to them all is an extended period of education in the NSW schooling system. Therefore, the second focus of this chapter is the students' formal pedagogical experiences, explored primarily through the eyes of the learners themselves. The formal education system, as with the less formal learning that takes place in the home, presents constraints and affordances for both the development of cognitive and linguistic capabilities and the formation of dispositions towards learning. As such, an account of the formal schooling experiences of Generation 1.5 students is essential to understanding their current and future language and literacy capabilities. Despite this, school-based pedagogy has not been the focus of much research on Generation 1.5 students. Moreover, students' own experience of pedagogy is a perspective that is not often sought. Instead, they are often seen as 'silent recipients' of pedagogy (Nieto 1999, 192). In contrast, an approach that seeks students' perspective on the value of what they were taught has the potential to generate more critical understandings of learning and the role of language/literacy pedagogy in preparing this cohort for university (Thensen 1997).

Home academic environments

The environment in which children are raised exerts a fundamental influence on future development. A positive academic home climate in

which the desire to learn and willingness to invest in education is cultivated can impact significantly on educational participation and achievement (Watkins and Noble 2013, 2008, Campbell and Verna 2007, Lareau 2003, Gee 1996). Here I explore the notion of home academic environments by looking at Generation 1.5 students' parents' own educational capital. By examining the parents' educational and linguistic backgrounds, as well as attitudes and practices regarding their children's education as described by the students, an understanding of how the dispositions and practices of the students themselves have formed can be gained.

Parental educational capital

Of all the students interviewed, Daniel's family could best be described as economic migrants. Both Daniel's parents were university-educated and were professionals in the finance industry. The family made the decision to migrate from Hong Kong in the belief that Australia presented better employment opportunities. However, in an indication of the value Daniel's parents placed on education, the chief reason they migrated was the prospect of easier access to HE for their sons. Their investment in Daniel's education was clear. For example, during school in Australia, Daniel was tutored in mathematics outside of school hours and was supported financially in first year university, as his parents were 'really serious about me studying, because they don't want me to be distracted by jobs or any other thing'. At stake for Daniel's parents was economic benefit, but perhaps more importantly, status; however, not all universities are equal and they expressed disappointment that Daniel was not offered a place at one of the more prestigious universities like his older brother. As a consequence of his parents' preference for certain universities, they expected Daniel to earn the marks to transfer to a higher status university at the end of his first year.

Mya's carers also placed great stock in education and were themselves highly educated. Her uncle was a doctor and her aunt a primary school teacher in Myanmar. Like Daniel's family, they left their home country to seek work and better educational opportunities for their children/wards. When Mya was five, they moved to China and from there, Australia. The family had a strong culture of valuing education. This manifested as discipline where study was concerned, as Mya explained:

[my family]... forced me... not forced, but to me like a little kid you have to learn two language at the same time, and also the school work, you don't have holiday. For a few years, it was pressure with every stage of study, pressure.

This discipline was also expected at school in China, where, according to Mya, students, particularly outsiders like her, were punished for perceived laziness and lack of progress. She claimed, 'once you're good at study, once you try hard, the teacher would cease [bothering you]'. But, Mya added, being a good student could not make up for the fact that she was Burmese, as 'not much teacher would accept you as Chinese'.

The authority and discipline emphasised in Mya's early experiences of both home and school is echoed in other studies (Li 1999, Cheng 1998). For example, Watkins and Noble (2013) found that parents' levels of educational capital shaped attitudes to key educational practices, such as routines and discipline around homework and involvement in extracurricular activities. This in turn impacted the development of children's dispositions to learning, effectively aligning them with those valued in the field of school. This study also highlighted cultural patterns of educational capital and parental attitudes towards education, suggesting that Chinese-background families are more likely to endorse effort and discipline over ability and to use parental authority and control to direct children's own

educational practices. This notion of an overt cultural dimension to practices and attitudes towards education was expressed clearly by Mya:

Because the Western and Asian, how the family system is set up, you might wanna make friends with your daughter and your son in your generation, but for Asians, they take authority very strong. You must listen to them. You must do it. You do this. Authority. Everything authority. You have to follow them and not engage, not say no.

However, despite Mya's conviction above, the public perception of Asian students' success, and the 'Tiger Mom' phenomenon (Wu and Singh 2004), the role of cultural differences in shaping orientations to learning is far from absolute. Instead, it needs to be viewed alongside other social factors which affect, and in turn are affected by, educational attitudes and practices.

Highlighting this complexity, Thanh's Vietnamese family also invested in his education. However, the availability of financial resources and complicated family dynamics produced different patterns in parental involvement and so Thanh's education was not characterised by the control and discipline seen in Mya and Daniel's. While the opportunities for English instruction in Vietnam were few, Thanh's mother prioritised this, engaging a private tutor for him to supplement the basic English grammar and vocabulary he was learning in primary school in Hanoi. The cost of private English tutoring would have been a significant imposition on the family's finances, as his father's income as a bus driver would have been modest. Although it is not clear why, Thanh's father came to Australia five years before Thanh and his mother, but died shortly after they arrived. At this point, Thanh's mother returned to Vietnam, so he was left to complete his schooling alone, living in homestay accommodation. As with Daniel and Mya, the value Thanh's mother placed on education is evident. However, the extent to which his family was able to invest in terms of

time, support, and resources was constrained by financial and familial circumstances.

The impact of financial resources on patterns of parental involvement can also be seen in Tien's experience. Tien's older parents were largely uneducated and had very low levels of literacy. They migrated to Australia from Vietnam after several years in Indonesia, arriving in Australia when Tien was three years old. Tien spent her first two years in Australia, from ages three to five, in a single linguistic community. By the time she began school at five, she had not attended any pre-school or child care. Her exposure to and engagement with English was therefore extremely limited. Given her parents' own level of education and literacy, Tien also had only basic oral competence in her first language, Vietnamese, having had little in the way of early literacy learning experiences in the home or community. Rather than pointing to a lack of care on the part of Tien's parents, the absence of pre-schooling of any kind indicates the impact of a lack of educational capital and financial resources on families' ability to invest in their children's schooling.

However, as indicated earlier, educational capital does not merely consist of valuing education. Equally important for parents is knowledge of the education system and an ability to effectively advocate on behalf of their children (Lareau 2003). Warda's parents had benefitted from a reasonable level of education - her father had two years of university and her mother completed the equivalent of Year Ten at school. No doubt concerned that by age six, Warda had not had any schooling prior to migrating from Palestine to Australia, they accessed private, informal pre-schooling for her. As Warda explained:

Well, at the first, I didn't go straight to school because we were living back at, I think for about six months, at my cousin's house, back in Liverpool. So there was this schooling thing that I used to go to just with my cousin, this special teacher used to help us. She was alone; it

wasn't part of the class, for like say two months. And then they entered me in the class so I could start learning my English, and when I came to Punchbowl [the local primary school], back in year one, I knew a bit of words. I could talk a bit and then I just got used to it.

While demonstrating a value of education and an appreciation of the importance of pre-schooling, Warda's parents' attempts to prepare her for schooling nevertheless resulted in her being even further behind in English and literacy by the time she began at a NSW public school. With only basic English vocabulary and no literacy in her home language, Warda was obviously behind her English mother tongue contemporaries, who had had five years of pre-school English upon which to draw.

Problems at school inevitably require parents to liaise with teachers and even school management. The ease and effectiveness with which families are able to engage with teaching staff has been linked to social class and educational capital (Proctor and Aitchison 2014, Watkins and Noble 2013, Panofsky and Vadeboncoeur 2012, Lareau 2003). Anxious about her progress in her first year of school, Warda's father approached her teacher. He was told that the problem was simply that Warda was not trying hard enough. While this may have been the case, Warda reported that her father did not question the teacher's view or ask in turn what the teacher was doing to engage Warda more. Moreover, according to Warda, he let the matter drop. This type of 'self-exclusion' may reflect a lack of confidence in the ability to manage the unfamiliar social setting that the school represented (Lamont and Lareau 1988). Alternatively, Warda's father may have been reticent about appearing critical of the school system, particularly that of a country that had given his family a new home (Cardona, Chalmers, and Neilson 2006).

Warda's father's expectations and relationship with his daughter's school were therefore likely affected by SES and a lack of familiarity with the local school system. Educational capital has also been shown to confer advantages via parents' ability and willingness to act as educational brokers, facilitating communication between home and school and thereby assisting their children's movement between the fields of home and school. Lareau (2003) illustrates how parents with greater educational capital are able to advocate more effectively and more frequently on behalf of their children at school by using language and discourse practices that educators more readily recognise and respond positively to. In this way, these parents were able to actively shape their children's experience of the field of school, in comparison to parents with less educational capital, who were found to take a more hands-off approach. This pattern of engagement with the school had implications for Warda not only in terms of her academic achievement but also in terms of her confidence and comfort in the context of HE, as was seen in the previous chapter.

Self-exclusion likewise characterises Rina and Haajira's parents' involvement in their education. Rina's parents both completed school and earned a vocational qualification in Iraq. Her father worked in healthcare and her mother was a trained childcare worker. After Rina's primary schooling in Iraq, the family moved from Iraq to Syria, where they spent approximately two years waiting to migrate to Australia. During this lengthy period, Rina did not have any access to formal schooling. In Rina's words, 'I stayed home. It was annoying because I really wanted to go [to school] because you might learn something there'. Clearly, legal status and financial resources can be impediments to accessing formal education for families living in transit countries while in the process of migrating.

Despite having experience of formal schooling and first language literacy, Rina claims her parents made little attempt to provide structured (albeit informal) learning opportunities for their daughter at home. This lack of involvement may be due to a belief that home and school operate as separate spheres of influence. In other words, Rina's parents may have viewed education as the exclusive preserve of school. However, as it stands, this significant interruption had tangible consequences for Rina, coming as it did at the point when she would have been consolidating literacy in her home language, Arabic, and developing the capacity to express herself in more sophisticated ways: in other words, consolidating the functions that form the cognitive habitus. Indeed, Rina attributes her ongoing difficulties with reading, summarising, and identifying what is important or relevant in texts to this hiatus in her education.

Haajira had a similar experience not being able to access education while waiting to migrate to Australia. She did not attend school in Kuwait or Iraq, explaining that:

I remember the first day, I went into kindergarten. The second day we left and went to Jordan, and then we sat there for two years, so I didn't do nothing. We didn't study because you practically have to have a... Either you were Jordanian to study or you had sort of like someone puts money or something for you to study.

As with Rina, this delay in commencing schooling was detrimental, and Haajira started school in Australia a full two years behind other children of the same age. However, in Haajira's case, as with Tien, her parents' limited educational capital impacted their ability to invest in their daughter's education. Haajira's father only completed Year Eight and was a soldier in Kuwait. Her mother received no formal education. In this way, they were possibly not in a position to support her early language and literacy development while waiting for their migration application to Australia to be finalised.

Gabriel, Zafiah, and Mirwais' families also had little educational capital upon which to draw. In the most extreme case, as a result of war in the Sudan, Gabriel was separated from his parents when he was young before spending an indeterminate amount of time in a Kenyan refugee camp with an uncle and older sister. This experience of familial dislocation obviously impacted upon his family's level of involvement in his education, as Gabriel described:

But you see my sister doesn't know anything about education, to be honest. And she's happy that I am in uni, but she doesn't... I don't know, she doesn't... I can't really say how she's feeling, like... you get to know your parents, Mum and Dad when you're living with them. For me I never had that sort of opportunity. We don't have sort of the understanding, you know.

Therefore, through a combination of external circumstances, their own educational backgrounds, and a doubtless lack of financial resources, Gabriel's parents had little influence on his early education. His older sister, who had responsibility for Gabriel when he first arrived in Australia, also had little capacity to support his learning.

Similarly, Zafiah's parents' own backgrounds limited their capacity to relate to their daughter's aspiration for HE. As a result of their own limited experiences of formal education, Zafiah's parents were perplexed by what their daughter was doing in school and then in university. Zafiah's father was schooled up until Year Three of primary school and her mother stayed on for an additional year or so. When asked if her family supported her decision to enrol at university, Zafiah explained:

My parents, they're yes and no. Because they say, "Look, you're busy enough, you have too much responsibility in your everyday life. It's gonna be very hard and tiring and exhausting." In my small family, it's same thing. My husband is encouraging. He says, "Go do it." But when I ask him to come and help, he says, "Just not now, leave it for later".

Zafiah was the first in her family to attend university, and thus HE was outside her parents' immediate experience. While not standing in her way, her parents and husband were not particularly invested in Zafiah's learning: their position was that if she wanted to study at university, she must do it on her own terms.

In contrast, while Mirwais' family had low levels of educational and cultural capital and experienced difficulty accessing school for Mirwais while in Afghanistan, they went out of their way to arrange not only continuing education in the transit country, Pakistan, but also additional language classes to help him maintain his home language, Dari. Three to four times each week, after a full day of school, Mirwais attended language classes to maintain his language and literacy skills in Dari. It is not clear where the impetus for this active language maintenance came from, as it stands in opposition to Mirwais' parents' own life experiences. Nonetheless, upon arrival in Australia towards the end of Year Six, Mirwais had well-established literacy in his home language and could also speak, read, and write basically in a second language, Urdu. Mirwais' experience thus highlights the complexity and sometimes unpredictable interaction between parental educational capital: that is, the possession of educational and academic resources, knowledge and skills, and investment and engagement in the education of their children.

Parental linguistic capital

As the discussion above highlights, it is not merely social class, access to resources, and parents' own prior education that produces divergences in patterns of family support and involvement in Generation 1.5 students' education. Further complexity is revealed through an examination of the role of parental/family linguistic capital and the implications of this on the development of students' linguistic and cognitive habitus. As outlined in Chapter Two, the relationship

between social interaction and the formation of consciousness in which language/cognitive development takes place is at the centre of several key theories of language and learning (e.g. Nash 2006, 2005b, Gee 1996, Bernstein 1971, Vygotsky 1962). For Bourdieu, a linguistic habitus is acquired not simply by hearing a certain kind of speech or language, but by speaking it. In other words, practice is instructive in shaping habitus and capital. This practice occurs in the family, which has a particular social position and particular models of communication that a child imitates. These models may be more or less aligned with 'legitimate' language. In this way, social heterogeneity is inherent in language (Bourdieu 1992).

There are two issues here of relevance to Generation 1.5. The first relates to the consequences, both linguistic and cognitive, of the type of discourse and ways of communicating in the home language that are appropriated early. Of the 11 students interviewed, five had families in which one or more parent/s were illiterate or only functionally literate. Furthermore, only five had one or more parent/s who had accessed post-compulsory schooling. A further two students had parents who had completed some level of secondary schooling, and the last four had parents who had either no schooling or only minimal primary schooling. This lack of education would have impacted on the kind of mediation that many of these students received, as typically families would be more restricted to domestic, oral, and informal modes of discourse and communication. For example, Gabriel's parents, uncle, and older sibling were illiterate and had very limited, if any, exposure to formal education. As a result, his command of his home language, Dinka, was confined to a basic communicative competence which Gabriel characterised as, 'I just know how to speak basically, I don't know how to do anything with it'.

The home is a site of inculcation, but it is often also a site of explication (Hasan 2001). Increasingly, the important role of the home in pre-schooling education is being recognised (Kloosterman et al. 2011, Hood, Conlon, and Andrews 2008, Weigel, Martin, and Bennet 2006, Roberts, Jergens, and Burchinal 2005). For example, the use of written texts, diagrams, definitions, and general exposure to a range of semiotic representations facilitate an engagement with the more specialised discourse of the school, and therefore contributes to children's readiness to benefit from schooling. Further highlighting the value of being 'schooled before schooling' (McNaughton 2006), the practice of literate activities, not just the presence of books, has been associated with academic performance later on (Eisenclas, Schalley, and Guillemin 2013, Cobb-Clark and Nguyen 2010, De Graaf, De Graaf, and Kraaykamp 2000, Crook 1997). Therefore, in homes in which reading and writing were either not available or practices and behaviours such as parental involvement in homework and modelling of reading were unlikely, such as in Gabriel, Haajira, Tien, and Mirwais' homes, limited (if any) informal pre-school schooling would have taken place.

This link between pre-school experience and academic achievement has been demonstrated more generally in several studies (Wells 2009, Hasan 2002, 2001, Wells 1985), with measures of oral language at three and a half years of age, frequency of story reading and oral language at age five, and knowledge of literacy at age five correlating to vocabulary and overall academic achievement at age ten (Wells 2009). With many families, such as Gabriel, Mirwais, Zafiah, and Tien's, having limited literacy in their home language and possibly being restricted to more context-dependent forms of language, the type and level of home language acquired by these Generation 1.5 students would have been similarly restricted. For some, such as Gabriel, Haajira, and Warda, this constituted a delay in becoming literate in

any language. This delay in turn may have had implications for these students' development of higher order thinking skills. In this way, the family environment, coupled with the often significant delays or interruptions to formal education already discussed, may have impacted upon some of the students' development of the cognitive habitus (Nash 2005b). That is, the development of dispositions that support abstract thinking, problem solving, pattern recognition, and the linguistic structures that underlie academic work and achievement may have been interrupted (Nash 2005b).

The second likely consequence for Generation 1.5 students of growing up in a home environment typified by low levels of parental education and literacy concerns the students' acquisition of English. Many of the Generation 1.5 students' parents spoke very little English, especially in the home. Parents who were literate in English were even rarer among the eleven Generation 1.5 students, with only Daniel and Mya's parents having English literacy. Parents' own proficiency in English may affect the immediate as well as future linguistic and educational attainment of their children, with those whose parents have lower levels of proficiency in English having significantly worse English language skills themselves for at least the first eleven years of their lives. Such children have lower GPAs during high school and lower levels of occupational prestige at work (Guyen and Islam 2013). This notion is echoed by the students themselves, as Tien commented:

If you're going to be with your family who only speak Vietnamese, then I guess you can't, when you grow up you're not going to be like a native speaker, but if you grow up with people that speak fluent English, then I guess that plays a big role.

Talayeh also identified the potential of her parents' language to impact upon her own capacities:

Like a lot of families are more educated than mine and more like parents are able to help their children. I feel like... I don't know if this

is correct, but my environment as well, like home... it hasn't helped me.

Clearly, at the very least, growing up in home environments in which English was rarely if ever used, such as was the case with all of the Generation 1.5 students except Daniel and Mya, meant that opportunities to acquire and practice English were largely restricted to school. The limited English language proficiency of many of the families here also would have presented an obstacle to engaging in their children's education. As outlined before, advocating on behalf of their children and managing their education at home (such as through supervision and assistance with homework and monitoring school/home correspondence) would have been challenging for parents of Generation 1.5. Therefore, as with the different forms of discourse found between the homes of many of these students and school, the absence of English may have created further dissonance between the home and school academic climate. For some students, this resulted in the development of a bifurcated identity and feelings of ambivalence, which I argue is characteristic of a Generation 1.5 habitus.

The role of acquisition or inculcation explored here in terms of the academic home environment is significant for the future educational trajectories of these students. Patterns of involvement and exposure shaped by parents' own educational and linguistic capital can shape future learning through the development of cognitive and linguistic capacities and practice. Yet, as the above discussion has highlighted, this influence is not always predictable. Instead, the pre-school experiences of this group of Generation 1.5 students reveal not only the complexity of this group, but also raise questions about the relationship between early socialisation and reproduction. With that proposition in mind, I turn now to an exploration of the role of

teaching and learning via formal school-based pedagogy in the lives of this complex and varied cohort.

Sink or swim: Varied ESL provision for new arrivals

All the Generation 1.5 students interviewed arrived in Australia with very little, if any, knowledge of English – including Daniel and Thanh, who, as indicated above, had received some ESL education prior to migrating. Therefore, as newly arrived migrants enrolling in the NSW public school system for the first time, they were eligible for English language support. From a pilot program in early 1969, the ESL program operating in NSW state schools has expanded to provide direct English language support to migrant and refugee children in NSW government primary and secondary schools through 896 specialist ESL teaching positions, staffed by about 1600 specialist ESL teachers (ESL Services Fact Sheet n.d). ESL services come under two specific-purpose, teacher-based funding programs: the ESL New Arrivals Program and the ESL Targeted Support Program.⁸

The ESL New Arrivals Program is designed to provide intensive English instruction to newly arrived migrant and refugee students in their first year of school in Australia. For secondary school-aged students, this takes place in one of 14 IECs: dedicated schools with specialist ESL teaching staff that provide level- and age-appropriate intensive English tuition integrated into key learning areas. All students who are eligible receive 30-40 weeks of intensive instruction. The assessment and placement of newly arrived students is largely based on English

⁸ Under its Local Schools, Local Decisions policy, the NSW Department of Education and Communities moved to full implementation of school-based management in 2014. Current arrangements for state-wide targeting and allocation of ESL teaching and consultancy support positions have been replaced by a new Resource Allocation Model in which ESL teacher positions and consultancy positions have been amalgamated with other equity funds and dispersed to schools as untied funding.

language proficiency as determined via a test, although students' levels of prior formal education and first language literacy are also considered. There are four levels in the IEC, starting with a foundational level reserved for students with limited, interrupted, or no formal education, and three additional levels corresponding to beginners, intermediate, and advanced.

The New Arrivals Program for primary school-aged students, however, is less than consistent, with funding for the support being dependent on the schools' own existing ESL programs as well as numbers of ESL students. After the initial intensive provision, the ESL Targeted Support Program is then meant to provide ongoing specialist ESL teacher support once English language learners enter mainstream schooling. However, the difference between policy and practice means there are gaps in provision. These gaps and inconsistencies are also seen in the experience of the Generation 1.5 students. A summary of the ESL provision afforded these students can be found in Table 5 below.

Student	Grade arrived	Amount of pre-arrival schooling	Pre-arrival L2 proficiency	Length of ESL provision	Mode of provision
Tien	K ⁹	none	nil	1 year	ESL Targeted Support in Year 4
Warda	1	none	nil	2 years	ESL Targeted Support in Years 9-10
Haajira	2	1 day	nil	1 year	ESL Targeted Support in Year 3
Talayeh	5	1.5 years	nil	1 year	ESL Targeted Support in Year 5

⁹ 'K', or Kindergarten, 'is the first year of compulsory schooling in NSW.

Mirwais	6	6 years	nil	1.5 years	New Arrivals Program in Year 6 for one term and then IEC in Year 7
Gabriel	7	none	nil	1.5 years	New Arrivals Program (IEC) + ESL Targeted Support (Independent school)
Thanh	7	7 years	limited	5 years	New Arrivals Program (IEC) in Year 7 + ESL Targeted support in Years 8-11
Mya	7	7 years	limited	1 year	New Arrivals Program (IEC) in Year 7
Rina	7	6 years	nil	6 months	Ad hoc ESL support (in library) in Year 9
Daniel	8	7.5 years	moderate	1 year	Ad hoc ESL support (in library) in Year 7
Zafiah	9	9 years	nil	2 years	New Arrivals Program (IEC) in Year 9 + ESL Targeted Support in Year 9 (repeated)

Table 5: Summary of the NSW public school ESL provision received by Generation 1.5 students

As is evident from the table above, those Generation 1.5 students arriving in primary school did not receive any language support via the ESL New Arrivals Program. Instead, they were provided with language support later in their schooling - in some cases, many years later. For those arriving during secondary school, the provision was more consistent, with all except two attending an IEC for a year. As far as ongoing ESL support is concerned, this additional provision appeared to be the exception rather than the rule in this study, with only three out of the eleven students receiving any follow-up ESL during their mainstream schooling.

As with the environment of early home socialisation, formal schooling has a significant bearing on the development of a linguistic and

cognitive habitus as well as attitudes to learning. For those Generation 1.5 students who did not access formal pre-schooling or whose home environments may not have provided many opportunities for literacy engagement, school - in particular, the intensive language and literacy instruction of ESL provision - assumed even greater importance. However, the following accounts reveal varying levels of ESL instruction, ranging from four years to none. Similarly, the ways the students responded to their ESL and mainstream schooling varied considerably: whether they sank or swam was often down to the individual.

What ESL support? The case of Warda, Tien, Haajira, Rina and Daniel

ESL was notable more for its absence in the cases of Warda, Tien, and Haajira, who arrived in the early years of primary school, and Rina and Daniel, who arrived during secondary school. These five students missed out on immediate intensive ESL instruction. While Rina and Daniel did receive some library-based homework support, by and large, all of these newly arrived students were obliged to manage in the mainstream classroom.

Daniel arrived partway through the second year of secondary school and was immediately enrolled in a local, mainstream school. Although this is unclear, it is likely the case that Daniel, given his background in English and literacy and education levels in his own language, was deemed able to go directly into the high school. There he joined another student from Hong Kong. Together, whenever the rest of the class had English, they would go to the library and get help with their English homework. For the remainder of his classes, he was expected to keep up with the other students. Daniel described this immersive experience as quite challenging:

It's a bit different because the teachers speak like fluent English. It's pretty fast and you have to understand pretty fast. And then afterward a while you just get used to it. And then it just become normal conversation. And like in Year Nine [less than 12 months after arriving], you're already getting fully used to it.

In contrast, having spent the previous two years without any education whatsoever and with only the equivalent of Year Five Arabic, Rina was certainly both eligible and in need of the intensive English language instruction afforded by the IEC experience. However, in an accident of geography, Rina initially settled in Singleton, a regional centre that did not have an IEC. While the ESL New Arrivals Program provides short-term ESL teacher support for newly arrived students in primary and secondary schools that do not have an ESL Targeted Support Program and where students do not have access to an IEC, for some reason, Rina missed out. Instead, for her first two to three months, she was the only ESL student at the school. Then her cousin arrived and the school managed to provide an ESL teacher who acted as an intermediary/interpreter, telling Rina and her cousin what they needed to do in their other classes, similar to Daniel's first year in a Sydney high school. As Rina explained:

They had like one teacher to kind of explain to us what we have to do in classrooms or take notes or something like that but it wasn't actually doing work as teaching us like IEC students doing at the moment.

To survive those first months at Singleton High, Rina relied on mimicry, copying what others were saying and writing, and taking down the marks that were on the whiteboard without any sense of what they represented. Any presumption that Rina actually learned any content in the curriculum areas besides English in those first few months is hard to support. Unfortunately, a move to Sydney did not result in Rina receiving any direct English language instruction. At end

of Year Nine (18 months after arriving), Rina found herself at a large high school in outer metropolitan Sydney. Despite this area having a significant EAL population, Rina claims she did not receive any further ESL support.

In the case of the three primary school-aged students, Warda, Tien, and Haajira, the absence of immediate and direct ESL instruction was by no means uncommon. This pattern likely reflects the widespread belief that in the case of younger learners, English is acquired 'naturally' through immersion in the mainstream monolingual English classroom, thereby requiring only tacit instruction (Escandon 2012). Such an assumption is underpinned by the critical period hypothesis, which asserts that the earlier the exposure to a second language, the faster and more comprehensive the resulting attainment. Indeed, the experience of these three students does little to dislodge the entrenched view that SLA in younger people is a process more akin to osmosis than effortful learning and explicit instruction.

As already discussed, Warda started partway through Year One at an outer suburban primary school (at age six). There she describes a common experience of relying on paralinguistic cues such as gestures and facial expression to comprehend new language: 'I started catching words from here and there and I understood probably by the actions of the teachers and stuff, I knew what that meant and it just stayed in my mind. I'm a good remember'. Tien's experience of learning English was also largely one of immersion. Prior to commencing school at age five, Tien had not been exposed to any English, and yet she says, 'I remember picking it up very quickly so, um by Year One, I was fluent in English'.

What these Generation 1.5 students' experiences illustrate is how readily children acquire the highly contextualised form of language

referred to as BICS (Cummins 1979b) or playground English. In the above cases, the students had very little, if any, intensive and explicit ESL instruction, and yet they 'picked it up', often relatively quickly. These impressive oral accomplishments of newly arrived EAL students tend to lead educators to misjudge the linguistic capabilities of these students. However, as was outlined in Chapter One, this form of language proficiency does not automatically lead to the development of more abstract and context-independent language (Cummins 2007). This second kind of language proficiency, required in the later years of schooling and for academic success, takes far longer to acquire and necessitates explicit and scaffolded teaching (Cummins and Man 2007).

In contrast, Haajira, commencing school part way through Year Two, paints a picture of utter bewilderment in her first few months. She recalled that, 'I used to get back home and try to speak English, like repeat the words but they didn't even make sense. So, I didn't know what I was saying'. But in a strange twist, rather than provide the ESL instruction Haajira so obviously needed, the school provided an Islamic Studies class:

When we came to Australia, the first school was in Ashfield, I remember. And the lady that took us were doing Islamic studies or something. She was a different culture so she didn't speak Arabic but she'll take us once a week. We didn't get much English at all. I remember like sitting in class and being isolated because the teacher didn't really care.

No doubt intended as a means of cultural maintenance, this class was a lost opportunity to develop fundamental language and literacy capacities. Instead of learning English or literacy in her home language, the Islamic Studies class involved 'stomp and chomp' activities in which students were taught about cultural phenomena such as stories, songs, and food (Allard 2006). This approach to diversity sees multicultural education offer little in the way of explicit

language input and, as with the similar ‘culture’ class for Pacific Islander students reported by Watkins and Noble (2013), Haajira’s experience underscores how multicultural education may act as a means of quarantining diversity.

As Table 5 indicates, while direct ESL instruction was provided for Warda, Tien, and Haajira, it was much later. For Haajira, this took place one year after she commenced school, while for Tien, ESL classes did not take place until Year Four. For Warda, they did not take place not until halfway through secondary school. The ESL support that Haajira and Tien received lasted approximately one year and was based on withdrawing the students to join a smaller ESL class while the rest of the class had English. According to Tien and Haajira, the focus of the ESL instruction was on acquiring basic vocabulary and literacy. As Haajira explained:

We had once a week English grammar teacher come and take like the students that needed help with English into another class. And, she would give us words like dinosaur, hat... And pictures and stuff and we have to identify them and then that was the only thing. Yeah, I think that was the only grammar.

While sounding very similar to Haajira’s experience, Tien found her ESL classes rather more instructive. She described how ‘she [the ESL teacher] would teach us about like famous Australian Olympians and stuff like that, and mammals’. Tien explained how the teacher focused on reading and writing in English – ‘we had to write like little, I don’t know, reports or something like that or what do you call... Like you just read about... Like she tells you everything about, just say that famous person and you have to write like one... I think it helped me a lot actually’.

However, the very act of being withdrawn from her normal class a few times a week after five years of being one of many caused Tien to

doubt herself. For the first time, she saw herself as different to the other children, as having different language skills:

Because I remember at that time in year four, I don't know why but I felt like the dumbest kid in my class. I think I was in the... I was in the top class for some reason. I think it was a top class and I just felt like a lot of other kids, they... I guess they were born here and everything and somehow they just seemed smarter.

Here, the impact of schooling can be seen in the layering of one habitus and identity over another. As with the notion of habitus clivé or the cleft habitus (Bourdieu 2004), Tien's placement in an ESL class created a sense of incongruity between her own identity, sense of ability, and that of the 'other kids'. This mismatch and its effect on habitus formation is a notion returned to later.

The above cases of Tien, Warda, and Haajira detail the practice of tacit English language instruction. These primary school-aged arrivals developed their language and literacy capacities principally through immersion, being left with mainstream teachers with little or no ESL training (Watkins et al. 2013). The above accounts also highlight the inconsistency in the ESL provision when it came – one year or four years after commencing school or not until high school. Particularly when the home environment is not likely to be one in which literate activities are privileged, this absence of language and literacy provision at critical times – early for Warda, Haajira, and Tien, and later when stakes were higher for Daniel and Rina – has lasting implications for educational attainment.

Navigating the playground minefield: The case of Talayeh & Mirwais

Unlike Tien, Warda, and Haajira above, who had a significant delay between arrival and receiving direct English language instruction, Talayeh and Mirwais had immediate ESL support. Both of these Generation 1.5 students arrived in late primary school, at ages 10 and

11 respectively. As with Tien and Haajira, the support they received was via the withdrawal model: they were removed from their normal class two to three times a week to study ESL with another teacher. As would be anticipated with a new arrival with no prior English experience, Talayeh recalled a focus on speaking and listening, with regular speeches and listening comprehensions. However, after only one year of basic ESL, Talayeh was fully mainstreamed into Year Six, a time when students are being actively prepared for entry into secondary school. In contrast, Mirwais, arriving at just one year older than Talayeh, had the benefit of three months of the ESL Targeted Support program in the final months of Year Six in a local primary school, and then was enrolled in a further one year at an IEC.

Where Mirwais had more time to make the transition to mainstream schooling, Talayeh did not. Consequently, the move to Year Six and a mainstream classroom was fraught. As Talayeh explained, 'a lot of the times, I remember in Year Six, I found it really difficult just being in the classroom'. Talayeh also struggled with the social side of school. A common practice of 'buddying' new students with other students in an attempt to acculturate them backfired in her case, as she explained:

I struggled a lot at school because they would put you in buddy system, and the person was from Afghanistan. So, his language is close to Persian. So, the teacher put me with this guy, and this guy kept annoying me. Like he would hit me, and I couldn't do anything to stop it.

For older children like Mirwais and Talayeh, the challenge of joining a NSW school was not simply a linguistic one: there were social and emotional barriers to learning and acculturation too. They were joining an environment in which friendship groups and allegiances were long established. The playground, the centre of primary school politics, presented opportunities for miscommunication, isolation and even bullying, as Mirwais explained:

It was different, hard, confusing. And sometimes I really didn't like it, because I couldn't understand the way people spoke, I couldn't read their facial expressions or their body language, and sometimes I tended to get into a fight with some of the boys because somehow I offended them.

Talayeh was particularly prone to being bullied, and as a result of this, she moved schools several times, as she recalled:

I changed schools a lot in primary and high school. I changed three primary schools in two years and three high schools. Actually, four including... Like, I went to a school when I first came, it's been like two, three months. And then, I went to another school right afterwards. So, it was another school before Parramatta West. But like, a lot of the times, I was bullied really badly. Because of the language, appearance, the way I look. It's a first thing. And also, the kids got other children to bully me. So, that was like the bad thing. Like, it wasn't just one or two people.

This experience would no doubt have undermined Talayeh's ability to develop a sense of belonging to any of these schools and so to invest to any degree in her education there. This would have been compounded by her parents' perception that their daughter's problems were due to her not trying. Talayeh recounted, 'they're [her parents] like, if you're a good student, you would enjoy anything, and go beyond it'. This view of the 'good student' implicit in the way affective factors have been treated in much SLA literature (Dornyei 2005, Bailey 1983, Krashen 1981) suggests that the disposition to learn is an innate quality and therefore not necessarily impacted by external conditions. However, what Talayeh's experience underscores is the tangible ways that negative prior educational experiences can shape educational trajectories by potentially leading to the creation of ambivalent dispositions to learning.

Survival English in the IEC: The case of Mya, Thanh, Mirwais, Gabriel, & Zafiah

As previously stated, arriving at secondary school-age is likely to result in far more standardised provision of ESL, at least in terms of duration. However, given that many students enter the system with limited, if any, English and increasingly with histories of severely interrupted schooling, the 40 weeks of instruction is considered inadequate for most (Miller, Mitchell, and Brown 2005, Olliff and Couch 2005). In terms of language learning, the Generation 1.5 students described a highly instrumental and basic approach. In Mya's words, 'the first thing we learn is English of course, a, b, c, d the basic, the alphabet, the sentence, basic stuff'. She did not recall any explicit grammar instruction, adding 'they give you a little story and stuff. They talk about it then you translate it and then you need to have questions something like that'. Zafiah too described instrumental language learning tasks, such as gap fill, report writing, and listening comprehensions at the IEC:

We go to excursions and we come back, we used to apply what we saw in the excursion on a piece of paper and we write it in, put things together, missing words and just listening to tapes and catching up.

Similarly, in terms of writing pedagogy, Mya described a focus on text when she explained, 'we just talk about readings and basic stories, then and answering some questions for comprehension'. There seemed to be few, if any, opportunities to learn to write extended or more structured responses. When asked if she was ever expected to write stories or even essays, Mya said, 'of course not. Intensive [IEC] is really easy. It's very fundamental'.

In contrast, for Gabriel, the challenge of learning not only English but also literacy in any language and the practice of school discipline was overwhelming. However, the IEC staff experience of new arrivals, often

with little or no background in English, engendered an understanding of the challenges facing students like him. Katie, a newly trained ESL teacher at one IEC, was acutely aware of the different learning and literacy experiences that students presented with, explaining that, ‘some students come with no schooling or disrupted schooling, so you’re not just teaching them a new language but you’re also teaching them the concepts and ideas, as well, in the KLAs [key learning areas]’.¹⁰ So it is clear that, unlike secondary teachers who may assume students arrive with comparable content knowledge to other students (Miller and Windle 2010), these specialist teachers recognise the challenge facing students like Mya, Thanh, Mirwais, and Zafiah of having to develop both language and content knowledge simultaneously. The IEC staff were also acutely aware of the added burden that students like Gabriel present with, having to acquire language and content knowledge at the same time as basic literacy skills and the discipline of learning at school.

Yet despite the understanding and experience of the IEC teachers, in that first year at the IEC, Gabriel found himself unable to engage in the classroom:

I remember my teachers used to read out something and then you have to follow it. The words were familiar to me, but I just could not read them... they have a chance for you to learn verbs and the alphabet and all that but, I wasn’t interested.

As the earlier discussion about pre-schooling experiences attests, at the time he arrived in Australia, Gabriel lacked not only the language skills and content knowledge required to cope in the IEC classroom but also the cognitive habitus. Gabriel’s experience demonstrates the particular challenge presented by refugee students. After the full year-long provision at an IEC spent coming to grips with the oral language

¹⁰ KLAs refer to key subjects such as English, Mathematics, and Creative Arts within the NSW primary and secondary curricula.

required for survival in the playground, many of these students may have only just been beginning to turn their attention to written English, as Gabriel's experience below attests:

When I finished [the IEC], I had to write like sort of like a letter or an essay and it was bad. Even I couldn't even write straight. My penmanship was... I couldn't even write straight, because we were just given... I remember I was given an empty piece of paper, white.

Therefore, even with specialist ESL training, the job of engaging learners like Gabriel, who have experienced significant interruptions to their education, is particularly difficult.

Notwithstanding the good intentions of the IEC staff, coupled with the departmental guidelines for ESL teachers stipulating that, 'ESL students' language learning will benefit from high expectations by teachers' (Multicultural Programs Unit 2004, 7), there was a view among the IEC teachers interviewed that, for certain students, progress can be limited. Sula, a multilingual ESL teacher of many years' experience, described a process of fossilisation, explaining that, 'when they [the students] get bogged down with something and they can't move past it, then... you can jump through hoops, but they're just stuck at that point and they're not really improving'. This sense of futility was no doubt underscored by Sula's views on the role of innate ability in academic attainment. As she explained:

Don't forget that we each are born with some sort of ability.

Experiences enhance it, but we do have a certain set of talents and skills. So, I think some of them [students] are more academically inclined than others.

Sula's comment invokes the notion of innate capacities. In contrast, as the previous chapter highlighted, a realist perspective on differential education attainment (Nash 2005b, 2005a, 2002b) argues that capacities need to be accounted for, but that the acquisition of certain cognitive and linguistic capacities - or habitus - must be seen as a function of classed conditions. Moreover, in the absence of a home

environment that facilitates the development of these capacities, the education system and teachers within it then have a far more significant role to play. However, this role is somewhat undermined by Sula's fatalism.

Jane, another IEC teacher with over twenty years' teaching experience, also had clearly defined views on the role of ability in shaping learning outcomes: in this instance, the role of students' culture. She stated that,

there's a difference between races and nationalities and their different abilities. Some like the Chinese or the Asians, they're really good on the written work, but the spoken and oral work is just a bit less.

Educators' expectations of learners can tend to mediate the learners' opportunity for learning (Watkins and Noble 2013, Cooke 2008, Rist 1970/2000). Possibly linked to the low expectations that some teachers had of learners, reading was not an explicit part of the IEC classroom practice at Katie's IEC. She indicated that while she 'encouraged' students to find books that they liked, this was far from a formalised and routine system of borrowing. Jane added that most kids 'didn't use the library anyway' and as a consequence, it was poorly resourced. In a similar finding, only three per cent of the teachers surveyed in Miller and Windle's (2010) study of Victorian teachers (Miller and Windle 2010) routinely provided students with age appropriate reading materials that were also easy to read. Given the well-established link with reading and writing outlined previously, and the fact that all but two of the students were unlikely to have ready access to English or even first language reading material at home, this omission on the part of school system would likely have consequences for the Generation 1.5 students' progression through university.

In terms of reading, then, it seems the school system has missed an opportunity to provide the kind of firm and persistent encouragement

needed to turn students with interrupted literacy backgrounds into engaged readers. This omission may also impact upon the way students identify as learners and 'readers'. As the previous chapter outlined, few of the Generation 1.5 students had developed a habit of reading, and several, including Rina, actively disassociated with literate activities, claiming that they 'weren't into theory and all that'. In this way, teachers' low expectations earlier on in students' education can have a profound impact upon how students see themselves and the formation of their habitus - and therefore, their sense of what is possible and reasonable for them to aspire to.

These generally low expectations of what the ESL students could achieve in their limited time at the IEC seemed to have led to a focus on 'survival English', very far from the kind of academic literacy needed for school and HE. For the most part, the teachers' focus was on teaching foundational literacy and grammar. Sula described her need-to-know approach to teaching:

You've got to work on a sentence level because they really don't have enough English to look at the whole paragraph. So, we... I mean we don't bombard them with all of that, but we sort of pick and choose from the grammar, which is the most relevant.

Katie described a similar emphasis on foundational literacy:

You repeatedly teach giving lots and lots of examples. Give colours. So, you might have flashcards and all the nouns are pink, and then all the verbs are blue, and you get them to make sentences like that, just to try and get it. But it takes a long time, it really does.

In spite of departmental guidelines that students' prior language be seen as 'a valuable resource for knowledge and skills transfer to the English speaking context' (Multicultural Programs Unit 2004, 7), staff views on the role that a first language plays in the acquisition of English were decidedly mixed. For example, Sula clearly expressed the

view that students needed to distance themselves from their first language in order to progress in English. As she explained:

if they restrict themselves even outside school hours to their own language group, then you find that they're much slower, they're progressing at a much slower pace. But some of the Arabic speaking students, I've spoken to them and they even watch TV in Arabic, so I said, "Try not to watch TV in Arabic, try to watch a bit more English". The kids who don't improve much because they're surrounding themselves with their mother tongue that they already speak, and we tell them that and say, "You already speak this language, you need to move away from it a bit, you need to learn English. You live in Australia now, so try to..."

On the other hand, Jane felt strongly that home language maintenance, particularly literacy, is important for English language development, arguing that:

But I actually say the opposite; I say "Stay reading in your own language, to keep your literacy up." Keep your literacy up even though... even if the syntax is different, if you are literate in your language, it gives you the advantage.

The discrepancy in the two views above reveals the different pedagogic focus of the teaching staff, with Jane identifying the need to maintain first language literacy in order to facilitate the development of English literacy, and Sula targeting fluency and oral proficiency. Both these pedagogic approaches are likely to have produced very different outcomes (Blommaert 2008). These differences therefore further highlight inconsistencies in ESL provision: an inconsistency, even among specialist staff, that has been well documented elsewhere (Menken, Kleyn, and Chae 2012, Menken and Kleyn 2010, Olsen 2010, Freeman and Freeman 2002). Moreover, despite recognising the value of first language literacy, Jane's view suggests that students need to be encouraged to continue reading their home language in their own time. No suggestion is made by either teacher that opportunities to

develop or use home languages might exist in the classroom. This kind of ‘subtractive’ education, in which home languages are not developed in school and instead are largely replaced by English, is characteristic not only of ESL instruction in Australia but around the world (Menken and Kleyn 2010).

While the students’ and IEC teachers’ accounts above describe a program of foundational English language and literacy instruction that could in no way prepare the Generation 1.5 students for the academic language demands of secondary school, the 30-40 weeks spent at an IEC, with its dedicated space, small class sizes, and specialist language teaching staff represents the most appropriate new arrival ESL provision on offer to these NSW students.

Beyond playground English

Language as literacy, or the language to ‘support, articulate and convey abstract and higher-order thought’ (Cross 2011, 170) captures the notion that students need to develop their language and literacy beyond the functionally communicative stage if they are to achieve comparable outcomes across the curriculum once in the mainstream classroom. However, such capacities need to be developed over the longer term and in ongoing ways, such as by continued direct ESL instruction – that is, after the initial new arrival period of ESL allocation; or via appropriately resourced and skilled non-specialist classroom teachers’ practice. But, as Table 5 indicates, at the time the Generation 1.5 students were enrolled, this was not often the case.

At one extreme, Thanh benefitted from four years of additional ESL support after a full year at an IEC. Not only did he receive the most generous provision amongst the Generation 1.5 students studied, but Thanh was also the only student to be placed in an ESL stream, as opposed to withdrawal-style teaching. This means that from Years

Eight through to 11, all of his subject classes were taught in an ESL class by a specialist ESL teacher. This extended provision is also particularly interesting given that, apart from Daniel, Thanh was the only Generation 1.5 student to arrive in Australia with some English knowledge. At the other extreme is Gabriel, who, after one year at an IEC, attended a mainstream public school where there was no additional ESL support available. After seeing him struggle to cope, his older sister then paid for him to attend an independent school where he had a further six months ESL support, before he finally gave up and left school altogether. Gabriel's experience is not uncommon, with increased school failure rates and poor attendance a widely reported outcome for limited literacy students (Miller and Windle 2008, Cassity and Gow 2005, Olliff and Couch 2005).

But perhaps it is Zafiah's experience that represents the ideal in terms of the allocation of ongoing ESL support. Firstly, she studied for the maximum period (four terms or 40 weeks) at an IEC. At the end of that period, she was allowed to repeat Year Nine, having completed this level of schooling in Iraq, rather than moving into Year 10, as her teachers did not feel she was ready to undertake the School Certificate (the minimum qualification for early school-leavers). During that first year in a mainstream school, she received ongoing ESL support, which she found to be not only helpful in terms of her language development but also valuable for the confidence she gained. Zafiah explained:

We used to talk about the beginnings of opinions and things, and agreeing and disagreeing, sentence constructions and argument. And once, because I was that anxious, I got into debate. I got myself into debates, about capital punishment. Until now, I do remember and I got certificate for that because I got my team to win.

Warda, who began school in NSW at age six, also received ESL instruction in a mainstream high school, but there were specific circumstances surrounding the provision of this ESL support. In the

year preceding this, Warda and her family had returned to live in Palestine. During this time, her English language proficiency declined, and upon returning, Warda was identified as needing ESL. In this regard, the direct ESL instruction can be seen as almost a new arrival provision. If Warda had remained in the school system, it is highly doubtful she would have been offered the language support. For Warda, this ESL support provided her with a small and supportive learning environment in which she learnt grammar for the first time and was given opportunities to write 'long responses' and 'read passages'.

However, most of the Generation 1.5 students interviewed did not have their longer-term language and literacy needs met, as they did not have access to a school that resourced specialist ESL teachers beyond the new arrival provision. Instead, any ongoing English language and literacy development was in the context of regular classroom learning in mainstream school, often with teachers without ESL expertise (Watkins et al. 2013). This meant that these EAL students were continuing to acquire English at the same time as having to master content across all the key learning areas, and, in the cases of students like Gabriel, also having to master literacy for the first time.

While the Australian Institute for Teaching and School Leadership (AITSL), a national body overseeing teacher education, makes explicit reference to the professional knowledge teachers should possess in teaching students of diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds, what this actually entails is not specified (Watkins et al. 2013). The students' accounts of their experience of language and writing pedagogy suggests a lack of scaffolding and form-focused instruction. For example, Mirwais reported not being taught grammar in his mainstream secondary school at the same time as being expected to write 'essays, creative stories and responses... at the Year 10 level'.

Haajira also claimed she was not 'taught' grammar in secondary school and that this continued to impact on her confidence and progress at university, especially in a course that required explicit grammatical metalanguage. She explained that:

I reckon most of the...what do they call it? Like the structure of things... structure of text, that what was missing so like grammar and stuff like that. I never got taught how to do grammar at all. So then when I have my quiz for Analytical Reading and Writing [university subject], I'm doubting myself. So I'm doubting myself even though in class I can pick out an object but I never knew that this was called an object or adverb.

In terms of writing instruction, particularly academic writing instruction, many of the students perceived they were not taught adequately. Haajira described having the same teacher for three consecutive years in secondary school, who, according to Haajira, did not teach her or the other students how to structure longer texts, assuming they would work it out themselves. She recalled, 'in year seven she [the teacher] would just give us like introduction, body and conclusion. She would just say, "Yup, this is the structure." So we didn't really know what goes into those'. Talayeh and Mya also felt they had to rely on their existing language resources to learn how to write essays. Mya explained, 'like I never think I'd ever learn to like... It's just like, I don't know, I don't think the teacher taught me effectively... you just have to write it, that what you do'. Others felt they were taught the basics but wish they had more opportunities to practice. Daniel recalled focusing on comprehension and creative writing at school at the expense of essay writing. Warda also felt she would have benefited from more practice writing essays, recalling that 'all I remember was perhaps I probably got to write one or two essays and we had to write a story. That's all I remember in English'.

These gaps in provision – both in terms of explicit form-focused instruction and writing instruction and feedback – left a lasting anxiety among these Generation 1.5 students, as Rina conveyed:

I don't know, but I think if you have the basics of English and all the verbs and nouns and all these stuff when you were in primary, I think you'll be a good like... the language will be better than others who don't have the basics.

Talayeh echoed this sentiment, suggesting the need for more scaffolded learning opportunities when it came to academic writing. She commented, 'if there was more... like if from the beginning, they did emphasise on writing, well I could practise like simple, from simple to harder'. Haajira also alluded to what she perceived to be major gaps that continued to hinder her progress at university:

I'd have to like learn those words that I'm supposed to have like way like in primary or high school. Like essay writing, simple structures, I'd have to learn it again. I'd have to learn things like journal writing or report. Yeah, so I have been... I'm like, in a way I'm behind. I'm catching up what I'm doing now and what's behind me that I've left.

For Gabriel, the gaps in his learning were even more fundamental:

I wish I could just be maybe really young and start with the basics. Yeah, I missed it. So my education is all everywhere... if I could just get the opportunity where I could just start with the basics with the teacher... even the penmanship. My writing's terrible. I never realised it.

These experiences highlight a failure to make a connection between what the Generation 1.5 students knew, needed to know, and were interested in. Such a decontextualised approach to language may be symptomatic of a more systemic mismatch between the pervasive language pedagogy and the needs of EAL students. According to Blommaert (2008, 84), 'the fact is that whenever we encounter language in an institutional environment, we encounter a strange and

unfamiliar object of dubitable relevance to the experience of immigrant pupils’.

Beyond a lack of preparedness and training in ESL pedagogy on the part of mainstream teachers, the lack of attention paid to the ongoing language and literacy needs of these students may also reflect the phenomenon of the soft bigotry of low expectations already discussed. Certainly, studies have reported early ‘dumbing down’ in public secondary schools (Hammond 2009, 2008). In a survey of Victorian teaching staff, respondents articulated a lack of confidence in ESL students’ ability to write and work independently, and that this inability was due in some part to a perceived gap between students’ levels and the requirements of academic content (Miller and Windle 2010). Despite this, the role of effective teaching in redressing this gap seems to have been overlooked.

Mya’s own experience of writing pedagogy in the mainstream classroom suggests her teachers placed little emphasis on understanding, saying that, ‘most people think that because we don’t know English, that would mean we don’t know other subjects’. This sense that teachers might mistake issues with proficiency in English with a lack of general intelligence (an attitude exhibited by Sula, for example) impacts approaches to teaching. Again, Mya explained:

Because they know that you have ESL background, they actually provide a lot of samples. You can actually just *copy it* or summarize it. But mostly people copy it and when they’re writing essay *they just memorise it* [emphasis added].

She also described a spoon-feeding style of teaching that did little to prepare students for university:

I think, in high school most of the time the teacher would... had a plan. You have to follow the plan. It’s not hard... It’s just that you have to follow that system, you don’t have your own choice.

Therefore these Generation 1.5 students were expected to keep up with their English monolingual peers with little opportunity for differentiated learning or reasonable challenge. This evidences a 'sink or swim' approach to these students' English and academic literacy development beyond the first arrival provision. The effect of the lack of explicit, form-focused language instruction meant also that these Generation 1.5 students missed opportunities to develop metalinguistic knowledge. Metaknowledge is crucial for students to develop if they are to make the most of their existing capacities by acquiring the cognitive habitus required to meet the demands of a new field, such as HE.

Bourdieu conceived of forms of language associated with dominant groups/class as arbitrary. The education system was portrayed as an enforcer of this arbitrary code: in this case, standard written English. However, the kind of linguistic and cognitive tools Generation 1.5 missed out on are in fact essential not only to success at school but to successful functioning in society, particularly today's 'knowledge economy'. In this way, the acquisition of adequate literacy and language skills and critical thinking in schools needs to be seen as 'forms of powerful knowledge rather than the knowledge of the powerful' (Nash and Landers 2010, 3) that can and should be imparted through schooling. That is, teaching should be viewed as a means of transmitting critical capacities as well as dominant codes.

Finally, the lack of an understanding of grammar or sense of preparedness for academic English at the university level is a source of great anxiety - an anxiety that is understandable as, according to Shaughnessy (1977, 11), 'grammar still symbolizes for some students one last chance to understand what's going on with written language so that they can control it rather than be controlled by it'. These experiences no doubt shaped the students' views on education,

attitudes towards their future learning, and ability, as well as their practices in university. In other words, these early learning experiences are implicated in the formation of a Generation 1.5 habitus in terms of ambivalent and conflicted feelings about their place in HE and concomitant patterns of ambivalent investment.

Too little, too late

The language provision that the Generation 1.5 students received was at best patchy and at worst inadequate. The primary school-aged arrivals (Tien, Warda, Haajira, and Talayeh) each had an average of just over one year of ESL, although for all except Talayeh, this support came at least one year after they arrived. In the main, then, these younger Generation 1.5 students were operating in an English medium classroom from the outset, with little provision made for the fact that they did not speak English. Clearly for these students, their ESL provision, both in the short term and then longer term, was inadequate. Those students who arrived during secondary school fared slightly better in terms of the duration of the ESL support, averaging just under two years. Furthermore, all except Rina received support immediately, with the majority benefitting from the intensive and small classrooms of an IEC. But yet again, this provision fell far short. As indicated earlier, the allocation of ESL in the IEC is 30-40 weeks, with the maximum of 40 weeks being for 'special needs' students with severely interrupted schooling and/or limited L1 literacy. Given the length of time estimated to take to develop even basic oral proficiency in a second language, let alone adequate academic literacy capabilities, it is hardly surprising that many students exit the IEC at the foundational level and then go to their age-determined year group in a mainstream school inadequately prepared. By any standards, such an outcome means that time allocated in the IECs is, for most students, insufficient (Olliff and Couch 2005).

It is recognised that the NSW ESL New Arrivals Program, as with many similar programs, does not have unlimited resources. Certainly, IEC staff are under no illusion as to how the system works: as Jane explained, 'it's funded for a certain amount of time and that's it. Ready or not, they go'. Instead, the IEC staff interviewed worked within the system, preparing students by whatever means available to cope in the mainstream classroom, anticipating that, despite the intentions of the program, many students might not receive any further ESL support after leaving the IEC. As Sula explained, 'we advise them to do subjects that will help them, like Fundamentals of English and things like that, where they'll actually get more support with their English and they seem to be coping a lot after that'.

The uneven provision of ongoing ESL in mainstream schools is even more disquieting given the broad agreement about the long-term developmental nature of language and academic literacy acquisition, as well as the generally accepted view that the existing new arrival provision is inadequate. For these reasons, ongoing language support is crucial to the development of the kind of linguistic habitus valued not only in school, but later in HE. Even EAL students with well-developed English language and literacy skills will face difficulties as the academic demands become greater and the language they are expected not only to understand but also produce becomes increasingly complex, decontextualised, and specialised within particular discipline areas in the later years of secondary school and beyond (Carrasquillo, Kucer, and Abrams 2004, Lo Bianco and Freebody 2001). If, then, the literature, students' personal perspectives, and staff experience all point to the inadequacy of the ESL provision, particularly the ongoing post-new arrival allocation, it is difficult to understand why this situation persists. What is not so difficult to understand now, however, is why and how these

Generation 1.5 students came to write the way they do, as detailed in the previous chapter.

Literacy: The new ESL

Resources to meet the ongoing English language needs of students are becoming scarcer. Some attribute this to what Michell (2009) calls 'the ESL disappearing act', arguing that ESL has been allowed to fall from discourse and policy and has been supplanted by a focus on literacy. Beginning with the Howard era *Literacy for All* (Australian Government 1998), and continuing with recent decisions to broadband funding and categories, ESL has increasingly been supplanted by a new discourse of differential learning, encompassed in *Every Student, Every School* (NSW Government 2012). This policy has resulted in language background becoming conflated with general disadvantage, and English language provision being replaced by a focus on literacy. In other words, literacy is the new ESL.

Yet this policy shift runs counter to classroom experience. In a recent statewide study, 90 per cent of NSW public school teachers surveyed identified English proficiency and literacy in the top three areas of need for EAL students (Watkins et al. 2013). However, the system was never designed to rely on specialist ESL teachers to solely deliver language support. Currently, only 27.4 per cent of NSW teachers have pre-service training in ESL (Watkins et al. 2013), although 6000 new migrant students are entering the public school system each year (ESL Services Fact Sheet n.d). In 2012, over 46,000 ESL students did not receive specialist ESL education and so needed to be catered for within the mainstream classroom (Smith 2015).

In addition, while Australian teachers may be broadly supportive of increasing linguistic and cultural diversity in their school, many lack a systematic approach to language and literacy education and also

report lack of confidence in their ability to teach this in classrooms (Hammond 2008). Moreover, secondary teachers, with their limited training and experience of the diverse and complex language and literacy needs of Generation 1.5 students, are not necessarily well-placed to deal effectively with these learners either (Reeves 2006). Indeed, most teachers' training is based on the monolingual norm, with students arriving at secondary school with at least some prior subject knowledge and a certain degree of metalinguistic awareness as well as familiarity with routines and processes of formal schooling. Many low-literacy Generation 1.5 students like Gabriel and Rina, however, arrive at high school with reading and writing levels comparable to lower primary school students (Windle and Miller 2012).

Despite an estimated 130,000 students in the current state system from ESL backgrounds (ESL Services Fact Sheet n.d), the public school system is largely based on a monolingual assumption of what it is to be a literacy learner. The aforementioned *Literacy for All* (Australian Government 1998), the national framework for literacy education that was in place at the time all of the students in this study went through the public school system, makes no explicit reference to the needs of ESL students (Cross 2011). Rather than incorporate the large body of empirical research on SLA, literacy, and language, teaching frameworks in Australian schools largely overlook SLA perspectives (Miller and Windle 2010). At best, the result is an unhelpful confusion between ESL, second language teaching, and literacy teaching. At worst, ESL simply becomes conflated with issues of literacy teaching, to the detriment of Generation 1.5 and many other EAL students. The problems that these policies and practices create, evident in the writing these Generation 1.5 students produce, are then passed on to the tertiary sector.

Language and literacy: Whose responsibility is it anyway?

Given the sheer numbers of students with EAL backgrounds entering the education system, it seems teaching linguistically diverse student cohorts such as that in this study is rapidly becoming the norm. Certainly, professional standards adopted by AITSL and the New South Wales Institute of Teachers (NSWIT) indicate that all teachers are required to 'demonstrate knowledge of teaching strategies that are responsive to the learning strengths and needs of students from diverse linguistic, cultural, religious and socioeconomic backgrounds' (AITSL 2011, 5) and 'demonstrate knowledge of a range of literacy strategies to meet the needs of all students' (New South Wales Institute of Teachers 2005, 5). But even if not aware of this requirement, teachers can hardly fail to notice the linguistic and cultural diversity in their classrooms, to the point where Miller and Windle (2010) make the assumption that all teachers, regardless of content area, need to be language and literacy teachers. Moreover, as the choices young adults make in terms of post-school destinations are largely shaped by their success or otherwise at school (Vignoles and Crawford 2010), English language and literacy needs to become everybody's business.

Conclusion

By detailing the pre-school and schooling experiences of the eleven Generation 1.5 students, the conditions by which a Generation 1.5 habitus may develop is evident. As part of their habitus, the cognitive and linguistic capacities glimpsed in the students' academic writing are acquired via a complex process of inculcation and explication, as Bourdieu (Bourdieu 2000, 143) states:

To be able to use a tool (or do a job), and do it 'comfortably' – with a comfort that is both subjective and objective, and characterized as much by the efficiency and ease of action as by the satisfaction and

felicity of the agent - one has to have '*grown into it*' through long use, sometimes *methodical training* [emphasis added].

By drawing on biographical data and the students' own accounts of their home literacy environment, it is clear that many of the students did not have the kind of prolonged exposure to English and literacy that Bourdieu refers to above. While it is by no means uncommon for children, particularly from EAL backgrounds, to commence school having little in the way of English language and pre-literacy skills, the implications of this are stark. As detailed in Chapter One, there is a significant body of work that indicates that while it takes only two years on average for students to acquire basic oral proficiency in English (BICS), it takes an average of five to 10 years to achieve the age and grade level norms of language and literacy of English monolingual peers (Collier 1987). If students have received no formal instruction in their home language, such as Tien, Gabriel, and Talayeh, it can take seven to 10 years to develop sufficient academic literacy to have equitable learning outcomes across the curriculum (Collier and Thomas 2009, Garcia, DiCerbo, and Center 2000).

Despite Bourdieu's own focus on the role of schools in social reproduction, school-based education can still be seen as a way of 'leveling the playing field'. Indeed, for many of the students in this study, school represents the main means by which the kind of language required for meaningful engagement in further education and employment may develop. However, based on the accounts of the Generation 1.5 students, their experience of ESL provision at both the immediate and longer-term stages cannot be considered adequate. The current best-case scenario ESL provision on its own falls well short of bridging gaps between EAL students and others. Collier and Thomas' study (2009) showed those students who received between one to two years of direct and dedicated ESL input still only managed to achieve at the tenth percentile of academic attainment. As this chapter has

outlined, in NSW public schools, the ESL new arrival provision was often patchy and characterised by short, intense periods in which survival English was the focus. The students' ongoing language needs were largely unsupported. Therefore, with current practice, there is every reason to believe that this gap may never close (Levin and Shohamy 2008). In the context of widening access to HE, the consequences of this gap for the students themselves, the tertiary education sector, and wider society will only continue to grow.

Chapter Six – ‘I belong to everywhere, but I don’t belong to anywhere’: Ambivalence and Hybrid Investments

So far, I have sought to illuminate the experience of the Generation 1.5 students in higher education through an exploration of their patterns of academic practice, linguistic capacities, sociobiographical histories, and the kinds of pedagogic input they received. In this chapter, I address the nature of the various dispositions towards learning that the eleven Generation 1.5 students display as it is these that shape practices, as well as how and to what extent existing capacities are activated. Emerging from the complex layering of their early socialisation and migrant experience, I examine the students’ narratives of hybridised identity and ambivalent desires regarding language, education, and family. This aspect of the Generation 1.5 habitus is discussed with reference to Norton’s notion of investment (2000, 1995), which challenges earlier treatments of motivation in SLA studies. Norton demonstrates how students’ identities, family dynamics, positions in the workplace, and financial situations impact on their willingness to practise English. Here, an exploration of investment is useful to illustrate the impact of the Generation 1.5 students’ present complex and multiple contexts of action upon their engagement with HE. Investment not only helps explain some of the differences in practices observed between the students but also unsettles the link between action and interest, challenging the idea that participation in the game (in this case, HE) presupposes a total and unconditional investment in the game and its stakes (Bourdieu 1992).

The responses that the students make to their position in the field of HE is further complicated by their experience of migration. Involving

the continual negotiation of different social spaces and fields, this experience undermines the assumption of the coherence of habitus. This plurality of social contexts that Generation 1.5 students inhabit produces a repertoire of dispositions; that is, a range of different dispositions that are activated or deactivated depending on the social context. Therefore, this chapter moves from a consideration of the notion of a collective Generation 1.5 habitus to an exploration of the multiple subject positions at the individual level. Further, this plurality of dispositions inherent in each of the Generation 1.5 students produces differing responses, as well as contradictory and ambiguous practice by certain individuals. Some students experience confusion and estrangement, while others manage to better align their practice to the expectations of university study. However, all the students display some degree of reflexivity allowing them to make choices, often strategic choices, albeit from within a limited range of options.

‘I just feel more better, more comfortable if I sound like them’: Ambivalent identities

As discussed in Chapter One, recent research in SLA has foregrounded the role of identity in language learning. In particular, the context of migrant language learners such as Generation 1.5 has challenged more simplistic notions of identity. For many Generation 1.5 students, the question of who they are is far from straightforward, with the experience of migrating during childhood or early adolescence, a time when identity formation is paramount, contributing to the development of complex identity narratives (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Through these narratives, students attempt to make sense of perceived differences between homeland ancestries, ethnicity, faith, languages, and daily existence in a host country. This more complex and dynamic conception of identity is captured by Hall:

Identity means or connotes the process of identification of saying that here is the same as that or we are the same together, in this respect.

But something we have learnt from the whole discussion of identification... is the degree to which the structure of identification is always constructed through ambivalence. Always constructed through splitting. Splitting between that which one is and that which is the Other (1991, 47).

In Hall's conception of identity, ambivalence is seen as integral to the very processes of identification in which people shape their sense of self via commonality and difference. This splitting is evident in the way Tien, for example, attempted to manage complexity through a process of quantifying her identity:

I feel so Australian yet I do feel very Vietnamese as well. I'd say I'm Vietnamese-Australian. I think I do identify with Australian culture. It's 50/50 like half of me, identify with Vietnamese culture like I do very Vietnamese things, but then I do Australian things as well

Perhaps as a result of arriving in Australia when she was three, there is little indication of conflict between what Tien saw as her two halves.

However, for most of the other students, an overt sense of ambivalence was readily apparent. Thanh, for example, struggled to describe himself, oscillating between aspects of his cultural background:

I'm Vietnamese-Australian or Australian-Vietnamese as long as... Well, I feel compelled to let the person know that I am Vietnamese as well as... I think Australian-Vietnamese or the reverse is a good way of telling people who I am but I don't want them to know that I'm just Australian because that's not entirely true to me.

For Thanh then, neither culture alone was able to capture the complexity of his identity. Thanh went on to highlight his frustration, caused by what he saw as inadequate language skills resulting from his hybrid identity. He complained, 'the thing I hate the most about being in this Generation, the 1.5, is I mean *between*, like I'm not really an expert on one language, or I'm not really... It's just *in-between*, basically [emphasis added]'. By way of resolving what he saw to be

problematic, Thanh later opted to circumvent the question of his identity entirely by claiming, 'I try to think of myself as a global citizen. So in that way... Actually I really don't care what people think about me and my background'. Here, Thanh's declaration that he does not care what people think is at odds with his earlier concern that people should have an accurate understanding of who he is, underscoring the complex and sometimes contradictory subject positions that many Generation 1.5 students inhabit.

Like Thanh, Talayeh adopted a similar strategy to manage the question of her identity by avoiding choosing one form of cultural or national belonging over another. She explained:

I don't like to confine or limit myself to just one country or one nationality. I feel like we're all noble human beings and that we're all like part of the whole. We're not like separate or different. And so like, I just feel I'm part of the human family.

For Talayeh, the Baha'i faith exerted a much stronger pull than nation or language and influenced not only her self-identification but also her investment in university study.

Mirwais, however, felt the need to choose between the country of his birth and the country in which he lived. He experienced this choice as a daily dilemma:

Even now I still kind of dilemma when it comes to my sense of identity; I can't really decide where I stand. I don't know whether I stand in the Australian world or I stand in the Afghan world. I think in the middle of it. And sometimes, it gets a little bit too hard to... I can't choose. It gets really hard where I have to choose to go. Because when I'm at home, I have to choose. I have to select myself as being an Afghan because I speak in that language, I follow the tradition and cultures of the language, and that's my identity, because I'm dealing with my parents, my family, and we all talk in the same language; we all believe in the same thing. But when I'm outside of home, at school or

university, I have to try to be as modernised or Australian type of person because I have to be able to relate to my friends in order to keep interest between all of us.

Mirwais sought to minimise the confusion that hybridity engendered by quarantining the different aspects of his identity into the private realm and the public realm. However, this compartmentalising appeared only to heighten his confusion and discomfort as he strove to make sense of his position, as he explained:

I tend to lose it, my sense of identity becomes muddled up or clouded and I become confused sometimes whether am I an Afghan or am I an Australian Afghan. And especially when I think, when I try to respond to my Afghan friend, when I'm thinking I'm English I can't stop speaking in English and if I'm thinking in Afghan even if it's an Australian person I speak to them in Dari [emphasis added].

Indeed, like Ang's assertion that 'any identity can only be a temporary, partial closure, for there is always a "but" nagging behind it, upsetting and interfering with the very construction of that identity' (2001, 17), most of the Generation 1.5 students experienced their hybrid identities as unsettling and confusing. Rina felt she existed at the intersection of different cultures and languages, causing confusion not only about who she was but what she should be doing. As she explained, 'I think I am half in between. I'm still confused in what to do and stuff'. This confusion is reminiscent of what Bourdieu terms hysteresis, which results from the rupturing between habitus and field. However, for all of the Generation 1.5 students, this rupturing is not an exceptional circumstance but a function of their migration, as they have moved backwards and forwards between home and school and one language and another. So while the experience of uncertainty is characteristic of many students' transition to university, Rina's confusion is unlikely to be a short-term response to a crisis but an acquired disposition that will shape her choices about study later on.

Zafiah also experienced the discomfort borne of an ambivalence towards English. This discomfort, perhaps exacerbated by the dynamics of parenthood, constituted an 'awkwardness built into the fabric of daily existence' (Noble and Tabar 2014, 23). The fact that Zafiah's children were born and being raised in Australia complicated her own relationship to English. Despite attending university to develop her skills in this area, Zafiah felt threatened by English. She tried to make her home an English-free zone, explaining how she frequently screamed at her children, "Speak Arabic!" So, they don't forget their language and they stay focused on the language because it's important to'. Furthermore, when asked if she ever used English at home with her children, Zafiah responded, 'sometimes we do have slips, we do speak English', as if English was something that encroached upon or even corrupted family communication. As with Mirwais, this attempt to segregate her languages and identities not only led to confusion but also negatively impacted upon her willingness to invest in English.

For Daniel, confusion was less apparent. Instead, the ambivalence he experienced manifested as a tangible loss and estrangement. Daniel maintained a strong identity with his place of birth mediated through a significant connection to the Cantonese language, describing himself as 'full Cantonese'. This connection, in part sustained by his family's annual return to Hong Kong, shaped his desire to return to his place of birth once he had 'made it' in Australia. This sense of his temporary relationship to Australia obviously complicated his relationship to English, with Daniel worrying that 'English gets in the way' of maintaining credible Chinese, diminishing his vocabulary and threatening to leave traces of an Australian accent. His urge to protect his capacity in Cantonese was more than pragmatic: Daniel experienced it as a necessity. He explained, 'it's like without Cantonese I can't communicate with my old friends. So it's like without

Cantonese I don't feel a sense of belonging'. This challenge to his own sense of identity helps explain his reluctance to wholly commit to developing his English in any sustained and disciplined way, a reluctance that was evident in his approach to his writing and studies in general. Yet paradoxically, Daniel viewed English as the sole bond between himself and the country he had lived in since he was thirteen, explaining that 'I can't relate myself to any Australian, except English'. This tension between his present and past, reality and ideal, placed him in a position of powerlessness, as he described:

I'm actually stuck in between, I think. I'm trying to... Like I know I *can't* go back to Hong Kong unless I finish uni or something, but all of my close friends are in Hong Kong. Friends in Australia aren't as great. So I'm stuck in between where I *can't* get much of good new friends and I'm missing the old ones and I *can't* make too much contact with the old ones because they're not in Australia [emphasis added].

Far from being a matter of identifying with one nation or language over another, Daniel's narrative reveals the potentially disabling impact of ambivalence upon the Generation 1.5 habitus. His repeated use of 'can't' to describe his sense of being stranded between his past and present, old friends and new, as well as his country of origin, exposes the lack of agency and frustration underlying his experience.

In contrast, Warda claimed no conflict in her sense of who she was. Like Tien, Warda had been in Australia from an early age and said, 'I feel like I'm Australian, like I'm not really using *my culture* to live here. I'm just living how people are living here. Not really using *my cultural stuff* here [emphasis added]'. However, while Warda downplayed any difference between herself and other Australians, the phrase 'my culture' betrays a sense that Warda perceives an 'inside outness' (Noble and Tabar 2014, 23), undermining notions of unconditional belonging. Moreover, for Warda, English proficiency posed a further hindrance to her sense of identity and belonging. She explained that it was important that she sound like a 'native speaker... as I like to feel

part of that culture, not apart and like, I just feel more better, more *comfortable* if I sound like *them* [emphasis added]'. Despite this, as was shown in Chapter Four, Warda had yet to acquire a comfort with English, suggesting that far from having been acquired as second nature, English remained a source of anxiety and regular reminder of a fragile belonging to the field.

Mya also saw language as an overt indicator of belonging and identity, choosing to describe herself as a function of her linguistic practice. She said, 'I am Burmese but I using Chinese language'. It is interesting to note that Mya did not choose to identify even in part as an English speaker or Australian. As with her preference for reading in Chinese and Japanese, this affiliation possibly reflects the fact that, as with Warda, English has not yet been embodied within her habitus. In addition, Mya's lack of English proficiency had implications for her sense of ownership of English and, by extension, her sense of belonging in Australia, as she commented:

I say I belong to everywhere, but I don't belong to anywhere. So, it's in the middle. If you are positive, you belong there. If you're not, that's negative and yeah, sometimes I say, "Who cares about English?"

In contrast, Haajira had firm views on where she belonged. Having arrived in Australia at age seven, she felt little conflict in identifying as Australian. Indeed she was at pains to assert her legitimacy, describing her campaign to assist her family to shift from what she referred to as 'culture-culture' to more Western ways. She also insisted on speaking to her family in English, even when they consistently responded in Arabic. However, Haajira also recognised that her belonging was not something she could claim unilaterally. Indeed, she often found herself having to legitimise her claim to be Australian. She explained that:

The first thing if someone asks me I'll be like, Australian. But then, because of the way I dress and my looks and stuff, they say, "Yeah, I know, but where are you from?" So, I'd say, "Okay [sigh]. Originally, I'm from Kuwait because my grandparents and my parents are from there. They were born there. But I'm born in Saudi Arabia and my ancestry is from Iraq."

Despite identifying strongly as an Australian and possessing a well-honed explanation for the benefit of curious strangers, Haajira still recognised that belonging was very much contextual:

There is like some areas that I reckon if I was to walk in... In Camden,¹¹ I did that once and everybody stared at me. But it's not their fault because they're a very small community and they like to be in a way, isolated. They're not more in with the multicultural. But I can walk in Liverpool, Campbelltown, like anywhere, Bankstown, anywhere. And... I belong somewhere.

As with other migrants, Generation 1.5 students may choose to think of themselves as Australian, or hybridised, or English language speakers, or even successful students. However, if others do not recognise this identity, it adds to a sense of not belonging. The role of recognition in shaping identity was also one of which Gabriel was well aware. Gabriel, who had little memory of his life before coming to Australia from Sudan, considered 'English sort of my first language'. And yet, he concluded:

It's like me walking on the street and Australian kids could be like perhaps, or anyone for example let say Indians, Asians or whatever, if they asked me where I'm from and I said I'm Australian they would sort of like hesitate. "What? You are Australian?" I can think that I am Australian, but I would never sort of really be recognised as Australian.

¹¹ Camden is a small semi-rural town on the urban fringe of Sydney with a low EAL population.

Gabriel was acutely aware of the effect not only of others upon his identity but of time. Over the course of the interview, he referred to himself in several different ways, saying:

I'm Sudanese and then perhaps Australian second. Sort of like British, when they first came to Australia, their mentality though they consider themselves English, then gradually sort of started to consider themselves Australian and English second. And I believe that's the sort of process I'm going through right now.

Later, Gabriel admitted that:

It's mix right now, like we are Australian-Sudanese. And we have BBQs in Australia and play a bit of cricket sometimes in the park and all that and even like my nephews they play a little of football like Aussie rules. I mean Australia is home so you have to assimilate but then when you sort of don't feel accepted in a way - you might get indirectly discriminated in a way and that's the point where you really consider yourself Sudanese-Sudanese. But at the moment I'm Sudanese-Australian, pretty much.

Gabriel and Haajira's comments above are a reminder of how identities are not simple categories of nation or language but entail complexity and movement across time and space. In many of these cases, ambivalence is more than an aspect of identity construction as Hall (1991) suggested; it is an integral part of the Generation 1.5 habitus in which the students have embodied a state of being that is 'neither this nor that, but both and yet not fully either' (Noble and Tabar 2014, 27). This has implications for the way the students engaged in their university studies and their writing, with some like Daniel appearing to resist the conventions of academic study, and others such as Thanh striving to prove themselves as more legitimate than 'native speakers'.

Hybrid investments

To this point, the notion of a collective Generation 1.5 habitus encompassing a set of dispositions – cognitive, linguistic, and affective – has been employed. However, far from representing something unitary, homogeneous, and stable, the Generation 1.5 habitus, like the Generation 1.5 students' identities detailed above, is by nature multiple, unstable, and contradictory. Indeed, this multiplicity of dispositions is by no means unique to Generation 1.5 students, as Lahire underlined in the notion of the 'plural actor':

Habitus, as it is defined by Pierre Bourdieu... corresponds to a type of individual inheritance of very coherent dispositions. An inheritance of this kind can only arise in extremely homogeneous conditions of primary and secondary socialization. But the socio-historical conditions for this are only rather rarely met with in highly differentiated societies (2010, xii).

But it is not only the heterogeneous nature of early socialisation experiences that lead to the acquisition of a plurality of dispositions within an individual habitus. Lahire (2010) also draws attention to the role of the different present contexts of action that generate complexity at the individual level. This more complicated picture is best illustrated by detailing the social situation of the individual students and how this impacted upon the pursuit of self-interest in each case. So rather than simply a notion of a collective Generation 1.5 habitus, it is important to consider the heterogeneity within this cohort. In this way, the multiplicity of schemes of action and repertoires of behaviours specific to each of the students' context of family, home, language, friendships, community, and ambitions may be revealed.

For several of the Generation 1.5 students, the impetus for undertaking tertiary study was the promise of material gain. Through providing access to university, their English and academic language

development was viewed as a means to acquire a credential, from which stems the possibility of financial reward through enhanced employment prospects. Participation in university also brings with it symbolic status, as Tien, Thanh, Mya, and Daniel's family's attitudes to their children's university entrance indicated. This was also the case for Gabriel. He had a clear eye on the end game, which imbued in him a passion for studying. Initially, this end game was basketball. Gabriel wanted to become a professional player and, mistaking the Australian HE system for that of the United States, thought that any hope of pursuing a career in basketball would necessitate getting a sporting scholarship to a university. Later, after experiencing his first success as a student, he discovered he enjoyed learning. He explained, 'I found a passion to wanna study something, and that was law... and now I can sort of see what I want for myself'. This discovery transformed Gabriel from a student who was 'wild at school' with no literacy in both his home language and English to a student who was determined to 'transfer to law after one semester... that is my goal and like for myself; that's the reason I came to uni'.

For Mirwais, gaining entry to university and doing well was its own reward. Mirwais knew the intrinsic value of education and had a strong desire to learn. Perhaps as a result of his family privileging his education from early on, Mirwais not only valued learning but also derived great pleasure from it. This love of learning sustained him during difficult experiences in the Australian mainstream primary school classroom: 'I can't really remember about the bad things that happened in the class, but I can remember that we used to do crosswords. That was one of my favourite things'. This passion and curiosity also guided his choices in life, as he explained, 'that's why I'm at university - because of my interest in words and vocabulary'.

As with Gabriel, Daniel also considered university a means to get ahead. He acknowledged that he needed good English and a higher education to 'get higher pay and better jobs'. However, this belief did not necessarily translate to disciplined practice, highlighting the asymmetry often present in the students' dispositions – that is, between what they feel they should do and what they are willing and able to do. Instead, as Daniel's aim was to return to Hong Kong with an Australian qualification, he seemed content to simply pass each unit with minimal effort. In fact, what seemed of more concern to Daniel was his ability to speak English fluently and with a minimal accent. The desire to distinguish himself from more recently arrived students who 'have to pay full fees and have bad accents' at the same time as experiencing anxiety about English threatening his legitimacy as a Cantonese speaker demonstrates the multiple and conflicting dispositions that underlie the different responses of these Generation 1.5 students.

For Haajira and Zafiah, learning English or studying presented a way of exercising independence. Haajira's interest in learning manifested as an opportunity to prove what she could do, explaining that she chose English as a university major 'to improve my weakness, rather than take my advantage'. Possibly inspired by her mother's determination to teach herself Arabic when denied access to a formal education, Haajira displayed a similar strength of will and discipline to not only maintain her home language, Arabic, but to also become reasonably literate in it. She attended community language classes for years even when none of her siblings did and described the practice of 'Googling jokes' she found in Arabic magazines so she could understand them.

Zafiah also saw learning English as a chance to exercise some independence. As outlined earlier, her parents and husband did not

necessarily approve of what she was doing. In particular, her parents could not understand why a woman with a young family would willingly assume more responsibility by undertaking a university education. Zafiah's determination to test her limits was evident from her early days in Australia, as she recalled:

People used to laugh at me. Yeah, because with no English background and no English terminology, I used to push myself and embarrass myself to a limit where even if I can't speak, I'll try to push myself...

And people used to say, "Ugh, what a courage." Some people won't do it, but that's how I was very anxious to learn and to move on.

Zafiah's family's attitude and even that of others in the class around her perhaps exacerbated her impatience to learn. When we met in the early weeks of her degree, she insisted, 'now, there is no time, I need to learn quickly. I don't wanna waste two, three, four, five, or six years of just trying to get a degree', revealing a frustration borne out of previous attempts at finding a vocation. Before enrolling in an Arts degree, Zafiah had commenced but not completed other courses, ranging from certificates in social work to diplomas of accounting. Her family's attitude to her study meant that she felt the need to justify her decision to enter HE by making tangible progress.

As with Zafiah, Thanh experienced an anxiety to prove himself: in this case, to stake his claim as a legitimate English speaker. One of his earliest experiences upon arriving in Australia was being bullied in the playground of the IEC he attended because of his heavy Vietnamese accent. This experience was pivotal in shaping Thanh's subsequent learning trajectory as he decided there and then to,

detach from Vietnamese. I tried to get myself away from it as much as possible, just to learn English as quickly as I can. So I did not associate myself with the Vietnamese language for the first maybe eight, nine years.

Following his mother's return to Vietnam, Thanh began living with an English-speaking homestay family, an arrangement that continued for

years. This 'native-speaking' environment may also have influenced his attitudes towards English and, specifically, who he feels 'owns' English. Thanh held deeply skeptical views about monolingual people's claims to legitimacy as English speakers. He pointed out that, 'I live with Australian people and they make the same mistakes. The little mistakes that you think only you make, they make it too'. Here the strong investment in being an accurate user of English, even more so than a so-called 'native speaker', may have inspired Thanh's almost obsessive need to acquire new vocabulary, telling me that 'whenever I hear a word that I don't understand, I really want to understand the meaning of it. So I ask or I go to Google, and I look up the definition'.

However, despite his own diligence and capacities with English, Thanh voiced doubts about his own legitimacy as not only an English speaker but also a university student, claiming that he and other Generation 1.5 students who migrated to Australia around the same age as himself 'couldn't write sophisticated words or academic writing'. More than simply a challenge to confidence, Thanh's view of the value of his own linguistic resources, rather than being a conscious calculation, shows the working of his linguistic habitus - one in which a comfort with the valued forms of English has not yet been internalised (Bourdieu 1992). Moreover, unlike the students in Riazantseva's (2012) study who also did not necessarily have total mastery of English and academic language, Thanh was unable to 'talk success'. This lack of self-belief, related to his complex sense of ownership of language, played out in the degree to which he was willing to invest in his higher education (Kanno and Varghese 2010, Ortmeier-Hooper 2008, Leki 2007). This had real consequences for Thanh's progression in his degree, as is discussed in the following chapter.

Beyond serving individual gains, a willingness to invest can also be a response to the attitudes of some of these students' families. For some

families, such as Daniel and Mya's, the pay-off from an investment in their children's education was improved social standing. This possibility of increased family status then shaped their own orientations to education, including patterns of engagement in their children's learning. Not surprisingly, as a result of their parents' investment of time, energy, and financial resources, some students felt a sense of duty to their family. Certainly, the sacrifice many migrant parents make to build a new life, ostensibly for their children, can create a powerful sense of obligation (Portes and Rumbaut 2005). For example, Mirwais attended university as much to meet his family's expectations as for himself. As the first person in his family to attend university, the pressure to succeed and find a well-paying job was profound, as Mirwais explained:

My oldest sister, she went to TAFE, but she got married so... And she had a child, so she can't study. My older brother finished high school last year and he is doing painting apprenticeship. My other older sister is going to TAFE right now and studying Finance. So, they [family] expect a lot from me. In the future I am expected to look after my parents and my siblings.

Tien was also aware of the expectations her family had for her to succeed at university and the status that such success would bring. She explained that as a result of her getting into university,

we've got a name in the Vietnamese community now, and everything like that. It's a really good thing to say "My daughter goes to uni or has been to uni. She's going to become a teacher".

Thanh had a similar experience, reporting that his family,

think it's great as long as I succeed. They really want me to get a job and become successful and part of doing this is for them as much as it is for me. With my Vietnamese family, expectations is a big major thing and I feel like even though I'm living here and I'm not really close to them *I feel compelled* to accomplish whatever it is they expect from me... It's a sense of responsibility for me, just by being the only boy in the family and being from that background [emphasis added].

Rina also perceived significant pressure from her family – in particular, from her uncle, a doctor who sponsored her family from Iraq. Rina indicated that even if she did not wish to continue with her studies, she had no choice but to persevere:

They always want me to achieve high marks... especially, because I'm the eldest they expect me to do more like finish education, go to work. It's like if you don't want to work, you just like... Because I can't just leave it [university] because I'm not into theory and work, I'm into practical stuff. So I have to listen to them and keep on this field.

Mya likewise bowed to the expectations of her family, justifying her parents' emphasis on education as follows:

If you came here as a worker, compared to student, it's a different life. So the worker maybe it doesn't really matter. If I can speak, I get my money, I can survive. I can go back. But the education, because our family is more focused on studies, so we have to learn English.

Mya therefore had internalised authority: it had become embodied as a disposition towards learning. In another indication of a willingness to do what her family expected of her, Mya agreed to study a Bachelor of Education when her own preference had been to study media and journalism. Here it is evident that her own interests were subordinate to those of her parents.

As can be seen above, for some students like Rina, Thanh, and Mya, the expectations of family are held in tension with their own wants and needs. Despite also feeling a strong responsibility to achieve for his family, like Mya, Thanh signalled discontent with the course he was doing, confiding that, 'I'm interested in philosophy but as I'm doing a business degree, it's not really my course. So I am not sure if Economics is the way to go for me'. Both Thanh and Rina's cases again underscore the ambivalent desires that are internalised into heterogeneous and conflicting dispositions towards university. These students' experiences also complicate the assumption that persistence signals a total and unconditional investment in 'the game' and its

stakes (Bourdieu 1992). Several of the students persisted in their studies not necessarily because they wanted to, but because they felt they were obligated to do so. It could be argued, then, that Bourdieu's (1992) assertion of the fundamental and largely unconscious link between actions and self-interests is difficult to sustain. Here, it is clear Thanh, Rina, and Mya's reasons for continuing at university are more complicated than simple self-interest. Furthermore, the students are all too aware of the different pushes and pulls acting upon them – as Mya complained, 'I came here [to Australia] so every country I came, I have to study both languages. Now it's three languages. They [her parents] have to understand me that I've been to so much country and have to study'. Indeed, Mya, Warda, and Rina's relationship to English and learning reflects a willingness to accept the reality of their existence. As Mya explained, 'I'm learning English because I'm living in English background countries. So, English for me is a tool of survival'.

Warda and Rina also identified the necessity of learning English. Both students drew a starkly utilitarian comparison between English and their home language, as Warda explained:

I find English more important to me. I use it more than Arabic. I mean I use it at home but English, I'm using it everywhere. I'm using it at Uni, I'm using it at school. I'm using it when I go to shops. I'm using it everywhere. I need it more than Arabic.

Rina too suggested that because of the importance of English in her life,

it's better not to talk in Arabic especially in these places [university] because I want to learn more English more than Arabic because I already know the basics of Arabic. Even if I forget, I can go back to it. But if I forget English, that will be really hard and I need it in my life. It's a part of my life now.

But again, the tension between these students' families' desire for status and their own desires was evident, with Rina pronouncing, with a distinct sense of resignation, that English was 'a part of my life now'.

In contrast, Warda viewed the necessity of learning English as an investment in belonging, telling me that English was ‘a language that has helped me and others to get along with people, help in studies and is a wonderful language to learn’. For her, then, investment in speaking English and being a student was driven by a desire to belong.

Belonging in terms of wanting to fit in with family or other groups constitutes a strong driver and is often used to explain patterns of engagement and attrition in HE (Thomas 2012). However, given the ambivalence many of the Generation 1.5 students experienced, belonging is far from straightforward. For instance, Talayeh referred often to her life outside university, complaining that, ‘I feel like they treat you like you have no other life outside of university, but my life outside of university is quite intense as well’. She went on to describe her significant volunteering role, in which she mentored youth groups in the local Baha’i community as well as supporting newly arrived migrants from different linguistic backgrounds. Her role involved teaching, a role she willingly and actively engaged in, as she described spending hours in the planning and preparation for her youth sessions and learning several different languages to be better able to connect with newcomers. In contrast, Talayeh displayed limited interest in English or learning in the context of HE. These starkly different levels of investment inside and outside the university underscore contradictory dispositions towards learning. On the one hand, Talayeh was an active and engaged mentor in her community, and on the other hand, a passive and disengaged learner in the university. Talayeh’s different dispositions were activated or deactivated depending on context, indicating a plurality of dispositions to meet the plurality of social contexts that she moved between (Lahire 2003).

A further consequence of the incongruence between many of the Generation 1.5 students’ dispositions is the asymmetry between what can be conceived as acts and beliefs; in other words, inconsistency

between what some of the students do and say. This asymmetry, by no means unique to the migrant experience, can in part be explained by the claim that certain beliefs, despite their strength, only manifest verbally and not in actions (Lahire 2003). The Generation 1.5 students' practices already described are self-reported; they are what students *say* they do. But, evidence from their performance in their written assignments suggests that it would be more accurate in some cases to view these practices as what the students *think* they do – in other words, their dispositions to *believe* rather than to *do*. For example, Mya confided that she lacked confidence with her writing to the degree that she was 'scared to look back'. The fear, according to Mya, was that if she found a mistake, she'd have to redo her assignment, suggesting that she saw herself as a disciplined person, a 'good student'. However, the extreme level of inaccuracy in her submitted work indicated that she did not review her work at all. A fear of what she would find clearly affected her approach to writing, indicating the power of the affective in determining her actions and a conflicted investment towards her university studies. Similarly, as outlined earlier, Rina articulated a belief in the importance of English. However, there was a distinct lack of desire and pride evident in her approach to her studies. Rina's impatience to be finished with an assignment suggests she did not readily engage with the intellectual challenge of writing an assignment or the opportunity to improve her written language skills through careful editing. It was simply a task to be completed. Her investment in her studies was coloured by a pragmatism borne of her ill ease and lack of proficiency with English.

Similarly, being a product of different fields and modes of socialisation, students with a Generation 1.5 habitus may also demonstrate asymmetry between their capacities on the one hand and practices and orientations to learning on the other. Lahire (2003) argues that the view that we delight in doing things we are good at

does not always hold true. In other words, competence does not necessarily generate a passion or desire to do something. Talayeh, Thanh, and Daniel were relatively competent English language users but had conflicted views about the courses they were undertaking. This impacted their investment, practices, and therefore disposition towards learning. In other cases, students may have ‘internalized specific norms, values, or ideals without ever being able to develop the habits to act that would allow them to attain their ideals’ (Lahire 2003, 337). This means that students may believe they should be a successful student but not yet have the skills, such as academic literacy, to achieve this. Mya, for example, experienced the frustration of not having the ability to communicate her ideas through her academic English writing:

You might understand the context, the theory. When they ask you question and you might easily express yourself speaking but in writing, you feel a bit lacking writing essay. Even, you know that it’s the right answer for this question, but when you write it down it just sounds weird.

Here it is clear that Mya was disposed to engage in the ideas and task assigned to her, but still lacked the necessary tools, or cognitive and linguistic habitus, to effectively undertake her university studies, with an affective aversion to even proofread her work prior to submission.

Responses to ambivalence: Reflexivity in action

The discussion above has examined the way past and present experiences of migration and ambivalence come to be embodied at the individual level as complex, plural dispositions. However, more than a means of encapsulating this complexity, the notion of a Generation 1.5 habitus refracted through the individual offers a mechanism for reconceptualising the role of these students in reshaping their own practice. Bourdieu’s theory of practice emphasises the non-reflexive nature of practice in which people act unconsciously in accordance

with their habitus (Bourdieu 1977b). An underlying assumption here is the happy fit, or the complicity between habitus and field. But, as the discussion so far has highlighted, this assumption is difficult to sustain, particularly in the case of the migrant, who is constantly faced with mismatch and discomfort. In the case of these students, this is discomfort and unease with using English, particularly the academic language valued and expected at university.

While the notion of hysteresis provides an account of instances in which habitus may be ill-fitted to field, Bourdieu (1977b) portrayed this situation as the exception rather than the rule. Further, the reflexivity that results from discomfort generated in these moments of crisis may be short-lived. Yet, as the detailing of the Generation 1.5 students' multiple and conflicting identities and investments suggests, incongruence and discomfort are likely to be enduring, embodied within their habitus - something of which the students were acutely aware. In this way, reflexivity is not an exceptional response but a condition of migration, making Generation 1.5 students, as migrants, 'useful figure[s] for questioning the unity and inertia of the habitus' (Noble and Tabar 2014, 25). The discomfort experienced by the students comes about in a range of different ways and is also realised differently. Therefore, it is best understood empirically, through an analysis of the different individual responses to the students' multiple dispositions as they encountered HE and academic language requirements.

'I don't really feel it's my thing': Institutionally-sanctioned inertia

For Bourdieu, the most likely response to the crisis presented by a habitus which is out of step with the requirements of a field is inertia. Bourdieu conceived of inertia as a kind of paralysis in which, as a result of not knowing how to act in a given field, people are 'lost for words' (Bourdieu 1992). Moreover, he viewed this inertia as pre-

reflexive; it simply happens in the absence of any alternative response. Inertia, however, may be a calculated decision brought about by an aversion to putting oneself in situations that call into question the knowledge, practices, or capacities one has accumulated. In other words, inertia can be seen as a conscious desire to maintain the status quo and to avoid situations that may force one's habitus into question.

As already mentioned, Rina confessed a reluctance to engage more than absolutely necessary in a range of practices such as academic reading and writing, no doubt because she found them difficult. However, rather than seeking help in the form of the university's academic support programs or online language resources that could provide her with the tools required to better meet the requirements of study, Rina opted to do nothing. Despite this, she had a reasonable understanding of what she was required to do as a university student. For instance, when required to engage with scholarly material, Rina complained that,

it's not my personal idea because if I understand what they [university lecturers] want, I can actually talk and I can talk non-stop about that topic, if I understand it. But if I don't and I have to take it from another person and then, change the words and stuff, I don't really feel it's my thing.

Here, then, it seems that Rina understood, at least in broad terms, the requirement to research and paraphrase, but, because she found speaking from her own experience easier, she avoided these other academic practices. While beginning students may feel an academic voice to be quite alien (Ivanič 1998), many come to recognise that acquiring academic discourses is beneficial for progress though HE. Yet Rina felt powerless to address her English language needs, claiming 'even if I tried my hardest, I wouldn't be perfect as an Aussie student who was born here'. By attributing her current linguistic capacities to the unalterable fact that she had not been born in

Australia, Rina appeared to acquit herself of the need to alter her situation.

As with Norton (2000) and Goldstein (2003), who portrayed the practice of silence not as an unconscious response but instead a strategy based on self-interest, Rina's inaction can be seen as strategic. By virtue of passing enough assessments and subjects, Rina had realised that it was possible to get by at university without having to adopt practices that she did not feel comfortable with or that required significant effort. In other words, by not compelling Rina to adjust her habitus to better suit the requirements of HE, Rina's inertia was institutionally-sanctioned, the results of which were evident in her writing. In such a way, field is crucial in shaping students' practice and educational trajectories, a matter explored in greater depth in the next chapter.

For other students, inertia may also be interpreted as an act of resistance. Daniel felt constrained by his parents' choices. He was unhappy about his parents' decision to bring the family to Australia when he was thirteen. Studying at university was, as Daniel put it, 'the purpose of being here [Australia]', and not the result of any particular decision on his part. This perceived lack of agency provoked a resistance to learning both formal academic English and adopting the kind of sustained academic discipline required to improve his grades. As with Rina, Daniel was content to simply get by. Yet Daniel's early socialisation and education were such that he had internalised intellectual habits and acquired certain educational capital, which acted as a safety net. Therefore, while he could get away with doing as little as possible most of the time, when he needed to, he had resources he could activate. In this way, his resistance to his parents' authority was not at the expense of his own self-interest.

‘It’s you, it depends on you now’

Such constrained forms of agency were also evident in the other Generation 1.5 students’ responses to their situations. However, in these cases, their strategy was to adjust their habitus to better suit the requirements of the fields they inhabited. For some, this process of adjustment began almost immediately upon arrival in Australia. Home language loss is often viewed as a natural outcome of the circumstances surrounding Generation 1.5 students’ migration (Lambert 1981): that is, by virtue of being immersed in an English-speaking environment, students’ first/home language skills atrophy. While this was the case for Tien and Gabriel, it does not provide the full picture. Instead, some students chose not to use their home language, going out of their way to avoid using it. This was a strategic decision on the part of Thanh, who considered his progress in English reliant on him ignoring his home language:

So there was just mostly Asian students [at the IEC], but I made an effort not to speak in Vietnamese with the Vietnamese student. So I think I learned just by *forcing myself* to speak English every day and even when I do come home, I don’t watch any Vietnamese stuff or read anything... Every night, it would be like the ABC channel, the news. The news was quite important, just to try and get what... picking up different accents from various backgrounds and people [emphasis added].

This strategic practice was in response to the shock that the sudden change from living and studying in Vietnam to living and studying in Australia brought about. Thanh calculated that the way to get through the new arrival period was to actively avoid any other Vietnamese speakers. This practice is no doubt evidence of a capacity for self-discipline, but it is also suggestive of a need to belong. As was outlined earlier, Thanh was teased about his accent. This experience likely contributed to his need to be seen as a legitimate English speaker, but this was at the expense on his home language.

Thanh was able to be reflexive about his practice. At the time of interview, unlike the other students, Thanh was in his second semester. He had struggled in his first attempt at university, passing only half the subjects he attempted. However, rather than immediately continuing into a second semester as did Rina and others, he made the decision to withdraw, concluding that 'it [failing] wasn't because of my intelligence. I was just not prepared for uni *mentally* [emphasis added]'. Moreover, during his second attempt at university, Thanh had been able to make changes to his practice: for example, using resources to his advantage, including actively seeking feedback from teaching staff on his writing and working independently on his language skills. These practices, better aligned with university, improved his understanding of the expectations of writing at this level as well as his linguistic capacities, and demonstrates that it is possible to transform one's habitus.

Other students responded to gaps between their own practices and what they perceived to be required at university by adopting the 'it's up to you' attitude. These students were not only aware of possible shortcomings in their own preparedness for university but also believed that it was their primary responsibility to address these. Tien's assertion of 'I know I can improve' suggests that for her, learning was not only something within her control but also something necessitating her own hard work and determination. Another student who actively tried to adjust her practice to better align with the requirements of HE was Warda. Warda's awareness of her own difficulties with writing prompted her to adopt strategies to improve her English:

Yeah, but I'm trying to write a story now. I wrote a story, in English say, two weeks. And I'm doing this other thing. I'm writing our life story, history, in English so I can get my vocabulary to be good. Yeah, that's why, and it's hard to write more.

However, again indicating the asymmetry between some of these students' dispositions to act and believe and between their practices and capacities, Warda's attempts to build her vocabulary had not yet yielded results. In other words, it is not enough that the students recognise their needs or even develop the practices and dispositions expected in HE. They must also have the means to meet these needs, indicating the crucial role of teaching in bridging gaps between habitus and field. Therefore, it would seem overt instruction is fundamental to developing not only relevant skills and knowledge but also the capacity to learn effectively. Without this, many students like Rina may have little choice but to continue with the ineffective academic practice they have established.

Like Tien and Thanh, Mirwais also asserted his own potential to affect educational outcomes, insisting that,

as human beings, we never stop learning. And if we give our attention to language, rather than things that cause problems for us, for example, troubles, family troubles, or friends' troubles. If we actually give our 100% to learning a language, I think we can go beyond just the level of proficiency. We can achieve more.

As outlined in the previous chapter, Mirwais' practices were reflective of this belief in the power of discipline and effort. He was not only disposed to work hard, but when he experienced gaps between his capacity and desired outcomes, he consciously adopted new strategies to address the shortcomings. For example, as already outlined, he changed from relying on a bilingual dictionary to an English-only dictionary soon after migrating to Australia.

Perhaps more than any of the other students, Gabriel's very position at university demonstrates a series of strategic choices. Unlike several of the other students, who enrolled in university at their parents' urging, Gabriel's decision to study at university was entirely his own. As he

explained, 'I can sort of see what I want for myself... because I did not have much guidance'. Furthermore, to do this, he had to adopt entirely new practices and acquire the capacities that would enable him access to HE. This entailed gaining financial resources via full-time work, studying language and literacy in the evenings, and completing his HSC independently of the school system.

Because of his fractured life before arriving in Australia as well as lack of family support, it is difficult to argue that this self-disciplined, self-aware approach was a product of his upbringing. Nor is it easy to see it as a product of his time in the NSW school system, which, by his own admission, he largely wasted. Rather, the extreme mismatch between Gabriel's existing habitus and that which he could see necessary to prosper triggered the desire for transformation. From this came a range of strategic choices, aimed to bring about that transformation. For example, as stated earlier, Gabriel was the only student to undertake a pre-university preparation course. This course provided him with knowledge about the kinds of resources available to students. However, being aware of the opportunities is not the same as taking them up - as he explained, 'there's a lot of help which is available but it's just a matter of knowing where they are and having the time and willingness to do'.

Unlike Rina, Gabriel had both the desire and capacity to seek help and adopt those practices he felt would be advantageous in meeting his educational goals. This course also actually equipped Gabriel with the linguistic tools to manage in first year university. As a result, Gabriel gained confidence, explaining that, 'like I'm confident with structure. Like I know what's expected of what I should do, it's just in terms of really communicating sort of like academic sort of way'. This experience indicates how vital effective pedagogy is to the capacity to transform one's habitus. As Gabriel went on to explain:

When I did my HSC I was confident, but then when I came to Uni I was a little bit nervous because it's like a big step. And then when I first did my business law in-class essay, not my best which is an academic skills essay. And I got my results back you know, it wasn't like... I had 70% the first essay, but that sort of gave me confidence that *I can do it* [emphasis added].

As with identity, one's practice is significantly shaped by recognition from others (Watkins 2010). If external feedback suggests a strategy is working, people are likely to continue with it. In this case, Gabriel's result in his first university essay acted as a signal not only to persist in his current practices but also that he belonged at university, because he had met the expectations of his lecturers. In this way, the marks students receive can have pedagogic value. However, the manner in which students interpret the feedback they receive in terms of grades very much depends on their individual habitus and what academic success looks like for them. As was shown with Rina earlier, simply passing enough of her subjects to progress to the next semester was an indication of success, and success that meant she did not have to alter her approach to academic endeavour in the process.

Conclusion

In referring to his own experience as a working class student moving through the French education system, Bourdieu describes the effect of 'a very strong discrepancy between high academic consecration and low social origin, in other words a cleft habitus [which is] inhabited by tensions and contradictions' (2004, 100). Similarly, the notion of a Generation 1.5 habitus entails an ongoing mismatch between habitus and field. However, unlike Bourdieu himself or other accounts of subjects with a cleft habitus (for example, see 'Shaun' in Reay 2015), many Generation 1.5 students faced a more complex disjuncture. As has been shown, many of the students here experienced a conflicted

relationship with English, their families, and their education. Daniel was torn between the competing desire for status as a local student and being a fluent English language speaker and the desire to be true to his Cantonese identity. Likewise, Rina struggled to reconcile her dislike of study with her family's expectations that she earn a degree. These pushes and pulls of status and belonging impacted all the students' patterns of investment in their language learning and higher education. It is these tensions and contradictions that are integral to understanding the Generation 1.5 habitus.

The very contradictory and ambivalent nature of the Generation 1.5 habitus is also evident at the level of the individual, in which discrepancies between actions and beliefs, desires, and capacities are pronounced. Taking reflexivity as the likely response to this plurality of dispositions and the mismatch with the field of HE, the relationship between action and interest is also significant. This suggests that, unlike the presupposition of a complete and unconditional investment in the game, the choices students make are often far more complex and unpredictable. All these students exercised agency in their language learning and university studies. For some, this amounted to what is more traditionally associated with scholarly practice – seeking feedback, using available resources, and developing language and literacy capabilities. For others, it was inertia that resulted. In Daniel's case, this operated as a form of protest, and with Rina, a means of avoiding the effort required to change, a position that seemed to be sanctioned by the local field of HE that she inhabited. It is the dynamics of this, both the field of HE and how it is realised at a local level, which I now explore.

Chapter Seven – Succeeding to Fail and the Cost of Persistence

Having examined the influences on the collective Generation 1.5 habitus as well as the multiple and sometimes contradictory dispositions of the individual students, this final chapter returns to the starting point – that is, the experience and progress of the 11 Generation 1.5 students in the field of higher education. HE policy and practices at the national level, such as admission requirements, language standards, and the primacy of retention, are shown to misalign with the needs of these Generation 1.5 students, by allowing them to progress through their degree programs largely underprepared and unsupported. Similarly, local field conditions in terms of methods of teaching, learning, and assessment constitute a mismatch with the Generation 1.5 habitus, exacerbating the students' sense of ambivalence and discomfort and challenging attempts to belong to the local institution. As sites for interactions between staff and students, therefore, these local institutional conditions highlight the impact of field upon habitus. As 'the lived experience of teaching and learning – from both student and tutor perspectives – is central to understanding student writing' (Ivanic and Lea 2006, 7), this chapter introduces the perspective of two tutors from Ward University to further explore the ways in which the field impacts upon the specific linguistic and cognitive habitus of the Generation 1.5 students. While these are the attitudes and practices of individuals, they can, to some extent, provide valuable insight into institutional policy and pedagogy.

Moreover, while the analysis here centres on one particular institution, the policies and practices that are outlined are indicative of a broader pattern across the field of HE. Here, the focus is both the visible and the invisible institutional practices and policies that in many respects

can act as a barrier to successful educational outcomes. Caught between competing discourses operating in HE, the Generation 1.5 students in this study not only experienced the challenge of reconciling their own complex and sometimes ambivalent positions regarding their education, but also experienced an ill fit between their own learning needs and the pervasive policies and practices in today's HE sector in Australia.

Disparate performance: Generation 1.5 one year on

As has been evident throughout this thesis, Generation 1.5 is a complex and heterogeneous cohort, with varying factors affecting students' performances. Their academic trajectories over the first three or more semesters of their undergraduate degree were equally varied, with their academic practices and linguistic and cognitive habitus not necessarily predicting the outcomes described below. Table 6 summarises the students' academic results in terms of two measures: GPA, expressed as a number out of seven, and an average mark in four writing-based units. These units were selected on the basis that a significant component of the assessment was extended written work, such as reports or essays. The units also included those that were core to the two degree programs the students were undertaking (Bachelor of Arts, Pathway to Teaching, and Bachelor of Business), as well as those from which the writing samples analysed in Chapter Four were drawn.

Student	GPA	Average (%) in 4 writing-based units
Mirwais	5.250	72.75
Talayeh	4.500	66.00
Haajira	4.222	60.25
Daniel	4.167	57.25

Mya	4.167	55.00
Tien	3.917	61.75
Thanh	3.182	63.5
Zafiah	3.000	56.00
Rina	2.273	49.50
Warda	1.778	38.75
Gabriel	0.000 ¹²	68.25

Table 6: Summary of students' results over three semesters.

However, as always, numbers can provide only part of the picture. Firstly, as Table 6 indicates, there was a group of students who were doing well: Mirwais, Daniel, Haajira, and even Mya and Talayeh. Their GPAs were relatively strong and, with the exception of Mya, they all managed consistently sound results, with passes and credits and the occasional distinction. This was a group who appeared to be acquiring a feel for the game.

Despite his lack of effort in his business law assignment, Daniel received a credit in that unit and, apart from a single accounting subject, passed all his subjects over the period the research was conducted. Similarly, Haajira, who wrote about Australia's alliance with Great Britain and the US, did reasonably well with solid passes and two credits, giving her a GPA which not only allowed her to transfer from her Bachelor of Arts to Education but also permitted her take on an additional study load. Also using his good marks to transfer, Mirwais, the Afghan student who wrote about Frantz Fanon and the Australian middle class, transferred from his combined Bachelor of Business and Commerce and Bachelor of Arts degree to a law degree. In his first semester, he earned three credits and a

¹² Gabriel's GPA reflects the fact that he had transferred to a new course - Bachelor of Law -and failed the first three law units he attempted.

distinction, a pattern that continued into his second semester. At that point, Mirwais opted to attend a different university.

While Mya and Talayeh also did well, their situations were quite different. Initially, Mya did very poorly, as her essay on Little Red Riding Hood suggested would be the case. After failing half her units in first semester, she was classified as 'at risk', although surprisingly, in her other two units, she managed credits. Despite continuing to scrape through her English-based units with marks hovering around 50 out of 100, Mya achieved a decent GPA by excelling in foreign language units (Mandarin and Japanese). In this way, it could be said that Mya was playing the game strategically by selecting subjects that played to her strengths. Talayeh, the Iranian student who tackled Nathaniel Hawthorne and Gothic literature, passed three units, as well as achieving a distinction in another (The Anthropology and Philosophy of Religion). However, she decided to defer her studies at the end of her first semester, preferring to pursue her work with the Baha'i community in a youth spiritual empowerment program.

There was also a group who had consistently weak results, with a pattern of passes and fails and repeated attempts at units. Chief among them was Rina, the Iraqi student who composed a brief essay on the film *Bend it Like Beckham*. In both of her first two semesters, she was classified as 'at risk', having failed 50 per cent of the units she attempted. As a result, in her third semester, she was restricted to three units, two of which she narrowly passed, although she failed the third. Warda, whose plagiarised essay on cultural theory indicated that she was struggling to meet the language demands of university, found herself in a similar situation to Rina. She failed more than half the units attempted in her first semester, and after three semesters, had the lowest GPA of the group. Despite having a reduced load (three instead of four units each semester), she failed five out of six units

over the next two semesters, with some marks as low as 28 out of 100. Finally, Zafiah, whose critical review on the topic of Australian citizenship earned a fail (42), was also classed as 'at risk' after her first semester, although she went on to pass both her units in the following semester. Her enrolment history showed indecision, with Zafiah enrolling and withdrawing from a number of units before the census date. She also changed her degree program after two semesters, swapping from a straight Bachelor of Arts to the Pathway to Primary Teaching degree. In her third semester, after initially enrolling in two units, she opted to defer from her studies for a semester. These students may not have acquired a feel for the game, yet were allowed to persist.

The last group consists of Tien, Gabriel, and Thanh. These were the students who, after a promising start, experienced a downward trajectory and, in the case of Gabriel and Thanh, failed altogether. To begin with, Tien, who had been living in Australia since she was three and submitted an insightful essay on after-death communication, saw her results decline over the three semesters. After earning two credits and two passes in her first semester, she went on to straight passes and then a fail. Her GPA reflected a downward trajectory.

Gabriel, the ambitious Sudanese student, enjoyed a measure of success with two credits, a distinction, and a pass in his first semester. Furthermore, in his second semester, despite having very little mathematics, he passed three accounting and statistics-based units and earned a GPA of four. This impressive result enabled him to reach his goal to transfer to law. However, after transferring, he failed all three units attempted, resulting in a zero GPA. Thanh, the Vietnamese student who had experienced previous failure at university, had been managing reasonably well, with a mix of passes and credits over his first two semesters. However, in his third semester, he failed three out

of four units through absentee fails (he did not sit the exams) and then abruptly left university.

The above accounts highlight some unexpected results. In the first instance, it is surprising that Mya did so well, given her fragile control of English and her underdeveloped language and academic practices. In the second group, it is not unexpected to find Rina, Warda, and Zafiah struggling. However, what is noteworthy is that Rina and Warda persisted in their university studies, despite failing numerous times and accruing considerable financial debt.¹³ Finally, that Thanh, Tien, and Gabriel experienced a significant decline in their academic trajectories is the most surprising outcome. All three students had established effective educational practices and orientations to learning in HE. Moreover, they had comparatively well-developed English and academic language capacities, suggesting the paucity of traditional SLA literature to account for student outcomes. In seeking to understand these results therefore, the role of broad as well as local field effects needs to be examined.

The push and pull of competing discourses

As discussed earlier, the field of HE in Australia, as elsewhere, has become less autonomous, with government policy driving both the democratisation and marketisation of the sector (Bathmaker 2015, Maton 2005, Naidoo 2004). In 2012, when data was collected, the Australian government's widening participation agenda, in which students from previously under-represented groups were actively encouraged into HE, was in full swing. The view that a university education was not only available but possible for everyone was widely

¹³ The cost of each unit of study at Australian universities varies, but is approximately \$750. This cost is incurred regardless of whether the student passed or failed the unit. In Australia, students commonly defer their payment of university tuition fees through a system called FEE-HELP. They then repay their debt through the tax system once they are employed and reach a minimum level of income.

promoted (Simpson and Cooke 2010). At that time, the Australian government had set targets for the access and participation of low SES students. In 2012, they removed the cap on student places, thus allowing universities to set their own admission requirements for courses.

This move to a demand-driven system fed into the already marketised HE sector. Newer universities such as that attended by the Generation 1.5 students, lacking the market power of more established higher status institutions, began to actively compete for students, primarily by lowering entry requirements. At the time when these Generation 1.5 students enrolled in their degrees, the entrance requirement at Ward University for a Bachelor of Business and Commerce was an Australian Tertiary Admission Rank (ATAR) of 65 out of 100. This rank is what students receive upon completion of their final year in school. For a Bachelor Arts, the ATAR required was 70. These ATARs were already low when compared with the equivalent cut-off scores for other universities such as the University of Melbourne (95.45 and 90.90 respectively) and Sydney University (94.5 and 80 respectively).

This 'race to the bottom' effect led to a marked increase in enrolments from those students with lower ATARs, (Norton 2013). Feeding into this phenomenon was the system of 'bonus points', in which universities boosted students' ATARs by awarding them points for living in certain geographic locations or doing well in certain HSC subjects. Ward University routinely offered all students enrolling from their immediate geographic area five bonus points, and those who did well in certain subjects - including Arabic and Chinese - were eligible to receive a further ten bonus points. This means that it is conceivable that Mya, Warda, Rina, Haajira, and Daniel, all students living in the university's direct catchment area and who took their home language as a unit in the HSC, could have entered university with ATARs as low

as 50-55. This admissions policy, created in response to economic constraints and government promotion of equity targets, then acted as an affordance for these students, signaling that they had what it took to enter university.

Moreover, qualifying as local students by virtue of entering university via the school system, these students, unlike international students, were not required to demonstrate their English language proficiency. In general, Australian universities require no particular level or achievement in HSC English.¹⁴ As such – remembering that some of these students were hoping to become teachers – the Generation 1.5 students entered university having undertaken either the Standard or ESL HSC English programs, neither of which are intended to prepare students for HE.

While the ATAR is a rank and not an absolute measure of capacity, there is evidence to suggest that those with lower ATARs (under 70) are more likely to drop out, while those with higher ATARs seem not only to complete their studies at higher rates but also to perform better (Norton 2013). In this context, then, it is reasonable to question the appropriateness of institutions offering places to students like Rina, Warda, Gabriel, Zafiah, Thanh, Tien, and Haajira, who might otherwise have accessed vocational education. Arguably, widening participation and the move to a demand-driven system have resulted in these Generation 1.5 students enrolling in a degree program, carrying with them their own and their families' hopes and aspirations, with scant consideration of whether they have developed the capacities to succeed in HE.

¹⁴ However, from 2016, prospective students will need to meet increased academic standards to be offered a place in a NSW accredited undergraduate teaching degree. This will entail having achieved a Band Five (80-89 marks out of 100) in English in the HSC (BOSTES 2015).

Once enrolled, the institutional focus switches to retention. While a perennial concern (Tower et al. 2015, Ogude, Kilfoil, and du Plessis 2012, Thomas 2012, Crosling, Thomas, and Heagney 2008, Thomas 2002, Tinto 1987), the presence of greater numbers of so called 'non-traditional' students like these Generation 1.5 students has intensified concern for retention and program completion in HE (Thomas and Yorke 2003). At the very least, for universities, retaining students makes economic sense, as students who leave prior to graduating take their fees with them. However, this impetus to retain students has seen Rina, Mya, and Warda allowed to persist despite failing multiple times and accruing large personal debt. As outlined above, in the first two semesters of study, Mya failed two units, Rina four, and Warda five, yet all three students went on to study for a third semester. Moreover, Rina and Warda failed by a long margin, scoring only in the 20s and 30s in some units. When these students did fail 50 per cent or more of their attempted units, they were flagged as 'at risk'. However, rather than triggering a range of much-needed academic support strategies, these students were merely restricted to enrolling in three instead of the usual four units in the subsequent semester, as if a reduction in study load alone could address the significant challenges these students faced.

If there was strong evidence to indicate that the English language and academic literacy capabilities of students were likely to increase over the course of their degree, allowing students to persist despite early failures would not be an issue. However, there is significant doubt that language skills upon graduation progress from entry levels (Arkoudis 2013, Dunworth 2010, Grayson 2008). The result is that while Rina, Mya, Warda, and Zafiah may yet obtain a formal qualification, they will most likely do so with questionable levels of English literacy, which may preclude them from being able to operate effectively in the professional environments to which they aspire.

An inadequate response

While there is growing recognition of the need to address students' language and literacy needs over the course of their degree, individual institutions are left to decide how this challenge may be met. As a result, approaches have been haphazard. By mid-2013, there were 27 universities in Australia conducting some kind of formalised in-house Post-Entry Language Assessment (PELA) (Degrees of Proficiency 2013). These tests are used to identify particular students who may require additional assistance to develop the language capabilities required to succeed at university, and then to direct them to appropriate support programs. PELAs are also used more broadly in a diagnostic capacity as a means of providing feedback to a wider range of students about their preparedness for tertiary study. Some PELAs are institution-wide (such as that at the University of Melbourne) and some are faculty-based (such as that at the University of Sydney).

However, in 2012, no such diagnostic or assessment strategy was in place at Ward University.¹⁵ As such, none of the commencing Generation 1.5 students were tested for their language proficiency or academic literacy, and as a consequence, they were given little indication that their standard of academic writing might fall short of what is expected. Similarly, while 30 universities have an English language policy, Ward University does not (Degrees of Proficiency 2013). Moreover, the entry language requirements that do exist apply to international students only, again meaning that Generation 1.5 students like Mya, Rina, and Zafiah, who are experiencing serious issues with their English language abilities, fall through the gaps.

¹⁵ One faculty – Nursing and Midwifery – does already conduct an early diagnostic/screening literacy task, and the university as a whole is looking into the possibility of introducing an institution-wide PELA in the future.

Faced with the increasing diversity of student populations and concerns over students' level of preparedness, universities across Australia (and, indeed, in other countries) are evaluating the ways in which student academic support is offered. Typical among institutions is the model of supplementary free academic skills workshops. These tend to be generic - that is, not discipline-specific - and weighted to the first few weeks of a semester. In this way, many students may only become aware of them once the workshop program has finished. Moreover, as these workshops are perceived as marginalised and even stigmatised programs for students requiring remediation, participation is notoriously low (Kennelly, Maldoni, and Davies 2010, Ransom 2009). Certainly, students like Warda, Rina, and Zafiah indicated they had difficulty finding out how and where to access precisely these kinds of services. Many universities also offer individual writing consultations, but as this kind of support is resource intensive, it is often limited.

For students like Mya, Rina, Zafiah, and Warda, who were struggling with fundamental aspects of English language and literacy, the level of support they received at Ward University was inadequate. As Mya explained:

Ward is not provide enough time for the student like us, an ESL background students. In particular every Ward uni campus only have two days of academic writing assistance in every campus, each student only have 30 minutes for help, It was very hard for us to get these little time with the amount of assessments we have to do, and achieve quality essays. In addition, every student has to come to the teacher (in library usually where it located) to make an appointment, if the teachers timetable is full, then you have missed out. So, Ward is providing at least some of support and help for student, from my own point of view this is not very useful and very un-convinces for student not only from ESL background and those who need extra help.

The library-based drop-in consultations that Mya referred to is an example of the just in time/just for me model of academic support, which, as a part of a wider student-centred learning pedagogy, has been increasingly adopted at Australian universities. However, as will be argued in the following section, this pedagogy does not align with the needs of some of the most disadvantaged students, such as Mya. The consequences of this largely haphazard approach to supporting and developing student literacies are great. Considering many of the Generation 1.5 students were intending to become teachers and work in the areas surrounding Ward University, the failure of a university education to help these students develop the necessary linguistic capital may also have implications for the next generation of students.

If not centrally identified and supported, students' language and literacy problems inevitably emerge in classrooms. As with many other universities struggling to keep pace with the changing nature of the student population, Ward University increasingly relies on academic teaching staff and a small number of faculty-based academic literacy advisors to identify students in need. However, the low status afforded teaching in HE (Gull 2014), evidenced by the emphasis on research and the lack of investment in teacher induction, training, support, and mentoring (Norton 2013), means that many teachers are not well placed to identify students requiring explicit language and literacy support, nor do they have the expertise to assist them. Exacerbating the situation is the entrenched practice of using sessional or casual staff to teach (Norton 2013, May et al. 2011).

While the focus of this study has been on the students themselves, the insights of university teaching staff are valuable. The voices of two tutors, Gerhard and Sally, validate the experiences of the Generation 1.5 students by providing an institutional perspective. These tutors, typical in that they were casual staff and had no prior experience or

explicit training in teaching academic language and literacy, were nonetheless faced with the question of how best to support several of the Generation 1.5 students in their first semester. Presented in the context of the compulsory first year academic reading and writing unit that Rina, Mya, Warda, Tien, Talayeh, and Mirwais undertook, Gerhard and Sally's pedagogic practices and attitudes, detailed in the following pages, reveal the impact of the broader policies and pushes in HE on the lived experiences of these Generation 1.5 students.

Gerhard, whose own academic discipline was anthropology, had been teaching at the university for three years and had taught a number of first and second year units. When we met, he was teaching a large first year core academic skills unit within Humanities. Mirwais, Tien, and Mya were some of his students. Voicing his own discomfort at the shift of responsibility from the university to teaching staff, Gerhard commented that:

I think there must be a sort of a system to identify what kind of literacy level they [students] need to be, what are expected of them by the time they come to university, or at least very early on in the university.

Suggestive of the fact that universities have little incentive to invest in their casual workforce, both these tutors reported receiving very little training or induction. According to Sally who was new to Ward University and also Warda and Rina's tutor in the first year academic skills unit, her casual staff induction was 'really, a complete waste of time'. Not only did it fail to address any teaching practices in the broadest sense, the induction also failed to address administrative issues, which led to stress and frustration among the 28 casual tutors in the academic skills unit. Sally explained:

We didn't even know how to find the plan, the course outline. So then, we went home and stumbled to try and find the course outline, and then luckily, I had a friend who had taught before. He emailed me the

course outline, or he gave me his password and teacher number, because we weren't even given our teacher number on that day [induction]. Then, I emailed that to everyone because everyone was panicking and going, "Does anyone know the course outline?" And I've handed it to them. So I emailed it to everyone on like the first teaching day.

Of far greater concern, however, was the fact that the induction did not deal with any issues around student diversity or, specifically, language and literacy teaching. While many universities, including Ward, offer a teaching and learning orientation program, casual staff by and large are exempt. Not surprisingly, the combination of a lack of expertise in teaching language and the lack of adequate training and induction for casual staff meant that Sally felt ill prepared to teach the grammar and literacy required in the course. She explained:

I would like to learn how to teach grammar myself. Some tips on how to easily teach it so they [students] understand it, you know, how can you get it across simply and easily. That's what I'd like to know.

Given the increasingly diverse student body in HE today, university teaching staff, as with secondary and primary school teachers, need a working knowledge not only of literacy learning but also of SLA if they are to meet the 'basic level literacy' as well as language needs of students like Mya, Warda, Rina, Zafiah, and others. In essence, then, while English language standards are purportedly slipping (Lane 2012b, Dunworth 2010), the staff charged with teaching on units designed to remedy this situation may be ill-equipped and unsupported in this duty. While only two tutors were interviewed and it is therefore difficult to generalise their experience across a whole sector, this may be a far broader phenomenon. Other studies have indicated that currently, few university teaching staff have such experience or expertise in teaching multilingual students (Goldschmidt and Ousey 2011, Canagarajah 2002). Students are then potentially disadvantaged by staff who are asked to make judgments about

legitimate and appropriate language use without the training or experience to do so.

This lack of training and experience may also be reflected in staff conceptions of what it means to be an EAL student. As with the institution more broadly, Gerhard and Sally revealed a limited understanding of linguistic diversity as it is potentially played out in their classrooms. Sally, whose background was in visual arts education, defined EAL students as those for whom ‘the mother tongue or something like that is other than English’. Echoing this, Gerhard said EAL students ‘are people that have non-English language as their first language’, both suggesting that EAL was defined according to a monolingual norm.

Despite evidence of increasing diversity of student populations, the views above indicate that there are teaching staff in HE, as with their counterparts in primary and secondary schools, who continue to hold all students to a monolingual standard. Beyond the simplistic dichotomy of English speakers and non-English speakers, there was little evidence that either tutor had considered the possibility that EAL students might present with a range of linguistic and educational experiences and competencies. Instead, when introduced to the notion of Generation 1.5 students, who may have limited or no literacy in their home language, Sally indicated surprise, explaining that:

I thought that they all had literacy in their own language. I hadn’t thought about students in my class not having, being able to write in their own language, because I see them all with their converters.

By referring to the use of electronic dictionaries or ‘converters’, Sally revealed her reliance on observation of classroom behaviour to alert her to students’ linguistic backgrounds. However, as many Generation 1.5 students no longer (if ever) use a dictionary in class, their own linguistic backgrounds may remain hidden. Moreover, as with the

discussion of international students in the media, Sally assumed that EAL equated to recently arrived international students: students who are L1 dominant and who are not only literate, but likely educated in their home language. These assumptions do not capture the experience of Rina, Warda, Haajira, Gabriel, Tien, Talayeh, and Mirwais, and so fail to realise the complexity within both the category EAL and Generation 1.5.

Not only were Gerhard and Sally unaware of different categories of EAL, a finding supported in similar research (Hockings, Cooke, and Bowl 2010), they also felt that this was not necessarily useful information to have. Like one group of teachers in Ertl, Hayward, and Hoelscher's (2010) study, who viewed knowledge of students' backgrounds as irrelevant as all students were seen as beginners, both Gerhard and Sally felt that language background was of little value in predicting need. For Gerhard, a student's linguistic background was not the only factor contributing to potential difficulties with academic writing. He explained that, 'the different factors just compound each other but I see a lot of mature age students who haven't been in an educational setting for a long time. They also struggle with the writing conventions'. For Sally, local students could be just as likely to present with writing difficulties:

If you called their names off the top of the paper, I reckon it would come out pretty even... People that are Australians first language English and their grammar are absolutely appalling. The critical thinking is absolutely appalling. And I've got a girl who speaks Russian as her first language and her grammar - she works and works really hard on it. Her grammar is excellent. Her critical thinking is excellent.

This sense that issues with academic writing could be just as easily experienced by all students regardless of linguistic background is echoed by recent research, which indicates that low SES students are at a disadvantage when it comes to participating successfully in

practices such as academic literacies (Devlin et al. 2012). Utilising Bourdieu's notion of capital, Devlin et al. (2012) found 'sociocultural incongruence' existing between the capital of low SES students and that of institutions in which they study. However, for Generation 1.5 students, many of whom are EAL as well as having a low SES background, any potential disadvantage they face is likely to be due to the intersection of their language background and social class. In this way, their sociobiographic history very much influences their potential academic trajectories, as the Chapter Five highlighted.

Despite this, believing academic writing to be an issue facing all students equally, Gerhard and Sally insisted that students' histories should not have a bearing on the way they approach their teaching practice. Instead, they espoused an attitude that privileged equity over diversity, with Sally claiming that, 'I'm pretty fair. I'm pretty open. I walk around the class all the time. I check on everyone. I treat every one of them equally with respect,' and Gerhard insisting that, 'I kind of also endeavour to kind of do my best and give everyone the same opportunity - I'm very reluctant to lower the bar and lower the bar until everyone gets there or gets a pass by default'. However, an ideology of equal opportunity can lead to further entrenching of social inequalities. By insisting on treating all students the same, the kinds of linguistic disadvantages that Rina, Mya, Gabriel, and others entered university with are viewed simply as differential educational achievements.

Good, generally good, or poor?

Given the limited understanding, training, and experience Gerhard and Sally had with regards to language and literacy education, it is not surprising to find that these tutors struggled to articulate what effective writing entails. Indeed, this is something with which many teaching staff have been found to have difficulty (Leki 1992). When

articulating what she felt was the problem with student writing, Sally referred to students' use of 'bad grammar', which she identified as:

Structurally, they write a lot of statements and don't write conversational essays. They write statement, statement, statement, statement, statement, and it's a very boring essay. They don't actually write it like a conversation and build their arguments and kind of have a conversation with the reader, and like sentences flow into the next sentence. Their sentences don't flow. Their paragraphs don't flow.

However, while grammar is certainly implicated in building cohesion, Sally's assessment of 'bad grammar' as the inability to 'write conversational essays' indicates her limited metalinguistic knowledge to explain the problems she identified. While also nominating the absence of cohesion as an issue in student writing, Gerhard had a far more nuanced understanding of language, likely due to his own EAL background. He identified students' control of syntax and inflection as problematic, issues that several of the Generation 1.5 students were still coming to terms with, as was seen in Chapter Five. Moreover, using grammatical metalanguage, Gerhard was able to make the connection between the use of connectives and argumentation. He explained that,

I try to focus a lot of that, too, just using connectives and explaining their reasoning. So I sort of found that a big problem, but also, just the basic use of syntax. They [students] will write long sentences and kind of disregard their subject verb agreement and things like that.

However, neither tutor's understanding of student writing would have been assisted by the marking criteria of the unit in which they were teaching. It listed three options for staff to select under the criterion 'grammar':

- Good sentence and paragraph construction
- Generally good sentence and paragraph construction
- Poor sentence and paragraph construction

Not only did this marking guide reduce textual practice to sentence and paragraph construction, it also expressed the range of possible language use in terms of three empty modifiers: 'good', 'generally good', and 'poor'. The lack of explicit criteria by which the tutors could judge academic writing implies that good writing is 'monolithic, an absolute category of performance apparently readily recognisable to the initiated, in this case, to the members of the academic discourse community' (Leki 2006, 270). However, in her own study of university lecturers' ratings of student writing, Leki found significantly contradictory ideas about what constituted good writing. One lecturer commended a student essay as it had a formal register, while another lecturer felt that a different essay was better as it was more informal and so more 'native-like'. In another instance of telling discrepancy, one teacher rated an essay well, labelling it sophisticated because it contained complex sentences (more than one clause sentences with subordination rather than coordination), but the same essay was rated poorly by another staff member, who felt that it was unclear as the sentences were too complex. Given that the judgments about what constitutes good writing may mean the difference between passing or failing a gatekeeper unit, a significant amount of power is vested in staff with little or no training in language and literacy. Despite intending to support teachers' practice, the marking guide, with its lack of detail, then loses any pedagogic value. Instead, it sanctions the exercising of almost arbitrary judgments about the acceptability of students' language – is it good, generally good, or poor?

Furthermore, as Sally and Gerhard's focus on cohesion indicates, unlike Haajira, Daniel, Mya, and others, who are concerned about their grammar, staff were mostly concerned with language operating at the level of discourse. Highlighting that linguistic habitus entails not only a technical capacity but also the authority to be heard, Gerhard described being able to,

some extent at least, disregard, say the writing style and grammar and so forth if you can see that there are some good critical thinking skills going on underneath. If you get a clear argument which is backed up relatively well, then *it doesn't really bother me what they're actually saying*. And whether I find it right or wrong or correct or incorrect argument, but as long as it kind of... Because to me that shows both engagement with the literature, which I think is crucial to the whole academic process, but it also shows some level of critical engagement, kind of an analysis rather than just summary skills [emphasis added].

Sally also privileged academic discourse over grammar, claiming, 'I was more interested in their engagement with critical thinking because I thought that they had to get their head around that more coming to Uni. That was the thing they had to get more than anything else'. This privileging of higher levels of academic engagement, such as argumentation and critical thinking, reflects the dominant attitude in universities towards language and literacy education, in which 'language work in the content classroom is given little status when set alongside other knowledge hierarchies supported by wider societal and education agendas' (Creese 2005, 188). So, while both Sally and Gerhard acknowledged significant issues with language that some students like Rina, Mya, and Warda faced, they were willing to 'get around the really poorly-structured grammar if, within the sentence which is completely terrible grammar, there is critical thinking'.

Yet while argumentation might be valued above accuracy and style in the field of academia, it might be a different matter in the world of work. It is hard to imagine how many of the Generation 1.5 students will be able to find a job upon graduating if they are unable to write an email, job application, or resume without 'completely terrible grammar'. Ignoring these obvious English language issues of the students means that the potential for Mya, Zafiah, Rina, and other Generation 1.5 students' English language proficiency to improve is reduced, and may help to explain the ambivalence many displayed

towards their writing and academic studies in general. If teaching staff prioritise other aspects of assessment, and if the marking matrix simply requires a judgment of ‘good, generally good or poor sentence and paragraph construction’, there is unlikely to be much in the way of detailed and constructive feedback on students’ written academic English.

Therefore, Sally and Gerhard’s approaches to assessing student writing, combined with the lack of inexplicit marking criteria, may help explain how students such as Mya, Rina, Warda, and Zafiah continue to pass, albeit barely. Despite their limited written English language proficiency, Mya attained a credit for the unit in which she wrote the essay on Little Red Riding Hood, Rina a high pass for her essay on *Bend it Like Beckham*, and Warda passed with her largely plagiarised essay on cultural practices. In addition, the frequency with which these students passed units with marks hovering around 50 (Rina 50, 51, and 52, Warda 50, and Mya 50 and 51) suggests that among sessional staff such as Sally and Gerhard, there is little appetite for failing students. Certainly, Gerhard admitted that, ‘when I come to students who do very poorly, I’m starting to look for an extra mark to give them’.

However, the practice of passing students by moving the goal posts or artificially generating extra marks does students like Rina, Warda, and Mya a great disservice. Rather than providing the vital signal of mismatch with the field, which in turn could force a reassessment of current practice and capacity, these students continued on as before in the belief that their work was good enough. As was argued in the previous chapter, this became a strategy for students like Rina and Mya, who persevered with their hit and miss approach to academic writing. For Daniel and Taleyh, it meant continuing to commence their assignment the day before the due date, because the strategy

worked. For Warda, it meant continuing to rely on large chunks of plagiarised text, often without any comprehension, because again, that strategy seemed to work. But beyond reinforcing practices that in reality are ineffective, the practice of soft marking bypasses opportunities to develop students like these Generation 1.5 students' language and academic literacy capacities: an opportunity many can ill afford to miss.

The myth of student-centred learning

In the absence of institution-wide strategies and processes for identifying and then supporting the language, literacy, and learning needs of students like Mya, the responsibility falls to the students themselves. In HE, this transference of responsibility for learning to the student represents a pedagogic shift away from more traditional modes of teaching toward autonomous learning, encompassed by the term student-centred learning (SCL). This is a term that has become increasingly present in the teaching and learning discourse of HE (Hodge 2010). Emerging from humanist philosophy, psychology, and progressive education, SCL emphasises students' responsibility for and active participation in their own learning. In this pedagogy, students are valued and encouraged in their own learning. Their needs and interests are taken as a starting point and teachers have a facilitatory role rather than directing content and pace. When delivered effectively, some suggest SCL can lead to improved learning outcomes and deep level processing by some students (Edwards and Thatcher 2004, Rust 2002, Biggs 1999).

However, student-centred learning can also be viewed as form of constructivist pedagogy in which rather than explicit or direct instruction, there is instead a set of implied expectations on the learner. This is what Bernstein (1971) refers to as 'integrated code' consisting of weak classification and framing in which the boundaries

between subject areas are blurred and students are encouraged to negotiate meaning and determine what they want to do and how they wish to express themselves. Constructivist or progressive pedagogies like SCL are intended to assist non-traditional students but often, these students are more typically comfortable with strong boundaries or more direct forms of instruction (Crozier, Reay, and Clayton 2010).

The principles of SCL are readily apparent in teaching and learning materials at Ward University. This extract from the Introduction to Business Law learning guide, the unit from which Gabriel, Daniel and Thanh's written texts analysed in Chapter Four were drawn, states that:

In addition to acquiring information and skills relevant to this unit, you should also focus on developing the *habits* and *tools* of a successful university student. As an adult learner you need to take *control* of your own learning and *ensure your own success* [emphasis added].

Further, the learning guide states that, 'the strategies adopted in this Unit have been chosen to give you more *control* over your learning and to encourage you to develop *capacity* for independent thinking and deep learning' [emphasis added]. Through privileging 'habits', 'tools', 'control', and 'capacity', this document implies that certain practices and skills (habits and tools) can lead to dispositions (of a successful learner). However, the learning guide gives no indication of how students may go about acquiring these new practices and dispositions. If transformation of the habitus (and the practices they generate) can occur when the existing habitus does not align with the expectations of the field, students need signals in the form of feedback from teaching staff to alert them that their current practices may somehow fall short of what is required. Without such a signal, students are unlikely to change their behaviour. Many argue for the role of pedagogy in transforming habitus (Yang 2013, Watkins 2012, Curry

2007). In other words, students can be taught the rules of the game. However, this is unlikely in a system that is moving towards a more hands-off approach to teaching, epitomised by SCL.

Instead, the assumption from the above learning guide is that students can acquire the necessary dispositions themselves. In a system that centres on self-awareness, responsibility, choice, and control, SCL favours those who possess the habits, tools, and capacities that are well aligned with the expectations of the field prior to entry: that is, those who are not required to adjust their habitus and practice. It is these students who arguably might not need assistance and who may then do well in a SCL environment. Many of the Generation 1.5 students, however, have not yet developed the capacities that enable this autonomous orientation towards learning: for example, Mya, who was accustomed to following directions from parents and teachers, and Warda and Rina, who did not know how to commence an assignment without someone explaining in plain English what they needed to do. The lack of explicit direction underpinning SCL means that students' anxieties about what they need to know and where to find it are not quickly ameliorated. Crozier et al. (2010) argue this creates dependent learners who want to be told what to do, which sets them further apart from the dispositions required to successfully manage SCL.

Despite doing well enough to meet his ambitious goal to transfer to law, Gabriel struggled with the high expectations that not only writing standards but autonomy placed on him. He commented:

Now that I am doing second year units in Commerce/Law, I don't get much feedback in assignments in terms of writing/grammar etc. Most assignments are marked online, and they expect a student to review the marking criteria for further development.

Like Gabriel, Thanh was another student who was possibly better placed in some ways than the other Generation 1.5 students to succeed at university. However, Thanh failed his first attempt at university because he did not have the required capacities to find his way to the various self-access learning resources on offer. Even after learning the hard way, this self-aware and disciplined student admitted that while he could and did operate now in a more autonomous way, accessing lectures online in his own time, there was a significant risk of distraction and he had to be vigilant.

For other students, such as Rina, blended learning, in which much of a unit's content is delivered online, purportedly to 'provide flexibility and to support a range of learning styles and preferences' (Ward University Learning Guide) only impeded learning. As Rina explained:

For me it's like, if I practise it, see, and listen to how they do it. So like for me, if I didn't lecture, I don't understand anything. If I listen online, I might not get it. But if I see in actual and practice and see the emotions of the examples how they give it and stuff, I initially understand it.

Rina's limited linguistic capital thus meant that she relied on non-verbal cues from the lecturer to facilitate her comprehension of unit content. Furthermore, as Thanh's experience attests, self-directed learning in the form of self-access to online lectures requires discipline. Rina's limited investment in her studies and reluctance to adjust her approach to learning rendered the increasing move to blended learning and SCL a significant impediment to her academic progress.

As was outlined in Chapters Four and Five, Rina was not alone in having not yet developed the academic dispositions that aligned with SCL. Warda had great difficulty finding appropriate assistance for her writing. Mya also struggled to find support, as her email indicates:

Due to the fact that, I'm still developing my writing skill for most of my unit, I'm currently at Hunter campus, but there is not student welfare for supporting academic writing. I'm just wondering if other campus run this is kind of program, please contact or Emil me, because I'm struggling some of my unit, also i really need help with the final assessments/ essays.

Based on her experience in the highly disciplined Chinese school system and the authoritative style of parenting she received, Mya was disposed to respond to direction; this was her strategy for learning. However, this strategy does not align well with SCL. As pedagogic practice, then, SCL is inadequate to the task of supporting many of these Generation 1.5 students' progression through university.

Within SCL, there is the expectation that students actively participate in their learning. This means a willingness to actively participate in tutorials. However, while several students, such as Rina, Talayeh, and Haajira, indicated they valued active participation, this opportunity at Ward was rarely experienced. Rather, these classes were conducted in the more traditional mode of information transmission. Rather than this more teacher-directed pedagogy facilitating the Generation 1.5 students' understanding of both content and expectations, the opposite was true. As Talayeh described:

I think it [tutorial] should be more like reciprocal and like less of a lecture. I don't know. I think it's more effective this way... I think the tutors do mention, but I don't think it actually happens like practically. Like...we just answer questions. When they do get your talking, it doesn't really change their, I don't know, perspective. There's no like positive learning sort of thing. I feel like because it's so much information as well. It's like information explosion. So, it's difficult to learn because of those.

The lack of opportunities for reciprocal or dialogic learning in her tutorials did not just mean fewer opportunities to ask questions, seek clarification, or test understandings. This teaching by information

transmission also shut down opportunities for the students to engage and belong and to practice more academic uses of language. Outside university, Talayeh was a valued and active member of a community in which she was responsible for the learning and support of other young people. Within university, however, she perceived her views as unwelcome and not valued. This no doubt eroded Talayeh's sense of belonging to the university community and may have contributed to her decision to leave at the end of her first semester.

Talayeh's description of the kind of lip service that teachers may pay to the notions of SCL has been identified elsewhere. A study of over 100 tutors in HE found overwhelmingly a didactic form of teaching with little evidence of genuine teacher-student dialogue (Farrington 1991). Haajira's experience of tutorials, in which tutors hurriedly went through the prescribed readings from their perspective without engaging the students in any kind of dialogue that would assist them to comprehend the texts, mirrored that of Talayeh. She went on to suggest how teaching staff could do more to ensure effective learning in their classes:

I reckon the tutors should more focus on explaining very well. Like, we have readings every week and she [the tutor] swerves around and assumes everyone's done it. Even you do the reading, sometimes the readings are too complex to understand itself, so she just swerves on to her own experiences and says, "Okay, it's done for the day," and it's only 20 minutes past.

Daniel also expressed his unwillingness to ask questions in tutorials for fear of appearing stupid, and Mya and Warda expressed anxiety about sounding 'ESL' in front of monolingual students. Instead, Lillis (2001) calls for 'dialogues of participation', in which tutors can enable genuine participation in the dominant academic literacy practices as well as providing opportunities to challenge certain aspects of these practices. The consequence, then, of the absence of a genuinely

dialogic and inclusive learning environment in many HE classrooms is that opportunities to engage and therefore experience a sense of belonging in that space are lost to all but the most confident and outspoken students – in other words, the legitimate users of language. As Bourdieu explains, ‘speakers lacking the legitimate competence are de facto excluded from the social domains in which this competence is required or are condemned to silence’ (1992, 55).

The suggestion that opportunities for legitimate participation may not have been occurring as much as the SCL rhetoric implies was supported by a description of classroom practice from Sally. She described an overtly teacher-directed approach to conducting an individual assessment on academic referencing. Sally explained:

Well, we’ve just done the APA referencing exam and there was one part on the exam when they had to find ten things wrong with a part of the text, and I thought, “Well, no one is going to get it.” So I said, “Okay. You all have the heart, but let’s all do it altogether. Let’s work on it together and let’s all find them together.” And I *made them* find the things, but as a class, they worked on it together. And I thought that’s a better learning tool that they actually find them and think about it and went through it. And afterwards, I went around and *made sure* they all got it because there’s no point if someone doesn’t get a 10 out of 10. Someone would be disadvantaged even though we’ve all done it together [emphasis added].

While Sally was evidently motivated by a desire to maximise student outcomes, her practice essentially deprived these students of an opportunity to regulate their own learning by completing the assessment for them. Where SCL can place unreasonable expectations on certain students to manage without adequate support, Sally’s teaching practice swung the pendulum too far the other way. Her highly teacher-directed approach divested her students of control and agency. Also, by indicating that she did not believe the assessment task was one the students could perform adequately, Sally revealed

the low expectations she had for many of her students. These low expectations mirror the expectations of IEC and mainstream school teaching staff discussed in Chapter Five. Compared to other students she had previously taught at an elite Sydney university, Sally suggested that at Ward University, she was,

dealing with a lot more language barriers and socioeconomic barriers. They [the Ward students] probably haven't been tutored to the end of their capabilities like [other] kids [I've taught] who've been tutored from primary school right up to HSC. These kids - I'm just generalising completely here - these kids, I doubt, they've ever been tutored in their lives.

Sally previously insisted that students' language backgrounds were not predictive of disadvantage in terms of English and academic literacy; however, here she links SES with the practice of external tutoring.

While this association of different patterns of educational practice, values, and attainment with certain socioeconomic groups and those with EAL is not uncommon (Watkins and Noble 2013), the danger with this kind of complexity reduction is its flow-on effect to pedagogy. As Haggis (2006, 533) argues, 'many of the problems experienced by learners are at least partly being caused by the cultural values and assumptions that underpin different aspects of pedagogy and assessment'. Here, Sally's assumptions about the ability of her students to meet the expectations of university study are revealed:

At [other high status] uni, you got the topic and you're just teaching. You don't have to worry that no one in the class has got what you're talking about. You don't even consider it. You just go straight ahead and teach. You assume that they're following you, they're getting notes, and they know what you're talking about. Teaching here [at Ward], I never assumed that. I assumed that there's most in my class who haven't got a clue, and then I go around and I check. And I sit down next to them and I say it again slowly next to them, so I know they got it. And several people in my class, in every class, I'll have to

do that with. And I teach like it's a high school class. I realised that I have to treat it like a high school class and I set it up like a high school class, and I use all my high school teaching skills and that's how I teach it.

Unlike some UK literature which suggests little change has been made in HE pedagogy to better suit a changing student demographic (Gorad et al. 2006), Sally recognised the need to adapt her teaching to meet the perceived needs of her students. By drawing on her secondary school teaching experience, Sally implied a more teacher-directed, scaffolded pedagogy was appropriate for her students. This accords with the approach she described to the referencing assessment in which she worked one-on-one with students until all had successfully completed the task. However, Sally's teaching practice is not only at odds with the SCL rhetoric that dominates HE pedagogy discourse, but arguably, not necessarily effective. While many students, including Generation 1.5, do need stronger guidance on where and how to acquire the tools to effectively participate in HE, strong support does not preclude a culture of high expectations and cognitive challenge. In other words, meeting the needs of learners should not result in the 'dumbing down' of curricula (Miller and Windle 2010, Haggis 2006).

Yet the diversity of the classes tutors like Gerhard and Sally face may make it very difficult to balance the need for support with the need to provide critical challenge. As the need for support in some cases (such as Mya, Rina, and Warda) was so high, both tutors described the lengths they went to 'meet the needs of learners'. For example, Sally described how she again worked individually with students on their writing, saying that:

I've met the students' needs rather than the course requirements. Like for the writing task, I have said to them, "Email me the draft. We'll correct it. I'll correct it for you, and email it back to you, and then you hand me in the final draft".

Sally then described a process whereby, in her estimation, at least half her tutorial handed in their draft writing; Sally then corrected their grammar, including rewriting sentences, before handing the writing back to the student to 'accept changes'. This must have been extraordinarily time consuming for Sally as,

Some of them [students] do it four times. Four times they submitted to me until it was right and they've all got full marks. Most of them have got full marks because I believe that, I think that it's better learning and I completely get rid of marking the final phase.

But again, while the above account indicates Sally's dedication, her practice of micro-marking and correcting students' writing left little room for students to learn to identify and correct their own mistakes. Such direct correction techniques reveal the potential for institutional agents to reject the efforts of students to activate their own resources (Lareau and Horvat 1999). Moreover, these practices were unlikely to have a positive effect except for those in the very early stages of language acquisition (Hedgcock and Ferris 1998). These Generation 1.5 students, having lived and operated in English for many years, would benefit far more from indirect error correction where they are asked to identify and correct their own mistakes (Canagarajah 2002, Hedgcock and Ferris 1998). Of more concern is the fact that this practice may have meant that students like Warda were not made aware of their significant language and literacy difficulties early on in their degree.

Gerhard also reported spending extra time providing feedback on students' writing,

because I had three small in-class writing tasks and then I thought I'll be nice and I'll give a very brief test task beforehand which is... And I said, I'll mark it for you, but I'll just give you feedback and this is not gonna count to your mark. I gave them quite thorough feedback on that and that was basic. But what I wanted them to do was to summarise that reading task they had and then, that reading was a

key component for the first marked task. And that first reading has kind of set the groundwork for everything.

Not only did Gerhard provide a valuable opportunity for low-stakes writing practice, he also scaffolded the task, breaking it up into reading, summarising, and writing. However, Gerhard seemed frustrated about the time this additional support took, explaining that, 'if you're going to spend so much time on very basic level literacy, you have trouble with managing the whole group'. Moreover, he questioned whether the extra effort was worth it, as only a handful of the students he identified as needing extra language and literacy assistance actually used the online resources he offered, providing further evidence of ambivalence among some of the students.

This frustrating experience prompted a different response from Gerhard when he marked one of the first official assignments. Far from holding to a standard, Gerhard described abandoning the standard altogether:

I've just been marking an essay now and I find particularly one of the questions, three quarters of everyone who has attempted it have not really answered the question or they completely disregarded parts of the question. And I suppose... well, I marked the first few quite substantially when they didn't answer the question properly, but when I saw the frequency of it, I suppose we have to think it might be the question has something wrong with it; and then I just had to amend the marking criteria. So certainly, there's no point of just holding on for a standard if there's hardly anyone that can meet it.

In this way, the standards are adapted to meet the students, rather than pedagogy fulfilling this role. While many argue that the opaque nature of the requirements of HE make it very difficult for any student to meet them without assistance decoding them (White and Lowenthal 2011a, Lillis and Turner 2001), simply shifting goal posts does not ultimately assist students like Rina, Mya, and Zafiah to develop critical linguistic and cognitive tools.

Along with expecting active participation, SCL pedagogy places a high value on the learners' needs and interests. Both Gerhard and Sally demonstrated that they attempted to meet the needs of learners, often in ways that increased their own workloads. However, the effect of these efforts was not always optimal. The complex learning and teaching environments and the increasingly diverse and large classes that teachers are faced with means that the kinds of practices associated with good pedagogy are hard to achieve – pedagogical approaches such as getting to know students, tailoring the teaching to their needs, being inclusive, making connections between the new knowledge and the students' existing resources, and engaging students by letting them direct tasks and their own learning in some ways (Hockings, Cooke, and Bowl 2010, Hockings 2009, Zepke and Leach 2007, Haggis 2006). Instead, in massified HE, teaching staff may have less contact with students, and their teaching may be based on 'assumptions about students' knowledge, backgrounds, and interests that can leave some students under-challenged, overwhelmed or disenfranchised' (Hockings, Cooke, and Bowl 2010, 107). In this way, field conditions can undermine the discourse of inclusion and diversity upon which the widening participation agenda is based, and also undermine the best intentions of teachers.

There also appears to be a contradiction between official discourse operating at the level of field and local institutional practice. On the one hand, SCL transfers responsibility for learning largely to students. Students are able to learn flexibly via blended learning and, as education consumers, have some capacity to shape their learning experiences to their own needs and interests. However, the reality is somewhat different. Gerhard and Sally recognised that many of their students were not yet equipped to successfully operate in such an environment and thus adjusted their classroom practice in an attempt to meet these students' needs. But, without an adequate

understanding of students like Rina's complex backgrounds, and without sufficient training in language and literacy pedagogy, their teaching was based on assumptions about students' knowledge, background, and interests. The result was pedagogic experiences which variously under-challenged, overwhelmed or disenfranchised many of the Generation 1.5 students.

As the rise in SCL in HE learning and teaching discourses has coincided with changes to HE, especially the marketisation of education, there is some skepticism about the purpose behind the adoption of SCL (Lea, Stephenson, and Troy 2003, Farrington 1991). Viewed through this prism, SCL pedagogy might be seen as an example of instrumental progressivism (Robins and Webster 1999), a pedagogy that uses a rationale of flexibility to disguise an intended economic rationality. The democratisation of HE and the accompanying discourse of meritocracy obfuscate the reality of a system which works to ensure that students not already in possession of the tools of the system are further disadvantaged (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977).

As the previous two chapters have shown, many students, such as the Generation 1.5 students, have experienced interrupted schooling, inadequate English language provision, limited exposure to privileged forms of language, and complex and sometimes oppositional familial relationships. When they arrive at university, it is often without having already established the kinds of dispositions that lead to confident, capable, disciplined, and effective learners – the type of learner that does well with SCL pedagogies. There is, therefore, a mismatch between the dominant pedagogic discourse operating in HE and the realities of Generation 1.5 students and countless others non-traditional students. Therefore, despite the origins of SCL in progressive pedagogies, rather than empowering students, SCL may better serve the economic and political interests of institutions.

Furthermore, the capacity for Rina, Warda, Mya, and others to develop a more autonomous orientation to learning is challenged by the teaching practices reported by teaching staff like Sally, who are time-poor, underskilled, and often poorly supported in their work. While Sally's practices may often conflict with SCL ethos, they nevertheless have a similar impact, seeming to undermine students' confidence, autonomy, and legitimacy, providing little opportunity for these students to engage and belong in today's HE.

Investment: A two-way street

Student engagement in HE, refracted through the prism of neoliberalism, emphasises students' own participation in practices that are educationally effective, such as studying alone, using the library, preparing for tutorials, and seeking feedback from tutors. However, student engagement also needs to be seen as a function of the practices and policies of institutions. As has been demonstrated, how institutions deploy their resources, including the provision of learning opportunities, support services, and pedagogy, affect students' willingness to actively participate in their education. It is this participation that helps students develop or modify their own dispositions towards learning. This then leads to desired outcomes such as persistence, satisfaction, learning, and graduation (Kuh et al. 2008). In this way, the role of institutions to act as affordances or constraints on the educational trajectories of these Generation 1.5 students must be acknowledged.

Despite this, the role of institutions has often been downplayed, with the onus most often placed on students themselves and the ways in which their academic practices align with the expectations and standards of university study. A typical view is that engagement simply emerges from positive attitudes towards learning and a willing commitment to learning tasks (Fredericks, Blumenfeld, and Paris

2004). Where the reciprocal nature of engagement is acknowledged, it is often framed within a student-centred pedagogy in which teachers and institutions play a supporting role (Zepke 2013, Yorke and Longden 2008). However, as argued above, this version of SCL often exists more at the level of discourse than practice. The absence of adequate language and academic literacy support and the soft bigotry of low expectations means that students are largely left to sink or swim. In this situation, many students may disengage from their learning.

Engagement has the potential to bring about connectedness, affiliation, and belonging. And yet, as this chapter has detailed, for various reasons, much HE teaching practice affords limited opportunities for engagement in ideas and dialogue. In a recent Australian survey, only 45 per cent of tutors and lecturers admitted to spending class time on discussion. This is a small proportion of class time (one fifth) (Norton 2013). Therefore, with minimal opportunities for staff-student interaction, students are unlikely to feel supported and that they legitimately belong at university (ACER 2011b), and thus they may disengage. This was certainly the case for Mirwais and Talayeh. In a recent email, Mirwais confided that,

The reason why I left uni was because I was dissatisfied with my introduction to law tutor. She never let us have a say.

It is clear from Mirwais' email that he was a critical consumer of education. He valued and indeed expected genuine staff-student interaction and when he felt this was lacking, he opted to move to a new university. For Talayeh, the lack of genuine dialogue and reciprocity in her tutorials led her to feel removed from university and to disengage. After only one semester, she left to pursue her community faith-based work outside of university, a world to which she obviously felt she belonged.

Nash (2010) argues that the defining feature of any pedagogic system is the pedagogic relationship. This relationship, he argues, needs to be one in which teachers and students respect each other as well as the way knowledge is selected and transmitted. In this view, care for students is crucial. While it may have slipped from dominant conceptions of pedagogy (Valenzuela 1999), care for students in terms of 'accountability, openness to questions, of fairness in assignments and assessments, and an acceptance of all of the students' (McNeil 2000, 102) has been shown to shape academic trajectories (Thomas 2012, Nash and Landers 2010, Valenzuela 1999). In a telling example from their Progress at School longitudinal study (1998), Nash and Harker report on the successful Maori student who recalled the positive and lasting impact of a science teacher who made the effort to learn and use Maori phrases in class. This student explained, 'it made you feel we are important!' Simply put, care constitutes a mutual investment in learning.

Care for students also entails a care for knowledge (Nash and Landers 2010). This means viewing teaching as imparting critical capacities, not simply arbitrary codes. Teaching, then, is more than ensuring students meet and maintain standards. Rather, students need to see that what teachers are teaching is worth the effort of learning, and that teachers believe students are worth the effort of teaching. However, a pedagogic relationship in which care for students and care for knowledge are equal is hindered by casualisation of the academic workforce, diminishing contact time between teachers and students, and the overall undervaluing of teaching compared to research in the field of HE (Gull 2014, Norton 2013, Thomas 2002).

There are further institutional constraints to a pedagogy of care. In the first instance, there are impediments to getting to know students. Tutors like Gerhard and Sally teach many tutorials, often large groups

with a great deal of content and assessments to get through. Staff are rarely provided with much in the way of information about individual students and, as casual staff, many may feel they are not paid to find out. However, when teaching staff are able to learn about their students, and perhaps refer to individual details about peoples' lives in class, this can create a dynamic in which students are more willing to contribute ideas and are less afraid of being wrong (Hockings, Cooke, and Bowl 2010). This kind of inclusive and engaged learning environment was not one that many of the Generation 1.5 students reported, affecting the degree to which they felt they belonged in HE.

Conclusion

This chapter has shifted the focus from the practices, capacities, and complex dispositions of the Generation 1.5 students to an exploration of how the Generation 1.5 habitus at the collective and individual level interacted with the field in which these students operated. Through an examination of the policies, practices, and pedagogies of the particular university in which the Generation 1.5 students were enrolled, the capacity of institutions to constrain or support the educational aspirations of these students has been revealed. However, rather than signal the shortcomings of one particular Australian university, this chapter points to a broader systemic failure.

Firstly, the academic progression of Rina, Warda, Zafiah, and Mya, students who entered university with limited English language proficiency, was hindered by a range of policies and practices. These students were accepted into university without sufficient regard for their ability to cope with tertiary study. Having been accepted, opportunities for pedagogic intervention were limited by a lack of institution-wide, systematic processes of identification and support for their language needs. Furthermore, staff assessment and feedback practices made it very difficult for these students' language and

literacy to develop in any real sense. Nevertheless, due to a preoccupation with retention across the HE sector, despite failing multiple times and barely passing at others, Rina, Warda, Zafiah, and Mya were permitted to continue with their degrees.

Gabriel, Tien, and Thanh were also failed by the HE system. These were students who initially progressed at university and should have continued to do so. They possessed a satisfactory level of English language proficiency for commencement at university, had helpful and productive orientations to learning, and were beginning to develop capacities in academic literacy. However, the expectations that students should intuit the codes of academic writing, coupled with the inability of tutors to teach in ways that would allow these students to practise the valued ways of communicating, meant that Tien's GPA slipped, Gabriel failed after being permitted to transfer to a law degree, and Thanh withdrew from university altogether. Mirwais and Talayeh also left Ward University, both disillusioned with the university's inability to genuinely engage with them.

In conclusion, this chapter has documented the ill fit of HE to the often demanding and complex needs of these Generation 1.5 students. SCL pedagogy sees students without the requisite practices and dispositions struggling to meet their own English and academic literacy needs, a situation that is ironic given increasing concerns about language standards in the HE sector. Instead, the HE sector, like the NSW public school system, needs to reframe language and literacy from an inability of students to *learn*, to the responsibility of education providers to *teach*.

Conclusion – Under-Educating Rina

In one respect, *Educating Rina* has documented 11 success stories. Despite various disadvantages in early life, these students enrolled in higher education. However, notwithstanding growing recognition of the complexity and diversity of student populations, this thesis has highlighted how a growing cohort of local EAL students is being overlooked and underserved. Falling between a focus on pedagogies for the engagement of low SES students and policies to monitor the English language proficiency of predominantly international EAL students, the particular needs of this cohort are mismatched to the current field of HE. Employing the notion of a Generation 1.5 habitus, this study has examined how the experience of migrating at a formative age produces a complex set of cognitive, linguistic, and affective dispositions. These students are still developing their English language and certain cognitive capabilities. This, along with a level of discomfort and ambivalence, particularly towards academic English, creates often complicated and contradictory patterns of investment in academic endeavour. This discomfort and ambivalence is exacerbated by both the school and HE systems' failure to equip these Generation 1.5 students with 'powerful knowledge' (Nash and Landers 2010); that is, the kind of linguistic and cognitive tools essential not only to succeed in formal education but for successful social participation.

At the heart of the failures in both systems of education is the issue of categorising need. The imperative of institutions to work above the level of the individual necessitates a degree of complexity reduction. As such, education systems tend to focus on larger social categories, such as low SES or EAL, with a high degree of assumed homogeneity. Educational research too has often engaged in a process of complexity reduction, seeking correlations between a handful of macro categories and educational disadvantage. The dominant approach to

understanding the educational trajectories of Generation 1.5 in the field of SLA has similarly managed complexity by treating Generation 1.5 as a group with a set of identifiable and stable attributes. These attributes, such as their oral dominance, lack of first language literacy, and 'ear' learning pathways, have then been linked to differential patterns of academic attainment.

However, such an approach risks obscuring the varied, hybrid, and interstitial nature of students termed Generation 1.5. Indeed, the more recent sociocultural responses to Generation 1.5 have highlighted the heterogeneity of the group via an exploration of identity (Kim and Duff 2012, Faez 2012, Ortmeier-Hooper 2008, Reyes 2007, Wong and Grant 2007, Rodriguez 2006, Starfield 2002). Yet to some extent, recognition of this inherent heterogeneity has undermined the very status of Generation 1.5 as a group (Doolan 2010, Schwartz 2004). *Educating Rina* has examined how in the Australian HE context, a greater injustice results from overlooking this group of vulnerable students altogether. As 'experience suggests that students who are not counted won't count when decisions are made and priorities are set' (Engle and Lynch 2009, 7), the label 'Generation 1.5' has significance.

To address the challenges arising from Generation 1.5 being a group that is not a group, this study has argued for the need to conceive of Generation 1.5 as a group with unique needs *at the same time* as recognising the individuality of each student's circumstances. In full acknowledgement of the inherent contradiction in this position, *Education Rina* has argued that in order to capture the complexity of Generation 1.5 students, it is necessary to direct attention to the individual level of the social as well as situate the individual in social space. The conception of Generation 1.5 students as a group allows the identification of certain social and historical regularities and

variances. At the same time, a focus on the heterogeneity of each student highlights that an individual is not reducible to their group membership but is defined also by their experiences, past and present. This is what Lahire (2010) refers to when he evokes the metaphor of the social existing simultaneously in a unfolded and folded state. To accept this contradiction requires a reorientation to the study of Generation 1.5 as well as to the practical issue of addressing the needs of these complex students. This has been a chief concern of this thesis.

Sociology has contributed a great deal to understandings of inequality in education. In the context of Generation 1.5 students' differential language and literacy attainment, which have hitherto chiefly been addressed through cognitive and psychological lenses, sociology draws much needed attention to the role of class (Darvin and Norton 2014, Vandrick 2014, Simpson and Cooke 2010). However, in adopting a sociological perspective - in particular, drawing on the work of Pierre Bourdieu - this study has asserted the value of a realist sociology (Nash 2005a, 2003b, 2002b) in capturing the complexities of Generation 1.5. A realist sociology seeks to bridge disciplinary divides by bringing together the linguistic, cognitive, social, ethnocultural, and educational factors that have been identified as shaping the academic attainment of this group. Most importantly, a realist approach acknowledges the role of cognitive and linguistic skills and tools in educational attainment but sees these as being necessarily shaped by the classed environments of early socialisation.

Throughout this thesis, Bourdieu's notion of habitus has been employed as a heuristic to explore the multiple and intersecting issues impacting upon Generation 1.5 students' educational experiences and outcomes. Habitus facilitates the negotiation of complexity by simultaneously traversing the individual and social, the past and

present, and the collective and individual. By also drawing on more critical treatments of habitus which highlight incongruence, disunity, and multiplicity as a function of contemporary society (Lahire 2010, Sweetman 2003, Cicourel 1993), the notion of a Generation 1.5 habitus has been used to highlight critical commonalities borne of shared histories, as well as the dissonances of individuals with disparate experiences, capacities, and dispositions.

Fundamental to understanding the notion of a Generation 1.5 habitus is the likelihood of an interrupted or incomplete formation of what Nash refers to as the cognitive habitus (Nash 2005a, 2005b, 2002b, 2001), or the set of dispositions that support the abstract thinking, problem solving, pattern recognition, and linguistic structures that underlie academic work and achievement. As part of a habitus, these cognitive schemes are durable and embodied and are primarily a product of early socialisation. The home is considered a site of both inculcation and explication, with parents the first teachers. For many of the Generation 1.5 students, low or no parental literacy in the home language likely influenced not only access to literacy resources and the acquisition of literacy practices, such as reading, but also ways of communicating. In many respects, then, the impact of the early cognitive and linguistic environment of the home was evident in the students' academic writing and self-reported scholarly practices.

Importantly, however, folding a notion of cognitive habitus into that of a collective Generation 1.5 habitus does not imply that Generation 1.5 students lack innate capabilities, as the IEC teacher Sula intimated. Rather, it underscores the interrelationship between many of these students' early linguistic and educational experiences and the acquisition and consolidation of a suite of cognitive and linguistic tools which enable a strong and ongoing engagement with the field of education. Moreover, despite Bourdieu's assertion that 'of all the

cultural obstacles, those which arise from the language spoken within the family setting are unquestionably the most serious and insidious' (Bourdieu, Passeron, and de saint Martin 1994a, 40), patterns of language use in the home, while predictive of later academic attainment (Wells 2012, 2009, Hasan 2002), by no means determine trajectories. Certainly, the experience of Mirwais, who did not necessarily experience a literacy-rich early environment but nevertheless went on to relative academic achievement, is a case in point.

Closely related to a cognitive habitus, a broad pattern of linguistic habitus was also evident among the Generation 1.5 students. In part a consequence of living in homes in which English was not commonly used, it was evident that all of the students were still in the process of acquiring English; that is, they were still developing a comfort with English that would allow it to become second nature. Mya, Zafiah, Warda, and Rina all showed only the most tenuous control of written English and very little evidence, if any, of the development of academic language capabilities. Mirwais, Talayeh, Daniel, and Haajira's written texts indicated a greater control of written English as well as the basics of academic literacy. Finally, Tien, Thanh, and Gabriel demonstrated the consolidation of written English skills as well as progress towards the acquisition of appropriate academic discourse. While demonstrating varying control over English and academic literacy on the whole, few if any of the students evidenced the practical competence to be able to produce valued forms of language in the field of HE, and therefore lacked the capacity to make themselves heard (Bourdieu 1992).

While acknowledging that distinctions between the students' habitus are largely the result of primary socialisation, many argue for the role of pedagogy in transforming the habitus and the capital which is in

turn generated from this (Yang 2013, Watkins 2012, Curry 2007). Therefore, the most obvious point of intervention in the acquisition of a cognitive and linguistic habitus likely to support academic attainment is the education system. The Generation 1.5 students' accounts of their experience in the NSW schooling system and then HE system, however, revealed an ill fit between their habitus and these fields of education. Firstly, the ESL provision outlined in Chapter Five indicated a pattern of inadequate and inconsistent language and literacy support in NSW government schools. Those students who arrived during the early primary years of school (Tien, Haajira, Warda) did not receive any dedicated ESL instruction as part of a new arrival provision. Instead, they were largely left to 'pick up' English through immersion in the mainstream classroom. When ESL was provided, it was sometimes years later. Talayeh and Mirwais, arriving towards the end of primary school, did receive new arrival provision, but were left to navigate the often complex and challenging peer social relations in the schools they attended. For Talayeh, this had a lasting impact on her investment in the formal education system.

On the whole, those Generation 1.5 students who arrived during secondary schooling fared better. Gabriel, Thanh, Mya, and Zafiah all attended an IEC and had between 30 and 40 weeks of dedicated, specialist ESL instruction. However, patchy provision was evident again in the fact that Daniel and Rina, also arriving during high school, did not receive the same level of provision. Daniel and Rina went straight to mainstream secondary schools where they had intermittent ESL provision. While Daniel, with his previous experience learning English and parental support, was able to cope, Rina did not, and she enrolled in university with only basic language and literacy capabilities.

What is abundantly clear, even for those students who received a full year of ESL instruction at an IEC, is that the standard provision for ESL

new arrivals is insufficient (Olliff and Couch 2005). For those students like Gabriel and Zafiah, who did not possess any English language skills upon arrival, 30-40 weeks in an IEC would likely be sufficient to provide basic oral competence. However, given that it takes seven to ten years to learn academic genres of writing specific to subject areas (Collier and Thomas 2009, Garcia, DiCerbo, and Center 2000), the single year of ESL instruction in no way adequately prepares students to manage in a mainstream secondary school, as (Ferfolja and Vickers 2010, 160) argue:

The English language support system that has evolved over the past half-century is built on the assumption that an initial six- or twelve-month ESL program would be sufficient to teach English to children who were literate in their first language and had mostly attended school for several years. Teaching pre-literate children to read is quite different from teaching English reading skills to children who are fluent readers in their mother tongue. Yet, there has been no change in the original policy under which support for new arrivals was limited to just four terms, or 12 months, in an IEC.

This changing nature of the EAL cohort, while not resulting in change at the policy level, is nonetheless apparent to ESL teaching staff. Chapter Five highlighted teachers' use of instrumental pedagogy in which basic communicative competence and literacy was the focus. While this was no doubt appropriate for many of the Generation 1.5 students, it nevertheless meant that by the time they arrived at a mainstream secondary school, they had limited, if any, exposure to academic literacy. Moreover, this survival pedagogy seemed to reflect a soft bigotry of low expectations. Students were not encouraged to develop the habit of reading and some were not even expected to progress beyond a very basic level of language proficiency.

Unsurprisingly, from the point of view of the Generation 1.5 students themselves, the provision was inadequate, with many perceiving gaps

in their capacities and knowledge as a result of missing out on the necessary language and literacy instruction. When it came time to move from the IEC to the mainstream classroom, many felt ill prepared. Even those few students with prior experience in English, such as Thanh, or with high degrees of investment and discipline, such as Mirwais, did not feel ready to leave the relatively supportive environment of the IEC. In a typical comment, Mya described the shock of moving from the relatively high support environment of the IEC to mainstream school, an experience that Bourdieu would describe as hysteresis. As with many who find their habitus ill-fitted to a new field, Mya was lost for words:

[N]ot speaking, silent, quiet. Not active with the teacher. That's it, it's just totally different. In the IEC they talk slow, patient. It's only a few people in the class so they can almost help you all the time. Once you're in high school it's different, totally different.

Once in the mainstream, the Generation 1.5 students were also disadvantaged by a system that did not support their literacy needs. Students like Mya, Gabriel, Rina, Zafiah, and Warda entered mainstream secondary schools still requiring early literacy skills. However, many secondary teachers often lack the training and confidence to teach EAL students, despite the fact that 20 to 25 per cent of the student body is EAL (Hammond 2012). This is not the result of teachers failing to see the need for or value in explicit ongoing ESL teaching. On the contrary, as indicated, NSW teachers identified ESL teaching as their most pressing professional development need in multicultural education, and 90 per cent of respondents recognised that English language and literacy support was critical for EAL students (Watkins et al. 2013). However, a lack of adequate teacher resourcing means that significant numbers of students deemed eligible for ESL are taught by mainstream teachers,

many of whom have no training or experience in ESL teaching (Watkins et al. 2013).

The results of the failure of the school system for the Generation 1.5 students of this study have already been outlined in terms of the nature of the cognitive and linguistic habitus acquired by the time they reached university. In the same way that these students were ill-prepared for the move from the IEC to mainstream schooling, school had not adequately prepared these students for the expectations of tertiary study, even though they were successful in gaining entry to university. Their lack of previous experience with academic work at school limited their ability to understand institutional and curricula expectations. Chapter Four described a hit and miss approach to the preparation of assignments and academic study more broadly, with students drawing on advice from friends, former teachers, and the internet to decipher what their assignments required of them. While students like Mirwais and Mya reported spending long hours on study each week, based on the written assignments they produced, some of these hours appeared to be misspent. In short, most of the students had not developed practices suggestive of a disposition of learning associated with successful participation in university. Moreover, many seemed acutely aware of this discrepancy. Warda, Rina, Haajira, Mya, Zafiah, Talayeh, and Thanh all expressed an anxiety about either their English language use or academic reading/writing or both.

This affective dimension of learning was also explored through the framework of a Generation 1.5 habitus. Chapter Six documented the students' own identity narratives to reveal ambivalence, confusion, and, in many cases, a pronounced discomfort with English, particularly academic English. Common to many narratives was the experience of hybridity – of simultaneously belonging to two or more distinct worlds and so not really belonging to either. This ambivalence affected their

own sense of who they were, where they belonged, the role of English and HE in their lives, and their relationships to their families. For example, Daniel needed English to get ahead and yet felt that English undermined his loyalty to his first language, Cantonese. Zafiah also recognised that English was necessary to her life but fought to keep it at bay in the domestic sphere, wanting her children to know they were Arabic speakers. Above all, each student described disruption, movement, loss, and change as a function of their experience of migration.

However, more than the discomfort that comes from moving between two circumscribed class-mediated worlds that Bourdieu's notion of *habitus clivé* suggests, these Generation 1.5 students must be understood by reference to the conditions of the globalised, postcolonial world in which 'superdiversity' (Vertovec 2007) is a reality. As a product of this arguably more complex world, these Generation 1.5 students experienced a layering of several different modes of socialisation, resulting in individuals made up of not a single, unified *habitus*, but a plurality of dispositions. In this way, complexity cannot be quarantined at the level of group. While the notion of a Generation 1.5 *habitus* is useful to draw together commonalities, these 11 students cannot be readily reduced to a set of practices which instantiate a certain disposition towards learning or language. Instead, studying Generation 1.5 students requires an exploration of how the social comes to be refracted in an individual. Therefore, dispositions, while having some explanatory role in the different identities, capacities, and practices the students displayed, led to often unpredictable, contradictory, and complex outcomes, which their varying relation to the field of HE demonstrated.

In recognition of the intrinsic connection between *habitus* and field, this study also sought to examine the impact of both large-scale field

effects and local institutional effects upon the practices and outcomes of the students. It has suggested that their university's flexible admission practices acted as an affordance for many of these Generation 1.5 students. The system of awarding bonus points for disadvantage meant that students like Rina may have gained access to university on the basis of a relatively low entrance score. While not constituting an open admissions policy of the kind operating in the US, the admissions policy at Ward University nonetheless did not adhere strictly to academic criteria. Admissions policies in the past have been used to 'publicly codify the appropriate capital required to enter the university field' (Naidoo 2004, 465) and as a result, function as a signal to students themselves about what level of language and academic attainment may be required to manage a degree program. However, as a result of the marketisation and democratisation of the field of HE, this signal has been somewhat eroded. Subsequently, this study has revealed how these Generation 1.5 students had little concrete notion of what was expected of them at university – or indeed, if they could meet such expectations.

This institutional practice was shown to have an additional effect. It generated tension on the one hand between the internal logic of the field, which holds to a standard such as that exemplified by the minimum literacy standard used in one faculty at Ward University, and on the other hand, the realities of the many of the students entering university. This tension was directly experienced by Gerhard and Sally, the two tutors that were interviewed for the study. Both believed there was a standard that needed to be met. As Gerhard explained, 'I think there are some very basic things, which I kind of expect them [students] to be prepared in, just in terms of the basics of formal writing'. Yet they also realised that many of the students in their tutorials might not necessarily be able to meet those standards. Gerhard and Sally responded by trying to meet the needs of learners.

For instance, Sally detailed tutorials in which she went around the room directing students in the completion of assessments so that everyone achieved full marks and no one was disadvantaged. She also described her approach to giving feedback on students' written assignments, which involved editing drafts to the point of rewriting large parts of the students' texts. Gerhard likewise shifted his teaching practice, reporting changing the marking criteria when it became clear that many students were not going to pass an assessment.

While well intentioned, meeting the needs of learners in this way may actually be at best, unrealistic (Haggis 2006), and at worst, detrimental, resulting in the 'dumbing down' of curricula. Firstly, as has been continually underscored, Generation 1.5 students epitomise complexity and diversity of learner backgrounds and needs. It is no easy task, therefore, to identify let alone meet the different needs of students on an individual basis, particularly on the scale at which they are arriving at university. Such a proposal is even less plausible when teaching staff may have a limited understanding of the particular challenges faced by many non-traditional students. As was demonstrated earlier, Gerhard and Sally had little knowledge and experience of the category EAL beyond international students. The fact that many Generation 1.5 students may not have literacy in their home language and may have experienced significant disruptions to their schooling was not something about which either tutor had given much thought. Moreover, they were not encouraged to do so. Gerhard and Sally were two of thirty-five casual tutors assigned to a large first year unit. They each taught several classes and were provided with no information about students beside their names. Without a sense of who their students were and what issues they potentially faced, Sally and Gerhard were flying blind. Despite being motivated by a desire to help, the effect of Sally and Gerhard's pedagogic practice was to limit

students' insights into their own literacy needs as well as opportunities to draw on their own resources to address these needs.

What these staff practices point to is not the failings of individual teachers but the neglect of pedagogy in HE and, in particular, the need to adapt existing pedagogies to better suit students such as Generation 1.5. According to Hockings et al. (2010, 98), 'university systems designed to assure quality and maximise the economic efficiency of teaching constrain teachers' capacity to create inclusive pedagogies'. University academic staff are generally appointed on the basis of their subject expertise, not teaching expertise. Moreover, casual staff like Sally and Gerhard, who make up 82 per cent of the teaching-only academic workforce (Norton 2013) do not benefit from the few measures to build teaching capacity, such as the subsidised attainment of qualifications in adult education for ongoing staff. Instead, Sally and Gerhard were neither trained nor supported to teach, let alone to teach language and academic literacy. Their understandings of what effective student writing looked like, already minimal, were not enhanced by the lack of an explicit marking matrix that summarised grammar as 'good', 'generally good', and 'poor'. Even if they had been equipped to, Sally and Gerhard's temporary employment status meant that they felt it was not their responsibility to address student language and literacy issues. This, coupled with their limited understanding of the complex issues facing many Generation 1.5 students, had negative consequences for the academic trajectories of several students.

Beyond these local field effects, broader institutional pedagogies and paradigms operating in HE further disadvantaged these Generation 1.5 students. In describing the situation in the UK HE system some ten years ago, Maton (2005, 700) argues strongly that the 'discourse of pastoral care for the education of new students has given way to one

of income generation, social participation and economic rationalism'. He goes on to claim that policy was oriented towards encouraging players within HE to internalise the influence of these external directives as the foundation for a new institutional habitus. The shift to student-centred learning (SCL) apparent in many universities today is a case in point. Ward University learning guides spoke of the need for students to take responsibility for their own learning by 'developing the habits and tools of a successful university student'. However, the way the documents suggested students do this was by taking 'control of their own learning to ensure their own success'. In many respects, then, SCL is a means of institutions to abrogate responsibility.

Furthermore, implicit in SCL pedagogies is the notion that students already know what they need to do, can do it, and have the opportunity to do it. However, this thesis has provided evidence to the contrary. The level of preparedness of the Generation 1.5 students upon entry to university, the tacit nature of language and literacy requirements, and the practice of teaching staff who did not actually teach skills and capacities because they were not trained to do so meant that many students, especially Generation 1.5 students, were unable to benefit from SCL pedagogy. In this way, pedagogies such as SCL and practices such as the widespread neglect of teaching within HE (Gull 2014, Norton 2013) fall foul of the discourse of meritocracy and the broad project to democratise HE.

While both the broad sector-wide policies as well as local field effects constrained teaching and learning, some Generation 1.5 students were nevertheless able to operate with some degree of success. Bourdieu's theory of practice outlines how a misalignment between habitus and field can produce the capacity for reflexivity, which in turn prompts agents to change their practice to better suit the field. More

commonly, however, Bourdieu suggests that agents respond to the mismatch not with reflexivity and adjustment but with inertia, unable or unwilling to make the necessary changes. In contrast, this study outlined how the Generation 1.5 students reconciled the differences both within their own dispositions as well as between those and the field of HE through strategy. For example, Rina, Mya, and Zafiah chose to maintain the status quo. Rather than demonstrating inertia, these students' inaction represented a kind of strategic calculation, as they recognised that they were getting by with their current practice and so there was no need to change. Daniel also recognised that he was able to do the bare minimum of work and still pass. For Daniel, this constituted almost a protest, allowing him to express his extreme ambivalence towards his university education.

The fact that Rina and Mya, and, to a lesser extent, Warda and Zafiah, had figured out a way of playing the game without having to significantly adjust their academic practice or develop their linguistic capacities highlights the role of field in shaping habitus and practice and determining positions. The power of field to shape outcomes is also powerfully evident in the fact that those students such as Gabriel, Tien and Thanh, who had aligned their dispositions and practices to meet the expectations of university study, started to fail or disengage. But it is not only that some of the student outcomes were unexpected. Rather, the point to make is one that was highlighted earlier; that is, that all the students were being underserved by the HE system to a greater or lesser extent. To begin with, Gabriel, who overcame significant early disadvantages to enrol at Ward University, was let down by low standards and a lack of support. While he achieved laudable results in his first two semesters, a result which was a testament to his diligence, self-awareness, and drive, he nonetheless was still developing reading skills and mastering English syntax and punctuation. Despite this, he was allowed to transfer to a law degree

possibly before he had the capacities to cope in this more demanding course. Furthermore, once in that degree, he had difficulty identifying the rules and conventions that applied to this new discourse and, without the direct support of teaching staff, failed all three law subjects.

Tien also should have done well. She possessed the necessary linguistic capital and helpful practices and orientations towards study. However, after doing well in her first semester, her marks began to slip until she was barely passing. The lack of transparent writing expectations as well as moving goal posts meant that Tien was let down. Gerhard, one of the tutors at Ward University, described the situation for students like Tien, who, in his view, do not require much assistance getting over the line:

I often find that I'm very strict and kind of very tough on a criteria for the really good ones. So it's very hard to get a high distinction or a solid distinction. But when I come to students who do very poorly, I'm starting to look for an extra mark to give them.

By virtue of not being in danger of failing, Tien was held to a higher standard than some of the other students like Warda and Rina. Apparently, this was not a standard she was able to maintain.

Other students were let down by the institution's lack of engagement with and commitment to them. Mirwais, by any standard a successful student, left Ward University after his first year. He did not feel that he belonged at the university or that its management or staff genuinely engaged with him. Talayeh also left Ward after only one semester. If student engagement and investment is proportional to an institution's ability to engage its students, Ward failed in this respect. Finally, Thanh, also one of the Generation 1.5 students who like Gabriel, Mirwais, and Tien had the capacities, dispositions and practices to succeed at university, withdrew. His already precarious

sense of belonging was further undermined by a hands-off approach to teaching in which he was encouraged to study alone at home, left unsupported, isolated, and ultimately disconnected. These students' experiences demonstrate how relationships with peers and staff, or 'socioacademic' relationships, can be as crucial to academic success as academic skills. As Thomas (2012, 431) argues, 'if a student feels that they do not fit in, that their social and cultural practices are inappropriate and that their tacit knowledge is undervalued, they may be more inclined to withdraw early'.

For very different reasons, Mya, Warda, Rina, Zafiah, and Daniel were also let down by the HE system. Despite their limited linguistic capital and deeply ambivalent dispositions towards academic endeavour, these students were allowed to persist in their degrees. These students were to some extent 'playing' the system. Daniel worked out that he could pass his subjects with minimal effort and investment. Rina, Warda, and Zafiah discovered that even if they failed, they could still continue in their studies. Mya found out that if she weighted subject selection towards Chinese and Japanese language courses, she could do well, regardless of her English and despite intending to become a teacher.

What these patterns point to is a culture of leniency operating in some courses. However, the pressure to pass students needs to be placed within a wider context of the marketisation of HE. With universities increasingly operating as businesses, there is an economic incentive to retain students. Similarly, teaching needs to be cost-effective. This raises questions about the role of HE in today's society. If students are not required to change or develop their approach to academic endeavor because of demands on resources, untrained teaching staff, a culture of leniency, or the expectation that students should learn independently, then HE simply becomes another mechanism for social

reproduction rather than for mobility or transformation. Certainly, unless policy, curricular frameworks, and classroom practice work to develop students' language and literacy capacities to a higher level, Rina, Warda, Mya, Zafiah, and even Haajira will acquire little more than 'low mobility' forms of English (Blommaert 2010, 195). While they may emerge with a credential, it is unclear to what extent this will enable these Generation 1.5 students to find and persist in the professional roles to which they aspire.

Rather than demonstrating the success of social inclusion policies, *Educating Rina* has instead highlighted the failure of HE to accurately gauge and then adequately assist students whose level of language proficiency and broader critical facilities are out of alignment with demands of tertiary education. Yet educational institutions should not be damned for responding to ineluctable shaping forces. Faced with radical shifts in their funding models, sharp cuts in government assistance, and governmental participation targets, universities – especially those outside the prestigious Group of Eight – have needed to increase enrolments to non-traditional students even as the means they have to address the special needs of such students are eroded. These pages reveal a cohort whose ambition has been encouraged in the abstract but denied in the particular.

Furthermore, *Educating Rina* has shown how many Generation 1.5 students accrue debt through institutionally-sanctioned persistence. Just as subprime mortgages in the US were marketed to those communities with the least ability to understand the product being sold to them, an unfortunate consequence of the twin drivers of marketisation and democratisation of HE is that degrees are marketed to those with the least understanding of the challenges which accompany them. Mere participation in university does not guarantee a durable shift in one's life trajectory. Swept up by the current

widening participation agenda, students like Rina are enrolling in universities in greater numbers. But a growing appreciation of the diversity of school and university student populations, as well as concerns over slipping language standards, have yet to have demonstrable impact upon policy and pedagogy. The crucial task of research in this area is to illuminate complexity in the hope that institutions charged with educating non-traditional students will come to see that their reputation is tied to these students' ultimate failure or success and adapt accordingly.

The question then becomes what alternatives, if any, exist to the status quo. The work of Hammond in the school sector points to some possible directions for future research. Hammond advocates a culture of high challenge and high support for EAL students (Hammond 2012, 2009, 2008) in which teachers identify opportunities for deeper engagement with curricular knowledge at the same time as allowing all students to participate through careful scaffolding. This scaffolding, far from being spoon-feeding, aims to build the capacity of students as quickly as possible so that support can eventually be withdrawn. In this way, this high support approach creates the independent learners that SCL pedagogies often claim. However, such a program of high challenge and high support requires a significant investment in HE teaching. This in turn requires institutions and the markets they serve to view teaching in universities as not only valuable but crucial.

Educating Rina has explored the educational trajectories of eleven Generation 1.5 students who are caught up in the current democratisation of HE. The loud and persuasive rhetoric of social inclusion in which everyone can have a higher education trumped what many of the students' own family socialisation and prior education had led them to believe was possible. Yet when these students arrived at university, nothing had really changed. These

students were in possession of the same dispositions derived from home and, in many respects, an inadequate schooling. Moreover, these dispositions often did not align with the tacit expectations of academic study. So, while the 11 Generation 1.5 students were allowed into the game, many, such as Talayeh, Warda, and Zafiah, were not sure how to play it, and were not yet in possession of the tools to do so. For others, such as Gabriel, Mirwais, Tien, and Thanh, who had acquired some ability to play and might have succeeded, the rules kept changing. HE, then, constituted a false choice for these Generation 1.5 students. HE should be an opportunity for students to change not only their own lives but also the dynamic of the field itself.

Generation 1.5 – A Post Script

At the time this thesis was completed, a stinging exposé of the English language standards of international students in Australian higher education was broadcast (Besser and Cronau 2015). Claims of a pervasive ‘culture of leniency’, in which academics are pressured to pass students ‘no matter what their level is, no matter what their prior knowledge is, no matter how much or how little effort they [students] put in’ (Besser and Cronau 2015) underscored that in many respects, HE has become an industry and education a product for sale. But beyond the headlines, a growing demographic of local EAL students face similar issues. In 2015, over three years after first enrolling in HE, what has become of these Generation 1.5 students?

Gabriel: Having succeeded in transferring to law, Gabriel has attempted nine law units but only successfully completed three. Altogether, he has failed seven units. Now, well into his fourth year, Gabriel is far from meeting the requirements to graduate, but has succeeded in accruing thousands of dollars worth of debt.

Mya: By 2015, she had completed her undergraduate degree and is now taking her first semester in a Master of Teaching (Secondary), on track to becoming a school teacher.

Mirwais: Having left Ward University at the end of his first year after transferring to a law degree, Mirwais is coming to the end of this degree at another university.

Haajira: Like Mya, Haajira graduated from her undergraduate degree and moved on to her Master of Teaching (Primary). However, after completing one semester of the accelerated mode, involving doing six

subjects at a time, she only managed to complete two units the following semester, and has now discontinued altogether.

Daniel: In April 2015, Daniel was enrolled in his final two subjects of his Bachelor of Business. He has earned mostly passes and the occasional credit or distinction.

Warda: Despite failing seven subjects, like Gabriel, Warda persists. Her average pass mark is 53.

Zafiah: Studying very much part-time, Zafiah has only successfully completed six units since she began in early 2012. Her debt is mounting.

Tien: Despite commencing over three years ago, Tien still has several subjects to complete in her Bachelor of Arts, as she has failed or withdrawn from seven units.

Thanh: Five years after first commencing a Bachelor of Business and Commerce, Thanh remains a long way from successful completion. Throughout his degree, he has had a pattern of patchy enrolment, often enrolling and then discontinuing a number of subjects.

Talayeh: Never returned to Ward University after her first semester.

Rina: After persisting for over three years, Rina has enrolled in the college attached to Ward University to study academic literacy. By this stage, however, Rina has failed 10 units and accrued a sizable debt. It remains unclear to what extent the HE sector has provided the means for social mobility in educating Rina.

Appendix A – Language and Education Survey

Language and Education Survey

This survey forms part of a PhD research project, being conducted by Frances Williamson. The aim is to gather information about the language and educational backgrounds of students. The collection of this information is intended to help assess students' abilities and needs so that we can better design academic literacy support. Data collected are anonymous and confidential. Participation in this survey is purely voluntary. Completion and return of the survey will be taken as consent.

Age _____ Gender M F Postcode _____ Study mode: Full-time Part-time

Background

This first section is about your background.

1. What country were you born in?

2. If you were born or lived outside Australia, what age were you when you moved to Australia? _____

3. What country were your parents born in?

Mother _____

Father _____

4. What are your parents' current occupations?

Mother _____

Father _____

5. If your parents migrated to Australia as adults, what were their occupations pre-migration?

Mother _____ Father _____

6. Are you a

Domestic student International student Migrant

Languages

This next section is about any languages you speak.

7. Do you speak a language/s other than English? Yes No

If so, what language/s

If no, skip to Q. 15

8. The following question requires you to indicate your *fluency in this language* by choosing a number between 1 and 5. Please write the number next to each language mode below.

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all				Extremely fluent

____ Speaking

____ Reading

____ Writing

9. Who do you speak this language with? (select all that apply)

Family

Friends

- Other students
 - Members of your community (e.g. doctors, shop assistants)
 - Other please specify
-

10. Do you regularly read in this language? Yes No

If yes, what kinds of material do you read regularly (select all that apply)

Letters/emails from family and/or friends

Websites

Text messages

Newspapers/magazines

Nonfiction books

Fiction/literature

Comics or other forms of graphic entertainment

11. Do you regularly write in this language? Yes No

If yes, what kinds of material do you write regularly (select all that apply)

Letters to family/friends

Emails

Text messages

Blogs

Shopping lists/things-to-do lists

Notes from uni related readings

Lecture notes

Other academic writing

12. Have you ever had formal education in this language?

Yes, as a foreign language in an Australian school

Yes, as a foreign language in a language school

Yes, as a first language in a foreign country

No

13. Please indicate the *importance of this language to your identity* (your sense of who you are) by circling a number between 1 and 5 on the scale below.

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all			Extremely important	

14. Do you experience any differences when you use English or your other language/s e.g. you feel more/less assertive; more/less confident; more/less relaxed? Please describe.

Education

This section is asking about your educational experience before coming to uni.

15. Did you attend school in Australia? Yes No

If no, skip to Q. 18

Number of years _____

Name of Primary school/s

Name of High school/s

16. Did you receive English as a second language (ESL) support? Yes No

If yes, please indicate the kind of support you received

Attended Intensive English Centre

- ESL class within mainstream school
 - ESL support teacher alongside other teacher
 - ESL support from normal teacher
 - Other please specify
-

17. What level English did you complete for the HSC? (select one)

- Fundamentals
- ESL
- Standard
- Advanced
- Extension 1
- Extension 2

18. The following question requires you to indicate your *fluency in English* by choosing a number between 1 and 5. Please write the number next to each language mode below.

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all				Extremely fluent

____ Speaking

____ Reading

____ Writing

19. How did you enter university? (select one)

- As a School leaver via UAC
 - Via TAFE/VET
 - As a Mature age student
 - Via Unitrack
 - Via Ward College
 - Other please specify
-

University

This section is about your experience of uni life so far.

20. The following question requires you to indicate your *experience of reading and writing at university* so far by choosing a number between 1 and 5. Please write the number next to each question.

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all				Extremely

___ How well *prepared* do you feel for university reading

___ How well *prepared* do you feel for university writing

___ How *confident* are you in reading university material (e.g. articles, textbooks)

___ How *confident* are you in writing university assignments

21. Please indicate if you do any of the following regularly (select all that apply):

Complete tutorial/weekly readings

Revisit readings (e.g. after lecture/tutorial)

Attend lectures and tutorials

Ask your lecturer/tutor questions

Use the library

Study in groups

Study alone at home (no. of hours/week? _____)

Attend PASS

Receive additional support in English

22. The following question requires you to indicate your *concerns with aspects of academic writing* by choosing a number between 1 and 5. Please write the number next to aspect of writing below.

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all				Extremely

- ___ Discipline vocabulary (the particular words common in your area of study)
- ___ Sentence construction
- ___ Paragraph construction
- ___ Essay construction
- ___ Grammar
- ___ Spelling/punctuation
- ___ Constructing an argument
- ___ Incorporation of other sources (evidence)

23. Do you feel some/all of these problems are shared by others of your linguistic/cultural/ethnic background? Yes No

Why or why not?

24. Are there any people apart from teaching staff who can help you with your written university assignments? (select all that apply)

Family

Friends

Other please specify

25. Even if there is not a language other than English spoken in your family home, do you consider a language other than English important to your ethnic and/or cultural identity?

Yes No If yes, which language/s

This study is particularly interested in **people who came to Australia from a non-English speaking country between the ages of 2-15 years** and their experience at university. If you would be interested in being contacted to participate further, please leave your name and contact details below:

Name: _____

Mobile: _____

Email: _____

Best time to contact you: before hours during business hours after hours

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION. THIS IS THE END OF THE SURVEY

Appendix B – Interview prompts (student)

Thanks for agreeing to participate in this study. My research is about longer-term migrant students from a language background other than English and their experience at school and university.

Why did you choose to come to Ward University I know you haven't been here long, but just to get us started I'd like to ask, how you're findings things so far?

SECTION 1 –BACKGROUND *I wonder if you'd be willing to share your story with me. You said in the survey you came to Australia from _____ when you were _____...*

Prompts:

- check demographic details such as country of birth and age of immigration
- interrupted schooling? And/or repeated grades
- plus parents' educational levels before migration. What about since?
- Parents' literacy in L1 and English

SECTION 2 – L1 *can we talk now specifically about your first language, or mother tongue.*

1. What do you consider is your first language? [explain that want to know what language they learnt to speak first. If more than one learnt simultaneously, which do they consider is their 'mother tongue?']
2. How did you learn this language? [from parents/school/other family members]
3. You indicated in the survey you felt fluent/not so fluent in speaking this language? Probe why? What do you use it for?
4. You indicated in the survey you felt fluent/not so fluent in reading and writing this language. Probe why. Ie. Use it or not?
5. Do you feel your language skills in this language are different to that of your family – parents/ siblings? grandparents? why? How? How does that make you feel?
6. Do you speak any other languages apart from this one and English? How well?
7. Do you dream in your first language ever?

SECTION 3 - L2 (ENGLISH) *Now, let's move on to English.*

8. Did you know or learn any English before you came to Australia? Where? E.g. school?

9. Where/how do you feel you learnt how to speak English once in Australia (i.e. at home, at school etc. probe how much picked up orally)? Where/how do you feel you learnt to write English?
10. People talk about 'ear' (learnt predominantly by speaking and listening to English – informal) and 'eye' learners (more formal, learnt through reading and writing and grammar), which do you feel you are? DO you feel this distinction is a relevant one to you?
11. Do you speak English at home? Who with?
12. You mentioned in the survey your fluency in English speaking was and writing was Can you talk to me about this?
13. There's another idea around – it is that when people learn a language as an older person (over age 5 or so), they never quite get to be totally fluent, or like a native-speaker; there are always non-native like mistakes. In other words, they left it too late. They call this fossilization – do you feel this is relevant to you? Do you think if you had more time and energy you could become like a native speaker (maybe more in terms of writing) or do you think no matter what, you'll always use English the way you do now? Is this even important to sound like a native speaker? Why or why not (employment etc..)
14. Do you still feel you are learning English? Why?
15. Do you think the English you use is different to Academic English? Please explain.

SECTION 4 – EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCES *Speaking of Academic English, can we now talk about your experiences at school and more recently, at uni?*

School

16. How did you feel when you first arrived at school in Australia? What was it like?

Prompts:

- Can you describe your ESL/English education at high school and primary school (if applies) e.g. how much ESL instruction did you receive?
- How long did you spend in each ESL phase?
- Did you leave your regular classroom or did it take place within your normal classroom?
- What kind of activities did you do?
- What kind of reading and writing did you do?
- How long did it take before you feel comfortable talking in the playground? What about in class?
- What year did you stop having ESL classes? Do you think you received adequate ESL?

17. Do you think your school education prepared you for university? Why/why not?

Uni

18. Has anyone in your family attended uni in Australia before you?
19. What is your family's view of you being at uni?
20. Are you working at all while you are at uni? How about other responsibilities (ie. Minding younger siblings, looking after older relatives)
21. Do you have a preferred learning style? Eg do you prefer independent study, Web CT, face to face or combo?
22. Have you looked for English/writing support? Would you, if you think you needed it? Why? Why not?
23. Do you feel you receive enough support with writing at Uni? What forms of support would be useful?
24. Do you think allowances should be made for the fact that you are not a native English speaker i.e. should you be marked slightly differently? Why? Why not?

SECTION 5 – READING AND WRITING

25. What language did you learn to write first in?
26. Which languages/s, apart from English can you write in now?
27. How much reading have you done? Do you read regularly? What language? What kind of texts?
28. Can you explain your writing process? Imagine you have just received a written assessment (e.g. essay). How will you go about writing it? Does your first language come into play at all? (e.g. note-taking in L1/brainstorming in L1)
29. How clearly do you think you're able to express yourself in academic writing? Is this different to the way you express yourself in other forms of communication e.g. emails, speaking)
30. Do you feel you have much control over your academic writing? Do you feel you have to follow 'rules' rather than write what you think? (probing sense of agency, control over writing and conventions)
31. Do you feel like 'yourself' when you write essays/assignments for school/uni? Why or why not?
32. Do you feel like your bilingualism is an asset ever? Do you feel you have more than one way of expressing yourself that you can blend/draw on?
33. How confident do you feel in your writing ability?
34. Do you worry about grammar? Did you ever learn any grammar?
35. What do you think is the purpose behind the texts you're asked to produce at uni (e.g. essays, journals, reports) (probing awareness of values and expectations implicit in these types of tasks) Do you find undertaking these tasks difficult?
36. Do you think students from particular cultural backgrounds are better at writing than others? Who? Why do you think this might be the case?

SECTION 6 – IDENTITY *Can I ask you now about your sense of self/identity?*

37. How do you describe yourself e.g Chinese, Chinese-Australian

Prompts:

- Do you identify with any culture/s that could be considered traditional?
- Do you identify with so-called 'Australian culture'?
- Have you experienced any changes with whom or what you identify with over time (i.e. since childhood until now)?
- Do you feel a sense of belonging to Australia? Why, Why not?

38. How important, if at all is your first language to your sense of yourself?

39. Do you ever feel a sense of conflict/uncertainty between your two cultures? E.g. not wholly Lebanese but not wholly Australian?

40. Do you value your language/ethnic/cultural background? Do you think others in Australia value it too? Why? Why not?

41. Have you heard the terms first and second generation? What about Generation 1.5 (explain if not). Do you identify with any of these labels? Why or why not? How useful do you think such a label is?

42. How do you imagine your identity impacts/has impacted on your educational experience to date (high school, university)?

Prompts:

- Making friends
- Being able to do homework/getting help with homework
- Understanding expectation of school/uni
- Sharing your thoughts/learning/questions with family
- Understanding of curriculum content

Appendix C – Interview prompts (staff)

Thanks for agreeing to participate in this study. My research is about longer-term migrant students from a language background other than English and their experience at school and university.

Opener: How long have you been working at Ward Uni? How do you find it?

SECTION 1 – TEACHING EXPERIENCE *I wonder if we could begin formally by talking about your teaching experience to date?*

1. What's your academic background?
2. How long have you been lecturing/tutoring?
3. Have you taught on first year units before?
4. How much, if any, teacher training have you undertaken?
5. What professional development support do you receive from your faculty?
Could you describe your induction/guidance on marking?

SECTION 2 – PERCEPTIONS OF STUDENT LITERACY LEVELS/WRITING *I'd now like to discuss your perceptions of current students entering uni*

6. There's a widespread perception that the students entering uni now are far less prepared than they used to be. Is this your sense? Why do you think this is happening?
7. Are there implications for the way you teach? The course itself? The institution?
8. Do you believe that we should be meeting learner needs above all?
9. How would you characterise the expectations of academic writing placed on students in a first year undergraduate degree? Realistic?
10. What is your perception of the relevance/value of the written assessments in your unit? What do you think is being assessed?
11. What do you think are the most common issues with student writing in general? Why do you think they arise?
12. What do you think are possible measures that could help?
13. What learning support is available for students here? Do you think this is sufficient/effective? Why or why not?

SECTION 3 – EAL *Can we now talk about students who have English as an additional language.*

14. What do you understand by the term EAL?
15. How/when do you first become aware that a student in your tutorials might be EAL?

16. Are you aware of different categories of EAL? What are they? How would you define them? How homogeneous are students assigned to these categories?
17. Have you had any first hand experience of teaching these students? Describe.
18. Do you think the performance of EAL students is simply a matter of language proficiency or are there other factors at play which could affect their learning?
19. Are you aware of the background of any of your students? Refugee/migration stories? If you knew that a student had a very limited or even no schooling prior to coming to Australia, would that make any difference to the way you thought of them or taught them?

SECTION 4 – GENERATION 1.5 *I'd now like to talk about a specific group of EAL students called Generation 1.5.*

20. Have you heard of this term? (Explain operational defn)
21. How useful a label do you think it is? Are there any problems with it?
22. Have you had any experience teaching these students? Have you/do you approach them differently than other students – local monolingual and international? Why? Why not?
23. What professional development do you think would enhance your ability to support generation 1.5 students?
24. What about the writing of EAL students, in particular, generation 1.5? Are there any significant differences between that and the writing of monolingual students?
25. How would you characterise the writing of these students? What do you think explains the features?
26. Do you think students from particular linguistic and/or cultural backgrounds who may belong to Generation 1.5 perform better at writing than others? Who? Why do you think this might be the case?

SECTION 5 –YOUR APPROACH TO MARKING AND FEEDBACK *And finally, can we explore how you go about marking student writing and giving feedback?*

27. How do you go about marking a piece of work? Is there a moderation process? Standardisation?
28. What do you value most? Do you consider anything outside the marking criteria?
29. How do you use the marking criteria?
30. How long does it take to mark a piece of written work?
31. What do you think about the Minimum Literacy Standards? Are they helpful?

Appendix D – Language Analysis Framework

Linguistic (ELP focus)	
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Lexis e.g. <ol style="list-style-type: none"> i) Range, accuracy and flexibility of vocabulary ii) Use of semantic relations (antonymy, synonymy) 2. Grammar e.g. <ol style="list-style-type: none"> i) Range and accuracy of clause structure including punctuation to allow for different types of clause combining (subordination/coordination) ii) Accuracy, consistency and appropriateness of use of tense iii) Number agreement (subject-verb and single/plural noun agreement)
Sociolinguistic (AL focus)	
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Lexis e.g. <ol style="list-style-type: none"> i) Range of lexical devices to create academic register (abstract, technical, formal) i) And cohesion (discourse markers, reference chains using pronoun reference)
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Grammar e.g. <ol style="list-style-type: none"> i) Range of academic structures and conventions (nominalisation, passive voice, modality, parallel structure, hedging)
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Discourse <ol style="list-style-type: none"> i) Argument (identifiable thesis, adequate coverage of ideas; use of supporting evidence in range of functions such as elaborating, exemplifying, justifying; use of recognisable referencing convention) ii) Structure (use of recognisable and appropriate paragraph structure, use of Given/New patterning, clear intro and conclusion)

Appendix E – Student texts

1. Tien

Task: After death communication

The topic of ADC (After Death Communication) has always been a disputed topic among scholars, scientists, psychologists and psychotherapists. The main debate is whether ADC's really does exist or is it a case that what people describe and believe to be as ADC is merely a scientific process or experience, and not of spiritual or paranormal nature. I believe that ADC's have a scientific or psychological explanation behind them and there are many possible scientific reasons that can be used to explain the events and experiences that some have believed to be ADC. These could include the notion of dreaming and wishful thinking due to stress in relation to ADC.

Dreaming is one concept that is logical and feasible when it comes to explaining what is thought to be ADC. Botkin speaks of his use of EMDR (Rapid Eye movement desensitisation and reprocessing) as a method of treating patients who have been through trauma and stress. He also claims that these patients then report they experience ADC. On the contrary, I believe that there are strong ties with patients that undergo REM (rapid eye movement) and dreaming. When a person dreams they also experience rapid eye movement, so what these patients believe to be an ADC could experience actually be a dreaming experience.

There is a connection between the belief that ADC really happened and subconscious wishful thinking. According to the ADCRF, the experience only occurs when the living recipients knew the dead and claim that these experiences are generally positive, comforting, and

quite similar to a reunion. However, I believe that it is more an operation of wishful thinking rather than a spiritual experience. ADC can certainly be seen as subconscious fixture of the human imagination that is produced to by the human mind to mend the feelings of grief and loss.

In conclusion, there is an array of different opinions regarding the subject of ADC (After Death Communication). Some individuals, including myself argue that there is a far more logical scientific and psychological explanation that challenges the idea of what many people believe to be ADC. The subconscious including dreaming and wishful thinking due to stress is most probably what many misconceive as ADC.

2. Warda

Task: Cultural relativism

Culture is the concept of language, beliefs, values, norms behaviours and even material objects that are passed on from one generation to the next. Culture often remains poorly defined in a contentious the official issues, drawing up 3 following sources, 1. Introduction to identity in question, the birth and death of modern subject and national culture as imagined communities.

referring to the sources of culture, the question being debated in the social theory is which stabilizes the social world for so long, giving the rise of new identities in later centuries. identities in the sociological conception bridges between gaps of the inside and outside of personal and public worlds. The fact where living in a culture like Australia our identity is one, we are made up of different cultures different beliefs, nationalities and much more, but we are one.

for us to develop sociological imagination we need to essentially understand how our culture affects people's lives, through meeting them, getting to know them, and this may take us of an aware of the aspects of pepole life but in Australia due to been a mixed culture with being together and our culture is one, they respect each others believes and custom.

To counter our tendency, to use own culture as a standard revalitivism is that, this would mean looking at how a culture relativism, is that we can try to undersrand a culture on its own terms. This could mean looking at how the elements of that culture would fit together without judging those elements as superior or inferior to our own way of life.

Sociologists sometimes refer to non-material culture as symbolic culture, because its central component is the symbols that people use, or would be a sign for something with their own beleifs, to learn about peoples values and their ideas of what is desirable in life.

Standards of beauty also vary so greatly from one culture to the other, what one group finds attractive another may not. Yet each group of cultures thinks that it's standards are the best, because what appearance, reflects, is what beauty really is

Cultural relativism is not judging a culture by thinking to understand its own terms and livings, although employing cultural relativism helps us to avoid culture struggles, this has one under attack that Robert Edgerton has suggested that practice female circumisicn, rape or wife beatings as equivalent to other cultures that don't.

Australia is one of the most multicultural and pluralistic socitiety in the world. Its with the country with highest proportion of inhabitants born overseas, that says that some might embrace Australian culture

so much that they might try to be more Australian. As there are many different cultures in Australia, one might wonder if we can speak about Australia in values.

in my opinion cultural beliefs are different, people believe different things, but Australia has combined us together making us as one country and one world.

3. Haajira

Task: The factors in Australia's foreign relations with the United States of America and Great Britain

Australia's security interest is a significant factor in Australia's foreign relations with the United States of America and Great Britain. However, that was not the only factor that determines the relationship with Great Britain and the United States as it is important to acknowledge and recognise the other factors that also impact the relationships with these two countries as the Australia's economical needs and the cultural, legal and historical links that are shared between all three countries.

Security needs have dominated Australia's foreign relations with United States and Great Britain throughout Australia's history of foreign relations. There are many reasons security needs has been a "prime objective of Australian foreign policy" (Horner,1997.P73). But one of the main factors is Australia's geographic location due to the huge land mass and coastline with small population (Millar, 1968. P8). That has been a continuation of Australia's "colonial mentality" that has been developed overtime as some historians believe (Millar, 1968. P7). This strongly influenced Australia's Foreign Policies as Australia was interested to sustain its protector by maintaining "Britain strong" and be certain "that she did not evade her responsibility for the protection of her colonies" (Grant,1972.P8). Intrinsically, Australia

fought alongside Great Britain in legion battles as Sudan, the Boer War, the Boxer Rebellion, World War I, World War II, the Korean War, Malaya (Millar,1968 .P138) and the Gulf War (McDougall,1998, P88).

Australia's relationship with Great Britain was faithful until World War II as Australia was capable to rely on Great Britain for their security needs (Horner,1997.P76). In particular not until 1942 when Australia was exposed to direct attack for the first time (Darwin Bombing), Australia's relationship with Great Britain was severely jolted (Horner,1997.P76). Hence, Australia realised that "the United Kingdom in the future would no longer be able to contribute decisively to Australian security" (Greenwood, 1940-1970. P138) as Australia turned to the United States of America. As a result of Britain being incapable to defend Australia the influence of Great Britain on the foreign policy of Australia reduced dramatically (Horner,1997. P73) even though the foreign policy of Australia reduced but did not disappear entirely. H.V Evatt (Australian External Affairs Minister) debated that the British commonwealth is a third block of strength (power) (Cupster, 1995, P198), whereby Great Britain set up nuclear tests in Woomera (Cupster, 1995.P198) as Australia and Britain, New Zealand, Singapore and Malaysia all in 1971 signed the Power Defence Arrangement (Horner,1997.p73). That is a clear indication that the relationship decreased with Australia as the ability of Britain power to defend Australia decreased.

But then, defensive needs between Britain and Australia were important but that was not the only factor as the economic ties were also significant. Thus "the motherland dominated the Australian economy as the major market for Australian exports and the principal supplier of labour as well as capital and consumer goods" economically (Camilleri,1973. P14) after World War II the defensive relationships has decreased in importance, particularly after Britain's

entrance to the European Commission (Cupster, 1995.P379). A perfect example is during 1960's, as 75% of Australian imports were from Britain, whereby in 1970 it decreased to the ratio of one in ten (Cupster,1995.P379). Hence, the relationship decreased with Britain as Australia was forced to look for other alternatives for its economic needs elsewhere.

Furthermore, cultural, emotional, economical, and legal ties have impacted greatly on the relationship of Australia and Britain. In the past Australia did not have much foreign affairs authority as Australia was a British colony. Legally all foreign policy decisions were made by Britain until 1931, when the British Parliament passed the Statue of Westminster which Australia did not adopt till 1942. In addition it is important to recognise that Australia was a subject of Britain ("British country") until 1968 (Millar, 1968.P141); the Australian flag was the Union Jack, at schools the British history was taught to children and travellers in Australia carried British passport documents (Millar, 1968.P2).

All of those components (cultural, legal and emotional ties) signify that Australia being in the habit of having keen interest go to the 'Mother Country' for directions and protection (Harper,1971. P122). It is supported as in foreign wars Australia sent aid to Britain as it was not only strictly influenced by Australia's own defensive concerns. There was "a strong emotional attachment" (Camilleri,1973, P18) between Australia and Britain as Australia had a keen interest in providing assistance to Britain. Hence, it is evident that cultural, legal and emotional links have influenced the relationship between Australia and Britain. Through the studies conducted and brought forward it is evident that the relationship ties between Australia and the United States is motivated by Australia's defensive interests.

The visit Of Australia to the United States in 1908 by the Great White Fleet was promoted by reverence of Japan. Hence, Prime Minister Joseph Lyons in 1936 tried to endeavour security agreement (pact) between Australia and the United States (McDougall,1998, P51) but failed due to American's isolationist Policy during that period. The Australian efforts towards the United Sates were constrained into the war as Prime Minister John Curtin declared "that Australia looks to America, free of any pangs to our traditional links or kinship with the United Kingdom" (Curtin, John, 1941). It was during this tragedy where alliance was formed, and a protector was a need as it was acknowledged that "the United Kingdom in the Future would no longer contribute decisively to Australia's security" (GreenWood,1970, P117). This made Australia concentrate on its foreign security relationships with the United States.

The alliance of American and Australian Foreign Policy proceeded after war but was not a full alliance like the war until post ANZUS. Australia was "to secure American assurances of support in the situation in which Australia felt herself to be directly or potentially threatened" (Millar, 1968, P117) as it became the main focus of the policy. This is clear as Australia participated in the Vietnam and the Korean War with the United States (McDougall,1998, P52) and in North West Cape, Pine Gap and Nurrungar. Moreover, an agreement between Australia and the United States was granted to the United States to have the bases in Australia (McDougall,1998, P53). Whereby, Australia received an incentive from the Australian New Zealand United States Treaty (ANZUS) as Australia was to agree with the easy peace pact with Japan (Camilleri, 1973, P47). It was a "solemn obligation" as it was not binding therefore "would considerably influence its decisions" (Camilleri,1973, P47). September 11th attack is a perfect example. It was clear as ANZUS for the first time invoked Australia formally even though the attack was not in the Pacific Regions but was in New York

and Washington (Ross,2007, P42). Due to the factors presented it is very obvious that most of Australia's relationship ties with the United States was and is still dominated as Australia is in need for a protector and it is required to maintain it for security purposes.

As Australia and the United States cultural, historical and economic ties are not strong in comparison to the ties between Australia and The United Kingdom, thus these components also wedged the relationship. The economic relationship was of extreme importance and was actually the first interaction between Australia and the United States. In 1792 (Harper,1971,P10) when the Philadelphia Ship arrived in Australia the relationships between Australia and the United States continued but faced lots of issues. One of the issues was post the Great Depression as there was 24% of American imports that consisted "chronic trade imbalance" (Harper,1971,P144). Thus changed post war as "the closer military ties between Australia and America were accompanied by rapidly expanding economic links" (Harper,1971, P144) whereby Australia depended on the United States economically. This further advanced the relationship between both countries as in 1969 the United States replaced a large percentage of Australia's imports replacing Britain's role (McDougall,1998, P55). Australia turned to the United States instead of other nation's (culture wise) as they shared common similarities, values and appreciations (assisting the United States in the Pacific War) that bought close foreign relations between Australia and the United States.

In conclusion through the close study of Australia's foreign relations between Britain and the United States it is obvious that Australia's security interest caused the relationship. Hence, it is important to acknowledge that cultural and historical ties were also important as also assisted in the scaffolding of the relationship between Australia, Britain and the United States.

4. Talayeh

Task: Can the short story 'Young Goodman Brown' be considered an example of the Gothic genre?

This paper attempts at discussing Nathaniel Hawthorne's Gothic short story novel '*Young Goodman Brown*' (1835). Hawthorne's novel is a tale about what goes on in the *young Goodman Brown's* mind, who one evening decides to leave his beloved mistress 'Faith' behind to disclose the unknown mysteries about the people in his village 'Salem'. The unknown events in the forest leave Brown deeply shaken and perturbed in his belief and distanced from those who he considered perfectly virtuous. Hawthorne used gothicism as a vehicle for the reader to understand the character's journey as he travelled through this emotional trauma.

According to the dictionary definition "Gothic novels" are described as "tales of mystery and horror, intended to chill the spine and curdle the blood". Like Hawthorne's novel most gothic novels contain "strong elements of the supernatural", featuring in particular "dark forests, secret passages, a stupefying atmosphere of doom and gloom, wicked tyrants and malevolent witches" (definition of gothics, p.356). Based on this definition Nathaniel Hawthorne's novel '*Young Goodman Brown*' can be considered as an example of a Gothic genre with a controlled ambiguous story line that takes the reader on a journey of finding out the darkest and most universal truths about human nature. It is evident according to gothic writers and key terms; Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804-64) that Hawthorne's "persistent quest to represent picturesque and gloomy wrongs meant that a gothic tone pervades his *oeuvre*" (p.108).

His tale starts off with informing the readers about the young man's romance with his mistress Faith, who insists that his beloved forgoes his journey to the forest and stays with her. Brown's urgent call to the

forest convinces his beloved and relieves his guilt of leaving. As Brown starts his journey through forest, Hawthorne's use of gothic and gloomy descriptions help the reader gain insights into Brown's inner emotional and psychological responses as he discloses the dark side and wickedness of those who influenced and deserved his trust, from his father, his minister, his Puritan community, Deacon Gookin, Goody Loyse, and his wife Faith. "The concoction is a dark yet familiar brew an uneasy and eerie dialectic between anxiety and desire"(Introduction to gothic handbook, xvi). Horrified by his finding in that fearful dream he returns to his village in "a stern, a sad" state, "darkly meditative, a distrustful, if not a desperate man" who is confused and distant from those who he had considered perfectly virtuous (p.147). This experience changed brown's life and made him precipitously believe that all those around him are totally wicked including his own mistress Faith.

The tale has been written by the narrator in a subjective manner, one in which convinces the reader that Brown has been led and betrayed by his community and that he alone is good and everyone else is evil. Readers therefore are inclined to sympathize with him and overlook the fact that what he has come to discover may have been a dream he had whilst he was in the forest. Hawthorne therefore makes it ambiguous for the reader to understand the credibility of Brown's realisation.

Having analysed Hawthorne's '*Young Goodman Brown*', it becomes apparent that it is an example of Gothic genre, one that is based on Brown's mind who takes the reader on a gloomy, spooky and evil tale. Such dark characteristics in the story are indeed gothic.

With the above description it is reasonable to conclude that Hawthorne's short story '*Young Goodman Brown*' can definitely be

considered as an example of Gothic genre, one that is based on Brown's mind who takes the reader on a gloomy, spooky and evil tale. Such characteristics are indeed gothic.

5. Mirwais

Task: Contemporary Australian Society, culture and Frantz Fanon

Australia to this day is still not an independent nation. Australia's mother country is England, however China and America can also be considered as Australia's mother country and according to Frantz Fanon Australia's national middle class bourgeoisie can be defined as "intellectually lazy" with no economic power. Two specific examples are the mortgage stress and the Australian mining industry.

The current Australian middle class is shrinking and Frantz Fanon's concept that the middle class is "intellectually lazy" can be proven with the article "The State of the Australian Middle Class". The article talks about the how mortgages are proving to be difficult for the middle class. This article provides background information which proves Fanon's statement that the middle class bourgeoisie fails to take over business (The pitfalls of National Consciousness, Chapter 3). The current state of the Australian middle class are failing to take over business exemplified in the form tilers, builders and contractors as they are failing to make no profit at all due to their lack of knowledge and intellect laziness. Tilers with current Australian Business Numbers are still relying on contractors and builders to employee them yet they have their own business number.

Another example of the contemporary Australian society could be the Australian mining industry. The current mining industry is majorly foreign owned which once again proves that the national bourgeoisie is still reliant on exporting natural resources to the mother country, metaphorically this makes China Australia's mother country in the

mining sector. The Australian government is currently receiving fewer than 15% of the mining sales in the form of tax. The current mining sectors of Australia have all become private business resources. The owners of the mine which represents the national bourgeoisie and the current government which is responsible for the middle class bourgeoisie have all been stripped of their rights to profit by smarter and larger corporations. So therefore in regard to Frantz Fanon's statement that the middle class is intellectually lazy can be proven with the representation of the contemporary Australian society and it's many cultures.

In conclusion Frantz Fanon's statement of the middle class can be seen as true as it is appearing in the contemporary Australian society.

6. Thanh

Task: Business letter seeking legal advice

Big T's Removals Pty
Ltd

1 Federal Place,
PARRAMATTA
NSW 2150

Our reference: 8473

1st April 2012

John Chambers,
Employment Legal Services
294 Bicford St,
PADDINTON NSW 2021

Dear Mr. Chambers,

RE: Advice re termination of employee.

My name is X, I am writing on behalf of Mr. Tony, the owner of Big T's Removals. We are seeking your legal advice regarding the termination

346

of an employee - Rufus McLaughlin.

He has been casual employee for three years but he does not have a regular or systematic working pattern. He may be planning to discontinue his employment with our company and set up his own furniture removal business. Recently, while working at the company, Rufus may have done permanent damage to his back. Please keep in mind; this injury occurred when Rufus was trying to move a piano without using the correct lifting equipment as instructed and the equipment was available at the time. On this occasion, Rufus shouted at a customer when she inquired about her piano, she later made a complaint to the company. Tony also had to address Rufus' behaviour when he first worked for the company. Rufus is paid cash in hand and no superannuation is deducted from his wages.

We are planning to cease Rufus' employment without notice. We believe we do not need to give him any notice because his working pattern has been on an irregular basis ⁽⁴⁾. Does the fact that Rufus has been working for more than 12 months, have any legal implications? We think that, Rufus' disobeying of the company lifting policy and rudeness towards customers also constitute to grounds for dismissal. What is your opinion of this? In relation to his recent back injury, could there be any legal issues?

We are aware that Rufus has taken his previous employer to court for unfair dismissal and wish to avoid any similar problems. Due to the fact that Rufus has been paid in cash and no superannuation has been deducted from his wages, does this raise any potential legal issues?

Are there any other possible legal complications in this situation, if so, please advise us of an appropriate course of action.

Yours sincerely,

Assistant Manager

7. Gabriel

Task: Business letter seeking legal advice

Big T's Removals Pty
Ltd
1 Federal Place,
PARRAMATTA
NSW 2150
Ourreference:
17452117

8 April 2012
Legal Actions
17 Staplebarn Road
Moretown NSW 2160

Dear Daniel Thompson

RE: Best Course of action in dealing with an employee.

I am the assistant manager for BTR, and I am writing in regard to the best course of action for BTR to take in dealing with an employee. Whose name or any identification; is not going to be stated due to our confidential procedures.

BTR has an employee whom, has been working for the company over the last three years. He does not have a define task and sometimes assist the truck drivers (who are licences) in moving the furniture's off the truck; and is given directions, in regard to what order to move the furnish and how to load the truck.

He is paid cash in hand without superannuation deductions. Prior, to his working records, there have been occasions, where management had to talk to him due to being unprofessional to customers. He has

since been quite satisfactory until last weekend, where there was an incident where he permanently strained his back, while trying to move a piano without using the proper lifting equipment even though they were on the truck and had been advice to be careful and use them. This incident; furthermore, led to him being unprofessional to customers and a customer has made a complaint to the management.

As BTR assistant manager, I have been advised to compose the best course of action for a lawyer to confirm. Therefore, in deciding the best course of action, I started by assessing whether, the contract with the employee is a contract of service or a contract for service to determine whether the employee would be a contractor or an employee. This is, however; because some entitlements under the industry award only apply to employees and not individual contractors, for example, annual holidays and sick leave.

After considering the control test and examining all circumstance plus various cases, for example, *Narich Pty Ltd v commissioner for payroll Tax* [1983] 2 NSWLR 597. I concluded, that the employee contract with BTR is a contract of service. Therefore, he is an employee and as an employee, he is legally entitled to the possible entitlements under a relevant industry award, enterprise agreement, National Employment Standards (NAS), and the terms of any possible employment contract in place (Nickolas 2012, pp. 606-607).

Therefore, the best course of action for BTR to take in dealing with this employee is to enter into a modern award or an enterprise agreement and in addition to that, grant the employee the minimum employment standard under NAS, for example, annual leave. Which were established by part 2-2 of the Fair Work Australia (FWA), and they apply to all Employees under the federal system (Nickolas 2012). This will prevent substantial legal consequences if this employee takes the matter to court.

This is because BTR has not met its vicarious liabilities plus its duties and obligations as an employer. These duties and obligations under the federal and state legislation include, ensuring the employees are properly train, providing written policies, job description; ensuring appropriate actions are taken in addressing work issues, such as the employee being unprofessional to customers and employing competent and qualify workers. Furthermore, BTR did not meet the legal requirement by paying cash in hand with no superannuation deduction from the employee wages.

As a consequence for not complying with the state and federal legislations, BTR will have to enter into either a modern award or an enterprise agreement with the employee. If BTR decide to enter into a modern award, they would have to grant all the entitlement to the employee for the last three years plus compensation for his back injury and the same principle would apply if they chose to enter into an enterprise agreement with employee.

BTR would be entitled to act with the agreement they make with the employee, by informing a relevant government agency such as Fair Work Australia, about their unethical practices, and what they have planned to remedy those practices. This will set a positive example for the employers and hopefully the relevant government department will be lenient on them.

Please advise me about the legality of these planes and the possible consequences, BTR should be aware of from the facts stated in this letter. I am particularly concerned with the possible consequence BTR would face by paying cash in hand with no superannuation and any other deductions.

Yours sincerely,

Assistant Manager

8. Mya

Task: What is the significance of the colour red in Little Red Riding Hood?

The colour of red represents young, passion, desire, sex and love; it also symbolises danger, strength and power. The significance of the colour red in 'The Red Riding Hood' (1989) edited by Alan Dundes, metaphorically emphasises the little red riding hood, 'the image of young girl, she is the prettiest creature (J. Zipes).' This diversity of versions of 'The Red Riding Hood' (1989), presented different theorists, researchers, philosophers, writers and authors' perspectives regarding their understanding and how they interpreted colour red in fairy tales.

According to 'Little Red Riding Hood or The Little May Queen (1989, P. 72-77). P. Saintyves criticises that, Perrault's interpretation of the fairy tales in relation to 'Little Red Riding Hood'. 'Consider this charming story a fable and suppose that it was invented in order to teach young girls that they should not talk to strangers'. Juxtapose to 'the May Queens are mostly children crowned with flowers' and 'in the jury, May Queen exercised her power for all thirty-one days of the month. She chose maids of honour who had to work for her and who diligently obeyed her every command.' these quotes reflect Saintyves' and Perrault's perspectives regarding the notion of fairy tales. P. Saintyves quoted 'The choice of the colour of the red instead of white as a magical explanation... they also crown themselves with these flowers. (P. 76)'. 'The Little girl had, alas, violated the interdiction (P. 77)'. These statements review P. Saintyves' vision of how the colour of red represents the brave, powerful and mature when describing May Queen. Additionally, Saintyves uses flowers to symbolise May Queen, but when recounting Little Red Riding Hood, P. Saintyves uses negative expressions to explore the character of Little Red Riding Hood.

J. Zipes perspective towards 'Little Red Riding Hood: as Male Creation' (P.122-124), Zipes quoted 'Perrault's audience still identified the wolf with the bloody werewolf, the devil, insatiable lust, and chaotic nature'... (P. 122), It's indicate that wolf is figuratively to devil, or man, while standing form the wolf's point of view, Zipes Position prove that fairy tales are no longer important, the reality of sexist perhaps in dept corruption of our society is most significant. The protagonist also presents his key point or main position, through exaggerating the image of western women figure. When wearing red or 'Bright colour were preferred especially red, and the skull cap was generally ornamental (P. 122).' 'The eating or wallowing of little Red Riding Hood is an obvious sexual act, symbolizing the uncontrollable appetite or chaos of natural (P. 123-124).' It is dreadfully clear that form Zipes point of view in concerning to the illustration of women, and how the definition of red colour, when Zipes indentifying as a sexual suggestion rather than ordinary costume.

B. Bettelheim perspective regarding to 'Little cap and the Pubertal Girl, where he stated 'it is fatal for the young girl if this older women abdicates their own attractiveness to males and transfer it to the daughter by giving her a too attractive redcloak'. (P. 176-177). Bettelheim version of little cap, is more extensively compare to other version of 'Little Red Riding Hood', he had consider that red cloak is symbolism of attraction. Evidently, Bettelheim stated 'The red velvet cap given by grand-mother to Little Red Cao thus can be viewed as a symbol of premature transfer of sexual attractiveness (P. 176).' Form Bettelheim perspective he suggest that not red cap is little, also is a girl. 'The immature person who is not read for but is exposed on an experience which arouses strong sexual feelings...hence she giving specific instructions to the wolf (P. 176) prove that statement.'

Fairy tales speak to our conscious and our unconscious, according to P. Saintyves 'Little Red Riding Hood or The Little May Queen (1989, P. 72-77); and J. Zipes perspective towards 'Little Red Riding Hood: as Male Creation' (P. 122-124), Also B. Bettelheim perspective regarding to 'Little cap and the Pubertal Girl (P.176-177). The significance of the colour red in fairy tales is not only mean young, passionate, characteristic , is more than simply a moralistic tale warning of the sex attraction. The 'Little Red Riding Hood' (1989) edited by Alan Dundes, conclude many theorist, researchers, philosopher, witters and author's perspective regarding to their understanding and how they uses academic textualisation linguistic to manipulate the significance colour red in fairy tales.

9. Daniel

Task: Business letter seeking legal advice

Big T's Removals Pty Ltd
1 Federal Place,
PARRAMATTA NSW 2150
Our reference: 9435
[9th April, 2012]

Dear Mr X

RE: *****

A BIG hello from the BIG T's Removal, my name is X and I am here to represent on behalf of the Big T's Removal as an assistant manager to seek legal advices from Mr X. We want to put the contract with a contractor "on hold", but it occurred to us that we should consult the legal firm before making any significant decisions.

Rufus is a university student who work as a casual worker at our business, he isn't a model worker, we received numerous complains about hiss manners and attitudes, but generally his performance does

live up to our expectations. Once Rufus did not follow our standard procedure and got himself injured while moving a piano, and he also shouted at our customer due to his frustration and pain. Because he is a contractor, he complains. Right now, as he is nearly finish his university degree, and there are rumours hinting that Rufus wanted to start his own business of removals. My employer- Tony decided not to give him any more work as he feared that Rufus might steal customers from our business.

Here is the current plan:

Big T's Removal plan to dismiss Rufus - the contractor within the next month, with no notice or payment, no more work opportunity will be given to Rufus for the time being. Due to his manners and attitudes, we might never employ him again. So it is in the best interest of the business to cease employment of Rufus and prevents him from stealing our customers.

It is to my understanding that, the employer of a business can dismiss/ stop providing work to a contractor without a valid reason. Contractors, unlike employees, do not receive any entitlements from the employer, and he or she is held fully liable for his/her action during work. Equipment, training should be previously acquired by the contractor as the employer does not require to provide equipment or training to the contractor, so when Rufus was injured during work last time he tried to move a piano for our customer, no compensation was needed to give to Rufus.

We have concluded that Rufus's liability outweighs the benefits of keeping him within the business due to the reasons I mentioned above.

Here is what we would be most interested in knowing:

Is it legal to terminate a contractor's employment without giving a notice?

Is it legal to terminate a contractor's employment due to inappropriate behaviour from before?

Does Tony have to respond to the compliance our customers made to our business, considering Rufus is only a contractor?

Does contractor hold the power to apply for unfair dismissal?

Yours sincerely,

X

10. Rina

Task: Is today's popular culture actually making us smarter?

in the discussion of popular culture, one controversial issue has been that mass entertainment is making us as smarter. On the one hand Bend it like Beckham can be argued as it is making us smarter. The movie shows cultural clash between traditional values and western values when living in non-Indian community.

The text Bend it like Beckham is a 2002 comedy, drama and romance, film directed by Gurinder Chadha and written by Gurinder Chadha, Guljit Bindra and Paul Mayeda Berges, the film explore the world of women's football, and was Set in Hounslow, West London and also Hamburg, the film monitors two 18 year olds girls with their hearts set on a future in professional soccer, And there is always something stoping that talent, then it seem to be not enough when the parents want them to drop out their football boots, And find a boyfriend then learn to cook.

The text shows culture change when the main actor Jess, Tried to sneak out to play soccer and she hired her sport cloths outside and snake out to play in the local women's league with Jules her friend

that convinced her to join the team, That shows the change of cultures according to India people, women do not play soccer and it was shown that it is not appropriate in the Punjabi culture to do so. This shows that even though Jess family are not living in an India's country but they still do and behave like living in India that shows culture change and not been able to belong to the new society.

Therefor the parents have to understand that not all cultures are the same and have to be able to engage with other cultures to understand that when moving to different countries it would not be the same as living in their own country when they can practice their own believe and values, and thinking about belonging to the new society and making sure that they have an understanding of the new society they living in, therefor understating their own children is a big deal when it comes to living in an new country and all parents must be able to do, and also to make sure that they can understand what they need to make sure the children are on the right track.

11. Zafiah

Task: critical review of book chapter The Common Bond? Australian Citizenship by Alison Holland

Holland's chapter reviews some of the issues that had happened which are at the centre of debate about Australia's future, Identity, Belonging, Nationhood, Social Rights, Multiculturalism, Racial Tolerance, Indigenous Right, Feminism and Citizenship Value, these are the subject of her debate, how they were dealt with or how it could be dealt with differently yet what did the government do about these issues also how long it took them to get these issues to be solved and are they solved yet or not?

Holland noted that the federal government established the Australian Citizenship Council to let people know, that becoming Australian not

just a legal category where it's more a set of core civic values yet people need to know how to adapt Australian life style. (p.152)

Multiculturalism has the other role in forming Nationhood, there was a fear that Multiculturalism might destabilize society to the extent where it could lead to social division, there was a certain time where Multiculturalism took a different turn penetrated the boundaries of citizenship policy in the last quarter of the twentieth century, the diversity of the population provides Australia with a rich variety of languages, beliefs, tradition and cultures. (P.152-162)

Feminism on the other hand is the other issue, the role and equal right of woman was important and provides a woman-centered approached to public life. Woman lives were so heavily restricted by masculine they suffered a high level of physical abuse, neglect, drunkenness, discrimination and no legal rights at all. (p.156)

Holland points out the area of Indigenous Aboriginal rights, Aborigines were the people who reached and lived in Australia before the European settlers arrived and they had all right. Aboriginals denied many of their social rights to be a part of the census, to have the right to vote, to have a citizenship and to be recognised as the holders of the native title. (P.157-166)

I agree with Alison Holland's views, her article is very appealing towards the civics value of Australian citizen ship. The issues that she had raised, were the subject debate of the public, she is stating that the government is taking care of civic pride more into account yet there are other important issues that need to be look at, in my opinion this is true, the government should improve their way and work more on reducing Racial Tolerance and Racism and try to work on uniting

the people of Australia as one. Putting Multiculturalism into account will give Australia the benefit of the doubt.

References

- Abrahams, J, and N Ingram. 2013. "The Chameleon Habitus: Exploring Local Students' Negotiations of Multiple Fields." *Sociological Research Online*. doi: 10.5153/sro.3189
- ABS. 2014. "Australian Social Trends, act. no. 4102.0." Accessed 20th January 2014.
<http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Lookup/4102.0main+features102014>.
- ACER. 2011b. Staff student engagement survey. Australian Council for Educational Research.
- AITSL. 2011. Accreditation of Initial teacher Education Programs in Australia. Carlton South, Victoria: Education Services Australia.
- Allard, A.C. 2006. "A bit of a chameleon act: A case study of one teacher's understanding of diversity." *European Journal of Teacher Education* 29:319-340.
- Ang, I. 2001. *On not speaking Chinese*. London: Routledge.
- Angelil-Carter, S. 2000. *Stolen Language? Plagiarism in Writing*. Essex. UK: Pearson Education.
- Appidurai, A. 1996. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimesnions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Aquino, K. 2012. Cultural, Linguistic, and Migrant Diversity in Greater Western Sydney. WESTIR.
- Arkoudis, Sophie. 2013. "Getting serious about English language standards in higher education." In *Internationalisation of Higher Education Handbook*, edited by M Magnan, M Soderquist, H.G van Liempd and F Luitman. Germany: RAABE Academic Publishers.
- Arkoudis, Sophie, and S Starfield. 2007. "In-course Language Development and Support. A discussion paper for a National Symposium: English Language Competence of International Students." National Symposium: English Language Competence of International Students, Sydney, 14 August 2007.
- Arnold, J, ed. 1999. *Affect in Language Learning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics. 2011. Census data. edited by Australian Bureau of Statistics.
- Australian Government. 1998. Literacy for All: The Challenge for Australian Schools. edited by Education Department of Employment, Training and Youth Affairs (DEETYA). Canberra: DEETYA.
- Australian Government. 2009. Transforming Australia's Higher Education System. Canberra: DEEWR.
- Australian Government. 2013. Migration to Australia's states and territories 2011-2012. edited by Department of Immigration and Citizenship.

- Australian Universities Quality Agency. 2009. Good Practice Principles for English language proficiency for international students in Australian universities. edited by Employment and Workplace Relations Department of Education.
- Bailey, K.M. 1983. "Competitiveness and anxiety in second language learning: Looking at and through diary studies." In *Classroom oriented research in second language acquisition*, edited by H Seliger and M.H Long. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Bakhtin, M. 1981. *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*. Translated by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist. Austin and London: University of Texas Press.
- Barac, R, and E Bialystok. 2011. "Cognitive development of bilingual children." *Language Teaching* 44 (1):36-54.
- Barkon, E, and E Avinor. 1995. "Academic difficulties and early literacy deprivation: The case of Ethiopians in Israel." *Language, Culture and Curriculum* 8 (2):201-209.
- Barrett, R. 2014. "English language cuts at NSW schools 'hurting students'." Australian Broadcasting Corporation, Last Modified March 23 2013 Accessed 10 Dec 2014.
<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-03-23/english-language-cuts-at-nsw-schools-hurting-students/5337760>.
- Barthel, A. 2015. Policy Failure is to Blame for University Students' Lack of English. *Financial Review*. Accessed May 25 2015.
- Bathmaker, Ann-Marie. 2015. "Thinking with Bourdieu: thinking after Bourdieu. Using 'field' to consider in/equalities in the changing field of English higher education." *Cambridge Journal of Education* 45 (1):61-80. doi: 10.1080/0305764X.2014.988683.
- Beck, A, M Corak, and M Tienda. 2011. "Age at migration, social identity, and the adult attainments of child migrants in the United States and Canada." INSIDE Conference, Barcelona, Spain, June.
- Benesch, Sarah. 2007. "WHAT ABOUT THE STUDENTS? ENGLISH LANGUAGE LEARNERS IN POSTSECONDARY SETTINGS." In *International Handbook of English Language Teaching*, edited by J Cummins and C Davison. Springer.
- Benesch, Sarah. 2008. "'Generation 1.5' and Its Discourses of Partiality: A Critical Analysis." *Journal of Language, Identity & Education* 7 (3-4):294-311. doi: 10.1080/15348450802237954.
- Bennett, Tony. 2007. "Habitus Clivé: Aesthetics and Politics in the Work of Pierre Bourdieu." *New Literary History* 38 (1):201-228. doi: 10.2307/20057996.
- Benzie, H. 2010. "Graduating as a 'native speaker': international students and English language proficiency in higher education " *Higher Education Research and Development* 29 (4):447-459.
- Bergman, M, ed. 2008. *Advances in Mixed methods research*. London: Sage.
- Bernstein, B. 1971. *Class, Codes and Control: Theoretical Studies Towards a Sociology of Language*. London: Routledge & Kegan.

- Besser, Linton, and P Cronau. 2015. *Degrees of Deception*. Australian Broadcasting Corporation.
- Bhabha, H. 1994. *The Location of Culture*: Routledge.
- Bhaskar, R. 1997. *A realist theory of science*. London: Verso.
- Biggs, J. 1999. "What the student does: Teaching for enhanced learning." *Higher Education Research and Development* 18 (1):57-75.
- Birdsong, D. 2005. "Interpreting age effects in second language acquisition." In *Handbook of Bilingualism: Psycholinguistic Approaches*, edited by J.F Kroll and A.M.B de Groot. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Birdsong, D, and M Molis. 2001. "On the evidence for maturational constraints in second-language acquisition." *Journal of Memory and Language* 44:235-249.
- Birrel, B. 2006. "Implications of low English standards among overseas students at Australian universities." *People and Place* 14 (4):53-64.
- Blanton, Linda Lonon. 2005. "Student, interrupted: A tale of two would-be writers." *Journal of Second Language Writing* 14 (2):105-121. doi: 10.1016/j.jslw.2005.04.001.
- Block, D. 2003. *The social turn in second language acquisition*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Blommaert, Jan. 2007. "On scope and depth in linguistic ethnography." *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 11 (2):682-688.
- Blommaert, Jan. 2008. "Multi-Everything London." *Journal of Language, Identity & Education* 7 (1):81-89. doi: 10.1080/15348450701804730.
- Blommaert, Jan. 2010. *The sociolinguistics of globalization*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Blommaert, Jan, James Collins, and S Slembrouck. 2005a. "Spaces of multilingualism." *Language and Communication* 25 (3):197-216.
- Blumenthal, A. 2002. "English as a Second Language at the Community College: An Exploration of Context and Concerns." *New Directions for Community Colleges* spring (117):45-54.
- Borland, H , and A Pearce. 1997. "Categories and Categorisation in the NESB Debate: Making Sense of Student Success." *Research and development in Higher Education*.
- Bosher, S, and J Rowecamp. 1998. "The refugee/immigrant in higher education: the role of educational background." *College ESL* 8 (1):23-42.
- BOSTES. 2015. "Raising university entry standards for future teachers." Accessed 27th April. <http://nswteachers.nsw.edu.au/future-returning-teachers/become-a-teacher/raising-university-entry-standards/>.
- Bourdieu, P. 1977b. *Outline of a theory of practice*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Bourdieu, P. 1984. *Distinction: A social critique of the judgment of taste*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Bourdieu, P. 1990a. *The Logic of Practice*. Cambridge: Polity.

- Bourdieu, P. 1992. *Language and Symbolic Power*. Edited by John Thompson: Blackwell
- Bourdieu, P. 1996. *The State of Nobility: Elite schools in the field of power*. Translated by L.C Clough. Cambridge: Polity.
- Bourdieu, P. 1998a. *Practical Reason*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Bourdieu, P. 1998b. *Practical Reason: On the theory of action*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. 1999. *The Weight of the World: Social suffering on contemporary society*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Bourdieu, P. 2000. *Pascalian Medications*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. 2004. *Science of Science and Reflexivity*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Bourdieu, P, and J-C Passeron. 1979b. *The Inheritors, French students and their relation to culture*. Translated by R. Nice. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Bourdieu, P, and J-C Passeron. 1990. *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*. second ed. London: Sage.
- Bourdieu, P, and J.C Passeron. 1977. *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*. Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Bourdieu, P, J.C Passeron, and M de saint Martin. 1994a. *Academic discourse: Linguistic misunderstanding and professorial power*. Translated by Richard Teese. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Bourdieu, P, and L Wacquant. 1992. *An invitation to reflexive sociology*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Bretag, T. 2007. "The Emperor's new clothes: Yes, there is a link between English language competence and academic standards." *People and Place* 15 (1):13-21.
- Brown, Jennifer, and Cynthia J. White. 2010. "Affect in a self-regulatory framework for language learning." *System* 38 (3):432-443. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.system.2010.03.016>.
- Brubaker, R, and F Cooper. 2000. "Beyond "identity"." *Theory and Society* 29:1-47.
- Bunge, M. 1996. *Finding philosophy in social science*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Butcher, S. "Greater Western Sydney Profile." Accessed 13th october 2014. http://www.uws.edu.au/office_of_higher_education_policy_and_projects/home/reports_to_government.
- Cameron, William Bruce. 1963. *Informal sociology a casual introduction to sociological thinking*. New York: Random House.
- Campbell, J, and M Verna. 2007. "Effective parental influence." *Educational Research and Evaluation* 13 (6):501-519.
- Canagarajah, Suresh. 2002. *Critical Academic Writing and multilingual students* University of Michigan Press.
- Cardona, B, S Chalmers, and B Neilson. 2006. Diverse strategies for diverse carers the cultural context of family carers in NSW.

- Parramatta: Centre for Cultural Research, University of Western Sydney.
- Cardona, B, Megan Watkins, and Greg Noble. 2009. *Parents, Diversity and Cultures of Home and School*. Penrith: University of Western Sydney.
- Carrasquillo, A, S Kucer, and R Abrams. 2004. *Beyond the beginnings: Literacy interventions for upper elementary English language learners*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Carrasquillo, A, and V Rodriguez. 2002. *Language minority students in the mainstream classroom*. second ed: Multilingual Matters.
- Cassity, E, and G Gow. 2005. "Making up for lost time: the experiences of Southern Sudanese young refugees in high schools.(Programs & practice)." *Youth Studies Australia* 24 (3):51-55.
- Castles, S, and M Miller. 2009. *The age of migration: International population movements in the modern world*. 4th ed. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Chanock, K, and M Cargill. 2003. "Who are Australian students of non-English speaking background (ANESB) and how do they differ from other students?"
- ." In *The missing part of the student profile jigsaw: Academic skills advising for Australian tertiary students from non-English speaking backgrounds*, edited by A Bartlett and K Chanock, 11-22. Canberra: Academic Skills and Learning Centre, ANU.
- Cheng, K.M. 1998. "Can education values be borrowed? Looking into cultural differences." *Peabody Journal of Education* 73 (2):11-30.
- Chiang, Y-S, and M Schmida. 1999. "Language identity and language ownership: Linguistic conflicts of first-year university writing students." In *Generation 1.5 meets college composition: Issues in the teaching of writing to U.S.-educated learners of ESL*, edited by L Harklau, K Losey and M Siegal, 81-96. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Cicourel, A.V. 1993. "Aspects of structural and processual theories of knowledge." In *Bourdieu: Critical perspectives*, edited by C Calhoun, E LiPuma and M Postone. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Cobb-Clark, D , and T Nguyen. 2010. *Immigration Background and the Intergenerational Correlation in Education*. Melbourne Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research.
- Cobb-Clark, D, M Sinning, and S Stillmac. 2011. *Migrant Youths' Educational Achievement: The Role of Institutions In ANU Working Papers in Economics anf Econometrics*: Australian National University.
- Coffin, C, M.J Curry, S Goodman, A Hewings, Theresa Lillis, and J Swann, eds. 2003. *Teaching Academic Writing: A Toolkit for Higher Education* London: Routledge.
- Coffin, C, and J Donohoe. 2012. "Academic Literacies and Systemic Functional Linguistics: How do they relate?" *Journal of English for Academic Purposes* 11:64-75.

- Collier, Virginia. 1987. "Age and Rate of Acquisition of Second Language for Academic Purposes." *TESOL Quarterly* 21 (4):617-641.
- Collier, Virginia, and W Thomas. 2009. *Educating English Learners for a Transformed World*. Albuquerque, NM: Fuente Press.
- Collins, R. 2002. "Credential Inflation and the Future of Universities." In *The Future of the City of Intellect: The Changing American University*, edited by S Brint. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Cooke, Melanie. 2008. "'What We Might Become': The Lives, Aspirations, and Education of Young Migrants in the London Area." *Journal of Language, Identity & Education* 7 (1):22-40. doi: 10.1080/15348450701804698.
- Corak, M. 2011. "Age at immigration and the education outcomes of children." In *The Potential of Immigrant Youth*, edited by Ann Masten, Karmela Liebkind and Donald Hernandez. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Corson, D. 1997. "The learning and use of academic English words." *Language Learning* 47:671-718.
- Coulmas, F, ed. 1981. *Conversational routine: Explorations in standardized communication situations and prepatterned speech*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Counsell, J. 2011. "How effectively and consistently do international postgraduate students apply the writing strategies they have been taught in a generic skills based course to their subsequent discipline based studies?" *Journal of Academic Language and Learning* 5 (1).
- Coxhead, A. 2000. "A new academic word list." *TESOL Quarterly* 34:213-238.
- Creese, A. 2005. "Is this content-based language teaching?" *Linguistics and Education* 16 (2):188-204. doi: 10.1016/j.linged.2006.01.007.
- Crook, C.J. 1997. *Cultural practices and socioeconomic attainment: The Australian experience*. Westport, C.T: Greenwood Press.
- Crosling, G, L Thomas, and M Heagney. 2008. *Improving student retention in Higher Education. The role of teaching and learning*: Routledge Falmer.
- Cross, R. 2011. "Monolingual curriculum frameworks, multilingual literacy development: ESL teachers' beliefs." *Australian Journal of Language and Literacy* 34 (2):166-180.
- Crozier, G, D Reay, and J Clayton. 2010. "Access, participation and diversity in relation to different forms of post-compulsory further or higher education: The socio-cultural and learning experiences of working-class students in higher education." In *Improving learning by widening participation in higher education*, edited by Miriam David.
- Cruickshank, K. 2006. *Teenagers, Literacy and School: Researching multilingual contexts*. Oxon: Routledge.

- Cruickshank, K, and M Michell. 2015. An open letter from the ESL and Refugee Education Working Party.
- Cui, D. 2015. "Capital, distinction, and racialized habitus: immigrant youth in the educational field." *Journal of Youth Studies*. doi: 10.1080/13676261.2015.1020932.
- Cummins, J. 1979b. "Linguistic Interdependence and the educational development of bilingual children " *Review of Educational Research* 49 (2):222-251.
- Cummins, J. 1981. "Age on arrival and immigrant second language learning in Canada: A Reassessment." *Applied Linguistics* II (2):132-149. doi: 10.1093/applin/II.2.132.
- Cummins, J. 1991. "Interdependence of first- and second-language proficiency in bilingual children." In *Language processing in bilingual children*, edited by E Bialystok, 70-89. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cummins, J. 1999. "Biliteracy, empowerment, and transformative pedagogy." In *The power of two languages:2000*, edited by J.V Tinajero and R.A DeVillar, 9-19. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Cummins, J. 2000. *Language, Power and Pedagogy: Bilingual children in the crossfire*. Tonawanda, NJ: Multilingual Matters.
- Cummins, J. 2007. "Rethinking monolingual instructional strategies in multilingual classrooms." *Canadian Journal of Applied Linguistics* 10 (2):221-240.
- Cummins, J. 2011. "Literacy engagement: Fueling academic growth for English learners." *The Reading Teacher* 65 (2):142-146.
- Cummins, J, and Y.F Man. 2007. What is academic language and how do we acquire it? In *International Handbook of English Language Teaching Part II*, edited by J Cummins and C Davison.
- Cummins, J, R Mirza, and S Stille. 2012. "English Language Learners in Canadian Schools: Emerging Directions for School-Based Policies." *TESL Canada Journal* 29-48 (6):25-.
- Cummins, Jim. 2012. "The intersection of cognitive and sociocultural factors in the development of reading comprehension among immigrant students." *Read Writ* 25:1974-1990. doi: DOI 10.1007/s11145-010-9290-7.
- Curry, M.J. 2003. "Skills, access and 'basic writing': A community college case study from the United States." *Studies in the Education of Adults* 35 (1):5-18.
- Curry, MJ. 2007. "A 'head start and a credit' Analysing cultural capital in the basic writing/ESOL classroom." In *Pierre Bourdieu and literacy education* edited by J Albright and A Luke, 275-295. Pierre Bourdieu and literacy education Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Darvin, Ron, and Bonny Norton. 2014. "Social Class, Identity, and Migrant Students." *Journal of Language, Identity & Education* 13 (2):111-117. doi: 10.1080/15348458.2014.901823.
- David, Miriam, ed. 2010. *Improving learning by widening participation in higher education*. Edited by Andrew Pollard, *Improving Learning TLRP*. Oxon: Routledge.

- Davies, A. 1991. *The native speaker in applied linguistics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- De Graaf, N.D, P.M De Graaf, and G Kraaykamp. 2000. "Parental cultural capital and educational attainment in the Netherlands: A refinement of the cultural capital perspective." *Sociology of Education* 73:92-111.
- De Vaus, D.A. 1995. *Surveys in Social Research*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin.
- Degrees of Proficiency. 2013. database of universities.
- Delpit, L. 1995. *Other people's children: Cultural conflict in the classroom*. New York: New Press.
- Devlin, M, S Kift, K Nelson, L Smith, and J McKay. 2012. *Effective teaching and support of students from low socioeconomic status backgrounds: Practical advice for teaching staff*. Sydney: Office for Learning and Teaching.
- di Gennaro, K. 2008. "Assessment of generation 1.5 Learners for Placement into College Writing Courses." *Journal of Basic Writing* 27 (1):61-79.
- di Gennaro, K. 2013. "How different are they? a comparison of generation 1.5 and international L2 learners' writing ability." *Assessing Writing* 18 (2):154-171.
- di Gennaro, K. 2009. "Investigating differences in the writing performance of international and Generation 1.5 students." *Language Testing* 26 (4):533-559. doi: 10.1177/0265532209340190.
- Dobson, I, and R Sharma. 1993. "Student Progress: A Study of the Experience in Victorian Tertiary Institutions." *Journal of Tertiary Education Institution* 15 (2):203-212.
- Doolan, S. 2010. Generation 1.5 in college composition: Teaching academic writing to U.S.-educated learners of ESL. *TESL-EJ: The Electronic Journal for English as a second language* 13 (4). Accessed Jan 12 2013.
- Doolan, S , and D Miller. 2012. "Generation 1.5 written error patterns: A comparative study." *Journal of Second Language Writing* 21:1-22. doi: doi:10.1016/j.jslw.2011.09.001.
- Doolan, S. M. 2013. "Generation 1.5 Writing Compared to L1 and L2 Writing in First-Year Composition." *Written Communication* 30 (2):135-163. doi: 10.1177/0741088313480823.
- Dooley, K, B Exley, and P Singh. 2000. "Social justice and curriculum renewal for Samoan students: An Australian case study." *Special Edition of International Journal of Inclusive Education* 4 (1):23-42.
- Dornyei, Z. 2001. "New themes and approaches in second language motivation research." *Annual review of Applied Linguistics* 21.
- Dornyei, Z. 2005. *The Psychology of the language learner*. London: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Dornyei, Z. 2014. "Motivation in second language learning." In *Teaching English as a second or foreign language*, edited by M

- Celce-Murcia, D.M Brinton and M.A Snow, 518-531. Boston, MA: National geographic Learning/Cengage Learning.
- Dornyei, Z, and A Shoaib. 2005. "Affect in life-long learning: Exploring L2 motivation as a dynamic process." In *Learners' stories: Difference and diversity in language learning*, edited by P Benson and D Nunan, 220-41. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dornyei, Z, and P Skehan. 2003. "Individual differences in second language learning." In *The handbook of second language acquisition*, edited by C Doughty and M Long, 589-630. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Dressler, C, and M.L Kamil. 2006. "First-and second-language literacy." In *Developing literacy in second language learners: Report of the national literacy panel on language-minority children and youth* edited by D August and T Shanahan, 197-238. Mahwah, N.J: Erlbaum.
- Duff, P, and S Talmy. 2011. "Language socialization approaches to second language acquisition." In *Alternative approaches to second language acquisition*, edited by Dwight Atkinson. New York: Routledge.
- Dunworth, Katie. 2010. "Clothing the Emperor: addressing the issue of English language proficiency in Australian universities." *Australian Universities' Review* 52 (2):5-10.
- Dustmann, C, T Frattini, and G Lanzara. 2011. Educational achievement of second generation immigrants: An international comparison. Centre for Research and Analysis of Migration (CREAM)
- Dyson, B. 2014. "Are onshore pathway students prepared for effective university participation? A case study of an international postgraduate cohort." *Journal of Academic Language and Learning* 8 (2).
- Edgerton, J, and L Roberts. 2014. "Cultural capital or habitus? Bourdieu and beyond in the explanation of enduring educational inequality." *Theory and Research in Education* 12:193-220. doi: doi:10.1177/1477878514530231.
- Education, Centre for the Study of Higher. 2008. Participation and Equity:A review of the participation in higher education of people from low socioeconomic backgrounds and Indigenous people. University of Melbourne.
- Edwards, D, and J Thatcher. 2004. "A student-centred tutor-led approach to teaching research methods ." *Journal of Further and Higher Education* 28 (2):196-206.
- Eisenclas, S, A Schalley, and D Guillemin. 2013. "The importance of literacy in the home language: The view from Australia." *Sage open*:1-14. doi: 10:1177/215824410305270.
- Ellis, R. 2003. *Task-based Language Learning and teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Engle, J, and M Lynch. 2009. Charting a necessary path: The baseline report of public higher education systems in the access to success initiative. Washington, DC: The Education Trust.
- Engstrom, C, and V Tinto. 2008. "Access without support is not opportunity." *Change*.
- Enkvist, Nils Erik. 1990. "Seven problems in the Study of Coherence and Interpretability." In *Coherence in Writing: Research and Pedagogical Perspectives*, edited by Ulla Connor and Ann M. Johns, 9-28. Virginia, USA: Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages, Inc.
- Ertl, H, G Hayward, and M Hoelscher. 2010. "Learners' transition from vocational education and training to higher education." In *Improving Learning on Diversity of Access to and Participation in Higher Education*, edited by Miriam David, 75-87. London: Routledge.
- Escandon, A. 2012. "The Pedagogies of SLA: combining cultural-historical and sociological traditions." In *Vygotsky and Sociology*, edited by Harry Daniels, 211-232. Oxon: Routledge.
- ESL Services Fact Sheet. n.d. ESL Services fact Sheet.
- Evans, R. 2014. "Scholarly culture and academic performance in 42 nations." *Social Forces* 92 (4):1573-1605.
- Faez, F. 2012. "Linguistic identities and experiences of Generation 1.5 teacher candidates." *TESL Canada Journal* 29 (6).
- Fairclough, Norman. 1995. *Critical Discourse Analysis: A critical study of language*. Pearson Education Limited.
- Farrington, I. 1991. "Student-centred learning: Rhetoric and reality." *Journal of Further and Higher Education* 15 (3):16-21.
- Ferfolja, T, and M Vickers. 2010. "Supporting refugee students in school education in Greater Western Sydney." *Critical Studies in Education* 51 (2):149-162.
- Fernandes, L. 1997. *Producing workers: The politics of gender, class, and culture in the Calcutta Jute mills*. Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press.
- Ferrare, Joseph J., and Michael W. Apple. 2015. "Field theory and educational practice: Bourdieu and the pedagogic qualities of local field positions in educational contexts." *Cambridge Journal of Education* 45 (1):43-59. doi: 10.1080/0305764X.2014.988682.
- Ferris, D. 2009. *Teaching college writing to diverse student populations*. Michigan: University of Michigan Press.
- Finnegan, R. 2003. "Orality and literacy: epic heroes of human destiny?" *International Journal of Learning* 10:1551-1560.
- Firth, A, and J Wagner. 1997. "On discourse, communication and (some) fundamental concepts in SLA research." *The Modern Language Journal* 81:285-300.
- Fishman, J. 1967. "Bilingualism with and without diglossia; diglossia with and without bilingualism." *Journal of Social Issues* 23 (2):29-38.

- Fredericks, J, P Blumenfeld, and A Paris. 2004. "School Engagement: Potential of the Concept, State of the Evidence." *American Educational Research Association* 74 (1):59-109.
- Freeman, D, and Y Freeman. 2002. *Closing the achievement gap: How to reach limited-formal-schooling and long-term English learners*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.
- Freire, P. 1972. *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. Harmondsworth, United Kingdom: Penguin.
- Friedrich, P. 2006. "Assessing the Needs of Linguistically Diverse First-Year Students: Bringing Together and Telling Apart International ESL, Resident ESL and Monolingual Basic Writers." *Writing Program Administration* 30 (1-2):15-35.
- Frodesen, J, and N Starna. 1999. "Distinguishing incipient and functional bilingual writers: Assessment and instructional insights gained through second-language writer profiles." In *Generation 1.5 meets college composition*, edited by Linda Harklau, K Losey and M Siegal. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Gale, T, and S Parker. 2013. *Widening participation in Australian higher education*. HEFCE.
- Gale, Trevor, and Bob Lingard. 2015. "Evoking and provoking Bourdieu in educational research." *Cambridge Journal of Education* 45 (1):1-8. doi: 10.1080/0305764X.2014.998626.
- Garcia, G.N, P.A DiCerbo, and E.R.I Center. 2000. *Lessons from research: what is the length of time it takes limited English proficient students to acquire English and succeed in an all-English classroom?* Washington DC: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education.
- Garcia, Ofelia. 2009. *Bilingual education in the 21st century: A global perspective*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Gardner, R, and W.E Lambert. 1972. *Attitudes and Motivation in second language learning*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Gardner, R, and P MacIntyre. 1993. "On the measurement of Affective variables in second language learning." *Language Learning* 43 (2):157-194.
- Garnett, Bruce. 2010. "Toward Understanding the Academic Trajectories of ESL Youth." *Canadian Modern Language Review/La Revue canadienne des langues vivantes* 66 (5):677-710. doi: 10.3138/cmlr.66.5.677.
- Garnett, Bruce. 2012. "A Critical Review of the Canadian Empirical Literature: Documenting Generation 1.5's K-16 Trajectories." *TESL Canada Journal* 29 (6).
- Garnett, Bruce, and C Aman. 2009. *Educational pathways and academic performance of youth of immigrant origin: Comparing Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver (Vancouver site report)*. Ottawa: Canadian Council on Learning/Citizenship and Immigration Canada.
- Gee, James Paul. 1996. *Social Linguistics and Literacies: Ideology in discourses*. 2nd ed. London: Taylor and Francis.

- Gee, James Paul. 2000. "Identity as an Analytic Lens for research in Education " *Review of Research in Education* 25:99-125.
- Geertz, C. 1973. "Thick Description: Towards an interpretive theory of culture." In *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. New York: Basic Books.
- Genesee, F. 1989. "Early bilingual development: one language or two." *Journal of Child Language* 16 (1):161-179.
- Giddens, A. 1991. *Modernity and Self-identity: Seld and Society in the later modern age*. Cambridge: Polity London.
- Gilbert, Lewis. 1983. *Educating Rita*.
- Glenn, E. 2002. *Unequal freedom: How race and gender shaped American freedom and labor*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Goldschmidt, M, and D Ousey. 2011. *Teaching Developmental Immigrant Students in Undergraduate Programs: A Practical Guide*. Michigan: University of Michigan Press.
- Goldstein, Tara. 2003. "Contemporary Bilingual Life at a Canadian High School: Choices, Risks, Tensions, and Dilemmas." *Sociology of Education* 76 (3):247-264. doi: 10.2307/3108468.
- Gorad, S, E Smith, H May, L Thomas, N Adnett, and K Slack. 2006. Review of widening participation research: addressing the barriers to participation in higher education. Department of Education Studies, University of York.
- Grayson, J. Paul. 2008. "Linguistic Capital and Academic Achievement of Canadian- and Foreign-Born University Students." *Canadian Review of Sociology/Revue canadienne de sociologie* 45 (2):127-149. doi: 10.1111/j.1755-618X.2008.00007.x.
- Griffin, T. 2014. *Disadvantaged learners and VET to higher education transitions*. Adelaide, SA: National Centre for Vocational Education Research.
- Guarzino, L. 1997. "The Emergence of a Transnational Social Formation and The Mirage of Return Migration Among Dominican Transmigrants." *Identities* 4 (2):281-322.
- Gull, K. 2014. *Improving the status and valuation of teaching in the careers of UK academics*. The Academy of Medical Sciences.
- Gunderson, L. 2007. *English Only Instruction and Immigrant Students in Secondary Schools: A Critical examination*. Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Guthrie, J.T. 2004. "Teaching for literacy engagement." *Journal of Literacy research* 36:1-30.
- Guven, C, and A Islam. 2013. Age at migration, language proficiency and socio-economic outcomes: evidence from Australia. In *Monash University Deaprrtment of Economics discussion paper*. Monash University.
- Hagar, P, A Lee, and A Reich, eds. 2012. *Practice, Learning and Change*. New York: Springer.
- Haggis, T. 2006. "Pedagogies for diversity: retaining critical challenge amidst fears of 'dumbing down'

- ." *Studies in Higher Education* 31 (5):521-535.
- Hakuta, K, YG Butler, and D Witt. 2000. How Long Does it take English learners to attain proficiency? : The University of California Linguistic Minority Research Institute
- Hall, S. 1991. "Old and new identities, old and new ethnicities." In *Culture, Globalisation and the World System: Contemporary Conditions for the Representation of Identity*, edited by A.D Kind. Birmingham, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Halliday, M.A.K. 2004. *An Introduction to Functional grammar*. 3rd ed. London: Arnold.
- Hammersley, M. 2003. "Conversation Analysis and Discourse Analysis: Methods or Paradigms." *Discourse and Society* 14 (6):751-81.
- Hammond, J. 2008. "Intellectual Challenge and ESL Students: Implications of quality teaching initiatives. Special Focus Issue." *Australian Journal of Language and Literacy* 31 (2):128-154.
- Hammond, J. 2009. "High Challenge, high support programs with ESL learners: A teacher-researcher collaboration." In *Linguistically and culturally diverse classrooms: New dilemmas for teachers*, edited by Jennifer Miller, M Gearon and A Kostogriz, 56-74. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Hammond, J. 2012. "Hope and Challenge in the Australian Curriculum: Implications for EAL students and their teachers." *Australian Journal of Language and Literacy* 35 (1):223-240.
- Harklau, L. 2003. "Representational practices and multi-modal communication in US high schools: Implications for adolescent immigrants." In *Language socialization in bilingual and multilingual societies* edited by R Bayley and S.R Schecter. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Harklau, L, K.M Losey, and M Siegal, eds. 1999. *Generation 1.5 meets college composition: Issues in the teaching of writing to U.S.-educated learners of ESL*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Harklau, Linda. 2007. "The Adolescent English Language Learner: Identities Lost and Found." In *International Handbook of English Language Teaching*, edited by J Cummins and C Davison, 639-653. Springer.
- Harris, R, C Leung, and B Rampton. 2002. "Globalization, diaspora and language education in England." In *Globalization and language teaching*, edited by D Block and D. Larsen-Freeman and L. Cameron. London, New York: Routledge.
- Hasan, Ruqaiya. 2001. "Understanding talk: Directions from Bernstein's sociology." *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 4 (1):5-9. doi: 10.1080/13645570010028549.
- Hasan, Ruqaiya. 2002. "Ways of Meaning, Ways of Learning: Code as an explanatory concept." *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 23 (4):537-548. doi: 10.1080/0142569022000038396.
- Hedgcock, J, and D Ferris. 1998. *Teaching ESL composition: purpose, process, and practice*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

- Henslin, J. 2011. *Essentials of Sociology: A Down to Earth Approach*. Boston, MA: Pearson.
- Hilgers, M, and E Mangez, eds. 2014. *Bourdieu's Theory of Social Fields, Routledge Advances in Sociology*. London: Routledge.
- Hockings, C. 2009. "Reaching the Students That Student-centred Learning Cannot Reach." *British Educational Research Journal* 35 (1):83-99. doi: 10.1080/01411920802041640.
- Hockings, C, S Cooke, and M Bowl. 2010. "Learning and teaching in two universities within the context of increasing student diversity: complexity, contradictions and challenges." In *Improving learning by widening participation in higher education*, edited by Miriam David. London and New York: Routledge.
- Hodge, S. 2010. Student-Centred Learning in Higher Education and Adult Education. *Occasional Papers on Learning and Teaching at UNISA*. Accessed 23rd October 2014.
- Hood, M, M Conlon, and G Andrews. 2008. "Preschool Home Literacy Practices and Children's Literacy Development." *Journal of Educational Psychology* 100 (2):252-271.
- Hornberger, N. 1989. "Continua of Biliteracy." *Review of Educational Research* 59 (3):271-296.
- Horvat, E.M, and J.E Davis. 2011. "Schools as sites for transformation: Exploring the contribution of habitus. ." *Youth & Society* 43 (1):142-170.
- Hui, N. 2012. "The Effects of affective factors in SLA and pedagogical implications." *Theory and Practice in Language Studies* 2 (7):1508-1513.
- Huster, K. 2011. "Suspended between languages: Stories from the biliterate lives of Hmong Generation 1.5 university women." PhD, School of Graduate Studies and Research, Department of English, Indiana University of Pennsylvania.
- Hutnyk, J. 2005. "Hybridity." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28 (1):79-102.
- Hyland, Ken. 2002. *Teaching and researching writing*. London: Longman.
- Hyland, Ken. 2006. *English for Academic Purposes: An advanced resource book*. London: Routledge.
- Hymes, Dell. 1996. *Ethnography, Linguistics, Narrative Inequality: Toward An Understanding Of Voice*. London: Taylor and Francis.
- Ivanic, R, and Mary R. Lea. 2006. "New contexts, new challenges: The teaching of writing in UK higher education." In *Teaching Academic Writing in UK higher education: Theories, practices and models*, edited by Lisa Ganobcsik-Williams, 6-15. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ivanič, Roz. 1998. *Writing and Identity. The Discoursal Construction of Identity in Academic Writing*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Ivanič, Roz. 2004. "Discourses of Writing and Learning to Write." *Language and Education* 18 (3):220-245. doi: 10.1080/09500780408666877.

- James, R. 2001. "Participation disadvantage in Australian higher education: An analysis of some effects of geographical location and socioeconomic status." *Higher Education* 42:455-472.
- Johnson, R, D Chambers, P Raghuram, and E Ticknell. 2004. *The Practice of Cultural Studies*. London: Sage.
- Kalantzis, M, and B Cope. 1988. "Why we need multicultural education." *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 9 (1):39-57.
- Kanno, Yasuko, and J Cromley. 2013. "English language learners' access to and attainment in postsecondary education." *TESOL Quarterly* 47 (1):89-121.
- Kanno, Yasuko, and Linda Harklau, eds. 2012. *Linguistic Minority students go to college: Preparation, access and persistence*. New York: Routledge.
- Kanno, Yasuko, and Manka M. Varghese. 2010. "Immigrant and Refugee ESL Students' Challenges to Accessing Four-Year College Education: From Language Policy to Educational Policy." *Journal of Language, Identity & Education* 9 (5):310-328. doi: 10.1080/15348458.2010.517693.
- Karakas, A. 2013. "Is Communicative Language Teaching a Panacea in ELT? -Student and Teacher Perspectives." *Journal of Second and Multiple Language Acquisition* 1 (1):1-20.
- Kemp, S, and J Holmwood. 2003. "Realism, regularity and social explanation." *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour* 33 (2):165-87.
- Kennelly, R, A Maldoni, and D Davies. 2010. Collaborative Initiatives Across Disciplines for the Improvement of Educational Outcomes of Students. *International Journal of Education Integrity* 6 (1).
- Khoo, S, and B Birrell. 2002. "The Progress of Young People of Migrant Origin in Australia." *People and Place* 10 (2):32-44.
- Kim, J, and P Duff. 2012. "The language socialization and Identity negotiations of Generation 1.5 Korean-Canadian University students." *TESL Canada Journal* 29 (6):81-102.
- Kloosterman, R, N Notten, J Tolsma, and G Kraaykamp. 2011. "The Effects of Parental Reading Socialization and Early School Involvement on Children's Academic Performance: A Panel Study of Primary School Pupils in the Netherlands " *European sociological review* 27 (3):291-306. doi: doi: 10.1093/esr/jcq007.
- Kohler Riessman, C. 2006. "Narrative Interviewing." In *The Sage dictionary of social research methods*, edited by V Jupp, 189-191. London: Sage
- Krashen, S. 1981. *Second Language Acquisition and Second Language Learning*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Krashen, S. 1982. *Principles and Practice in Second Language Acquisition*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Kress, G. 2003. *Literacy in the new media age*. London: Routledge.

- Kuh, G, T Cruce, R Shoup, and J Kinzie. 2008. "Unmasking the Effects of Student Engagement on First-Year College Grades and Persistence." *The Journal of Higher Education* 79 (5):540-563.
- Lahire, Bernard. 2003. "From the habitus to an individual heritage of dispositions. Towards a sociology at the level of the individual." *Poetics* 31:329-355. doi: 10.1016/j.poetic.2003.08.002.
- Lahire, Bernard. 2010. *The Plural Actor*. Translated by David Fernbach. Cambridge: Polity.
- Lambert, W.E. 1981. "Bilingualism and language acquisition." *Annals New York Academy of Science*:9-22.
- Lamont, M, and A Lareau. 1988. "Cultural capital: Allusions, gaps and glissandos in recent theoretical developments." *Sociological Theory* 6 (2):153-168.
- Lane, B. 2012a. Overseas students lag on job-ready English. *The Australian*. Accessed November 25 2012.
- Lane, B. 2012b. Unis urged to get serious about English proficiency. *The Australian* Accessed January 13 2013.
- Lantolf, J, and S Thorne. 2006. *Sociocultural theory and the genesis of second language development*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lareau, 2003. *Unequal childhoods: Class, race and family life*. Berkely California: University of California Press.
- Lareau, A, and E.M Horvat. 1999. "Moments of social inclusion and exclusion: Race, class, and cultural capital in Family-School relationships." *Sociology of Education* 72 (1):37-53.
- Lareau, A, and EB Weininger. 2003. "Cultural capital in educational research: A critical assessment." *Theory and Society* 32:576-606.
- Larsen-Freeman, D. 1997. "Chaos/Complexity Science and Second Language Acquisition." *Applied Linguistics* 18 (2):141-165.
- Larsen-Freeman, D. 2007. "Relecting on the Cognitive-Social Debate in Second Language Acquisition." *The Modern Language Journal* 91:773-787.
- Larsen-Freeman, D, and L Cameron. 2008. *Complex systems and applied linguistics*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Lautamatti, L. 1995. "Observations on the development of the topic of simplified discourse. ." In *Writing across languages, analysis of L2 texts*, edited by Ulla Connor and R Kaplan. Reading, MA: Addison Wesley.
- Lea, Mary R., and Brian V. Street. 1998. "Student writing in higher education: An academic literacies approach." *Studies in Higher Education* 23 (2):157-172. doi: 10.1080/03075079812331380364.
- Lea, Mary R., and Brian V. Street. 2006. "The "Academic Literacies" Model: Theory and Applications." *Theory Into Practice* 45 (4):368-377. doi: 10.1207/s15430421tip4504_11.
- Lea, S, D Stephenson, and J Troy. 2003. "Higher Education students' attitudes to students-centred learning: beyond 'educational bulimia'?" *Studies in Higher Education* 28 (3):321-334.
- Leki, Ilona. 1992. *Understanding ESL Writers*. Portsmouth, NH: Boynton/Cook Heinemann.

- Leki, Ilona. 2006. "'You cannot ignore': L2 graduate students' response to discipline-based written feedback." In *Feedback in second language writing: Contexts and issues*, edited by Ken Hyland and F Hyland, 266-286. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Leki, Ilona. 2007. *Undergraduates in a second language: Challenges and complexities of academic literacy development*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Levin, T, and E Shohamy. 2008. "Achievement of immigrant students in mathematics and academic Hebrew in Israeli school: A large-scale evaluation study." *Studies in Educational Evaluation* 34:1-14.
- Li, G. 1999. "What do parents think? Middle-class Chinese immigrant parents' perspectives on literacy learning, homework, and school-home communication." *The School Community Journal* 16 (2).
- Lillis, T, and J Turner. 2001. "Student writing in higher education: contemporary confusion, traditional concerns " *Teaching in Higher Education* 6 (1):57-68. doi: 10.1080/13562510020029608.
- Lillis, Theresa. 2001. *Student Writing. Access, Regulation, Desire*. Edited by David Barton, *Literacies*. London: Routledge.
- Lillis, Theresa. 2003. "Student writing as academic literacies: drawing on Bakhtin to move from critique to design,." *Language and Education* 17 (3):192-207.
- Lillis, Theresa, and M Scott. 2008. "Defining academic literacies research: issues of epistemology, ideology and strategy." *Journal of Applied Linguistics* 4 (1):5-32.
- Lindsay, J. 2010. Children's access to print material and education-related outcomes: Findings from a meta-analytic review. Naperville, IL.
- Lippi-Green, R. 1997. *Language, ideology, and discrimination in the United States*. London: Routledge.
- LiPuma, E. 1993. "Culture and the concept of culture in theory and practice." In *Bourdieu: Critical Perspectives*, edited by E LiPuma and M Postone, 14-34. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Lizardo, O. 2004. "The cognitive origins of Bourdieu's habitus." *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour* 34 (4):375-401.
- Lo Bianco, J, and L Freebody. 2001. *Australian Literacies: Informing national policy on literacy education*. Australia: Language Australia.
- Long, M. 1990. "Maturational constraints on language development." *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* 12:251-85.
- MacIntyre, P, R Clement, Z Dornyei, and Kimberly A. Noels. 1998. "Conceptualizing willingness to communicate in a second language: A situational model of second language confidence and affiliation." *The Modern Language Journal* 82 (4):545-562.
- MacIntyre, P, and R Gardner. 1989. "Anxiety and second language learning: Towards a theoretical clarification." *Language Learning* 39:251-275.

- MacIntyre, P, Kimberly A. Noels, and R Clement. 1997. "Biases in Self-Ratings of Second Language Proficiency: The Role of Language Anxiety." *Language Learning* 47 (2):265-287.
- MacIntyre, Peter D., Zoltán Dörnyei, Richard Clément, and Kimberly A. Noels. 1998. "Conceptualizing Willingness to Communicate in a L2: A Situational Model of L2 Confidence and Affiliation." *The Modern Language Journal* 82 (4):545-562. doi: 10.2307/330224.
- Majoribanks, K. 2005. "Family environments and children's outcomes." *Educational Psychology* 25 (6):647-657.
- Makoni, S. 2003. "From misinvention to disinvention of language: Multilingualism and the South African constitution. ." In *Black linguistics: Language, society, and politics in Africa and the Americas*, edited by S Makoni, G Smitherman, A Ball and A Spears. New York: Routledge.
- Makoni, S, and A Pennycook. 2007. *Disinventing and reconstituting languages*. Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Marginson, S. 2008. "Global field and global imagining: Bourdieu and relations of power in worldwide higher education." *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 29:303-316.
- Maton, K. 2008. "Habitus." In *Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts*, edited by Michael Grenfell. Durham: Acumen.
- Maton, Karl. 2005. "A question of autonomy: Bourdieu's field approach and higher education policy." *Journal of Education Policy* 20 (6):687-704. doi: 10.1080/02680930500238861.
- Matsuda, P, and A Matsuda. 2009. "The Erasure of Resident ESL Writers." In *Generation 1.5 in College Composition: Teaching Academic Writing to U.S.-Educated Learners of ESL*, edited by M Roberge, M Siegal and L Harklau, 50-64. New York: Routledge.
- Matsuda, P.K. 2003. "Basic writing and second language writers: Towards an inclusive definition." *Journal of Basic Writing* 22:67-89.
- May, R, G Stachan, K VBroadbent, and D Peetz. 2011. "The casual approach to university teaching; time for a re-think? ." 34th HERDSA Annual International Conference, Gols Coast, Australia.
- May, Stephen. 2001. *Language and minority rights: Ethnicity, nationalism and the politics of language*. London: Longman.
- McKay, S.L, and S.C Wong. 1996. "Multiple discourses, multiple identities: Investment and agency in second-language learning among Chinese adolescent immigrant students." *Harvard Educational Review* 66 (3):577-608.
- McNaughton, S. 2006. "Effective literacy instruction and culturally and linguistically diverse students. ." *Future Directions in Literacy*, Sydney, Australia.
- McNeil, L. 2000. *Contradictions of school reform: Educational costs of standardized testing*. London: Routledge.
- Menken, Kate. 2013. "Emergent bilingual students in secondary school: Along the academic language and literacy continuum."

- Language Teaching* 46 (04):438-476. doi: 10.1017/s0261444813000281.
- Menken, Kate, and Tatyana Kleyn. 2010. "The long-term impact of subtractive schooling in the educational experiences of secondary English language learners." *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 13 (4):399-417. doi: 10.1080/13670050903370143.
- Menken, Kate, Tatyana Kleyn, and Nabin Chae. 2012. "Spotlight on "Long-Term English Language Learners": Characteristics and Prior Schooling Experiences of an Invisible Population." *International Multilingual Research Journal* 6 (2):121-142. doi: 10.1080/19313152.2012.665822.
- Michell, M. 2009. "Implications of the National Education Reform Agenda for Migrant and Refugee English as a Second language Learners in Australian Schools." National Symposium on Assessing English as a second/other Language in the Australian Context, University of New South Wales, 20-21 February 2009.
- Miller, Jennifer. 2003. *Audible Difference: ESL and social ideneity in schools*. UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Miller, Jennifer, J Mitchell, and Jennifer Brown. 2005. "African refugees with interrupted schooling in the high school mainstream: Dilemmas for teachers." *Prospect* 20 (2):19-33.
- Miller, Jennifer, and J Windle. 2008. Report provided to the Department of Education and Early Childhood Development - 'ESL Transitions Initiatives. Clayton: Monash University.
- Miller, Jennifer, and J Windle. 2010. "Second language literacy: Putting high needs ESL learners in the frame." *English in Australia* 45 (3):31-40.
- Mills, C. 2008. "Opportunity and resignation within marginalized students: Towards a theorization of the reproductive and transformative habitus." *Critical Studies in Education* 49 (2):99-111.
- Modood, Tariq. 2004. "Capitals, ethnic identity and educational qualifications." *Cultural Trends* 13 (2):87-105. doi: 10.1080/0954896042000267170.
- Moore, T, J Morton, and S Price. 2007. Construct validity in the IELTS Academic Reading test: A comparison of reading requirements in IELTS test items and in university study. In *IELTS Research Reports: IELTS*.
- Morieson, L, D Carlin, B Clarke, K Lukas, and R Wilson. 2013. "Belonging in education: Lessons from the belonging project." *The International Journal of the First Year in Higher Education* 4 (2):87-96.
- Morrice, Linda. 2013. "Refugees in higher education: boundaries of belonging and recognition, stigma and exclusion." *International Journal of Lifelong Education* 32 (5):652-668. doi: 10.1080/02601370.2012.761288.

- Muchinsky, D, and N Tangren. 1999. "Immigrant student performance in an academic intensive English program ." In *Generation 1.5 meets college composition. Issues in the teaching of writing to U.S.-educated learners of ESL*, edited by L Harklau, M Siegal and K Losey. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Multicultural Programs Unit. 2004. English as a second language : guidelines for schools. edited by NSW Department of Education and Training. Darlinghurst: N.S.W. Dept. of Education and Training, Multicultural Programs Unit.
- Murray, N.L. 2010. "Conceptualising the English language needs of first year university students." *The International Journal of the First Year in Higher Education* 1 (1):55-64.
- Naidoo, Rajani. 2004. "Fields and institutional strategy: Bourdieu on the relationship between higher education, inequality and society." *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 25 (4):457-471. doi: 10.1080/0142569042000236952.
- Naidoo, Rajani, and Joanna Williams. 2014. "The neoliberal regime in English higher education: charters, consumers and the erosion of the public good." *Critical Studies in Education*:1-16. doi: 10.1080/17508487.2014.939098.
- Nash *, Roy. 2005a. "Cognitive habitus and collective intelligence: concepts for the explanation of inequality of educational opportunity." *Journal of Education Policy* 20 (1):3-21. doi: 10.1080/0268093042000322801.
- Nash, Roy. 2001. "Class, 'ability' and attainment: A problem for the sociology of education." *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 22 (2):189-202.
- Nash, Roy. 2002b. "A realist framework for the sociology of education." *Educational Philosophy and Theory* 34 (3):273-288.
- Nash, Roy. 2002c. "Numbers and narratives: Further reflections in the sociology of education." *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 23 (3):397-412.
- Nash, Roy. 2003a. "Inequality/difference in New Zealand education: social reproduction and the cognitive habitus." *International Studies in Sociology of Education* 13 (2):171-191.
- Nash, Roy. 2003b. "Social explanation and socialization: on Bourdieu and the structure, disposition, practice scheme." *The Sociological Review*:43-62.
- Nash, Roy. 2005. "Explanation and quantification in educational research: the arguments of critical and scientific realism." *British Educational Research Journal* 31 (2):185-204.
- Nash, Roy. 2005a. "Boudon, Realism, and the Cognitive Habitus: Why an explanation of Inequality/difference cannot be limited to a model of secondary effects." *Interchange* 36 (3):275-293.
- Nash, Roy. 2005b. "The cognitive habitus: its place in a realist account of inequality/difference." *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 26 (5):599-612. doi: 10.1080/01425690500293546.

- Nash, Roy. 2006. "Bernstein and the explanation of social disparities in education: a realist critique of the socio-linguistic thesis." *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 27 (5):539-553. doi: 10.1080/01425690600958725.
- Nash, Roy, and R Harker. 1998. *Making Progress: Adding value in secondary education*: ERDC Press.
- Nash, Roy, and Hugh Landers. 2010. *Explaining inequalities in school achievement: A realist analysis*: Ashgate publishing group.
- New South Wales Institute of Teachers. 2005. *Professional Teaching Standards*. Sydney: New South Wales Institute of Teachers.
- Newport, E.L, D Bavelier, and H.J Neville. 2001. "Critical thinking about critical periods: Perspectives on a critical period for language acquisition." In *Language, Brain and Cognitive Development*, edited by E Dupoux. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Nieto, S. 1999. "Critical multiculturalism and students' perspectives." In *Critical multiculturalism: Rethinking multicultural and antiracist education* edited by Stephen May. London: Falmer Press.
- Niyekawa, A.M. 1983. "Biliteracy acquisition and its sociocultural effects." In *Asian- and Pacific-American perspectives in bilingual education*, edited by M Chu-Chang, 97-119. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Noble, Greg. 2013. "It is home but it is not home': habitus, field and the migrant." *Journal of Sociology* 49 (2-3):341-356. doi: 10.1177/1440783313481532.
- Noble, Greg, and P Tabar. 2014. "Learning to be Lebanese: Fashioning an Ethnicised Habitus in Multicultural Australia." In *Palestinian, Lebanese and Syrian communities in the world*, edited by A Escher, P Tabar and T Batrouney, 15-26. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag
- Noden, P, M Shiner, and T Modood. 2014. "University offer rates for candidates from different ethnic categories." *Oxford Review of Education* 40 (3).
- Norton, A., Sonnemann, J., Cherastidtham, I. 2013. *Taking University Teaching Seriously*. Grattan Insititute.
- Norton, B. 2000. *Identity and Language Learning*: Longman.
- Norton Peirce, B. 1995. "Social Identity, investment, and language learning." *TESOL Quarterly* 29 (1).
- NSW Government. 2012. *Every Student, Every School*. edited by NSW Department of Education and Communities (DEC).
- Ogbu, J.U, and H.D Simons. 1998. "Voluntary and involuntary minorities: a cultural-ecological theory of school performance with some implications for education." *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 29 (2):155-188.
- Ogude, N, W Kilfoil, and G du Plessis. 2012. "An Institutional Model for Improving Student Retention and Success at the University of Pretoria." *The International Journal of the First Year in Higher Education* 3 (1).

- Olliff, L, and J Couch. 2005. "Pathways and Pitfalls: The journey of refugee young people in and around the education system in Greater Dandenong, Victoria." *Youth Studies Australia* 24 (3).
- Olsen, L. 2010. *Reparable harm: Fulfilling the unkept promise of educational opportunity for California's long term English learners*. Long Beach, CA: California Tomorrow.
- Olson, D. 1977. "From utterance to text: The bias of language in speech and writing." *Harvard Educational Review* 47:257-281.
- Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development. 2004. *Messages from PISA 2000*. Paris.
- Ortega, L. 2011. "SLA after the social turn." In *Alternative Approaches to Second Language Acquisition* Tay, edited by Dwight Atkinson. Taylot & Francis.
- Ortmeier-Hooper, Christina. 2008. "'English may be my second language, but I'm not ESL'." *College Composition and Communication* 59 (3):389-419.
- Otsuji, E, and A Pennycook. 2010. "Metrolingualism: Fixity, fluidity and language in flux." *International Journal of Multilingualism* 7.
- Pahl, K. 2008. "Tracing habitus in texts and practices." In *Pierre Bourdieu and Literacy Education*, edited by A Luke and J Albright, 187-208. London: Routledge.
- Paltridge, B, L Harbon, D Hirsch, H Shen, M Stevenson, A Phakiti, and L Woodrow, eds. 2009. *Teaching Academic Writing: An introduction for teachers of second language writers*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan press.
- Panofsky, C, and J Vadeboncoeur. 2012. "Schooling the social classes: Triadic zones of proximal development, communicative capital, and relational distance in the perpetuation of advantage." In *Vygotsky and sociology*, edited by Harry Daniels, 192-210. New York: Routledge.
- Pavlenko, A. 2006. *Bilingual Minds: Emotions, experience, expression, and representation*. Celevdon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Pecorari, D. 2008. *Academic writing and plagiarism: A linguistic analysis*: Continuum.
- Penfield, W, and L Roberts. 1959. *Speech and Brain Mechanisms*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Phillipson, R. 1992. *Linguistic Imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Piaget, J. 1977. *The development of thought: Equilibrium of cognitive structures*. Translated by Arnold Rosin. New York: The Viking Press.
- Plomin, R, Owen, M.J, and P McGuffin. 1994. "The genetic basis of complex human behaviors." *Science* 264:1733-1739.
- Polkinghorne, D.E. 2005. "Language and meaning: Data collection in qualitative research." *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 52:137-145.

- Portes, A, and R Rumbaut. 2001. *Legacies: The story of the immigrant second generation*. Los Angeles, California: University of California Press.
- Portes, A, and R.G Rumbaut. 2005. "Introduction: The second generation and the children of migrants longitudinal study." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28 (6):983-999.
- Probyn, Elspeth. 2005. *Blush. Faces of Shame*. Sydney: UNSW Press.
- Proctor, H, and C Aitchison. 2014. "Markets in education: 'School choice' and family capital." In *Markets, Rights and Power in Australian Social Policy*, edited by G Meagher and S Goodwin. Sydney: Sydney University Press.
- Rampton, B. 1990. "Displacing the 'native speaker': expertise, affiliation, and inheritance " *ELT Journal* 44 (2):97-101.
- Ranciere, J. 1991. *The ignorant schoolmaster: Five lessons in intellectual emancipation*. Standford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Ransom, L. 2009. Implementing the Post-entry English Language Assessment Policy at the University of Melbourne: Rationale, Processes, and Outcomes. *Journal of Academic Language and Learning* 3 (2): 13-25.
- Reay, D. 2004. "'It's all becoming a habitus': Beyond the habitual use of habitus in educational research." *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 25 (4):431-444.
- Reay, D. 2015. "Habitus and the psychosocial: Bourdieu with feelings." *Cambridge Journal of Education* 45 (1):9-23.
- Reay, D, G Crozier, and J Clayton. 2009. "'Strangers in Paradise?': Working class students in eolite universities." *Sociology* 43 (6).
- Reckwitz, A. 2002. "Towards a theory of social practices: A development in culturalist theorizing." *European Journal of Social Theory* 5 (2):243-263.
- Reeves, J. 2006. "Secondary Teacher Attitudes toward Including English-Language Learners in Mainstream Classrooms." *Journal of Educational Research* 99 (3):131-142.
- Reid, I, A Kirkpatrick, and D Mulligan. 1998. Framing reading. In *Framing Student Literacy: Cross-cultural aspects of communication skills in Australian university settings*. Sydney: Curtin University of Technology.
- Reid, Joy. 1997. "Which Non-Native Speaker? Differences Between International Students and U.S. Resident (Language Minority) Students." *New Directions for teaching and Learning* (70):17-22.
- Reid, Joy. 2006. "'Eye" learners and "ear" learners: Identifying the language needs of international student and U.S. resident writers." In *Second-Language Writing in the Composition Classroom* edited by P.K Matsuda, M Cox, J Jordan and Christina Ortmeier-Hooper, 76-88. New York: Bedford/St. Martins.
- Reyes, A. 2007. *Language, Identity, and Stereotype Among Southeast Asian American Youth: The Other Asian*. NJ: Mahwah.
- Riazantseva, Anastasia. 2012. "'I ain't changing anything": A case-study of successful generation 1.5 immigrant college students'

- writing." *Journal of English for Academic Purposes* 11 (3):184-193. doi: 10.1016/j.jeap.2012.04.007.
- Rist, R. 1970/2000. "Student social class and teacher expectations: The self-fulfilling prophecy in ghetto education." *Harvard Educational Review* 70 (3):257-301.
- Roberge, M. 2002. "California's generation 1.5 immigrants: What experiences, characteristics, and needs do they bring to our English classes?" *The CATESOL Journal* 14 (1):107-129.
- Roberge, M, M Siegal, and L Harklau, eds. 2009. *Generation 1.5 in College Composition: Teaching Academic Writing to U.S.-educated Learners of ESL*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Roberts, J, J Jergens, and M Burchinal. 2005. "The Role of Home Literacy Practices in Preschool Children's Language and Emergent Literacy Skills." *Journal of Speech, Language, and Hearing Research* 48:345-359. doi: 10.1044/1092-4388(2005/024).
- Robins, K., and F. Webster. 1999. *Times of the technoculture: From the information society to the virtual life*. London: Routledge.
- Rodriguez, L.A. 2006. "The forgotten generation: High school and college generation 1.5 students." (UMI no. 1434461).
- Rubio, F, and R.A Rubio. 2007. *Self-esteem and foreign language learning*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Rumbaut, R. 2005. "Sites of Belonging: Acculturation, Discrimination, and Ethnic Identity Among Children of Immigrants " In *DISCOVERING SUCCESSFUL PATHWAYS IN CHILDREN'S DEVELOPMENT: MIXED METHODS IN THE STUDY OF CHILDHOOD AND FAMILY LIFE*, edited by Thomas S Weiner. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Rumbaut, R.G, and K Ima. 1988. *The adaptation of Southeast Asian refugee youth: A comparative study*. San Diego, CA: San Diego State University.
- Rumbaut, R. 2004. "Ages, life stages and generational cohorts: Decomposing the immigrant first and second generations in the United States
." *The International Migration Review* 38 (3):1160-1205.
- Russell, W. 2005. "Educating Rita." In *The Oxford Dictionary of Plays*, edited by M Patterson. Oxon: Oxford University Press.
- Rust, C. 2002. "The impact of assessment on student learning: How can the research literature practically help to inform the Development of Departmental Assessment Strategies and learner-centred assessment practices." *Active Learning in Higher Education* 3 (2):145-158.
- Rutter, J. 2006. *Refugee children in the UK*. Buckinham, UK: Open University Press.
- Sayad, A. 2004. *The suffering of the immigrant*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

- Sayer, A. 2005. *The moral significance of class*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schneeweis, N. 2010. "Educational Institutions and the Integration of Migrants." *Journal of Population Economics* 24 (4):1281-1308.
- Schwartz, G. 2004. "Coming to terms: Generation 1.5 students in mainstream composition." *The Reading Matrix* 4 (3).
- Scott, G, M Shah, L Grebennikov, and H Singh. 2008. "Improving Student Retention: A University of Western Sydney Case Study." *Australasian Association for Institutional Research* 14 (1).
- Shapiro, S. 2012. "Citizens vs. aliens: How institutional policies construct linguistic minority students. ." In *Linguistic minority immigrants go to college: Preparation, access, and persistence* edited by Yasuko Kanno and L Karklau, 238-254. New York: Routledge.
- Shaughnessy, M. 1977. *Errors and Expectations*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Shiner, M, and T Modood. 2002. "Help or hindrance? Higher education and the route to ethnic equality." *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 23:209-232.
- Silva, T. 1993. "Toward an understanding of the distinct nature of L2 writing: The ESL research and its implications." *TESOL Quarterly* 27 (4):657-677.
- Simpson, J, and M Cooke. 2010. "Movement and loss: progression in tertiary education for migrant students." *Language and Education* 24 (1):57-73. doi: 10.1080/09500780903194051.
- Singh, P, and M Sinclair. 2001. "Diversity, Disadvantage and differential outcomes." *Asia Pacific Journal of Teacher Education* 29 (1):73-92.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T, and P Toukomaa. 1976. Teaching migrant children's mother tongue and learning the language of the host country in the context of the socio-cultural situation of the migrant family. Helsinki. The Finnish National Commission for UNESCO.
- Smith, Alexandra. 2015. 2015 NSW state election: ESL crisis faces students. *The Sydney Morning Herald*. Accessed March 24 2015.
- Smith, Dorothy. 2006. *Institutional Ethnography as Practice*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Starfield, S. 2001. "'I'll go with the group': Rethinking 'discourse community' in EAP." *Research Perspectives on English for academic purposes*:132-147.
- Starfield, Sue. 2002. "'I'm a Second-Language English Speaker": Negotiating Writer Identity and Authority in Sociology One." *Journal of Language, Identity & Education* 1 (2):121-140. doi: 10.1207/S15327701JLIE0102_02.
- Stern, D. 1985. *The interpersonal world of the infant: A view from psychoanalysis and developmental psychology*. London: Karnac Books.

- Stevens, G. 1999. "Age at immigration and second language proficiency among foreign-born adults." *Language in Society* 28:555-578.
- Street, Brian V. 1984. *Literacy in theory and practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Stuart, Mary, Catherine Lido, and Jessica Morgan. 2011. "Personal stories: how students' social and cultural life histories interact with the field of higher education." *International Journal of Lifelong Education* 30 (4):489-508. doi: 10.1080/02601370.2011.588463.
- Sullivan, A. 2002. "Bourdieu and Education: How useful is Bourdieu's theory for researchers?" *The Netherlands Journal of Social Sciences* 38 (2).
- Susan C. Jarratt , Elizabeth Losh, David Puente. 2006. "Transnational identifications: Biliterate writers in a first-year humanities course." *Journal of Second Language Writing* 15:24-48. doi: doi:10.1016/j.jslw.2006.01.001.
- Swales, J. 1990. *Genre Analysis: English in Academic and Research Settings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Swales, J. 1998. "Textography: Toward a Contextualization of Written Academic Discourse." *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 31 (1):109-121.
- Swan, M, and B Smith, eds. 1987. *Learner English: A teacher's guide to interference and other problems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sweetman, P. 2003. "Twenty-first century dis-ease? Habitual reflexivity or the reflexive habitus." *The Sociological Review* 51 (4):528-549.
- Talmy, S. 2001.
- Teddlie, C, and A Tashakkori. 2009. *Foundations of mixed methods research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Thensen, L. 1997. "Voices, discourse, and transition: in search of new categories in EAP." *TESOL Quarterly* 38 (1):9-41.
- Thies, L. 2012. "Increasing student participation and success: Collaborating to embed academic literacies into the curriculum." *Journal of Academic Language and Learning* 6 (1).
- Thomas, L. 2002. "Student retention in highr education: the role of instituional habitus." *Journal of Educational Policy* 17 (4):423-442.
- Thomas, L. 2012. Building student engagement and belonging in Higher Education at a time of change: a summary of findings and recommendations from the What Works? Student Retention & Success programme.
- Thomas, L, and M Yorke. 2003. "Improving the retention of students from lower socio-economic groups." *Higher Education Policy and Management*, 25 (1):63-75.
- Thomas, W.P, and V.P Collier. 1997. *School Effectiveness for language minority students*. Washington, D.C: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education.

- Thompson, John. 1991. "Introduction." In *Language and Symbolic Power*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Thonis, E. 1981. Reading instruction for language minority students. In California State Department of Education, Schooling and language minority students: A theoretical framework Los Angeles: Evaluation, Dissemination and Assessment Center, California State University. .
- Thonus, T. 2003. "Serving Generation 1.5 learners in the university writing centre." *TESOL Journal* 12 (1):17-24.
- Tinto, V. 1987. *Leaving College: Rethinking the Causes and Cures of Student Attrition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Toohey, K. 2000. *Learning English at school: identity, social relations and classroom practice*. Toronto: Multilingual Matters
- Tower, M, R Walker, K Wilson, B Watson, and G Tronoff. 2015. "Engaging, supporting and retaining academic at-risk students in a Bachelor of Nursing: Setting risk markers, interventions and outcomes." *The International Journal of the First Year in Higher Education* 6 (1).
- Trounson, A. 2011. Extend tougher language standards. *The Australian*. Accessed June 21 2011.
- Turner, J. 2000. "Academic Literacy and the discourse of transparency." In *Student writing in the university: Cultural and epistemological issues*, edited by C Jones, J Turner and Brian V. Street. John Benjamins.
- Tyson, K. 2011. *Integration Interrupted: Tracking Black Students, & Acting White After Brown*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division. 2011. International Migration Report 2009: A Global Assessment. United Nations.
- Valenzuela, A. 1999. *Subtractive schooling: US-Mexican youth and the politics of caring*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Vandrick, Stephanie. 2014. "The Role of Social Class in English Language Education." *Journal of Language, Identity & Education* 13 (2):85-91. doi: 10.1080/15348458.2014.901819.
- Vedder, R. 2010. "The Great College-Degree Scam." *The Chronicle of Higher Education* Accessed February 15. <http://chronicle.com/blogs/innovations/the-great-college-degree-scam/28067>.
- Verplaetse, L, and N Migliacci. 2008. "Developing academic language through an abundance of interaction." In *Inclusive Pedagogy for English Language Learners: A handbook of researchg-informed practices*, edited by L Verplaetse and N Migliacci, 167-180. New York: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Vertovec, S. 2007. "Superdiversity and its implications." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30 (6):1024-1054.
- Vignoles, A, and C Crawford. 2010. "Access, participation and diversity in relation to different forms of post-compulsory further or higher education: the importance of prior learning." In *Improving Learning by Widening Participation in Higher*

- Education*, edited by Miriam David. London and New York: Routledge.
- Vygotsky, L. 1962. *Thought and language*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Wacquant, L. 1989. "Towards a reflexive sociology: Workshop with Pierre Bourdieu." *Sociological Theory* 7 (1):26-63.
- Wacquant, L. 1992. "Toward a social praxeology: the structure and logic of Bourdieu's sociology." In *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, edited by P. Bourdieu and L. Wacquant, 1-6. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Wacquant, L. 1996. "Foreword to the English-language translation of Pierre Bourdieu *The State Nobility*." In *The State Nobility*, VIII-XXII. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Warde, A. 2004. *Practice and field: Revising Bourdieusian concepts*. Manchester: University of Manchester.
- Watkins, Megan. 2005. "Discipline, Consciousness and the Formation of a Scholarly Habitus." *Continuum* 19 (4):545-557. doi: 10.1080/10304310500322834.
- Watkins, Megan. 2007. "Twarting desire: discursive constraint and pedagogic practice." *Qualitative Studies in Education* 20 (3):301-318.
- Watkins, Megan. 2010. "Desiring recognition, accumulating affect." In *The affect theory reader*, edited by M Gregg and GJ Seigworth, 269-85. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Watkins, Megan. 2011. "Complexity reduction, regularities and rules: Grappling with cultural diversity in schooling." *Continuum* 25 (6):841-856. doi: 10.1080/10304312.2011.617876.
- Watkins, Megan. 2012. *Discipline and Learn: Bodies, Pedagogy and Writing*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Watkins, Megan, G Lean, Greg Noble, and K Dunn. 2013. *Rethinking Multiculturalism Reassessing Multicultural Education: Project Report Number 1*. Sydney: University of Western Sydney.
- Watkins, Megan, and Greg Noble. 2008. *Cultural practices and learning: Diversity, discipline and dispositions in schooling*. Sydney: The University of Western Sydney.
- Watkins, Megan, and Greg Noble. 2013. *Disposed to learn: schooling, ethnicity and the scholarly habitus*. London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Watson, Jo, Melanie Nind, Debra Humphris, and Alan Borthwick. 2009. "Strange new world: applying a Bourdieuan lens to understanding early student experiences in higher education." *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 30 (6):665-681. doi: 10.1080/01425690903235144.
- Weigel, D, S Martin, and K Bennet. 2006. "Mothers' Literacy Beliefs: Connections With the Home Literacy Environment and Pre-school Children's Literacy Development." *Journal of Early Childhood Literacy* 6 (2):191-211. doi: 10.1177/1468798406066444

- Wells, G. 1985. *Language development in the preschool years*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wells, G. 2009. *The meaning makers: Learning to talk and talking to learn*. second ed. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Wells, G. 2012. "Semiotic mediation viewed over time." In *Vygotsky and Sociology*, edited by Harry Daniels, 135-154. Oxon: Routledge.
- Wen, W, and R Clement. 2003. "A Chinese Conceptualisation of Willingness to Communicate in ESL." *Language, Culture and Curriculum* 16:18-38.
- White, J, and P Lowenthal. 2011a. "Minority college students and tacit "codes of power": Developing academic discourse and identities." *The Review of Higher Education* 34 (2):283-318.
- White, John Wesley, and Patrick R. Lowenthal. 2011b. "Minority College Students and Tacit "Codes of Power": Developing Academic Discourses and Identities." *Review of Higher Education* 34 (2):283-318.
- Williamson, F. 2012. "Generation 1.5: The LBOTE blindspot." *Journal of Academic Language and Learning* 6 (2):1-10.
- Windle, J, and Jennifer Miller. 2012. "Approaches to teaching low literacy refugee-background students." *Australian Journal of Language and Literacy* 35 (3):317-333.
- Wingate, U. 2007. "A Framework for Transition: Supporting 'Learning to Learn' in Higher Education." *Higher Education Quarterly* 61 (3). doi: DOI: 10.1111/j.1468-2273.2007.00361.x.
- Wong, Shelley, and R.A Grant. 2007. "Academic achievement and social identity among bilingual students in the U.S." In *The International Handbook of English Language Teaching*, edited by J Cummins and C Davison. Springer.
- Wu, J, and M Singh. 2004. "'Wishing for dragon children': ironies and contradictions in China's education reform and the chinese diaspora's disappointments with australian education." *The Australian Education Researcher* 31 (2):29-44.
- Yamada, K. 2003. "What prevents ESL/EFL writers from avoiding plagiarism? Analyses of 10 North American college websites." *System* 31:247-258.
- Yanchar, S. 2006. "On the possibility of contextual-quantitative inquiry." *New Ideas in Psychology* 24 (212-228).
- Yang, Yang. 2013. "Bourdieu, Practice and Change: Beyond the criticism of determinism." *Educational Philosophy and Theory*:1-19. doi: 10.1080/00131857.2013.839375.
- Yorke, M, and B Longden. 2008. *The first year experience of higher education in the UK* The Higher Education Academy.
- Zarrinabadi, Z. 2014. "Communicating in a Second Language: Investigating the Effect of Teacher on Learners' Willingness to Communicate." *System* 42 (1):288-295.
- Zepke, N. 2013. "Student engagement: A complex business supporting the first year experience in tertiary education." *The*

International Journal of the First Year in Higher Education 4
(2):1-14.

Zepke, N, and L Leach. 2007. "Improving Student Outcome in Higher Education: New Zealand Teachers' Views on teaching Students from Diverse Backgrounds." *Teaching in Higher Education* 12 (5-6):655-668. doi: 10.1080/13562510701596190.

Zerubavel, E. 1997. *Social Mindscapes: An invitation to cognitive sociology*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

Zuengler, J, and E.R Miller. 2006. "Cognitive and sociocultural perspectives: Two parallel SLA worlds?" *TESOL Quarterly* 40 (1):35-58.