

Chapter 2

Bilingual Identity: Being and Becoming Bilingual

Exploring issues of identity can be extremely complex, and necessitate engagement with a wide range of different fields that have explored the notion of identity in different ways. Exploring prior work is needed in order to ascertain one's own standpoint about what identity is, how it might be measured or captured, and why we might want to understand it in more depth.

As I began this research it was as a speaker of three languages, who immigrated as a young adult to a new country. I experienced that migration as relatively seamless. This move did not necessitate a language change in my everyday life. I did not experience any issues in terms of language legitimacy or inequalities of power, yet I was still surprised by many linguistic misunderstandings within English. I grew up in England and in that context learnt French as a young child and German from the age of 12. I didn't anticipate that it would be difficult to move to another English-speaking country in terms of communication and understanding. And yet, as a new immigrant I experienced multiple misunderstandings, miscommunications and a feeling of being "outside" of the interaction on numerous occasions. I often wondered how this was possible when the language involved was supposedly the same? As an English speaker how could I feel so lost in this process? And if I felt lost, and outside of the interaction happening around me, how must speakers of other languages feel when they migrate to a new country and must negotiate these types of interaction in a language they feel less competent with or which may be completely new to them? Particularly when others may hold the power, the key that is access to the new language. I grappled with questions of language and identity within the one language that I experienced across two cultures. These questions of identity, intercultural communication, and insider and outsider status prompted my research to explore how young children experience their bilingualism, and how we might be able to foster more positive educational experiences for children to assist their identity negotiation. Exploring settings which empower students and enable them

to feel they can embrace and build upon their language skills might lead educators, researchers and policy makers to see how we might better serve the multilingual youth of our globalised world.

In wanting to explore issues of bilingualism and identity further, this necessitated an exploration of the different ways of understanding both bilingualism as a concept and identity. Both notions are explored in the following sections

Defining Bilingualism

Previous literature examining the phenomenon of bilingualism takes a number of different stances and makes a number of interpretations of the term bilingualism.

Li (2006, p.1) gives one definition of bilingualism as “a product of extensive language contact (i.e., contacts between people who speak different languages)”, indicating that a large quantity of contact with both languages is required before a person can be considered bilingual. However he acknowledges that this definition can be too limited in that people might be using and interacting in more than one language yet would not define contact in both languages as large. It can also be argued that although language contact is necessary for societal bilingualism it does not automatically lead to individual bilingualism (Li 2006).

As Baker and Prys Jones (1998) point out, there are a number of factors in addition to language contact that might be considered when defining whether a person is bilingual or not. Included in a consideration of these factors are issues such as how fluent a person must be in each language to be considered bilingual; whether a person must have equal competence in both languages to be considered bilingual (also referred to as being a *balanced bilingual*); there is also the question of whether a person is only defined as bilingual if they can speak the two languages or whether we consider them bilingual if they can understand, read or write a second language; another consideration is whether language proficiency should be the measure for bilingualism or whether frequency of language use might be a better measure (Baker and Prys Jones 1998).

As these questions begin to illustrate, defining bilingualism is not simple and this is not an exhaustive list of the issues involved in attempting to decide upon a definition. There are also no definitive or commonly accepted answers to these questions. As Bhatia (2006) indicates, there is no widely-accepted definition of bilingualism or how it should be measured. Due to the lack of consensus about the definition of the term bilingualism, many different terms are used to describe different types of bilingualism; this often results in confusion and sometimes in misrepresentation of bilingualism. This chapter clarifies the position of bilingualism within this book and clarifies some of the considerations that need to be taken into account in deciding upon a workable definition of bilingualism for research or work in schools.

An important point to make in the discussion of bilingualism is that bilingualism in some literature refers to the ability in and use of two languages (and not more).

In other literature the term bilingualism refers to multilingual competence. This means that a person may have knowledge or experience of three or more languages (Baker and Prys Jones 1998). It is not uncommon for writers to use the term bilingual to mean multilingual. For example Romaine incorporates Weinreich's 1968 interpretation of bilingualism as "the alternate use of two **or more** languages" (Romaine 1995, p.12 emphasis added; Romaine 2006). Likewise, Grosjean defines bilingualism as "the regular use of two or more languages" (Grosjean 1982, p.1 emphasis added). In this way the term bilingualism includes multilingualism. It is this interpretation that I choose to use throughout this book.

Some theorists believe that in order to be classified as bilingual a person must have equal competence in both languages and some believe that the person must have native-like knowledge and use of both languages. This is referred to as being a *balanced bilingual*. However, being a balanced bilingual is extremely rare if not impossible to achieve in reality. Most people who have access to more than one language are not balanced bilinguals, as they may have greater knowledge of one form of each language than the other forms. For example, a person could be a fluent speaker of two languages and a competent writer in one of the languages. They are bilingual, although they are not able to write in all of the languages. Romaine (1995) critiques the term balanced bilingual, pointing out that it is a theoretical perspective that has derived from a monolingual point of reference. As this viewpoint does not take account of the real nature of bilingualism, the search for a perfectly balanced bilingual has remained unfulfilled (Romaine 1995).

Another example that can illustrate the non-balanced nature of bilingualism is that a person may be fluent in academic language in one language and fluent in conversational language in another language (Cummins 1999). This person could be considered to be bilingual by having knowledge of different genres of language (Blommaert 2007). Grosjean (1982) believes that bilinguals are seldom equally fluent in their languages, however more traditional views of bilingualism have shown that consideration of balance within bilingualism remains an important factor for some. More frequently in recent writing the notion of unequal ability or fluency in the languages has become more commonly accepted (see for example Bhatia 2006; Grosjean 1982; Romaine 1995).

In defining bilingualism, some writers find that a person is only bilingual if they are a functional bilingual. This means that their bilingualism is measured by the ways in which they use the language and the quantity of language that they use. The concept of being a functional bilingual can be interpreted in a minimalist or maximalist way (Baetens Beardsmore 1982). The minimalist interpretation means that a person could be considered to be functionally bilingual if they can accomplish a limited amount of activities in a second language with only certain knowledge of vocabulary and grammar. The maximalist interpretation means that a person would only be considered functionally bilingual if they could conduct all of their activities in either language. A related simple definition of being bilingual is the regular use of two or more languages (Grosjean 1982, p.1). A minimalist interpretation fits best with the stance of non-balanced bilingualism.

When discussing bilingualism there is also a distinction made between productive competence in language (that is: speaking and writing) and receptive competence (that is: understanding and reading). Some researchers believe that it is possible to be defined as being bilingual if you have productive competence in one language and receptive competence in the less dominant language of your repertoire (Baetens Beardsmore 1982; Blommaert 2007).

Some writers define different domains or areas of a person's life in which they might use or learn a different language (Baker 2011; Romaine 1995, 2006). A person might be consistent in the settings in which they use each language. For example a person may speak Korean at home with a grandparent, whereas they always use English at work. In this way a person's different domains of language use may not intersect (Baker 2011). In other scenarios a person may make a choice about which language to use. The choice of which language a bilingual person uses in a particular setting can be influenced by a number of pressures or variables such as economic, cultural or religious influences and in some cases the most influential factor impacting language choice may be economic (Romaine 1995, 2006). For example a speaker of a minority language may need to speak the majority language of the country in workplace or public settings.

In this book bilingualism is understood to mean the use of two or more languages, with a minimal competence in one or more domains of each language being seen as sufficient to define a person as bilingual.

Bilingualism and Young People

There are a number of factors that influence the experience that young bilingual people, in particular, have of their languages. The first factor of importance to this book is the influence of *family opinions* about language learning, maintenance of heritage or background language and overall family opinion about bilingualism. Such parental and familial views have a strong impact upon the young person's view of their languages and bilingualism and their opportunities for language maintenance and learning. A number of studies have shown this (see for example Molyneux 2006; Pease-Alvarez 2003; Tannenbaum and Howie 2002; Weisskirch and Alatorre Alva 2002). The family impact upon young bilinguals is also seen through the language use that takes place in the home. The amount and type of bilingual interaction taking place in the home has a strong impact upon the young bilingual person's understanding of and attitude towards bilingualism and language.

The second important influence upon young bilingual people is the *type of education* the young bilingual person receives. The educational context may be monolingual or bilingual, but even in a monolingual education setting there are measures that can be taken by teachers to foster the student's self-esteem and feelings of power and agency in their languages (Cummins 1996, 2000, 2003).

A third important influence upon young bilinguals is the level of *opportunity* they have for development of literacy practices in their home language. This can

strongly impact upon a young person's ability and comfort in the dominant societal language as they are able to transfer skills acquired in their home language to the language of education at school (Gregory and Kenner 2003; Kenner 2000; Kenner and Gregory 2003). In addition a young person's bilingual identity is also influenced by their home experience and use of literacy (Gregory and Kenner 2003; Kenner 2000; Kenner and Gregory 2003). The access they may have to literacy practices in their home language could be in the home or in the school environment, or may in some cases not take place at all. Successful bilingual education has been shown to involve incorporation of the development of home literacy to support and enhance literacy development in the school language.

A further important distinction that is made about young bilinguals is consideration of the point at which a person develops their bilingualism. Children who develop two languages from birth are known as simultaneous or infant bilinguals and these children are considered to have two first languages (De Houwer 2006). If a child learns the second language after the age of three this is referred to as consecutive or sequential bilingualism (Bhatia 2006). The ways these children are viewed in society may differ depending upon the point at which they became bilingual.

The way that an individual is viewed is also often influenced by the general view of the importance or status of the particular language involved. Many community languages are undervalued, particularly in many English speaking countries where the global value of English is emphasised and the ideology embedded within policy and law steers society towards monolingualism (Kenner and Ruby 2012).

Bilingual Education

This section outlines the major trends in the development of bilingual education and the different types of bilingual education found in different settings across the world, so that the setting of the students in this study can be seen within both a historical and present-day context.

Bilingual Education in Context

Bilingualism has existed for thousands of years but has been increasingly researched over the last 30 years (Baker 2006; Lewis 1981). Bilingual education has taken place at many points throughout history in different contexts. Issues relating to bilingual education have evolved through political and social change. Therefore examination of bilingual education inherently involves consideration of the political, societal and demographic context in which it takes place (Lewis 1981).

In the United States and Canada there is a better-documented history of bilingual education than in other contexts. This is also reflected in the quantity of research emerging from the US and Canada relating to bilingualism. The contexts of the US and Canada are, however, very different.

The model of bilingual education commonly seen in the US today is a form referred to as a subtractive model in which a student's home language is gradually removed from the educational setting with the ultimate aim of monolingual education in English (Bhatia 2006). Students' lack of academic success as measured in this form of bilingual education has been used by politicians in the US as evidence that bilingual education does not work, and as a basis for a drive towards policies of English-only education (Cummins 2003). Policies such as Proposition 227 in California have severely limited the amount of home language that can be used in a child's education, thus limiting the possibilities for positive forms of bilingual education to be implemented (Cummins 2003).

The models of bilingual education commonly encountered in the US context are heavily critiqued by writers in the field of bilingualism, because the researchers in this field view the models as poor examples of bilingual education (Cummins 1996, 2000, 2003). Such writers argue that the commonly found types of bilingual education lead to inequality in the classroom and inequitable access to education for students from language backgrounds other than English (Cummins 1996, 2000, 2003). The following section of this chapter explores different types of bilingual education.

Bilingual education in the Canadian context predominantly follows a model that is considered an additive form of education – adding a new language without detriment to the first (Bhatia 2006). The Canadian model of immersion bilingual education arose through the St Lambert experiment in the 1970s. In this model of bilingual education the two languages involved are viewed with equal value and importance. The languages used in the Canadian immersion programs are French and English in accordance with the two official languages in the country. However, Canada faces issues of inequality with regard to immigrant languages in a similar manner to the US context. Also the reality of implementation may mean that although both French and English are intended to be represented equally this may not always occur in reality. In the US bilingual education commonly involves speakers of minority languages learning English to the detriment of the first language. In Canada the bilingual programs commonly found involve the two official languages, yet there are still limited options for speakers of minority languages to maintain their languages alongside learning English.

The issues of power and equality associated with language and literacy learning have become more widely researched over recent years (see for example Arce 2004; Bialystok 2001; Cummins 1996, 2000, 2003; Cumming-Potvin 2004; Escamilla 1994; Esdahl 2003; Heller 1996; Madsen 2003; Martin-Jones 1995; Martin-Jones and Saxena 1996; Molyneux 2004; Norton 2000, 2014a; Sharkey and Johnson 2003; Tuafuti and McCaffery 2005; Wu and Bilash 1998). However, the focus of the majority of this research into the power issues associated with language use, language recognition and opportunities for bilingual students, is mostly upon students in the United States or comes from other countries but also focuses upon the teachers in the classroom rather than the students. There has been a need for examination of students specifically and also of contexts other than the US.

As outlined in the introductory chapter, bilingual education has existed in various forms in Australia, but never in an extensive way. Currently only around 20 programs can be identified in Australia, yet language learning and bilingualism are gaining increasing attention in the media and in policy development. Some new programs have begun in the last few years (see Harbon and Fielding 2013) and it is possible that any change mandating language study in the primary school could lead to a need for more bilingual programs to rise to the challenge of delivering language study within the crowded curriculum.

Having outlined relevant aspects of the context of bilingual education it is now important to consider the types of bilingual education that are more commonly found in recent times. In the following section different types of bilingual education are explained. Outlining the types of bilingual education that have been researched allows the context of this study to be positioned more clearly. The common factor for the students in this study is their educational context. Different types of bilingual education have been shown to have different impacts upon young bilinguals and their identity development. It is therefore important to clarify where this study's context sits within the wider field of bilingual education.

Types of Bilingual Education

There are many different types of bilingual education and due to the many terms relating to bilingualism in general, there is also potential for misunderstanding concerning different types of bilingual education. May (2010) provides a simple overview by saying: "Put simply, bilingual education involves instruction in two languages. This immediately excludes programs that include bilingual students but do not involve bilingual instruction" (p.293). Cummins and Corson (1997, p.xi) reiterate that bilingual education, like bilingualism, may refer to more than two languages, by saying: "The term *bilingual education* usually refers to the use of two (or more) languages of instruction at some point in the student's school career".

The different types of bilingual education can be classified in many ways. One well-known but detailed classification system is that developed by Mackey (1970) that identified 90 different types of multilingual education. Cummins and Corson (1997) developed a simpler category system involving five types of education with four out of the five focusing upon educational programs for minority students and the fifth focusing on programs for majority students.

- Type I programs involve indigenous or native languages as the medium of instruction
- Type II programs involve the use of a national minority language
- Type III programs involve international minority languages
- Type IV programs focus on the language learning of the Deaf or hard of hearing
- Type V programs involve dominant or majority group students learning bilingual and biliteracy skills (Cummins and Corson 1997, p. xiii).

Cummins and Corson (1997) indicate that there is some crossover between types II and III and that these types are mostly transitional programs with the aim of guiding the students into academic learning in the dominant language. They indicate that these are the most common types of program in Australia and the United States (Cummins and Corson 1997).

One even simpler form of classification is to divide bilingual education programs into three categories (Baker 2011). Baker (2011) labels these categories *Null* forms of bilingual education, *Weak* forms of bilingual education and *Strong* forms of bilingual education.

The Null forms are programs that aim to educate the student to become monolingual in the dominant language of the society (Baker 2011). Examples of Null forms of bilingual education are forms such as submersion programs commonly found in the US context, where students are immersed into the dominant language with minimal support in their background language.

Weak forms of bilingual education are those that gradually remove the student's home language from their educational setting with the aim of limited bilingualism with strong skills in the dominant language of the society (Baker 2011). Bilingual programs that fit into this category are transitional bilingual programs and structured immersion programs. Both of these types of program allow bilingualism in the early years of the program with the gradual removal of the home language in the school setting. English as a Second Language programs in Australia could be seen as fitting within this category.

Strong forms of bilingual education are those that aim to equip students to be bilingual and biliterate (Baker 2011). Examples of these types of program are dual language programs, Canadian-style immersion programs and some heritage language and maintenance programs (Baker 2011).

The Null or Weak forms of bilingual education can also be referred to as subtractive forms of education as they remove the home language from the educational setting (Bhatia 2006). In accordance with this term, the strong forms can be referred to as additive, in that they add an additional language without a detrimental effect upon the student's existing language or languages (Bhatia 2006). The selection of null or weak forms of bilingual education as the most common forms available in an educational system reflects the political view of the decision-makers in the country towards bilingualism. In the US a monolingual view predominates and there is a common view amongst policymakers that bilingualism can detract from competence in English (Cummins 2007). The monolingual view sees that bilingualism is the same as having two monolinguals within one person. In other words, it is thought by some that the bilingual person has two sets of language that may be competing for space within their brain. It has been shown by others (Blommaert 2007; Cummins 1979) that this is not the case and that the language knowledge of bilingual people intersects, overlaps and that the second language does not detract from the first (Blommaert 2007; Cummins 1979).

A monolingual viewpoint also does not take into account the different domains in which bilinguals use each language and the skills they possess that transfer from one language to another (Cummins 1979). A monolingual viewpoint also leads to

subtractive forms of education such as submersion. This refers to a program where the student is “submerged” in classes in the dominant language in a “sink or swim” style of education. The learning context of submersion programs can frequently lead to failure in the acquisition of English according to the measurement tools in the school system. This is because the nature of the bilingual program is not supportive of the students’ background languages and prior learning and therefore is not inclusive of important aspects of the students’ identities. A submersion program does not acknowledge home language literacy achievement and this can make it more difficult for students to achieve the required outcomes in the newer school-based language (Lo Bianco 2000; Murray and Combe 2007).

The differences between weak or null forms of bilingual education and strong forms have been linked to the issue of interpersonal negotiations associated with different types of bilingual education. A growing body of literature indicates that certain bilingual educational settings can empower or disempower students through either their acknowledgement of, or disregard for, students’ home and background languages, literacy and knowledge (Cummins 1996, 2000, 2003; Gregory and Kenner 2003; Kenner 2000; Kenner and Gregory 2003). These languages, literacies and types of knowledge are now being seen as major aspects of these students’ identities and it is argued that educational success is more likely when these aspects of their identities are welcomed and incorporated into the classroom interaction (Cummins 1996, 2000, 2003). A parallel can be drawn between the empowering pedagogies referred to as transformative pedagogies, and the stronger forms of bilingual education. Likewise the less empowering pedagogies may be linked to the weaker forms of bilingual education. Unfortunately for students from many minority language groups, often the only form of bilingual education available to them is a subtractive form of bilingual education. (For a clear depiction of the division between subtractive and additive programs in a visual form see May 2008, pp.19–34).

In Australia bilingual education is much less widespread than in the US and Canada. The programs that are in place differ from school to school as they have each developed in different circumstances and as a result of different initiatives or have been developed as one-off individual programs. In 2002 a study looking at immersion programs in Australia reported that there were 49 primary level immersion programs in operation across Australia and 14 secondary level immersion programs (de Courcy 2002). This count included only programs with over 50% of the classroom in the immersion language (de Courcy 2002). Other Australian research has indicated approximately 50 schools in Australia that have immersion programs (Moloney 2008). These immersion programs can be classified as strong forms of bilingual education, but may not be accessible to students from minority language backgrounds. However, as outlined earlier, bilingualism is relatively common for Australian citizens and examination of student bilingual identity development is therefore important.

More recently, a number of bilingual programs have developed. Firstly in Victoria there has been the development of 12 bilingual primary schools since 1997 under a scheme known as the Department of Education and Early Childhood

Development's (DEECD's) Bilingual Schools Project. The school involved in this research started a bilingual program in 1998 in New South Wales (NSW) and in 2010 four new programs were established across NSW under a new scheme trialling bilingual education in the government's four priority languages: Chinese, Indonesian, Korean and Japanese. In the ACT three primary schools are listed as having formal bilingual programs. In Queensland 12 schools are currently identified as having CLIL-style language programs progressively implemented over the last two decades (McKendry et al. 2013). The Northern Territory had a long relationship with bilingual education in aboriginal languages, however, these programs do not currently have government support. So it can be seen that many contexts have trialled bilingual education in Australia, some more successfully than others. Few programs have been sustained for a long period of time apart from a small number across several states which began in the late 1990s. The school involved in this study started around a similar time to these other schools, but did so independently rather than as part of a funded scheme of new programs as were introduced in Victoria.

Following on from the issues raised by the type of bilingual education program that students encounter, there are corresponding issues relating to student literacy. These are explored in the following section. An understanding of the importance of literacy in bilingual education allows us to understand the skills and corresponding empowerment and identity recognition that bilingual students can experience when they use and develop their literacy in both languages.

Bilingual Education and Literacy

A discussion of bilingualism and bilingual education involves an understanding of how literacy development takes place in bilingual settings. Literacy is defined in a multitude of ways and much discussion continues to take place in the field of literacy about the term's definition (Freebody 2007; Winch et al. 2006). The more traditional definition of literacy focuses upon extracting meaning from text and sometimes limits the focus of literacy to the decoding of reading and writing in traditional textual formats (Freebody 2007; Winch et al. 2006). Some traditional definitions of literacy focus specifically on reading and do not encompass writing (Street and Lefstein 2007).

Other definitions of literacy focus upon functional literacy, seeing literacy as a technical skill which functions similarly across languages (Baker and Prys Jones 1998). This type of definition values literacy only in terms of its usefulness. This can also be referred to as a "skills approach" to literacy (Baker and Prys Jones 1998). Other types of approach to literacy include the whole language approach, the construction of meaning approach, the socio-cultural literacy approach, and the critical literacy approach, with each approach differing in its underlying political stance towards the purpose and nature of literacy in society (Baker and Prys Jones 1998).

The development of the term *multiliteracies* from the 1994 meeting of The New London Group initiated a discussion of the broadening of the definition of what constitutes literacy to incorporate the multiplicity of linguistic and cultural influences upon many people in society and the increasing quantities of multimedia text-types encountered on a daily basis (Cazden et al. 1996; Cope and Kalantzis 2000; Cummins 2004; The New London Group 1995). This discussion has continued and while some writers maintain a more traditional view of literacy, some writers and, indeed, some policymakers have embraced this developing definition of multiliteracies. For example the Queensland Government's report on literacy defined literacy in the following way:

Literacy is the flexible and sustainable mastery of a repertoire of practices with the texts of traditional and new communications technologies via spoken language, print and multimedia. (The State of Queensland 2000).

Freebody (2007) repeats this definition in subsequent work, finding it to be the most applicable current definition. He argues that this definition takes a step forward from the traditional understanding of literacy, and argues that the new definition is more relevant to current society (Freebody 2007). There is further consensus over the view that literacy involves the development of skills enabling a citizen to participate fully in work, community and private settings and that literacy also encompasses the traditional types of literacy in addition to social literacy, critical literacy and technological literacy (Cazden et al. 1996; Winch et al. 2006). This wider understanding of literacy has broadened the text types and situations in which literacy skills might be developed.

In earlier work Bialystok (2002), using a more traditional definition of literacy that focuses upon reading skills, outlined the skills that bilingual children develop that impact upon their development of literacy. She argued that children develop literacy skills through three influences: "oral competence with literary forms of language, conceptual development that includes understanding the symbolic notational systems of print, and metalinguistic insights that allow children to achieve awareness of the phonological forms of language" (Bialystok 2002, p 166). She proposes that these three background skills are influenced by bilingualism (Bialystok 2002). This is not to say that bilingual children have better or worse access to developing literacy skills through being bilingual; but rather that their experience of literacy development will be different to monolingual children and that their proficiency in each of the three skills that are precursors to literacy development affects the ways in which their literacy skills develop (Bialystok 2002).

In accordance with Bialystok's argument about the links between literacy and bilingualism, Hamers and Blanc (2000) argue that the skills that are developed by literacy are also the skills that develop through bilingual experience. The skills that Hamers and Blanc (2000) argue are developed by bilingualism and literacy are metalinguistic skills and heightened linguistic awareness. It might therefore be said that in bilingual education settings and for bilingual children, the bilingual students' proficiency in certain skills in each of their languages might contribute to their development of literacy skills.

Ng and Wigglesworth (2007) argue that any discussion of bilingualism must inherently involve a discussion of biliteracy. They elaborate upon the definition of biliteracy by incorporating ideas put forward by Bialystok and concur that prerequisites to biliteracy are skills such as: oral proficiency, metalinguistic awareness and general cognitive development (Ng and Wigglesworth 2007, p.98). The emphasis on the importance of oral proficiency and metalinguistic awareness in this list therefore extends the repertoire of literacy development practices in the home that may be conducted bilingually beyond the more traditional expectation of reading or writing in two languages. The inclusion of spoken language in Freebody's (2007) broadened definition of literacy opens up the possibility of recognition of conversations about language in bilingual homes as important and valid literacy building tools in addition to accessing written texts in two languages (The State of Queensland 2000).

In Australian education there has been an emphasis upon English literacy as one of the most important skills for students to acquire. This issue is examined in the Australian context by Lo Bianco (2000), who argues that the underlying ideology in Australian education is one in which literacy is seen as a singular entity valuing English literacy only. Lo Bianco (2000) has argued that the current context is one where English is the only recognised and measured literacy. He has proposed that recognition of other literacies and acknowledgement of the interplay between, and transferability of literacy skills in multiple languages is essential. Such an acknowledgment of valuable knowledge and useful skills would lead to the empowerment of groups previously seen as educationally disadvantaged (Lo Bianco 2000).

By recognising only English literacy as important this leads to an apparent literacy deficit for bilingual speakers and speakers of languages other than English (Lo Bianco 2000). As several writers point out, a redefinition of literacy to acknowledge current research into literacy practices could incorporate all literacies that children encounter in all languages both at school and at home (Cummins 1996, 2000, 2003; Gregory and Kenner 2003; Kenner 2000; Kenner and Gregory 2003; Kenner and Ruby 2012; Lo Bianco 2000; Murray and Combe 2007). Such a redefinition of literacy may result in recognising the acquisition of skills that are transferable across languages (Cazden et al. 1996; Cummins 1979; Lo Bianco 2000; Murray and Combe 2007). The complexity of this issue arises from the working definition of literacy and from the corresponding measurement, and recognition of, what literacy entails.

Hornberger's (2004) continua model of biliteracy proposes a framework for research and teaching in linguistically diverse settings. This model may perhaps be one that can overcome some of the issues raised by a monolingual view of literacy. Hornberger (2004) proposes that biliteracy refers to "any and all instances in which communication occurs in two (or more) languages in or around writing" (p.156). The continua model aims to overcome the many polarised issues within bilingualism and literacy literature such as majority versus minority, oral versus written, oral versus literate and bilingual versus monolingual and a number of other relationships often seen as oppositional to each other. Through using the model of a continuum for each previously oppositional relationship, Hornberger

(2004) proposes that learners and users will have more opportunity for biliterate development because their repertoire of skills and experiences will be encompassed within the continua model. In this way learners' experiences with literacy in various forms will be considered valid and useful prior knowledge in their development of biliteracy.

Other bilingual literature calls for the integration of majority and minority bilingual education to produce bilingual education models that would be beneficial to all learners (Helot and de Mejia 2008). This new development sees the future of bilingual education moving away from the division between foreign language education and language learning for minority language students (Helot and de Mejia 2008). This argument supports Hornberger's (2004) continua model. In line with this, the current study examines student identity in a setting that educates students in literacy in both a majority and minority language.

In conjunction with the consideration of biliteracy there must also be a consideration of the literacy experiences that learners have in a bilingual home, particularly since home literacy learning is not always acknowledged in the classroom.

Home Literacy Practices and Bilingual Children

Patterns of migration and immigration have led to young people being more frequently educated in languages that are different to the languages used in their homes (Bartlett 2007; Group of Eight 2007; Kenner and Gregory 2003).

Correspondingly a body of literature has developed that examines biliteracy and the importance of the development of literacy in students' home languages and the incorporation of literacy experiences in all languages into the classroom (see for example Bartlett 2007; Datta 2007; Gregory and Kenner 2003; Hornberger 2003, 2004; Kenner 2000; Kenner and Gregory 2003; Kenner et al. 2008; Kenner and Ruby 2012; Lo Bianco 2000; Marsh 2003; Martin-Jones and Foster 2007; McKay 1999; Warnod 2006).

Bilingual families have been shown to engage in bilingual literacy practices at home especially for social purposes such as: keeping in touch with relatives abroad; maintaining links with the wider community; religious observance; and supporting cultural interests (Kenner and Gregory 2003).

The nature of communication and information availability in today's internet-based culture means that bilingual families can more easily access linguistic and literacy resources in multiple languages from within their homes (Kenner and Gregory 2003; Marsh 2003). Ease of access to global communication is improving at a rapid pace. This can be illustrated through the rapid rate at which the resources that children access changes. Today DVDs, mobile phones, SMS, internet phone calls and online networking sites play a much more dominant role in popular culture literacy resources (Marsh 2003).

Inter-linked with the use of home literacy practices, the development of bilingual students' biliteracy skills has been argued to be a potential source of improved

cognitive abilities, particularly in terms of decoding skills, creative thinking and the transferral of skills from one language to another (Bialystok 2005; Cummins 1979; Gregory and Kenner 2003; Kenner and Gregory 2003). It has been suggested through these studies that bilingual students with developed literacy skills in their home language have a better understanding of the underlying features of language in general and can use this metalinguistic understanding to assist with decoding or comprehension tasks (Bialystok 2005; Cummins 1979; Datta 2007). The home is seen to be an integral site for development of these skills.

Biliteracy is a fundamental component of language learning for bilingual students. Embracing biliteracy in the classroom can serve not only a support function for bilingual students who use different languages at home and school, but also indicate to them that their learning outside of school is valuable and important in relation to their learning in school. These students need support and recognition of their home literacy experiences in order to function as confident empowered members of the classroom (Cummins 1996, 2000, 2003, 2004). As Hornberger (2004) points out, bilingual educators need to “uncover the communicative repertoires (media) that students bring to school and that can serve as resources for their language and literacy development” (p.168).

As the writings of experts in this field indicate, students’ literacy practices outside of the school context can be valuable learning resources for their education in the dominant language of the culture. There is a need for educators to begin to view home literacy practices as resources that can be used by teachers in the classroom and as useful tools for education (Cummins 1996, 2000, 2003; Datta 2007; Gregory and Kenner 2003; Hornberger 2004; Kenner 2000; Kenner and Gregory 2003; Kenner and Ruby 2012; Marsh 2003). There is a call for schools to embrace and recognise more unofficial or previously under-recognised home literacy practices in addition to the more traditional literacy practices of reading good books with parents (Gregory and Williams 2004). Unofficial literacy practices are sometimes not recognised in the school setting, however they are important resources in the development of biliteracy for young bilingual students (Gregory and Williams 2004; Hornberger 2004).

More recent work in this field by Kenner and Ruby (2012) has shown that the important work carried out by complementary schools, or as they are referred to in Australia, Community Language Schools, also need to be acknowledged as developing important literacy skills for bilingual children. Mainstream classroom teachers often do not know what kind of learning children attending these types of classes engage in and therefore cannot build upon that learning in the regular primary classroom even though many teachers indicate that they would like to (Kenner and Ruby 2012).

Although the majority of studies focusing on biliteracy or bilingualism and literacy are based on US or UK contexts there is also a base of literature in Australia, which has been growing in recent years (de Courcy 2006; Freebody 2007; Lo Bianco 2000; Luke and Carrington 2004; Warnod 2006).

A study of a bilingual French-English primary school in Victoria found that the students’ high achievement in English literacy could be linked to the “whole school

approach to literacy in both languages” (Warnod 2006, p 27). This whole school approach to biliteracy within the French and English bilingual program involved the implementation of a formal French literacy program throughout the school with links to the English literacy program already in place (Warnod 2006). A number of writers support the notion of the possibility of transfer of literacy skills between languages that enable bilingual students to learn skills in either language and apply them to the other language (Collier 1995; Cummins 1979). In another Australian study Luke and Carrington (2004) investigated the impact of globalisation upon the literacy practices in the small town classroom. Their research investigated the literacy programmes taking place and looked at how they acknowledged the students’ identities, competences and multiliteracies (Luke and Carrington 2004).

Throughout the literature examining biliteracy there is a clear link to the importance of issues of identity with evidence that acknowledgement of home literacy and biliteracy practices within the school classroom can lead to positive bilingual identity development (Cummins 1979; Gregory and Kenner 2003; Hornberger 2004; Kenner 2000; Kenner and Gregory 2003; Luke and Carrington 2004). The associated notion of translanguaging (Garcia 2009; Creese and Blackledge 2010; Sayer 2013) has also taken hold in terms of our understandings of the use of language and literacy in classrooms, this is explored further later in this chapter in relation to understanding the pedagogies used in multilingual classrooms. The key pedagogy making an impact is translanguaging (Garcia 2009; Creese and Blackledge 2010).

It is clear that beyond simply understanding the notions of bilingualism and literacy, in order to fully explore how bilingual children learn and engage with their languages the notion of their identities is central to many of the other concepts. Thus it is important to situate an understanding of what bilingual identity entails and some of the prior work exploring this idea.

Bilingual Identity

... contemporary applied linguistic researchers have been drawn to literature that conceives of identity not as static and one-dimensional, but as multiple, changing, and a site of struggle... (Norton and Toohey 2002, p.116)

In this book, in which the study explores how students identify with the languages around them in their home and school environments, identity literature relating to bilingualism and language learning needed to be explored and understood in order to decide: how to investigate student identity; what might be researchable and measurable; and how this study might then offer others a means of understanding how we might look into student identity development in a more accessible way.

Identity is a complex term and one that has been researched a lot from very different viewpoints. The definition of identity used in this study is explained through an exploration of what has previously been explored around the notion of identity.

Defining Identity

Identity is a complex term and one that has been investigated thoroughly in several spheres of research. In spite of much research and theory existing about the notion of identity, little consensus exists over a precise definition. Lawler (2008), writing from a sociological perspective, states that it is not possible to provide a single definition of identity. She explains that there are multiple ways of theorizing the concept of identity and each leads to a different definition (Lawler 2008). A definition by Joseph (2006) states “Your identity is, very simply, who you are” (p.486). However, as he also goes on to elaborate, identity as a term is not so simple to define; who you are comprises many factors (Joseph 2006). The spheres of psychology, sociology, and anthropology have all delved into the topic of identity in depth.

Within the psychological literature, the encyclopaedia of psychology also acknowledges that identity is difficult to define (Deaux 2000). Deaux argues that although identity is used widely across developmental, personality and social spheres of psychology “it is not possible to give a single, simple definition of identity” (Deaux 2000, p.222). There are various understandings that are accepted within the field of psychology. Erikson was one of the earliest psychologists to use the term ‘identity’ with predecessors using the term ‘self’. Erikson explained identity as an internal process that takes place from adolescence (Deaux 2000). He described identity as something that was coherent and consistent throughout adulthood (Holland and Lachicotte 2007). Similarly some psychologists continue to hold this view of identity as a developmental phenomenon (Marcia 1994).

In contrast to the Eriksonian view of identity, the psychosocial view of identity is that there is no independent self. Rather, identity is seen as a relationship between the individual and the social world (Josselson 1994). The anthropological view of identity reflects this psychosocial view of identity by proposing that identity requires comparison with an ‘other’ to exist (Rew and Campbell 1999). Rew and Campbell (1999) explain that:

Identity – racial, ethnic, religious, sexual, gender, and national – cannot exist in isolation and must take its meaning from the other, and because every individual possesses a number of identities not all of which are relevant in every context, a particular identity is situationally defined in the course of social interaction (Rew and Campbell 1999, p 10).

It can be seen that across the fields of psychology, sociology and anthropology that although there are sub-fields of theorists with differing interpretations of identity, there are also theorists who converge on a socially constructed definition of identity. This social construction view of identity is one frequently taken in social science fields.

Nevertheless, contention and discussion of the concept of identity and its examination continues across the disciplines. In the field of psychoanalysis, identity is considered to be “a person’s sense of self” (Rangell 1994, p.27). In this field of thought a person’s identity is how a person is known to his/herself, while a person’s

identification is how a person is known to other people. In this understanding of identity, the self is seen as 'actual' while identity is seen as a 'mental state' (Rangell 1994, p.27). This interpretation of identity has led to some criticism of social science identity research that undertakes a somewhat different interpretation of identity. This is outlined further in the following sections.

Social Science Critiqued by Psychoanalysts

A division between the ways in which psychoanalysts and psychologists define and examine identity and the ways in which social scientists define and examine identity has been shown and has prompted much discussion. Block (2006) outlines the criticisms that have been made, particularly in the field of psychoanalysis and psychiatry (e.g. Bendle, 2002 cited in Block 2006), of the recent increase of social science research focusing upon identity. The main critique is that many social science studies are seen as lacking an understanding of the frame of identity that is well established in the psychiatry field (Block 2006).

Block's (2006) thorough discussion of this critique as applied to his own and other research findings, leads him to argue that there are indeed vast differences between the identity research undertaken by psychologists and the research undertaken by social scientists; but that these differences may be positive. Block (2006) provides arguments to show that a psychoanalytic approach to identity is not appropriate for social scientists.

Firstly there is the argument that social scientists investigating identity often deliberately focus on the participants' lives as current and changing and therefore the research frames used in such studies can be seen as superficial by psychoanalysts (Block 2006). However, Block (2006) points out that the focus of the social scientist is not upon the inner drives and desires of the participants but rather upon the competing interests involved in living in today's globalised world. The difference here is based upon the psychoanalytic definition of identity as a mental state (Rangell 1994). This definition is in contrast to the definition of identity undertaken by other psychologists, sociologists, anthropologists and social scientists.

Yet another argument for a separation between psychoanalysis and social science is that the psychoanalytic approach can be intrusive to participants as it focuses on the participant's personal inner conflicts or struggles (Block 2006). Social science research is, through the use of different frames, less intrusive by using a process of negotiation of identity between the researcher and the participant and focusing upon observable phenomena (Block 2006).

Therefore the social scientific investigation of identity can be seen as distinct from psychological examinations of identity. In general, social science investigations have different intentions and different foci for examination.

Popular Usage of the Term ‘Identity’

Due to the frequency of the use of the term identity in everyday media we regularly see assumptions about the nature of identity. The work of several writers acknowledges the common assumptions about identity that exist in everyday society and assists to clarify the complexity of this term.

Firstly, some examples given by Fought (2006) illustrate the assumptions that are implicit in many of our everyday encounters with the concept of identity. She uses the illustration of the television shows which conceptualise, either consciously or subconsciously, individuals’ identities as something concrete, but hidden inside to be pulled to the surface and shown through the way we dress (Fought 2006). This understanding of identity is further shown in numerous self-help books relating to ‘finding ones-self’ (Fought 2006). This idea positions identity as something concrete that has been lost and can be re-located in order to help an individual to realise what they really want out of life. In this way such programmes and books are re-iterating the argument that a person’s identity is an almost tangible entity that can be found and shown to the outside world (Fought 2006).

Continuing this theme of identity as a tangible or concrete object, Block (2006) indicates that the nature of the internationalisation of media and the use of technology today results in a number of identity types being marketed to the public as possible identity choices in the ‘cultural supermarket’. This again shows that identity is conceptualised in the media as a choice to make between distinct identity options. The problem with this commonly accepted conceptualisation is the underlying assumption that there are a finite number of identities in existence from which people can select.

The interpretation of identity found frequently in the media and popular culture is in direct contrast to the interpretation of identity as socially constructed which frames social research. As outlined earlier, the social construction interpretation is widely accepted across several disciplines.

Identity as a Socially Constructed Process

In order to fully investigate identity for the purposes of this piece of research it was therefore necessary to move away from the popular culture notions of identity and to explore the social nature of identity. Holland and Lachicotte (2007) argue that within the social science field there are two predominant orientations to identity: Eriksonian and Meadian. Holland and Lachicotte (2007) argue that the principle difference between the two orientations are that in the Eriksonian view identity is constant and overarching; whereas in the Meadian view identity is multiple and can be contradictory. They argue that Vygotsky’s writing about identity was limited but that the notions he did present about development and agency add strength and show similarities to Mead’s interpretation of “the self as

a complex emergent phenomenon, continually produced in and by individuals in their interchanges with others” (Holland and Lachicotte 2007, p.104). In this way Holland and Lachicotte situate the social science view of identity firmly in a socially constructed interpretation.

Fought’s work (2006) also contributes to the exploration of identity as socially constructed and links to the writings of Edward Sapir (1912, 1932). Fought (2006) begins her argument with the premise that ethnic identity is a socially constructed category. In this thesis this argument is extended to present social identity as a whole as a socially constructed concept. The majority of writing from social science fields converges on this point, showing that identity is something that is constructed through interaction and negotiation with others (Cummins 1996, 2000, 2003; Lave and Wenger 1991; McNamara 1987, 1997; Norton 2000, 2014a).

Sapir (1912) theorised about the influence of social forces upon language, arguing that social forces could be seen metaphorically as “parallel in their influence to those of heredity in so far as they are handed down from generation to generation” (p.89). Sapir (1912) proposed that both the influences of the social environment upon an individual, and the agency of the individual to identify themselves as a member of a group were important. Sapir argued that within the social environment “the various forces of society . . . mold the life and thought of each individual” (1912, p.90). He cited some of these social forces such as religion and ethical standards (Sapir 1912). Sapir (1932) also acknowledged the individuality involved in the process of self-identifying as a member of a group, finding that each individual differs in the extent to which they identify with other members of a group and the “nature of that identification” (p.360).

Fought (2006) also presents self-identification as a major part of identity, but argues that self-identification cannot reveal the whole picture of a person’s identity, because the wider understandings of the community and society around us help to shape and form our self-concepts and understandings. She theorises that self-concept cannot be entirely separated from the context that a person is in because the context will undoubtedly have an influence upon the development of self-concept (Fought 2006). This follows a similar direction to the writings of Sapir (1912, 1932) that present both the importance of the individual and also the influence of societal forces upon language and identity.

Norton (2006), as an accepted expert in the field of identity studies, argues that a socio-cultural theory of identity does not need to be limited to a Vygotskian framework. She discusses much of the recent work that has been undertaken examining identity and language and argues that a broader conception of the socio-cultural nature of identity examination has developed (Norton 2006). This broader conception sees the boundary between *social identity* and *cultural identity* blurring, and leads to identity as a socio-cultural construct comprising five main characteristics:

- Identity as dynamic and constantly changing
- Identity as complex, contradictory and multifaceted
- Identity as something that constructs, and is constructed by, language

- Identity construction as influenced by larger social processes of power
- Identity theory being linked to classroom practice (Norton 2006, p.25).

In her argument Norton (2006) discusses criticisms of identity work that have noted the lack of reference to Vygotsky and other traditional frameworks of socio-cultural theory. She argues that the direction of identity work has shifted towards a new frame that identifies the complexity of identity construction, the influence of broader societal issues and the importance of links between theory and classroom practice (Norton 2006). This current study fits firmly within the body of literature that has emerged over recent years examining identity through this re-worked conceptualisation of identity. Nevertheless some core principles developed by Vygotsky are also applicable to this study's frame, in particular the notion of mediation in relation to a group, family or community passing cultural norms on to children through interaction (Lantolf and Appel 1994).

The BINF framework developed in this study incorporates individual investment, community investment, socio-cultural connection in terms of group membership, interaction and the influences of the broader community and society. It thus seeks to examine identity within a frame that is in keeping with developments in this field, while adding a differently conceptualised frame of examination.

Components of Identity

There are a number of commonly accepted influences upon identity formation (Fought 2006). Factors such as gender, age, social class, ethnicity and/or race are commonly cited as key elements (Deaux 2000; Fought 2006; Omoniyi 2006). A number of research studies involving identity use these and other categories in order to analyse their data (Johnson 2006; Lakoff 2006). However, recent research has also identified problems associated with using categories and the presumptions that must be made in order to work with such categorisation (Omoniyi 2006).

Omoniyi (2006) uses the term 'Hierarchy of Identities' to explain his argument about the complexity of the composition of identity, and the flexibility of identity which means that different aspects of identity are of differing importance at different moments. He addresses the problems associated with pre-defined categories by focusing upon the *process* of identification rather than the end-product of identity categories (Omoniyi 2006). He argues that in any given interaction there is not one single identity present, selected from a person's possible identities, but there are a number of different aspects of their identity present; with each aspect having differing levels of importance at any particular moment (Omoniyi 2006). Omoniyi (2006) uses this idea of "moment of identification" as a frame through which to measure the perspective of self that a person deploys in interaction. In a similar manner Block (2006) also focuses upon the *process* of identification as less limiting than the term 'identity'.

Focusing specifically upon teacher identity, Johnson (2006) explains that many previous examinations of teacher identity use a top-down critical discourse analysis approach. This, however, presupposes a number of identities and positions that are made available to a person to take up or discard. A less frequently used alternative is a bottom-up analysis approach that investigates “displays [of identity] rather than impose[s] pre-given categories on the data” (Johnson 2006, p.214). In this way identity is conceptualised as a repertoire of verbal practices that display who the person is during the course of a particular interaction (Johnson 2006). It does not claim to explain a person’s full identity, only the part that is visible in a given interaction.

Lakoff (2006) separates identity into two parts: major identity and minor identity, citing aspects such as race, gender and sexual preference as components of major identity while other aspects such as musical preference, style of dress and food preferences could be components of minor identity. In the current study the argument put forward is that while aspects of each person’s identity do differ in importance, it is presumptive to say what are the major and minor factors of identity for each person; it may be more appropriate to hypothesise that what is major and minor within any individual’s identity will vary for each and every individual and that although race, gender and sexual preference may well be the most influential factors for many people we cannot presume that this is the case for all people. Self-reporting by each individual is necessary to gain insight into the major and minor aspects of identity.

Tajfel (1982) created a frame within which inter-group relations could be investigated in relation to social identity. He argued that it was possible to investigate certain aspects of identity without looking at a person’s identity in its entirety (Tajfel 1982). This is in keeping with the social science tradition of looking at observable or reportable aspects of identity (Block 2006). Tajfel’s (1982) investigation was limited to looking only at the aspects of identity pertinent to the study of group membership. He proposed that by framing the study in this way social identity could be studied without the need to look further into issues of the ‘self’ in a broader sense or looking into social behaviour in other contexts (Tajfel 1982). He addressed this limitation by acknowledging that his conclusions would be limited to the context being studied (Tajfel 1982).

Therefore, in regard to components of identity, the stance taken in this study is that there is not a finite or definable set of components of identity. The components vary for every individual and not all are measurable. However, those that are visible in interaction or through a level of self-awareness and self-expression can be examined (Block 2006; Johnson 2006). One widely acknowledged important influence upon identity is that of language. Language is essential to be able to express identity and also forms an important part of social identity, particularly in a study of bilingualism.

Norton (2014b) has re-emphasised Anderson’s (1991) concept of ‘imagined identities’ in her work over the last two decades. This work importantly acknowledges the key role of our own self-perception as part of larger communities (many of whom we may never meet in reality) which impact upon our ideas of who we

are. We might therefore consider our imagined identities and our membership of the related imagined communities to be one key component of our identities.

For today's young people, online interaction perhaps increases the importance of imagined identities more than ever before, as they increasingly engage in interaction with communities they may never encounter in person. The impact upon our self-perception and self-confidence of the gap between how we are seen by others and how we see ourselves is shown by Norton (2014b) to cause individuals to have strong emotional reactions when they believe they have been wrongly perceived.

The Influence of Language upon Identity

'Who we are' relates closely to the language we use. The language or languages that we speak form an important part of who we are. Our languages influence our identity, in particular our ethnic identity or social identity (Deaux 2000; Thornborrow 1999). In an investigation of bilingual children in a bilingual education setting, language is a key factor associated with identity.

Fought (2006) cites language as a key element that assists individuals to balance the various roles and aspects of their identities. In this study this point is developed further, to argue that language is a fundamental aspect of identity, but also an aspect that is different for every individual. This reflects the view taken by Sapir (1932) arguing that group membership is different for every individual. Likewise, language and its influence upon identity can be said to be different for every individual.

Language has been theorised as fundamental to national identity (Suleiman 2006). This study argues that language means something different to every person and while language may be a factor that links to national identity, this study is based on the belief that each person has a different *type of connection* to their language or languages; a different *level of awareness* of the language; and a differing *value* to place upon that language.

Kanno (2003) in her exploration of bilingual and bicultural identity succinctly explains the agency that each individual person has in relation to their identification with languages:

by bilingual and bicultural identity I mean where bilingual individuals position themselves between two languages and two (or more) cultures, and how they incorporate these languages and cultures into their sense of who they are. (p.3).

This clearly indicates the stance of individual choice and power in selecting an identity position along a continuum of languages. However, in addition to this individual choice and agency, every individual exists within a context and this context has influences upon individual identity.

As Fought (2006) indicates, a person's understanding of their ethnicity and identity cannot be purely understood from the way in which they express it.

A person's identity cannot be isolated from the context in which it has been constructed and the views and attitudes in the society around that person (Fought 2006). It is this point which brings to the fore the importance of the influence of language socialisation and Communities of Practice, where expert members of a group or culture teach and assist new members to become more accomplished in linguistic and cultural practices through language use and practice (Duff 2002, 2003, 2007; Lave and Wenger 1991). In the case of the current study, the important contexts to consider are the students' home and school language contexts within the broader national setting.

Yet, the relationship between language and identity and the negotiation involved is not a simple process. Paris (2011) likens the negotiation process to a dance when describing this complex phenomenon within his own study of language and identity saying:

All of these identities were negotiated, of course, with the dominant demands and language ideologies of the school. And yet even this explanation is far from adequate. I struggled to find adequate explanations for how the extraordinary dance of language and identity was performed in the multiethnic youth space of South Vista (p.23).

The process of identification examined in this study operates within the understanding of identity as being the common ground which is negotiated between who an individual sees him/herself to be and who others see that individual to be, with the understanding that this is a complex process that is difficult to describe. This is examined further in the following section.

Learning and Identity

Learning involves the construction of identities (Lave and Wenger 1991, p 53)

Lave and Wenger's (1991) discussion of language learning and language socialisation emphasises learning as an inherently social process that involves the construction of identities. They argue that becoming a member of any group or community involves continued interaction and negotiation with members of that group until, not only that individual begins to identify themselves as a member of that group, but also, until the individual learns sufficient cultural and contextual knowledge for others to see them as a member of the group (Lave and Wenger 1991). In this way the influence upon identity of both self-concept and also recognition by the community is a theme in Lave and Wenger's writing (1991) just as it emerges in Fought's work (2006). These three writers argue that identity is socially constructed. They thus show the importance of both social construction and individual self-concept in developing identity.

Daniels (2001) argues that the focus upon identity present in Lave and Wenger's theorisation of language learning is the element that demarcates their work from other theories that involve ideas of apprenticeship in learning. Lave and Wenger's writing emulates some aspects of a Vygotskian theory of learning, however, Daniels

(2001) argues that Lave and Wenger's theory of learning differs from Vygotskian socio-cultural theory through its focus upon learning as a social practice without a focus upon pedagogy.

Schieffelin and Ochs (1986) also discuss the role of language in socialisation. They argue that both children and other new members of a society learn cultural rules through interaction (1981). Therefore, the only way to develop an identity as a member of a society is through interaction with other members of that society (1981).

Bayley and Schechter (2003) wrote more recently about the extension of language socialisation theories from focusing upon children's first language acquisition to looking at adults and others learning new cultures. This is a theme reflected in Norton's work (2000, 2014a). Language socialisation is explained by Bayley and Schechter (2003) as something that takes place in numerous different contexts such as schools, communities, peer groups and the workplace. They argue that certain identities are made available to individuals to assume or resist, but if individuals find that the options open to them are insufficient they can construct new identity options (Bayley and Schechter 2003). Duff (2007) also works from a language socialisation standpoint saying:

Research in language socialization generally recognizes that language and literacy learning involves explicit or implicit socialization through linguistic and social interaction into relevant local communicative practices or ways of using language and into membership in particular cultures or communities, with their own values, ideologies, and activities. (Duff 2007, p.310).

Duff (2007) argues that language is a key tool for the development of identity, the learning of the rules and norms of language and the negotiation of membership of a group or culture (Duff 2002, 2003, 2007).

Pease-Alvarez (2003), when writing about language socialisation, discusses the importance of parental influence upon children's bilingual identity development as the parents model and construct roles, dispositions and identities with their children. In support and extension of this point, Gregory (2005) has argued that siblings undertake an important role in socialising younger brothers or sisters into the language community. Siblings can act as important participants in playful or teasing interaction that assists language development and, subsequently, socialisation and development of bilingual identity (Gregory 2005; Volk 1998).

So, it may be seen that identity can be developed concurrently with the learning of language and the learning of culture that takes place within a community. This current study works from the premise that identity negotiation is socially constructed and influenced by the interactions and negotiations that a person experiences in their language community or communities.

In order to further clarify the positioning of this current study of bilingual identification it is necessary next to look at the other studies of bilingual education and identity issues relevant to this research. The following section outlines the influential prior studies of bilingual education leading to the frame used for this study to explore identity.

Bilingual Identity Negotiation: A Framework

Prior work examining issues of importance to student bilingual identity in bilingual education settings can be grouped into three categories –

- research relating to socio-cultural connection,
- research relating to investment, and
- research relating to interaction.

This study examines bilingual identity through a frame that incorporates elements from all three categories. This study therefore sits alongside these studies but also moves further by using a frame that incorporates the three themes, namely socio-cultural connection, investment and interaction. These three categories have been identified as the three core segments of the Bilingual Identity Negotiation Framework.

The Socio-cultural Connection Element

Development of a bilingual identity or a connection to more than one language is affected by whether a person identifies themselves as a member of two groups or cultures. This is what is referred to in this study as socio-cultural connection with two groups or cultures. Therefore it is important to outline the literature that has investigated how people become members of groups or cultures. The term socio-cultural connection is used in this study to incorporate the ideas developed through language socialisation literature and also to incorporate the importance of self-identification as a member.

As indicated by the *learning and identity* literature past studies have examined how people become members of groups or cultures through language socialisation (Duff 2002, 2003, 2007; Lave and Wenger 1991; Schieffelin and Ochs 1986). A number of studies have looked at how people learn the rules of a community and that community's ways of talking. Such studies have shown that younger members of a group become members of that group through communication with and learning from older members (Duff 2002, 2003, 2007; Lave and Wenger 1991; Schieffelin and Ochs 1986). The older members of the group model their language and culture to the younger members and therefore assist younger members to develop an identity as a fellow member of the group. In a bilingual school setting teachers and family members are important role-models of the culture to which students are developing a new connection (Duff 2002, 2003, 2007; Lave and Wenger 1991; Schieffelin and Ochs 1986).

The importance of the individual's self-concept as a member of a particular group or groups is of particular relevance to the term socio-cultural connection. The importance of the individual's self-concept is shown in Tajfel's definition of social identity as:

that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership. (1978, p.63).

An individual's feeling of membership is unique to that person and carries different significance for each person. This notion of the individuality of identifying oneself as a member of a group and the different ways in which each individual feels that identification is a notion also discussed by Sapir (1932). The definition of social identity outlined by Tajfel (1982) has been re-examined in more recent literature. The social identity development literature has emphasised the importance of an individual's understanding of their membership of a group upon their social identity. The value an individual places upon that membership also plays a role in their social identity development (Joseph 2006). In this way Sapir's (1932) view has been incorporated into the current discussion of language, identity and group membership.

Previous studies associated with socio-cultural connection can be divided into three categories within the identity development of bilingual children:

- Identity confusion versus identity integration, indicating instances of bilingual children's experiences of identity development varying along a scale from developing conflicting social identities at one end of the scale to developing different social identities that can co-exist at the other end of the scale.
- Positive identification with two cultures, indicating successful negotiation of identity as a member of more than one culture.
- Negative issues associated with identification with two cultures, indicating difficulties encountered in the negotiation of membership of more than one culture.

Identity Confusion Versus Identity Integration

The complex nature of identity construction and the impact of the interpersonal negotiations involved can sometimes result in a conflict of identity for bilingual children who feel a connection to two or more groups or cultures. For example students in one Australian study of a South-East Asian community in Melbourne identified themselves as a fusion of Asian and Australian, although when asked to place themselves on a scale most positioned themselves towards the Asian end of the scale (Lotherington 2003). Lotherington (2003) found that there was a conflict for these students because society perpetuates the view that Australian means white and the students had difficulty negotiating their identities as first generation Asian-Australians within broader societal structures.

However, another study has shown that if children receive the right amount and quality of exposure to two cultures they can develop integrated identities (Baker 2002). This means that rather than resulting in a conflict or confusion of identity, children can construct identities that involve multiple cultures integrating with

each other. Baker (2002) describes integrated identities as a bridge between two cultures. He argues that motivation and appropriate environmental support enable bilingual children to develop integrated values and beliefs (Baker 2002). Baker (2002) believes that the appropriate support needs to be available to children at a young age because ethnic identity is well-established, although it is never static, by the age of 7 or 8.

Positive Identification with Two Cultures

Studies have shown examples of the ways in which children identify positively with bilingualism and with more than one language and culture (Cumming-Potvin 2004; Diaz Soto 2002; Martin and Stuart-Smith 1998; Martinez-Roldan 2003; Molyneux 2005; Wu and Bilash 1998). For example previous studies have shown that many students who have access to supportive bilingual education contexts identify positively with being bilingual and identify themselves with more than one culture (Cumming-Potvin 2004; Molyneux 2005). Molyneux's (2005) Australian study investigated student views about bilingualism and found that students who were bilingual valued their bilingualism and believed it improved their self-esteem and assisted them to construct a bi-cultural identity. Further positive identification with bilingualism has been demonstrated through the investigation of narratives, where children show themselves as being able to help others through their use of bilingualism (Diaz Soto 2002; Martinez-Roldan 2003). Wu and Bilash (1998) examined Chinese background students' feelings towards Chinese and Canadian people, languages and cultures in year 6 at a Canadian school. They found that students had some negative experiences of using their background language, but in spite of this they identified positively with the language and culture of their background country (Wu and Bilash 1998). The researchers found that the bilingual program contributed to the development of these positive attitudes (Wu and Bilash 1998).

The majority of the studies that have indicated either positive or negative reactions to bilingualism have involved circumstantial bilingual students using a bilingual program to maintain home language while learning English. This research has found that often children show a desire to please their parents and thus indicate a valuing of two cultures and bilingualism due to a parental belief that bilingualism is important (Lotherington 2003; Molyneux 2005; Pease-Alvarez 2003). Parental attitudes to English, Spanish and bilingualism were examined through interviews with American parents of Mexican background. These interviews were followed up 5 years later. Sixty-three parents took part in the first interview and 39 in the follow-up interview. Most parents had positive attitudes towards bilingualism and believed it would open up future opportunities for their children while maintaining their Mexican identity (Pease-Alvarez 2003).

Negative Issues Associated with Identification with Two Cultures

There have been some indications of situations in which young bilinguals react in a negative way to their association with two cultures (Weisskirch and Alatorre Alva 2002). In the US a study involving 36 bilingual English-speaking and Spanish-speaking fifth grade students used a written questionnaire to investigate the students' uses of language brokering. It was found that in situations where young children feel they must act as an interpreter or language broker for their family the children demonstrated discomfort with the power reversal involved (Weisskirch and Alatorre Alva 2002). This power reversal meant that these young children were more linguistically powerful than their parents (Weisskirch and Alatorre Alva 2002). The children translated for their parents when they were interacting with official organisations, landlords etc. and this feeling of responsibility that the children encountered made many of them uncomfortable. The children felt that their parents should have been the ones in control of the situations but the children were essential interpreters in the interactions (Weisskirch and Alatorre Alva 2002).

However, the study also argued that children's developing cognitive skills can be used to overcome the discomfort encountered in this type of situation (Weisskirch and Alatorre Alva 2002). In other words, as the children grew older and developed more cognitive skills their feelings of discomfort in these translation situations reduced (Weisskirch and Alatorre Alva 2002).

A different element of negative identification is examined in Kanno's (2003) study of older Japanese students returning to live in Japan. This research illustrates students' feelings of not belonging in either culture after living abroad for an extended period (Kanno 2003). Kanno (2003) argues that these students end up with a conflict of feelings as they feel "between" the two cultures. They feel that they are outsiders in both contexts.

Overview of Socio-cultural Connection Studies

In sum, bilingual children have been shown to be able to construct and negotiate identities associated with both of the languages and cultures that they are connected to. In order to do this successfully the children need quality and quantity of experience in both of the cultures and a supportive environment in which language learning is valued by the community and the family. Some students who develop connection to other cultures subsequently experience conflict as they feel caught between two cultures. Some feel that they are not full members of either culture.

Previous studies have predominantly looked at a small number of students and in some cases only one student (Martinez-Roldan 2003) or up to three students (Cumming-Potvin 2004). Those studies that investigated a larger number of students relied upon only one source of data collection predominantly either interview or observation (Diaz Soto 2002; Weisskirch and Alatorre Alva 2002; Wu and Bilash

1998). There are therefore possible methodological issues with some prior studies in this area, including conducting statistical analyses on data from a small sample. This may overlook contextual data and potentially lead to generalisations that are too broad (Weisskirch and Alatorre Alva 2002). We must also take into account the added complexity of peoples' connections to 'imagined communities' (Norton 2014b) and how such connection impacts upon an individual's self-perception.

Among the prior studies many focused upon issues of empowerment, although they also made discoveries about identity (Molyneux 2005). This indicated a need to look specifically at student identity issues within a solid identity framework. The investigation of identity requires consideration of interaction and the underlying power negotiations impacting upon identity negotiation. Becoming a member of a group requires communication and interaction and inherently involved in these interactions are negotiations and opportunities for the empowerment and/or disempowerment of students that reflects broader societal influences and structures. This is examined in the interaction literature.

The Interaction Element

As has been indicated in the earlier sections of the literature review, interaction is an integral part of the negotiation process involved in identity construction (Lave and Wenger 1991; Schieffelin and Ochs 1986). Interaction inherently involves interpersonal negotiations and the underlying empowerment/disempowerment involved. The influence of this on the examination of bilingual identity is outlined in more detail in this section.

Interpersonal Negotiations

Research exploring identity formation has shown that power structures exist in society and these are perpetuated or emulated in everyday conversations and interpersonal negotiations. These interpersonal negotiations influence and control the ways in which people are able to negotiate new identities (Lave and Wenger 1991). Lave and Wenger (1991) indicate that movement towards becoming a fully participating member of a group involves increasing effort and commitment by an individual and also involves the individual self-identifying as a master practitioner of the language involved. The emphasis in this theory is upon the individual as the instigator of change and the controller of progress towards becoming a group member. The individual is therefore influenced by his/her self-concept of his/her identity as a full member of the community.

In language learning, negotiation of meaning has been argued to be an essential skill for students to master. Gee (2003) argues that understanding meaning is an "active" skill that students must participate in. This supports Genesee's (1987)

argument that negotiation of meaning is an essential tool for students to develop to decode and ultimately master a new language.

Children engaged in bilingual programs or home situations which model two or more cultures are required to navigate through the power structures involved in order to begin developing and constructing an identity associated with both groups/cultures. In order to develop a bilingual identity it is necessary for the child to develop empowerment in the new language. Empowerment can be developed through children encountering positive experiences of using each language. In a school setting this can be encouraged through the types of interaction instigated by the educator within the classroom (Cummins 1996, 2000, 2003).

The reflection of broader societal power issues within interactions frequently results in the perpetuation of majority languages being regarded as more valuable or important than the minority languages. It often leads to a perpetuation of the terms majority and minority, which indicate a value being attached to a language. However, through recognition of the importance of all languages to the speakers of those languages, it is possible to redress some of the imbalance present in many societies today.

The concepts of symbolic power and legitimate language discussed by Bourdieu (1977) still apply. Bourdieu's (1977) notion of language as symbolic capital continues to be relevant for bilingual members of a society who are seeking to master the necessary skills in the dominant language of that setting.

The power inequalities present in society do not have to be perpetuated in bilingual settings. However, it requires a conscious effort by educators to ensure that structures of inequality are not replicated in their classrooms (Cummins 1996, 2000, 2003). Equality can be encouraged through the ways that the languages and cultures are treated within bilingual settings. Perpetuation of inequitable power structures can also be overcome through community effort to give new speakers of the language opportunities to communicate meaningfully (Norton 2000, 2014a).

In writing about bilingual students becoming empowered in an academic setting, Cummins (1999) clarifies his distinction between the two types of language that bilingual students need to develop. Cummins' (1984, 1999) terms BICS and CALP refer to *Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills* and *Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency* respectively. Cummins (1984, 1999) indicates that, generally, BICS skills are more easily and frequently developed for immigrant bilingual children who are learning the majority language as they develop these skills in their everyday interactions inside and outside of school. These children may have less opportunity to develop the CALP skills that they require to be academically successful, as this type of language is often accessed only in the academic setting and must be more explicitly taught (Cummins 1984, 1999). In bilingual education settings students need access to developing both face-to-face and school-related language skills in the majority language to not be academically disadvantaged. In addition, Cummins (1984) argues that a simple dichotomy between the two terms BICS and CALP can oversimplify the issue, and that language proficiency should be theorised according to two intersecting continuums – from cognitively demanding to cognitively undemanding and from context embedded to context reduced.

Cummins' (1984, 1999) argument reflects the point argued by Bourdieu that "practical mastery of grammar is nothing without mastery of the conditions for adequate use" (1977, p.646). Thus knowledge of language is insufficient without knowledge of appropriateness and suitability of language in relation to context. The difference between knowledge of conversational and academic modes of language is an important distinction that young language learners need to develop, thus young learners need skills to be able to differentiate and select appropriate language for different contexts.

Classroom Interaction Patterns

Previous studies examining the interaction patterns involved in classrooms with more than one language have shown that the interaction patterns illustrate negotiations of identity and power (Creese 2006; Cummins 1996, 2000, 2003; Martin-Jones 1995; Martin-Jones and Saxena 1996). Many previous studies of bilingual classroom interaction that look into issues of identity and power focus upon the patterns of interaction taking place between teachers in classrooms. The patterns shown reveal the negotiation of identities within the classrooms as influenced by the negotiation of power.

Some studies that examine interaction patterns have investigated the power negotiations in classrooms that have more than one adult present (Martin-Jones 1995; Martin-Jones and Saxena 1996). These studies argue that a clear delineation between the roles of 'main teacher' in the class and the 'assistant' exists. Sometimes the system or school setting imposes these roles upon the teachers.

For example a study by Martin-Jones and Saxena (1996) in the UK used observation and videotaping to examine classrooms where language assistants had been brought into schools with minority languages to assist the class teachers. The system appears to have further marginalised the minority languages because the language assistants are perceived to be low-status staff members. The language assistants develop "we" language, as it is commonly referred to, with the students that results in a feeling of community and familiarity with the students. However, the lack of authority that the assistants have results in their position appearing less powerful and less important than the monolingual class teacher. The nature of power and identity negotiation has further excluded minority members of the community rather than included their input and incorporated their experiences into the classrooms. It has also perpetuated the view of the community language as "minority" by modelling to the students that the monolingual class teacher is more important than the bilingual assistant.

It appears that in classrooms with more than one teacher, previous studies have illustrated that each teacher takes on a different role. Although sometimes the system or school setting imposes roles of main teacher and assistant upon the teachers, at other times the roles are self-imposed through the teachers' interactions with each

other and with the students. The self-imposed roles reflect the teachers' fundamental beliefs about their roles as teachers (Cummins 1986).

For example a functional analysis of discourse, in which a classroom teacher and an ESL teacher working with the same class were examined, found that power relations between the two teachers were unequal (Creese 2006). The study indicated that the roles imposed upon the teachers by the institution positioned the class teacher with higher status than the ESL teacher. It was also shown that each teacher's self-concept of their role in the class differed, thus influencing the way in which they interacted with the class. The class teacher described her role as to cover the curriculum in a limited time-frame and not to facilitate or assist with language development; meanwhile the ESL teacher viewed her role as a concurrent one of language development assistance alongside subject matter learning (Creese 2006). The roles given to, and acted out by, each of the teachers sent messages to the students about the level of importance given to language learning, as a result of the identities that each teacher negotiated in that setting.

Transformative Pedagogies

The use of transformative pedagogies (Cummins 1996, 2000, 2003) is one way to overcome the impact of a perpetuation of inequitable societal power structures within the classroom. Transformative pedagogy is a method of interacting in the classroom involving interactions between educators and students that encourage collaborative relations of power in the classroom (Cummins 1996, 2000, 2003). This means that students are seen as equals in the classroom and as having an equal input to the teacher into the learning process. This theory recognises that the process of identity negotiation is fundamental to the educational success of all students. Transformative pedagogies enable students to analyse and understand social realities in their own lives and communities. Through these processes students develop their identities and become active in achieving academic success (Cummins 1996, 2000, 2003). By feeling validated in the classroom and by being able to see how their past experiences of different languages and cultures can be powerful and useful to them, students develop more positive attitudes towards learning and towards the cultures that influence them. Collaborative interactions can assist students to create their own power by assisting students to relate broader social issues to their own lives and experiences (Cummins 1996, 2000, 2003; Cummins et al. 2005). These positive interactions enable students to become active decision-makers about their education.

Cohen's (2008) study of the use of such pedagogies found that the teachers in her study were able to harness students' linguistic diversity as a resource, even when in a monolingual English learning environment. She found that students were able to use the skills that they had in their first language to engage more deeply with understanding and learning literacy in English (Cohen 2008). Cohen (2008) argues that through the use of pedagogies that encouraged students to access their prior

experiences and prior knowledge in other languages they were able to access and use their identities fully in learning the majority language of the school environment. The notion of students using their language as a resource is one that appears in several studies of bilingual education settings (Cohen 2008; Kirsch 2006; Wells and Nicholls 1985).

A study by Arce (2004) involving novice Spanish bilingual teachers examined the teachers' attempts to introduce and sustain empowering pedagogies in a US school through interviews with the teachers and observation of their classes over the course of 15 weeks. The study found that many of the teachers felt isolated and unable to bring up their concerns about inequalities in the school community with their colleagues (Arce 2004). It was concluded that students in the third grade were already mirroring the types of unequal power relations that are found in the wider society. The teachers expressed their uncertainty about how to address these unequal power relations and how to present a more equal example in their classes (Arce 2004).

Paris (2011, p.164) in his study of language and identity in urban schools in the US refers to such transformative pedagogies as a "pedagogy of pluralism" through which educators might work in a pedagogical third space.

Negotiation of identity has predominantly been examined in bilingual settings through studies of the use of code-switching or language choice (Camilleri 1996; Kovacs 2001; Martin-Jones 1995; Martin-Jones and Saxena 1996; Muller and Baetens Beardsmore 2004). Children and teachers in bilingual settings have been shown to use certain linguistic tools to negotiate identity. The two main tools that both teachers and students have been shown to use in conversation are code-switching and language choice. Therefore the next section will focus upon these two examples of interactional tools. Translanguaging is then explored as a more equitable means of exploring language changes in interaction.

Language Choice and Code-Switching

Code-switching by bilinguals is one of the more frequently researched topics within bilingual studies of interaction. Code-switching is a phenomenon of interaction where bilinguals switch back and forth between languages, often subconsciously (Gross 2006). This can occur within the same utterance or the switch may occur in distinct sections of interaction (Gross 2006). The frequency and location of these switches vary according to many different influences. The switch can involve one word, an entire sentence, more than one sentence or any number of words in between (Baker and Prys Jones 1998; Gross 2006). The terms code-switching and code-mixing are generally used interchangeably in recent literature with both terms being used to refer to intersentential and intrasentential switches (Mahootian 2006).

Language choice is a more conscious selection of which language to use in an interaction. In cases of language choice the selected language may be maintained for the duration of the particular interaction. This language tool is examined in detail below.

Language Choice

Language choice has been shown to be a powerful tool that is used in interaction and therefore is influential upon identity negotiation (Escamilla 1994; Esdahl 2003; Heller 1996; Madsen 2003). As young learners develop their social identities, language is used to identify individuals within the social group.

Language choice was investigated in a Canadian high school where French was the language of instruction and authority (Heller 1996). It was found that in this school, where parents and teachers preferred students to communicate in French, English became the means for students to display opposition and rebellion to authority. The use of French appeared to indicate acceptance of the school's and, by wider extension, parents' authority. Therefore Heller (1996) argues that language was used as a power resource in this setting. In this way it also acted as a means of displaying certain identity positions in the school context.

Language choice in a Danish school with a large Turkish-speaking population was investigated to see how language choice was used as a power resource (Esdahl 2003; Madsen 2003). The 7th grade was found to be a pivotal stage at which language choice patterns changed (Esdahl 2003). Language choice was found to be a tool for power negotiation in social groups and this age was shown as a crucial point in students' development of a bilingual identity. Students began to negotiate their positions in the social group and develop identities associated with these negotiations (Esdahl 2003).

Another study investigated the use of Spanish and English in various settings around a bilingual school and found that the patterns of use of the two languages conveyed the message that Spanish was second-rate to English in the school environment (Escamilla 1994). Escamilla (1994) concluded that many exchanges seen to be important and powerful, both in meetings and in other scenarios, used English as the medium of communication. The school in this study had a written policy requiring all communication to be conducted bilingually for the benefit of parents and the wider community. Escamilla (1994) argued that the policy was not followed and inequitable use of Spanish and English occurred in many non-classroom events. This study provides an indication of the types of hidden messages about power that can be portrayed by the nature of language use. The institutional portrayal of languages having differing importance impacts strongly upon young learners' development of identities associated with these languages.

It is clear that language has been identified as an important tool that can be used in interpersonal negotiations in several different bilingual settings. The other way in which language is shown as a tool for power negotiation investigates code-switching.

Code-Switching

A number of researchers have investigated code-switching (defined as a switch between languages involving anything from one word to a full sentence or a longer

interaction; Gross 2006; Mahootian 2006) by bilingual students and teachers in school settings and have identified links between this linguistic phenomenon and the negotiation of power and identity (Camilleri 1996; Martin-Jones 1995; Martin-Jones and Saxena 1996; Muller and Baetens Beardsmore 2004). Research indicates that analysis of code-switching gives insight into the power negotiations that occur between participants in a bilingual environment. These power negotiations influence the identity negotiation and development that takes place.

A study of code-switching in bilingual classrooms argued that asymmetrical power relations exist in classrooms with monolingual class teachers and bilingual language assistants (Martin-Jones 1995). Inequality of power was indicated through the interactions that the teacher and assistant engaged in with their students and this resulted in unequal identities being developed. The two languages were used for different types of interaction, with the more important interactions taking in place consistently in English and less significant interaction taking place in the other languages (Martin-Jones 1995). In this way English was portrayed as the more important language.

Code-switching studies usually count the occurrences of spoken code-switch utterances. This can sometimes omit important contextual data. An example of a frequency count of code-switching can be seen in a study by Muller and Baetens Beardsmore (2004) who investigated the speech acts in the “European Hour” in a multilingual class in Europe. Their study noted the different languages used and quantified the amount and type of language used. This context was a rich source for investigation, with the potential for deeper understanding of the students’ language experience to be developed through more flexible data collection methods. The study identified code-switching as the main strategy used for communication within a multilingual classroom which had no shared common language between the students and teachers.

It has been argued that code-switching is used by bilinguals to construct different identities in different contexts. According to Camilleri (1996) in Malta the exclusive use of Maltese is sometimes seen as being purist while exclusive use of English can be seen as an attempt to be superior to those who speak Maltese. Code-switching is therefore used frequently by teachers to be able to identify with the majority of people in the community without causing offence (Camilleri 1996).

Translanguaging

One of the most compelling pedagogical tools emphasised in recent years and of importance to multilingual learners, is the notion of translanguaging (Garcia 2009; Creese and Blackledge 2010). This notion of translanguaging takes a major step forward from ideas of code-switching and linguistic ‘borrowing’ for sociolinguistic studies of language in education, as it positions multilingualism as the norm and therefore legitimises the use of multiple linguistic resources together within communication.

Creese and Blackledge (2010) use Garcia's term "translanguaging" and the long-established term "heteroglossia" to describe how they see bilingual pedagogy being enacted according to bilingual norms in what they term "flexible bilingualism" (2010, p.112). They identify seven key elements to a flexible bilingual pedagogy:

1. the use of bilingual label quests, repetition and translation across languages
2. the ability to engage audiences through translanguaging and heteroglossia
3. the use of student translanguaging to establish identity positions both oppositional and encompassing of institutional values
4. recognition that languages do not fit into bounded entities and that all languages are needed for meanings to be conveyed and negotiated
5. endorsement of simultaneous literacies and languages to keep the pedagogic task moving
6. recognition that teachers and students skillfully use their languages for different functional goals such as narration and explanation
7. use of translanguaging for annotating texts, providing greater access to the curriculum, and lesson accomplishment. (2010, p.112–113)

Creese and Blackledge (2010) conclude that bilingual pedagogy needs to legitimise the movement between languages to "ease the burden of guilt" (p.113) which teachers experience when translanguaging in contexts where monolingual expectations of language separation prevail.

This shift in thinking about how classroom interaction might take place and what is considered legitimate use of language in the classroom is significant for the many students who use languages other than the language of school in their out-of-school lives. For those children to be able to bring their full set of linguistic resources into the classroom and use them interchangeably in their classroom interaction is potentially empowering in ways not commonly seen in classrooms around the world.

Overview of Interaction Studies

Interaction is influenced by the ease with which a person can use the language involved in the interaction. The inequality that less competent speakers experience can be overcome through education and there is evidence that positive pedagogies in bilingual education settings can redress power imbalances. Bilingual children need to be educated in a positive environment in which their languages and cultures are valued and validated in order to view their languages and cultures in a positive light and to succeed academically (Arce 2004; Cohen 2008; Cummins 1996, 2000, 2003).

Studies of classrooms that have more than one teacher in a bilingual context have shown that the relationships modelled in the classroom often serve to perpetuate the imbalances and inequities seen in society (Martin-Jones 1995; Martin-Jones and Saxena 1996). Research has shown that the monolingual speaker of the dominant language tends to take a superior role in the classroom with the speaker of the

other language taking a subordinate role. This serves to perpetuate the messages of inequality that students in this environment see and hear. In contrast, teachers who model transformative pedagogies can create a classroom setting that models equality.

In interaction bilingual people often make language choices or code-switch. These tools can be used as ways of negotiating different identities in different settings and connecting with different people in different interactions. The more recently used term translinguaging offers a more inclusive and empowering approach to how language might be used interchangeably in the classroom.

A body of prior literature examines young language learners and their interactions in a bilingual setting. However, the studies predominantly examine the pedagogical issues involved or issues involved with teacher identity in the classroom (Arce 2004; Camilleri 1996; Creese 2006; Cummins 1996, 2000, 2003; Kovacs 2001; Martin-Jones 1995; Martin-Jones and Saxena 1996). Studies that have focused upon young students have emphasised power issues more than identity issues and in particular have, in many cases, focused upon code-switching (Camilleri 1996; Cummins 1996, 2000, 2003; Martin-Jones 1995; Martin-Jones and Saxena 1996; Muller and Baetens Beardsmore 2004).

Bucholtz and Hall (2005) have developed a framework for examining identity as it is produced in interaction. This framework has five principles that frame identity: as a product of language; something that exists on a macro and local level; something that may be indexed linguistically; constructed through the relationship between self and other; and influenced by a combination of intention, habit, interactional negotiation, the perceptions of others and ideological processes (Bucholtz and Hall 2005). Their framework frames identity as an interactional achievement and thus it is not suitable for this study that frames identity as a process. The framework developed by Bucholtz and Hall (2005) was designed to suit conversational analyses of specific interactions. It is therefore too specific a frame for the current study. The current study does not focus upon conversation analysis and it examines identity in a broader range of ways, as influenced by socio-cultural connection, interaction and investment.

Prior literature also tends to perpetuate the distinction between majority and minority language learning contexts. There are studies of dual language programs, however these are few in number, have been conducted in a limited number of contexts, and often are based on quite different types of bilingual program (Lindholm-Leary 2001; Moloney 2008; Potowski 2007; Sook Lee et al. 2008; The Dual Language Showcase 2008). There is work emerging that begins to integrate the perspectives gained from majority and minority bilingual education settings and seeks to extend the continua model (Hornberger 2004) by arguing for the integration of foreign language study and language learning for minority language students (Helot and de Mejia 2008; May 2014; Paris 2011). However, at this stage this work is primarily located in the US and European contexts and is a relatively new area. There is thus a need for examination of dual language and integrative bilingual education in contexts other than the US and Europe, such as in this book.

As indicated earlier, inequalities in language use and empowerment can be overcome through the individual drive to overcome them and willingness of the surrounding community to create opportunities for the individual to develop their language and identity as a member. This is shown through the literature about investment.

The Investment Element

Investment is a term that has been developed to explain the combined factors of an individual's motivation to learn a new language and community motivation to assist the learner to develop their language (Norton 2000, 2014a). Norton argued that previous motivation literature gave insufficient consideration to the societal power structures that filter into everyday conversation (Norton 2000, 2014a). Norton (2000, 2014a) used the term investment to indicate the complexity of the relationship between identity, power and language learning (Norton 2000, 2014a). It combines the influence of individual motivation with the influence of power negotiations upon the opportunities available to learners to develop both language proficiency and identity construction. In this way investment acknowledges that both individual motivation and social opportunity for language development are essential for a language learner to develop their identity associated with language. In this way investment is a broader term than motivation as it encompasses the societal influences that influence language learning in combination with individual motivation.

Investment is a term that has been used by Bourdieu (1977) to describe linguistic capacity as something that involves power (or lack of), language competence (or lack of) and he equates language competence with economic value. Bourdieu (1977) argues that by using language appropriately a person invests their capital in the hope of making a profit. In other words, by obtaining linguistic competence a person can more easily achieve their aims. Norton (2000, 2014a) takes up the term *investment* in a somewhat different way. She maintains Bourdieu's assertion that language and power are inextricably linked and that new learners need to obtain competence in the dominant language to be empowered (2000, 2014a). Norton (2000, 2014a) also adds the argument that both individual motivation and societal opportunity are essential for immigrant language learners to develop their language skills in a new country.

The development of an individual's identity, especially when it involves overcoming inequality of power or overcoming identity conflict, relies upon an individual having the drive to surpass these obstacles to develop or construct bilingual identity. A large body of research has investigated motivation to learn a language (Dörnyei 2005; Dörnyei and Schmidt 2001; Ushioda 2003, 2007) and research has quantitatively measured student attitude, predominantly in the Canadian bilingual context (Gardner 1985). For example Gardner's Attitude and Motivation Test Battery (1985a) is a well-tested and well-respected measure of students' attitudes towards their target language and community. Gardner developed this battery

to examine English speakers' attitudes towards learning French and towards the Francophone community in Canada. His battery has been used and adapted by many researchers in different contexts (Masgoret and Gardner 2003; Oliver et al. 2005; O'Muircheartaigh and Hickey 2008)

Ushioda (2003, 2007) critiques prior quantitative work on motivation that sees motivation as an individual phenomenon. She argues that motivation is a socially-mediated process, as well as something that comes from within the individual, and that in language learning, motivation needs to be viewed in an enhanced way that incorporates "the interaction between the individual and the social learning setting" (p.92, 2003). Ushioda emphasises the important interplay between internal and external forces upon individuals' motivation to learn language (2003, 2007).

Norton's (2000, 2014a) research examining adult immigrants' experiences of learning English in Canada drew upon the motivational and attitudinal research of Gardner and Dörnyei and acknowledged that the individual's attitude played a part in the power and identity negotiation process and therefore upon the rate at which they learnt English. She found that some of the participants in her study were more invested in becoming fluent in English because it was necessary in order to be the family's main communicator with the outside world. This made a large difference in these participants' development of language and of their feeling of belonging in the community (Norton 2000, 2014a). However, the research also showed that individual motivation was not sufficient to overcome the power structures and that community willingness to create opportunities for language learning was an essential factor in the newcomer's successful learning and development of an identity as a member of the new community (Norton 2000, 2014a). In this way Norton's work (2000, 2014a) takes on a social frame similar to the work of Ushioda (2003). It also reflects some of the notions that are raised in the language socialisation literature (Lave and Wenger 1991; Schieffelin and Ochs 1986).

In an investigation of a bilingual education setting involving children, it is important to acknowledge that student development of a bilingual identity is influenced by the investment that they have in speaking and identifying with two languages. Only students who see a value in the languages and bilingualism are potentially able to identify as being bilingual. In a setting with young language learners, student investment in learning a language may not yet have developed. Alternatively there is a possibility that children who have grown up in a bilingual context may have an innate level of investment due to them seeing examples of two languages being viewed as important. In the current study, the bilingual students' understandings of the influences from home and school upon their investment are investigated.

Overview of Investment Studies

Investment has previously been investigated predominantly from an adult learner perspective and from a viewpoint of investment as the dominant influence upon

identity development in that setting (Norton 2000, 2014a). This study builds on previous work as it provides an examination of younger learners using a framework that incorporates three key areas: investment along with interaction and socio-cultural connection.

Overall, the review of literature shows that prior studies exist that focus upon either social issues of connection to language, interaction issues or investment issues. This study develops and uses a framework with the three inter-related elements of socio-cultural connection, interaction and investment. This framework is outlined in the following section.

The Bilingual Identity Negotiation Framework (BINF)

Identities are not static or fixed but rather are constantly being shaped through experiences and interactions. (Cummins 1996, p.15)

The development of a child's identity is a complex process, being a construct of how a person understands their own relationship to the world around them. A person's social identity reflects their relationship with the social world as experienced in families, schools, workplaces etc. (Norton 2000, 2014a). The process of identity development is particularly complicated in a bilingual context. Previous literature has shown that the development of bilingual identity involves a process of negotiation between the child and those around them – their peers, parents, siblings, teachers and the community (Gregory 2005; Lave and Wenger 1991; Norton 2000, 2014a; Schieffelin and Ochs 1986; Volk 1998; Zentella 1997). Entwined with this negotiation of identity is the interpersonal negotiation that takes place, inherently, in all social interaction including the classroom (Cummins 1996, 2000, 2003; Lave and Wenger 1991; Norton 2000, 2014a).

Figure 2.1 has been developed to illustrate the framework within which this study operates, and also illustrates the relationship between an individual's self-concept and the wider societal influences upon that self-concept. The figure shows that self-concept is developed within a context influenced by broader societal power structures and values and that these societal factors affect an individual's view of themselves. Within the society and within the individual's self-concept the negotiation of an identity as connected with language and bilingualism takes place. The diagram illustrates the process of bilingual identity negotiation within the influences of self-concept and the wider society.

As the focus of this study is upon the students' individual identity development as a bilingual learner and/or as being connected to more than one language, the framework focuses upon the central segments of the identity model. It is a bilingual identity negotiation framework (BINF), and contains the inter-linking factors of Socio-cultural Connection, Interaction and Investment. These three factors are essential to the development of an identity as bilingual and/or feeling connected to more than one language and culture (Fig. 2.2).

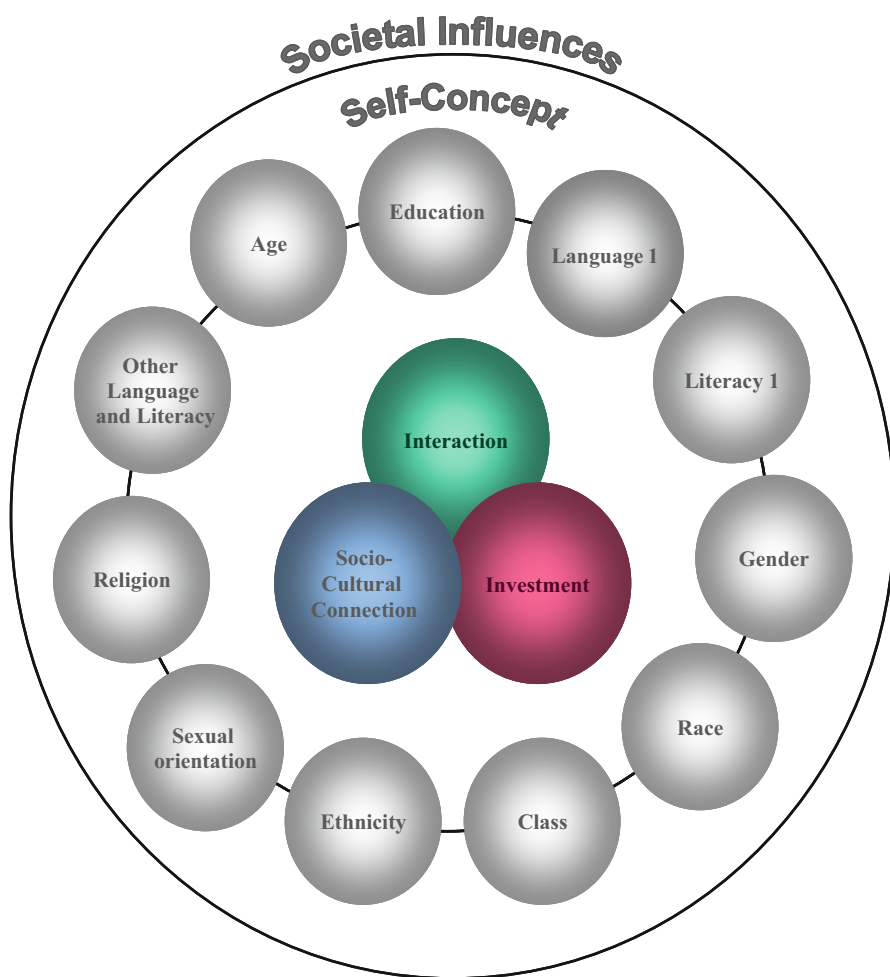


Fig. 2.1 Bilingual identity negotiation framework – within the surrounding impacting influences (Incorporating ideas from Bourdieu 1977; Joseph 2006; Norton 2000, 2006, 2014a; Tajfel 1978) (Reprinted from Fielding (2013), with permission of Taylor & Francis Ltd.)

Through the review of relevant theories and research into bilingualism the factors impacting upon young bilingual learners were highlighted. This has led to the development of this new Bilingual Identity Negotiation Framework, which shows the importance of the combined factors of investment, socio-cultural connection and interaction upon bilingual identity negotiation. Students' language experiences and experiences of *bilingualism* are seen as related to the three components of bilingual identity negotiation – these are:

Socio-Cultural Connection – the students' experiences of language and bilingualism impact upon the degree to which they connect with the culture associated

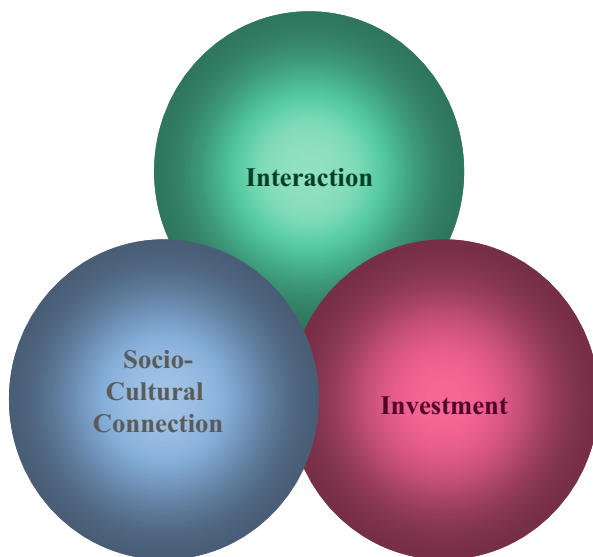


Fig. 2.2 Bilingual identity negotiation framework (Fielding 2013)

with that language; this feeling of connection then influences the students' future experiences of language and bilingualism;

Interaction – the students' experiences of language and bilingualism impact upon the ways in which they interact in their languages; the interactions that students engage in further influence their experiences; and

Investment – the students' experiences of language and bilingualism impact upon their levels of investment in learning language and developing their bilingualism; likewise their levels of investment impact upon their future experiences of language and bilingualism.

In this way the relationship between the three factors and language and bilingualism can be seen as reciprocal, with each relationship continuing to influence the future experiences of the students and their development of their identities associated with the languages.

Similarly the theoretical understandings about *identity* also impact upon the three components of the framework:

Socio-Cultural Connection – students' experiences of language socialisation and contact with languages in the family and community impact upon the degree to which they connect with, and develop an identity within, the culture associated with that language;

Interaction – students' self-concept and identity construction associated with their language(s) impact upon the ways in which they interact in their language(s) and with whom they interact in different languages; and

Investment – students’ self-concept and levels of motivation relating to their self-concept impact upon their investment in language learning and developing their bilingual identity.

Each of the relationships outlined above between the three framework components - socio-cultural connection, interaction and investment – are reciprocal relationships, where the three components also impact upon understandings, and concepts, of bilingualism and identity for bilingual students.

Every bilingual individual has a unique experience of language and bilingualism and therefore each individual has a different experience of identity negotiation based upon their language experiences. This study examines what languages and ‘being bilingual’ mean to the students in the study and how they negotiate their meanings within the framework of bilingual identity negotiation.¹

References

- Arce, J. (2004). Latino bilingual teachers: The struggle to sustain an emancipatory pedagogy in public schools. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 17(2), 227–246.
- Baetens Beardsmore, H. (1982). *Bilingualism: Basic principles*. Clevedon: Tieto.
- Baker, C. (2002). *The care and education of young bilinguals: An introduction for professionals*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Baker, C. (2006). Bilingual education. In *Encyclopedia of language and linguistics* (pp. 772–780). Boston: Elsevier.
- Baker, C. (2011). *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism* (5th ed.). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Baker, C., & Prys Jones, S. (1998). *Encyclopedia of bilingualism and bilingual education*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Bartlett, L. (2007). Bilingual literacies, social identification and educational trajectories. *Linguistics and Education*, 18, 215–231.
- Bayley, R., & Schechter, S. (2003). *Language socialisation in bilingual and multilingual societies*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Bhatia, T. (2006). Bilingualism and second language learning. In *Encyclopedia of language & linguistics* (2nd ed., pp. 16–22) (Online). Oxford: Elsevier.
- Bialystok, E. (2001). *Bilingualism in development: Language, literacy and cognition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bialystok, E. (2002, March). Acquisition of literacy in bilingual children: A framework for research. *Language Learning*, 52(1), 159–199.
- Bialystok, E. (2005). Consequences of bilingualism for cognitive development. In J. F. Kroll & A. M. B. De Groot (Eds.), *Handbook of bilingualism: Psycholinguistic approaches*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Block, D. (2006). Identity in applied linguistics. In T. Omoniyi & G. White (Eds.), *The sociolinguistics of identity* (pp. 34–49). London: Continuum.

¹As the literature has shown, the conceptualisation of the term bilingual so that it incorporates two or more languages ensures that this framework encompasses multilingual identity negotiation in addition to bilingual identity negotiation.

- Blommaert, J. (2007, July 1–3). *A new lexicon for multilingualism*. Plenary Talk, 32nd Annual congress of the Applied Linguistics Association of Australia.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). The economics of linguistic exchanges. *Social Science Information*, 16(6), 645–668.
- Bucholtz, M., & Hall, K. (2005). Identity and interaction: A sociocultural linguistic approach. *Discourse Studies*, 7(4–4), 585–614.
- Camilleri, A. (1996). Language values and identities: Code-switching in secondary classrooms in Malta. *Linguistics and Education*, 8, 85–103.
- Cazden, C., Cope, B., Fairclough, N., Gee, J., et al. (1996). A pedagogy of multiliteracies: Designing social futures. *Harvard Educational Review*, 66(1), 60–92.
- Cohen, S. (2008). *Making visible the invisible: Dual language teaching practices in monolingual instructional settings*. PhD thesis, University of Toronto.
- Collier, V. (1995). Acquiring a second language for school. *Directions in Language & Education – National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education*, 1(4). Accessed at <http://www.ncela.gwu.edu/pubs/directions/04.htm> Accessed 21 May 2008.
- Cope, B., & Kalantzis, M. (2000). *Multiliteracies: Literacy learning and the design of social futures*. London: Routledge.
- Creese, A. (2006). Supporting talk? Partnership teachers in classroom interaction. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 9(4), 434–453.
- Creese, A., & Blackledge, A. (2010). Translanguaging in the bilingual classroom: A pedagogy for learning and teaching? *The Modern Language Journal*, 94(i), 103–115.
- Cumming-Potvin, W. (2004). Disrupting literacy practices in a learning community: Empowerment through voicing. *McGill Journal of Education*, 39(2), 199–220.
- Cummins, J. (1979, Spring). Linguistic interdependence and the educational development of bilingual children. *Review of Educational Research*, 49(2), 222–251.
- Cummins, J. (1984). Wanted: A theoretical framework for relating language proficiency to academic achievement among bilingual students. In C. Rivera (Ed.), *Language proficiency and academic achievement*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Cummins, J. (1986). Empowering minority students: A framework for intervention. *Harvard Educational Review*, 56(1), 18–36.
- Cummins, J. (1996). *Negotiating identities: Education for empowerment in a diverse society*. Ontario: California Association for Bilingual Education.
- Cummins, J. (1999). *BICS and CALP: Clarifying the distinction*. ERIC Document ED438551 ERIC/CLL.
- Cummins, J. (2000). *Language, power and pedagogy: Bilingual children in the crossfire*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Cummins, J. (2003). Bilingual education: Basic principles. In J. Dewaele, A. Housen, & L. Wei (Eds.), *Bilingualism: Beyond basic principles*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Cummins, J. (2004). Multiliteracies pedagogy and the role of identity texts. In K. Leithwood, P. McAdie, N. Bascia, & A. Rodrigue (Eds.), *Teaching for deep understanding: Towards the Ontario curriculum that we need* (pp. 68–74). Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto & The Elementary Federation of Teachers.
- Cummins, J. (2007, November 24). *Challenges, opportunities and choices in educating bilingual students*. Plenary Talk, Language Education and Diversity conference, University of Waikato, Hamilton.
- Cummins, J., & Corson, D. (Eds.). (1997). *Bilingual education* (Encyclopedia of language and education, Vol. 5). Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Cummins, J., Bismilla, V., Chow, P., Cohen, S., Giampapa, F., Leoni, L., Sandhu, P., & Sastri, P. (2005). Affirming identity in multilingual classrooms. *Educational Leadership*, 63(1), 38–43.
- Daniels, H. (2001). *Vygotsky and pedagogy*. London: Routledge.
- Datta, M. (2007). *Bilinguality and literacy: Principles and practice*. London: Continuum.
- de Courcy, M. (2002, May). Immersion education downunder. *The ACIE Newsletter*, 5(3).
- de Courcy, M. (2006). The effect of literacy in Hebrew on the acquisition of english. *Babel*, 41(2), 4–9.

- De Houwer, A. (2006). Bilingual language development: Early years. In *Encyclopedia of language & linguistics* (2nd ed., pp. 781–787) (Online). Oxford: Elsevier.
- Deaux, K. (2000). Identity. In A. E. Kazdin (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of psychology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Díaz Soto, L. (2002). Young bilingual children's perceptions of bilingualism and biliteracy: Altruistic possibilities. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 26(3), 599–610.
- Dörnyei, Z. (2005). *The psychology of the language learner*. Mahwah: L Erlbaum.
- Dörnyei, Z., & Schmidt, R. (2001). *Motivation and second language acquisition*. Honolulu: Second Language Teaching and Curriculum Center.
- Duff, P. (2002). The discursive co-construction of knowledge, identity and difference: An ethnography of communication in the high school mainstream. *Applied Linguistics*, 23(3), 289–322.
- Duff, P. (2003). New directions in second language socialization research. *Korean Journal of English Language and Linguistics*, 3, 309–339.
- Duff, P. (2007). Second language socialization as sociocultural theory: Insights and issues. *Language Teaching*, 40, 309–319.
- Escamilla, K. (1994). The sociolinguistic environment of a bilingual school: A case study introduction. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 18(1–2), 1–29.
- Esdahl, T. (2003). Language choice as a power resource in bilingual adolescents' conversations in the Danish folkskole. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 24(1–2), 76–89.
- Fielding, R. (2013). Bilingual identity negotiation in practice: Teacher pedagogy and classroom interaction in a bilingual program. *Language Learning Journal*. doi:[10.1080/09571736.2012.757635](https://doi.org/10.1080/09571736.2012.757635).
- Fought, C. (2006). *Language and ethnicity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Freebody, P. (2007). Building literacy education: Pasts, futures, and “the sum of effort”. In A. Simpson (Ed.), *Future directions in literacy: International conversations* (pp. 95–113). Sydney: Sydney University Press.
- Garcia, O. (2009). *Bilingual education in the 21st century: A global perspective*. Malden: Wiley Blackwell.
- Gardner, R. C. (1985). *The attitude/motivation test battery: Technical report*. London: The University of Western Ontario.
- Gee, J. (2003). *What video games have to teach us about learning and literacy*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Genesee, F. (1987). *Learning through two languages: Studies of immersion and bilingual education*. Rowley: Newbury.
- Gregory, E. (2005, November). Playful talk: The interspace between home and school discourse. *Early Years*, 25(3), 223–235.
- Gregory, E., & Kenner, C. (2003). The out of school schooling of literacy. In N. Hall, J. Larson, & J. Marsh (Eds.), *Handbook of early childhood literacy* (pp. 75–84). London: Sage.
- Gregory, E., & Williams, A. (2004). Living literacies in homes and communities. In T. Grainger (Ed.), *The RoutledgeFalmer reader in language and literacy*. London: RoutledgeFalmer.
- Grosjean, F. (1982). *Life with two languages: An introduction to bilingualism*. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press.
- Gross, S. (2006). Code switching. In K. Brown (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of language and linguistics* (pp. 508–511). Boston: Elsevier.
- Group of Eight. (2007). *Languages in crisis: A rescue plan for Australia*. Manuka: ACT.
- Hamers, J., & Blanc, M. (2000). *Bilinguality and bilingualism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Harbon, L., & Fielding, R. (2013). *Bilingual education programs in four primary schools in New South Wales, 2009–2012: A report to continue the conversation*. Sydney: Authors.
- Heller, M. (1996). Legitimate language in a multilingual school. *Linguistics and Education*, 8, 139–157.
- Helot, C., & de Mejia, A. (2008). *Forging multilingual spaces*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

- Holland, D., & Lachicotte, W., Jr. (2007). Vygotsky, mead and the new sociocultural studies of identity. In H. Daniels, M. Cole, & J. Wertsch (Eds.), *The Cambridge companion to vygotsky*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hornberger, N. H. (2003). *Indigenous language revitalisation, biliteracy and student voice: Instances from Quechua, Guarani and Maori bilingual education*. Refereed conference proceedings and keynotes – Language Education and Diversity conference, University of Waikato (CD-Rom), Waikato, New Zealand.
- Hornberger, N. H. (2004). The continua of biliteracy and the bilingual educator: Educational linguistics in practice. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 7(2–3), 155–171.
- Johnson, G. (2006). The discursive construction of teacher identities in a research interview. In A. DeFina, D. Schiffrin, & H. Bamberg (Eds.), *Discourse and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Joseph, J. E. (2006). Identity and language. In K. Brown (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of language and linguistics* (pp. 486–492). Boston: Elsevier.
- Josselson, R. (1994). Identity and relatedness in the life cycle. In H. A. Bosma, T. L. G. Graafsmas, H. D. Grotevant, & D. J. de Levita (Eds.), *Identity and development: An interdisciplinary approach* (pp. 81–102). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Kanno, Y. (2003). *Negotiating bilingual and bicultural identities: Japanese returnees betwixt two worlds*. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Kenner, C. (2000). *Home pages: Literacy links for bilingual children*. Stoke on Trent: Trentham Books.
- Kenner, C., & Gregory, E. (2003). Becoming biliterate. In N. Hall, J. Larson, & J. Marsh (Eds.), *Handbook of early childhood literacy* (pp. 178–188). London: Sage.
- Kenner, C., & Ruby, M. (2012). *Interconnecting worlds: Teacher partnerships for bilingual learning*. London: Trentham Books/Institute of Education Press.
- Kenner, C., Gregory, E., Ruby, M., & Al-Azami, S. (2008). Bilingual learning for second and third generation children. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, 21(2), 120–137.
- Kirsch, C. (2006). Young children learning languages in a multilingual context. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 3(4), 258–279.
- Kovacs, M. (2001). *Code-switching and language shift in Australian Finnish in comparison with Australian Hungarian*. Finland: Abo Akademi University Press.
- Lakoff, R. T. (2006). Identity a la carte: You are what you eat. In A. DeFina, D. Schiffrin, & H. Bamberg (Eds.), *Discourse and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lantolf, J. P., & Appel, G. (1994). *Vygotskian approaches to second language research*. Norwood: Ablex Press.
- Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lawler, S. (2008). *Identity: Sociological perspectives*. Cambridge, UK/Malden: Polity Press.
- Lewis, E. G. (1981). *Bilingualism and bilingual education*. Oxford: Pergamon Institute of English.
- Li, W. (2006). Bilingualism. In *Encyclopedia of language & linguistics* (pp. 1–12). Oxford: Elsevier.
- Lindholm-Leary, K. (2001). *Dual language education*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Lo Bianco, J. (2000). *One literacy... or double power?* Melbourne: Language Australia.
- Lotherton, H. (2003). Multiliteracies in Springvale: Negotiating language, culture and identity in suburban Melbourne. In R. Bayley & S. Schechter (Eds.), *Language socialisation in bilingual and multilingual societies*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Luke, A., & Carrington, V. (2004). Globalisation, literacy, curriculum practice. In T. Grainger (Ed.), *The RoutledgeFalmer reader in language and literacy*. London: RoutledgeFalmer.
- Mackey, W. (1970). A typology of bilingual education. *Foreign Language Annals*, 3, 596–603.
- Madsen, L. (2003). Power relationships, intercultural dominance and manipulation strategies in group conversations of Turkish-Danish children. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 24(1–2), 90–101.

- Mahootian, S. (2006). Code-switching and mixing. In K. Brown (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of language and linguistics* (pp. 511–527). Boston: Elsevier.
- Marcia, J. E. (1994). The empirical study of ego identity. In H. A. Bosma, T. L. G. Graafsma, H. D. Grotevant, & D. J. de Levita (Eds.), *Identity and development: An interdisciplinary approach* (pp. 67–80). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Marsh, J. (2003). Early childhood literacy and popular culture. In N. Hall, J. Larson, & J. Marsh (Eds.), *Handbook of early childhood literacy* (pp. 112–125). London: Sage.
- Martin, D., & Stuart-Smith, J. (1998). Exploring bilingual children's perceptions of being bilingual and biliterate: Implications for educational provision. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 19(2), 237–254.
- Martinez-Roldan, C. (2003). Building worlds and identities: A case study of the role of narratives in bilingual literature discussions. *Research in the Teaching of English*, 37(4), 491–510.
- Martin-Jones, M. (1995). Code-switching in the classroom: Two decades of research. In L. Milroy & P. Muysken (Eds.), *One speaker, two languages: Cross-disciplinary perspectives on code-switching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Martin-Jones, M., & Foster, J. (2007, Summer/Autumn). *Bilingual literacies for learning in further education*. Teaching & Learning Research Programme/Economic & Social Research Council: University of Birmingham. 2.
- Martin-Jones, M., & Saxena, M. (1996). Turn-taking, power asymmetries and the positioning of bilingual participants in classroom discourse. *Linguistics and Education*, 8, 106–123.
- Masgoret, A. M., & Gardner, R. C. (2003). Attitudes, motivation and second language learning: A meta-analysis of studies conducted by Gardner and associates. *Language Learning*, 53(1), 123–163.
- May, S. (1994). *Making multicultural education work*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- May, S. (2008). Bilingual/immersion education: What the research tells us. In J. Cummins & N. Hornberger (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of language and education* (Bilingual education 2nd ed., Vol. 5, pp. 19–34). New York: Springer.
- May, S. (2010). Curriculum and the education of cultural and linguistic minorities. In B. McGraw, E. Baker, & P. Peterson (Eds.), *International encyclopedia of education* (3rd ed., Vol. 1, pp. 293–298). Oxford: Elsevier.
- May, S. (2014). *The multilingual turn: Implications for SLA, TESOL and bilingual education*. New York: Routledge.
- McKay, P. (1999). The Bilingual Interface Project: The relationship between first language development and second language acquisition as students begin learning English in the context of schooling. *Queensland Journal of Educational Research*, 15, 123–132.
- McKendry, J., Freihofner, U., & Smala, S. (2013). Teaching in CLIL Programs: Queensland teachers' stories of bilingual education. In L. Harbon & R. Moloney (Eds.), *Language teachers' narratives of practice* (pp. 56–65). Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Press.
- McNamara, T. (1987). Language and social identity: Some Australian studies. *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics*, 10, 33–58.
- McNamara, T. (1997). Theorizing social identity: What do we mean by social identity? Competing frameworks, competing discourses. *TESOL Quarterly*, 31(3), 561–567.
- Moloney, R. (2008). *Intercultural competence in young language learners: A case study*. PhD thesis, University of Sydney.
- Molyneux, P. (2004). Pride and empowerment: Bilingually educated students reflect on their learning. *Australian Language and Literacy Matters*, 1(2), 4–10.
- Molyneux, P. (2005). *Transportable literacies and transformative pedagogies: An investigation of the tensions and choices in the provision of education for bilingualism and biliteracy*. PhD thesis, University of Melbourne, Melbourne, Australia.
- Molyneux, P. (2006). The importance of a theory-informed understanding of additive bilingual education. *Babel*, 41(2), 18–23, 35.
- Muller, A., & Baetens Beardsmore, H. (2004). Multilingual interaction in plurilingual classes – European school practice. *Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 7(1), 24–42.

- Murray, F., & Combe, C. (2007, November 24). *Literacy education: Teaching to difference/diversity for high quality language and literacy outcomes*. Language Education and Diversity conference, University of Waikato, Hamilton.
- Ng, B. C., & Wigglesworth, G. (2007). *Bilingualism: An advanced resource book*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Norton, B. (2000). *Identity and language learning: Gender, ethnicity and educational change*. Essex: (Longman) Pearson Education.
- Norton, B. (2006). Identity as a sociocultural construct in second language education. In K. Cadman & K. O'Regan (Eds.), *Tales out of school: Identity and English language teaching* (TESOL in Context 2006 Special Edition, pp. 22–33). South Adelaide, S. Aust.: Australian Council of TESOL Associations.
- Norton, B. (2014a). *Identity and language learning* (2nd ed.). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Norton, B. (2014b). Identity, literacy, and the multilingual classroom. In S. May (Ed.), *The multilingual turn: Implications for SLA, TESOL and bilingual education* (pp. 102–122). New York: Routledge.
- Norton, B., & Toohey, K. (2002). Identity and language learning. In R. B. Kaplan (Ed.), *The oxford handbook of applied linguistics* (pp. 115–123). Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.
- O'Muirheartaigh, J., & Hickey, T. (2008). Academic outcome, anxiety and attitudes in early and late immersion in Ireland. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 11(5), 558–576.
- Oliver, R., Purdie, N., & Rochecouste, J. (2005). Affective aspects of language learning: Beliefs, attitudes, efficacy. *Babel*, 40(2), 29–36.
- Omoniyi, T. (2006). Hierarchy of identities. In T. Omoniyi & G. White (Eds.), *The sociolinguistics of identity* (pp. 11–33). London: Continuum.
- Paris, D. (2011). *Language across difference: Ethnicity, communication, and youth identities in changing urban schools*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pease-Alvarez, L. (2003). Transforming perspectives on bilingual language socialisation. In R. Bayley & S. Schechter (Eds.), *Language socialisation in bilingual and multilingual societies*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Potowski, K. (2007). *Language and identity in a dual immersion school*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Rangell, L. (1994). Identity and the human core: The view from psychoanalytic theory. In H. A. Bosma, T. L. G. Graafsma, H. D. Grotevant, & D. J. de Levita (Eds.), *Identity and development: An interdisciplinary approach* (pp. 25–59). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Rew, A., & Campbell, J. R. (1999). The political economy of identity and affect. In J. R. Campbell & A. Rew (Eds.), *Identity and affect: Experiences of identity in a globalising world* (pp. 1–38). London: Pluto Press.
- Romaine, S. (1995). *Bilingualism*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Romaine, S. (2006). The bilingual and multilingual community. In T. Bhatia & W. Ritchie (Eds.), *The handbook of bilingualism* (pp. 385–405). Malden: Blackwell.
- Sapir, E. (1912). Language and environment. *American Anthropologist*, 14, 226–242, reproduced in D. G. Mandelbaum (Ed.). (1949). *Selected writings of Edward Sapir in language, culture and personality*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Sapir, E. (1932). Group. *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 7, 178–182. New York: MacMillan, reproduced in D. G. Mandelbaum (Ed.). (1949). *Selected writings of Edward Sapir in language, culture and personality*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Sayer, P. (2013). Translanguaging, TexMex, and bilingual pedagogy: Emergent bilinguals learning through the vernacular. *TESOL Quarterly*, 47(1), 63–88.
- Schieffelin, B., & Ochs, E. (1986). *Language socialization across cultures*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sharkey, J., & Johnson, K. (2003). *The TESOL quarterly dialogues: Rethinking issues of language, culture and power*. Alexandria: TESOL Inc.

- Sook Lee, J., Hill-Bonnet, L., & Gillispie, J. (2008). Learning in two languages: Interactional spaces for becoming bilingual speakers. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 11(1), 75–94.
- Street, B., & Lefstein, A. (2007). *Literacy: An advanced resource book*. Oxon: Routledge.
- Suleiman, Y. (2006). Constructing languages, constructing national identities. In T. Omoniyi & G. White (Eds.), *The sociolinguistics of identity* (pp. 50–74). London: Continuum.
- Tajfel, H. (1978). Social categorization, social identity and social comparison. In H. Tajfel (Ed.), *Differentiation between social groups: Studies in the social psychology of intergroup relations*. London: Academic.
- Tajfel, H. (1982). *Social identity and intergroup relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tannenbaum, M., & Howie, P. (2002). The association between language maintenance and family relations: Chinese immigrant children in Australia. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 23(5), 408–424.
- The Dual Language Showcase. 2008. <http://www.thornwoodps.ca/dual/index.htm>. Accessed 3 Nov 2008.
- The New London Group. (1995). *A pedagogy of multiliteracies: Designing social futures*. Sydney: Centre for Workplace Communication and Culture.
- The State of Queensland (Department of Education). (2000). *Literate futures: Report of the literacy review for Queensland state schools*. Queensland: Government.
- Thornborrow, J. (1999). Language and identity. In L. Thomas & S. Wareing (Eds.), *Language, society and power: An introduction* (pp. 135–149). London/New York: Routledge.
- Tuafuti, P., & McCaffery, J. (2005). Family and community empowerment through bilingual education. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 8(5), 480–503.
- Ushioda, E. (2003). Motivation as a socially mediated process. In D. Little, J. Ridley, & E. Ushioda (Eds.), *Learner autonomy in the foreign language classroom: Teacher, learner, curriculum and assessment*. Authentik: Dublin.
- Ushioda, E. (2007). Motivation, autonomy and sociocultural theory. In P. Benson (Ed.), *Learner autonomy 8: Teacher and learner perspectives*. Authentik: Dublin.
- Volk, D. (1998, April 13–17). *The teaching and the enjoyment and being together . . . : Sibling teaching in the family of a Puerto Rican Kindergartner*. Annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Diego. Available from ERIC ED420396.
- Warnod, H. (2006). The biliteracy challenge. *Babel*, 41(2), 27–29, 35.
- Weisskirch, R. S., & Alatorre Alva, S. (2002). Language brokering and the acculturation of Latino children. *Journal of Behavioural Sciences*, 24(3), 369–378.
- Wells, G., & Nicholls, J. (1985). *Language and learning: An international perspective*. London: The Falmer Press.
- Winch, G., Johnston, R. R., March, P., Ljungdahl, L., & Holliday, M. (2006). *Literacy: Reading, writing and children's literature*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
- Wu, J., & Bilash, O. (1998). *Empowering minority students through bilingual education: A multi-functional English-Chinese Bilingual Program in Western Canada*. National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition and Language Instruction Educational Programs. <http://www.ncela.gwu.edu>
- Zentella, A. C. (1997). *Growing up bilingual*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Multilingualism in the Australian Suburbs

A framework for exploring bilingual identity

Fielding, R.

2015, XV, 230 p. 25 illus., 11 illus. in color., Hardcover

ISBN: 978-981-287-452-8