

**Becoming a Student:
Multilingual University Students' Identity
Construction in Simon Fraser University**

by

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Abstract

This study examines the identity construction processes of multilingual undergraduate university students taking the Foundations of Academic Literacy (FAL) course at Simon Fraser University (SFU). I conducted an ethnographic study with an interpretative approach to highlight the local contexts that the multilingual students, the FAL instructors and the researcher (i.e., myself) brought into the study. The data was collected through classroom observations of five FAL courses that took place over one semester; interviews with eight FAL instructors and sixteen multilingual students from diverse backgrounds and home countries such as Brazil, Canada, China, Hong Kong, India, Korea, and Turkey; and students' writing assignments.

The analysis of the data incorporated insights from identity construction, sociolinguistics and social practice theories and aimed to 1) see how university environments – more precisely, academic literacies and transnational, multilingual, and social practices reciprocally construct the students' identities as learners, in other words, becoming a university student, and 2) to review and update the notion of English as a second language through the theoretical frameworks of multiple identities and the transnational nature of immigrants' and English learners' lifestyles.

I found that the multilingual students' everyday university experiences and their learning of academic literacies impacted on their self-image, and that their transnational and multilingual practices reciprocally constructed their identities as the students negotiated, accommodated, and performed various identities with a sense of struggle, nostalgia, superiority or challenge, depending on the context, time and space. Being agentive to fulfill their academic, social and professional needs and investing educational and linguistic capital to refashion their future, the multilingual students learned university discourses formally and informally. These experiences and their reflection of the past, present and future allowed them to sustain and develop multiple identities flexibly. I argue that the students' transnational and multilingual activities and their efforts to earn membership in the university community should be recognized as useful resources, and these students should be viewed as having a rich set of resources, rather than being viewed as deficient and challenged.

Keywords: academic literacies; identity construction; multilingual students; transnationalism; university

*To my family and the multilingual student
living in the globalizing world.*

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Chapter 1.

Introduction of the Study

Globalization and transnationalism impact people's everyday life greatly: demographic shifts due to migration, new forms of socialization, and multilingual environments all arise from the changes that globalization and transnationalism have brought (Basch, Schiller, & Blanc, 1994; Cullingford, 2005; Ghosh & Wang, 2003; Held & McGrew, 2003; Kelly, 2003; Papastergiadis, 2000). Canadian universities are no exception: Simon Fraser University (SFU) is a multilingual university in Metro Vancouver, in which the effects of globalization can be seen through the experiences of Generation 1.5 (G1.5) students, new immigrants, and international students.

This study investigates the processes of identity construction of multilingual students taking a first-year academic literacy course, Foundations of Academic Literacy (FAL X99), at SFU, a course that students are required to take during their first year if they fail to meet the university's language and literacy entrance requirements. Ethnographic research methods with an interpretive approach were employed to examine the students' ways of legitimating themselves as university students in academic discourses and in communities on and off campus. The purpose of the study is to provide educators the opportunity to enrich their understandings of the dynamic and complicated identity formation processes of multilingual students taking such first-year academic literacy courses, and to bring to light their experiences of cultural, linguistic, and social negotiation in university life. I will analyze the following: 1) the students' ways of negotiating, accommodating, and performing academic identity, 2) their reflections on their university experiences, focusing on learning university discourses such as academic literacy, academic and multilingual socialization, and 3) FAL instructors' perceptions of their multilingual students, the students' academic discourses and their own teaching pedagogy.

Since the 1990s, there has been increased research on learners' social identities in the context of the second language learning (SLL) field. Within this field, sociolinguists have encouraged empirical research on how multilingual students' identity construction occurs in higher education (Block, 2006b; Marshall, 2010a). Understanding students' identity construction is important as recent research shows that positive reinforcement of the students' multiple cultural identities can enhance their motivation and engagement in learning (Cummins, 2006; Norton 2000). In this regard, students' multilingual identities, when recognized through institutions (Cummins, 2006; Norton 2000; Cummins & Early, 2011), become a great pedagogical tool to boost students' investment¹ in their learning. In this thesis, I aim to build upon on-going research regarding the identity formation processes of multilingual university students by bringing in their perspectives. I intend to inquire how students use their cultural, social, linguistic and transnational resources to accommodate their new life to become legitimate university students. By doing so, I hope to find connections between students' transitional stages of learning academic discourses and their building of identities as learners. I aim to see how academic socialization and practices reciprocally construct the learner identities of the students. In doing so, I will aim to find pedagogical implications for the English as an Additional Language (EAL) students' empowerment in learning.

My thesis is entitled "becoming a student" because my study represents many multilingual students' processes of gaining legitimacy as university students. I was inspired by the quotation written by Stuart Hall; "identity construction is a matter of 'becoming' as well as 'being'" (p.5). Hall (1997) states that an individual person is capable of selecting and making a sense of her/his own stories of who they are and who they wish to be in the situated context through her/his reflection of the past and present as well as future aspiration. My study participants' stories, academic literacies, transnational and multilingual practices and experiences are the way they gain a sense of becoming as legitimate students in my study.

¹ The term investment is from Norton's study (2010), which highlights the interrelationship of the learner, the power of the target language, and identity construction through learning "a wide range of symbolic and material resources, which will in turn increase the value of their cultural capital" (p. 4).

My role as a researcher allowed me to interpret data through my careful selection of theories in order to construct the representation of the multilingual student. I used this notion of becoming not only for reflecting data to represent many multilingual FAL students in my study, but also to reflect how I myself became a student. The fact that I also went through this process of becoming also served as a motivation for my study. Later in this chapter, in the section discussing my background, I share how I became a legitimate student as a part of self-reflexivity.

Defining the Students in My Study

In my study of multilingual students' identity construction as university students, I recruited those who self-identified as EAL students in order to keep a focus on the learners' identity in the university, and their socio-cultural environments. However, the more I became familiar with the students, and read literature, the more it became clear that the terms ESL/EAL are terms that refer to the identity assigned to these students by the institution, while the term "multilingual" acknowledges the complexity of their linguistic identities and resources. I prefer not to carry the traditional sense of ESL speaker to my study participants which reflects a deficit view, i.e., viewing the multilingual students primarily as lacking in the linguistic resources valued in academia, even though some multilingual students call themselves ESL (Marshall, 2010a), similarly to some of my study participants who sometimes used the term ESL to refer to themselves. I also do not use the term EAL to indicate my study participants as it is an institutional term.

While reviewing the literature, I encountered numerous terms to refer to students with a set of rich linguistic and cultural resources as well as diverse use of language, such as bilingual, multilingual, translanguaging, plurilingual, metrolingual or transnational (Canagarajah, 2011; Marshall, 2010a; Moore & Marshall, in press; Pennycook, 2012; Shin, 2012). Each term has slightly different connotations when focusing on code-switching, linguistic choice and use, deconstruction of the relationship between languages, locations and ethnicities, or multilingual practices across national borders. Among these terms, I chose "multilingual" to refer to the students in my research.

Martin-Jones and Jones (2000) explain the term, multilingual as “captur[ing] the multiplicity and complexity of individual and group repertoires. [M]any have more than two spoken or written languages, [dialects] and literacies associated with their cultural inheritance” (p. 5) and their situated community. The term multilingual also gives more focus on societal contact (Moore & Marshall, in press). As will be discussed in Chapter 5, the term multilingual includes situational contexts of users’ linguistic abilities and denies the nativist view of language development. My study participants who are studying in university are immersed in more than one language for their whole life and are from diverse linguistic backgrounds; Generation 1.5, international students, Canadian-born and immigrants. The students’ choices and ways of using languages vary based on time, space and context; thus the term multilingual includes hybridity and fluidity (Marshall, 2010). As part of using multilingual resources, the students in my study also struggle with ‘English’ used in a university community which targets a considerable amount of learning on an idealized native speaker (Leung, Harris & Rampton, 1997). Therefore, the term multilingual to me is appropriate to describe the students in my study because the term is holistic 1) to cover students’ multiple ways of understanding, using and living with their languages, 2) to acknowledge the rich social, cultural and linguistic resources that the students bring into university life (Benesch, 2008) as well as representing the conflicts that they face when using English (see Chapter 8 for the students’ understanding of academic literacies). However, I continue using the terms EAL/ESL when referring to existing research employing these terms.

Research Questions

In order to inquire into the identity formation of multilingual FAL students as learners at SFU, I will address four research questions:

- What factors have an impact on the identity formation of multilingual undergraduate university students in a first-year academic literacy course?
- How do these students go through the process of “becoming” a university student?
- How do academic literacy course instructors understand the identities of their first-year students?

- What are the implications to pedagogical practices when having multilingual students in the FAL classroom?

In order to respond to the questions, I conducted an ethnographic study. The study data were collected over two terms in 2009 at SFU campuses: a one-term period of classroom observations; semi-structured to open-ended interviews with 16 multilingual undergraduate FAL students during and after the end of semester; students' writing assignments; one time semi-structured to open-ended interview of eight instructors; and casual talk with instructors during the semesters. I acted as an observer and participant observer depending on the classes, as each instructor had a different level of comfort in terms of having me in class. I prioritized to build rapport with my study participants, which became a powerful tool to share valuable stories. Therefore, my role as a researcher often varied based on the nature of communication that the participants and I had together: insider to outsider, and outsider to insider as will be discussed later in the methodology section.

Thesis Organization

The thesis consists of ten chapters. From chapters one to six provides the overview of the thesis and theoretical frameworks. In chapter seven to ten, I will introduce the methodological approach, describe the data, and discuss my findings and conclusions.

Chapter one is an introduction and provides the background of the study, as well as an account of my graduate student life and journey to locate myself in this research. The second chapter describes and discusses the context of the study: 1) Immigration statistics in Canada, 2) student demographics at SFU and the FAL course. Chapter three introduces the university and FAL curricula. Chapter four is a literature review on globalization, transnationalism and identities. The last chapter of the literature review is on language theories: bilingualism/multilingualism, language use, choice and codes, translanguaging and performing monolingualism in higher education. I intend to show how the theories promote and sustain heritage language or languages other than English of multilingual students while higher education tends to promote monolingual discursive practices. In Chapter six, I introduce the methodology of the

study. I focus on an ethnographic study as this allows the researcher to understand the local contextual knowledge of the students and their conditions in university life (Creswell, 2009; Hammersley, 1995; Pole & Morrison, 2003). An ethnographic study with an interpretative approach has provided me with flexibility in my study, allowing for a detailed description of the process of interpretation of the situated field.

From Chapters seven to nine, I will analyze the data according to emerging themes. In Chapter seven, I discuss how the FAL instructors perceived the multilingual students, and the multilingual students' identity construction. Chapter eight is about understanding the practices. Applying Lave and Wenger's (1991) and Wenger's (1998) ideas of communities of practice and legitimate peripheral participation (LPP), I discuss the differences between the multilingual students' and the FAL instructors' ideas of full participation in university, in terms of what is to be taught and learned in academic literacies courses. In Chapter nine, I focus on focal students to inquire in-depth into their transnational and multilingual practices to develop transnational identities. Finally, chapter 10 concludes the study, along with a summary of the study findings, the study aims, research question responses, research limitations and future research suggestions.

My Background

Locating myself as a researcher in the study is essential to legitimate my orientation within research perspectives to examine how the multilingual FAL students' identity formation process takes place in university. According to Burck (2005), self-reflexivity "stems and is situated from the adoption of a social constructionist stance in which knowledge is considered as constructed" (p. 158). My background as an English as a second language (ESL), international graduate student and then immigrant in Canada greatly influenced my research process from the beginning. I therefore understand that sharing my background is an important form of self-reflexivity that facilitates and impacts upon the research processes.

I came to Canada in 1999 as a master's student after one year of what I considered to be a successful teaching experience in Australia. My strong self-

confidence quickly disappeared due to the challenges of learning the new discourses of language and academic English. I wondered how other Japanese students were experiencing their academic life in Canada. I wrote my thesis on Japanese female students' second language writing experiences in a Canadian university. My study was a heuristic study that is a part of phenomenology. In my thesis, I positioned myself as a novice graduate student who participated in the academic community as an outsider:

... studying at a North American University, I faced what I call academic cultural shock. It originated from academic writing: My paper was not accepted for the first time in my life. This academic culture shock decreased my confidence and made me feel nervous about writing, and I started to think that my academic intelligence was less than that of other people. My feeling of being privileged was gone and my belief in myself was destroyed. Because of this academic cultural shock, I began to analyze this [phenomena and how] this [academic] clash originated. [...] The act of writing made me "feel" being in between the Japanese and English language, culture and discourse, my expectation of myself and the reality of academic life in Canada. This multi-layered complex feeling became stronger as I studied and wrote in Canada. Then, I [readily] acknowledged that this feeling played a big role in my academic life, and affected the confidence, and beliefs that I brought from my home country. [...] The more I wrote, the more I felt I was not a native speaker of English. In Japan, my English was very well regarded. However, in Canada, I do not feel that I am doing well no matter how much effort I make. It was always difficult to think of my writing as being incoherent. The literature's contrastive rhetorical analysis also made me feel that my mind was scattered, and that I am Japanese, categorized as oriental, so I cannot write well until I forget about my way of thinking, and the way that my language works in my mind. I lost confidence in myself, and I started questioning myself as to where my place should be.

(Hayashi, 2002, pp. 54-55)

My study participants were students brought up and educated in Japan, studying for a university degree for more than one year. I identified four main themes: Japanese language as mine and English as others'; nuances; rhetoric in argument; and value of silence. These four themes pointed to ways in which the Japanese university students were feeling isolated from the English language and other people. After reevaluating the first language and culture through the writing experiences in the second language, I concluded that cultural reciprocity is crucial in a student-teacher relationship. Cultural reciprocity implies that instructors should understand the student's culture that is embedded in their language to provide effective feedback while the student experiences

an immersion of a second language writing process in an English mediated academic community. I had gained some closure and I thought it was a happy end of my first graduate study experience. I became a doctoral student after a one year break.

As a doctoral student, I was overwhelmed by theories. Critical theories, postcolonial theories and socio cultural theories explained, and deconstructed power relationships. Reading narratives of ESL university students and adult migrants overlapped with my academic experiences of trying to overcome challenges, feelings of being oppressed and marginalized. I felt tired as if my life were completely theorized. I needed to search and incorporate others' worldviews to mine. I had to find a way to legitimate my academic identities through a "[s]erious reflection on multiple competing viewpoints" (Gee, 1996, p. 17) of academic discourses. In other words, in order to perform a legitimate academic identity, I felt that I had to reexamine my way of explaining thoughts from other people's view point, and I needed to put aside some of the resources I had gained. Gradually, I found the place where I felt recognized, understood and accommodated to be ready for the on-going challenges in my research. Working as a research assistant in my field allowed me to peripherally participate in the academic community through data collection, analysis, working together for academic conferences and publication. The research assistantship and supervisory support for my thesis provided me with practical information and academic practices. The whole experience gave me confidence, as well as a feeling of being trusted. I gained a stronger vision of myself as a legitimate graduate student, working with my supervisor and colleagues, and trying to complete research. This became a whole new learning experience that motivated me to see how other multilingual students communicated within their academic and social environments, and to understand their identity formation as learners.

According to Lave and Wenger (1991) conceptualize identities as follows.

[Learning] is not merely a condition for membership, but is itself an evolving form of membership. We conceive of identities as long-term, living relations between persons and their place and participation in communities of practice. Thus identity, knowing, and social membership entail one another. (p. 53)

Situating myself in diverse practices in academia shifted the way I saw my university life. I struggled, and I was challenged. I noticed that my identity as a graduate student in Canada had been constructed not only from my own academic work (which simply visualizes my thoughts in writing) and others' reactions to my work, but also from my search for resources and socialization, and legitimate peripheral participation in the academic community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Zappa-Hollman, 2007). I learned that I had a strong passion to belong to the academic community, that I could build rapport with colleagues, and exchange and explore worldviews and research interests to gain academic knowledge for professional and personal growth. When I encountered theories of globalization and transnationalism in the fields of sociolinguistics and education that legitimate multilingual students, I felt that I could find myself in the literature. I gained confidence to continue writing my thesis. I no longer felt labeled an ESL student whose multilingual life is ignored in the educational learning process, and is implicitly encouraged to assimilate in the monolingual English society (Heller, 2007b). I sought to understand students in positive ways through ideas such as transnational consciousness, and multilingual social practices. My academic interests and passion became more crystallized: I was interested in seeing how the multilingual FAL students' ways of learning university discourses were shaping their learner identities.

Globalization affects individual lives in many ways, most specifically, by creating feelings of being in-between multiple cultures. We interact, negotiate and accommodate to various environments. This is because globalization allows us to participate in multiple societies physically or electronically, to communicate with family and friends residing abroad, and to update information through media around the world. Globalization and transnational communications thus allow multilingual students to "experience lives dialectically and physically with their family's countries of origins" (Sánchez, 2001, p. 378). I strongly felt that my academic contribution should not only be finding a space for myself, but also understanding how other multilingual students find space within diaspora.

Chapter 2.

Research Background

In this chapter, I describe the context of the research. Through the process of globalization, a large number of people have migrated into British Columbia (BC). The influx of people from all over the world has changed the demographic makeup of BC, creating challenges to higher education in the province (FAL orientation, 2009). At this point, an estimated 31% of the BC population is speaking languages other than English at home (Statistics Canada, 2011a). I will first explain Canada's immigration statistics, and then the demographics at SFU as well as the FAL course.

Simon Fraser University

SFU campuses are located across the Lower Mainland of BC. The campuses where most of the FAL courses are offered are in suburban areas of Metro Vancouver. For my study, I visited the Burnaby and Surrey campuses in the summer of 2009. The university is a growing community. For example, the Burnaby campus is a university community with new private condos, a small shopping village, and an elementary school, as well as new academic and research buildings. The natural setting around the campus is amazing: I often see people jogging in the forest trails, walking with friends, family, and their dogs. Shops reflect the ethnic and cultural diversity of the area: they offer a wide range of food from organic vegetarian deli, pizza, sandwiches & soup, to Indian curry, kebab, sushi, Korean rice bowls, and Vietnamese noodles. The Surrey campus is smaller but located in a convenient area for public transportation. The campus is attached to a shopping mall and surrounded by large stores near a highway. There is a public transit station and a bus terminal facing the newer campus building. The Surrey campus also offers various programs and degrees, as does the Burnaby

campus, and also non-credit courses and public lectures (Simon Fraser University, n.d.a).

Students have various cultural exchange opportunities outside the campus. SFU offers study abroad experiences, such as field schools or dual or joint degrees from SFU and other universities in China and France. Students can study in more mobile and flexible ways with on-line courses. They can work and live outside the province and attend university courses on-line. In many web-based courses, students across the globe share personal opinions in on-line discussions, allowing them to exchange knowledge between different countries and cultures. Thus, SFU provides students with a range of educational opportunities and options (SFU International, n.d.; Student Learning Commons, n.d.).

Immigration Statistics of Canada

The population of Canada is composed of diverse linguistic, cultural, and social groups of people. In 1967, the Canadian government first introduced a *points system for the selection of skilled workers and business immigrants*, who were later categorized as an *independent class* and then *economic class* (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2010). Since 1976, when the Immigration Act was classified into three categories—family, humanitarian and independent class (Heritage Community Foundation, 2010)—three trends have emerged: demographic shift, emergence of multilingualism, and transnationalism.

The first trend is a demographic shift. Before 1967, the majority of migrants into Canada were seeking new economic opportunities. With the introduction of the economic class, more financially and socially advantaged groups of people migrated to Canada. In 2006, 54% of new immigrants were socially and financially established with a higher education degree from their home countries and work experience (Statistics Canada, 2006a). Especially in the Greater Vancouver area, my research context, “the composition of immigrant cohorts ... has strongly favoured the economic classes of independents and business migrants, more so than in any other Canadian urban centre” (Hiebert & Ley, 2006, p.72). While approximately 70% of immigrants were from Europe

before 1967, the ethnic origins have dramatically shifted to Asian populations after the introduction of the points system to the immigration policy (Statistics Canada, 2006a)². According to Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2010), the largest migrant nationality in 2010 was from the Philippines (36,578) followed by India (30,252) and Mainland China (30,191).

The second trend is multilingualism. According to Statistics Canada (2011b), more than 200 languages are spoken in Canada, including the official languages of English and French. 6.8 million people (i.e., 20.6% of the population) speak languages other than English and French. Statistics Canada refers to these languages other than English as immigrants' languages and categorizes them into 23 major language families. These language families include Romance languages³ (17.5%), Indo-Iranian languages (17.3%), Chinese languages (16.3%), Slavic languages (10.6%) and Germanic languages (8.9%) (Statistics Canada, 2011a). As a reflection of the ethnic diversity that appeared after the 1970s, multilingualism has become more prominent in BC: Especially in Vancouver, more than 721,000 people (31% of the population) speak a language other than English at home. The most predominant language is Chinese (40.4%), followed by Punjabi (17.7%) and Tagalog (6.7%) (Statistics Canada, 2011a).

The third trend, transnationalism, is a common phenomenon in the Lower Mainland of BC. Transnationalism is explained by Kelly (2003), who argues that recent immigrants are not fully assimilated settlers of Canada: "rather, they maintain important linkages with their places of origins" (p. 209). To sustain linkages with their home countries, they engage in transnational activities. As Hiebert and Ley (2006) explain, such activities include overseas social networks and re-visitations to the immigrants' original countries. The transnational activities play a significant role in sustaining the immigrants' home or heritage languages, values, and cultures. In essence, "implied in [the concept of transnationalism] is a realization that many immigrants live a substantial

² Continent of birth of immigrants to Canada from 2001 to 2006: 1) Asia 60.5%, 2) Europe 16.4%, 3) Africa 10.5% (Statistics Canada, 2006b).

³ Romance languages refer to Spanish, Italian, Portuguese; Indo-Iranian languages refer to Punjabi, Urdu, Persian, Gujarati, Hindi; Chinese languages refer to Cantonese, Mandarin and Chinese that is not specified, but includes about 10 different languages spoken in China; Slavic languages refer to Polish, Russian, Ukrainian; Germanic languages refer to German, Dutch, Yiddish.

part of their emotional, social, economic and political lives in their place of origin while working, living and settling in Canada” (Kelly, 2003, p. 209). Needless to say, electronic information, media, and pop culture across nations also promote and update the transnational nature of their identities (Ghosh & Wang, 2003).

The combination of recent demographic shifts, multilingualism, and transnationalism shape the characteristics of the recent immigrants in BC’s Lower Mainland. The outcome of the migration shift raises a certain level of awareness of the multilingual and transnational nature of immigrants’ life in Canada among educators and educational institutions. Many of my study participants are international students at SFU and make home visitations annually, or after each term, though they may become future immigrants to Canada with a Canadian higher education degree and work experience.

Demographics at SFU

There are approximately 32,000 students registered at SFU in undergraduate, graduate, and diploma programs (Simon Fraser University, n.d.b). The most reliable demographic data on undergraduate students comes from the SFU Institutional Research and Planning statistics submitted to the Canadian University Survey Consortium (CUSC), the Globe and Mail Canadian University Report (GMCUR), and the Undergraduate International Students by Country of Citizenship report from the SFU Institutional Research and Planning (SFU, n.d.f).

The Canadian University Survey Consortium in 2008 asked students: “To which ethnic or cultural group do you belong? Check all that apply.” 1,000 SFU undergraduate students were selected randomly, and the response rate was 27%. 31% of respondents reported themselves as Chinese and 46% of students identified themselves as Caucasian. After these two majorities, there were Korean (6%), South Asian (6%), Filipino (3%), West Asian (2%), Japanese (2%), Aboriginal (1%), Métis (1%), Latin American (1%), and Black (1%). Unlike CUSC, other data from 2009 GMCUR (SFU, n.d.f) considers Canadian as an ethnic category. GMCUR asked, “Which of the following best describes your ethnic background? Please select as many as apply.” 13% of SFU undergraduate students replied to this questionnaire, some chose more

than one ethnicity as the questionnaire allowed them to select as many as applied. Responses showed that 35% are of Chinese ethnic background, 25% are of British descendants, and 46% of them are Canadian⁴.

As noted above, the ethnic category “Canadian” is a problematic term as it also refers to nationality and has an ideological orientation in the Canadian multiculturalism context (James, 2001). Therefore the term “Canadian” in the GMCUR data conflicts with ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Moreover, this term is controversial and can bring criticism as representing an assimilationist or essentialist perspective. An assimilationist perspective does not recognize the complexity and fluidity of students’ national and cultural identities in various situations. Rather, it values assimilation into the valued practices of the dominant group. It is worth noting that the term ‘Canadian’ from an assimilationist and essentialist perspective might have served as a blanket term for those who do not have strong connections with their heritage ethnic backgrounds.

As shown in the questions for those two data sets, the same person might provide multiple responses: Students in several higher institutions were asked to check all ethno-cultural categories that applied to them. This means that students were able to give multiple answers. For example, Korean-Canadian mixed heritage students, and migrant students from Korea could mark the same two categories of Canadian and Korean, even though their social, cultural, linguistic or educational backgrounds, environments and experiences are not the same. Or, one person may have marked Caucasian, Korean, and Canadian at one time. In short, these kinds of ethnic and cultural categorizations can sometimes be misleading and serve to confuse interpretations of students’ ethnicity (ies). Thus, the categorization is questionable in the context of multilingual and multicultural environments if one tries to understand the students’ social, linguistic and cultural backgrounds.

The final data set was from the SFU Institutional Research and Planning on international undergraduate students’ country of citizenship⁵ (SFU, n.d.f). In 2009, 12%

⁴ Since the questionnaire suggests selecting as many as apply, the total response exceeded 100%.

⁵ Note that there is no SFU student ethno-cultural demographic data as a whole.

of undergraduate students at SFU campuses were international (around 2,300 students). And an estimated 1,450 were from China; this number doubled from 2008 to 2009. The second largest number of students was from South Korea (258), then Hong Kong (196) and Taiwan (112). Note that, in the FAL course, the majority of the multilingual students can be defined as Generation 1.5; they study together with international students, and monolingual domestic students. However, in the contexts of SFU and my study, it is difficult to differentiate between Generation 1.5 and international students in terms of languages and cultures. With regard to enrollment and student status at SFU, international students are those who are studying on a student visa; this differentiates them from landed immigrants and new Canadian citizens.

Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) criticize these kinds of questionnaires in multilingual settings because “sociopsychological measures and assessments operate with the standard language notions in mind, ignoring the full range of individuals’ linguistic repertoires” (p. 7). They argue that students may not share the same understandings of cultural belonging or ethnic identities, depending on their life experiences in Canada. For instance, international students from China, and Chinese students born in Canada may have selected the same category of Chinese in the three different surveys, regardless of their dissimilar cultural, educational, and language experiences. Thus, in analyzing the information from the three data sets above, I found that students’ ethnic identities are neither fixed nor simple, nor is it a simple task to represent them accurately. Rather, it is essential to be aware that different approaches in the survey questions could lead to varying responses.

As already stated, the population of SFU is made up of students from diverse backgrounds. The data available only indicate students’ self-reported ethnic backgrounds. Due to Vancouver’s diversity, and the transnational activities in which students engage, it is difficult to make any assumptions about students’ linguistic, cultural, social, and academic backgrounds by their physical appearances, and the languages they choose to speak on campus. To be more accurate, students’ selection of their *ethnic* or *cultural* backgrounds can be changeable, based on their experiences, times, and spaces. This flexibility in selecting ethnic and cultural labels corroborates poststructural views of identities as socio-culturally constructed, and sometimes contested and contesting (Block, 2006a, 2006b; Rassool, 2000). Block (2006b) further

points out that categorization can be tricky due to various translations of one's individual experiences and backgrounds.

As stated above, from the complexity of self-reported ethnic or cultural identities of the SFU students, it is hard to define what linguistic, social and cultural resources students bring into university life. The description found in a considerable amount of North American literature on *Generation 1.5* should be noted here. Marshall (2010) describes Generation 1.5 students as somewhere between first and second generation immigrants, who typically come to the new country at a young age. Harklau, Siegal and Losey (1999) also support the use of the term Generation 1.5 to describe the students beyond a generational categorization and to show the diversity of immigrant youths' language, social, cultural and school experiences. Thus, the term Generation 1.5 captures well the in-between and transnational nature of various ethnic identities. Generation 1.5 unpacks the complexity of describing the multilingual student: a student "who has grown up in bicultural, bilingual, or binational families or has spent extended periods living in cross-cultural contexts is deeply familiar with the sense of in-betweenness and the process of identity negotiation reflected in such works" (Roberge, 2009, p. 5).

By contrast, Benesch (2008) criticized the term Generation 1.5, by introducing three interconnected discourses that highlight Generation 1.5 discourses of partiality. They are demographic, linguistic and academic discourses that marginalize the Generation 1.5 students' experiences as not completed, neither fully legitimated activities. Instead of misrepresenting Generation 1.5 students as a student with lack of legitimacy in their linguistic, socio-cultural experiences, Benesch suggests to promote the notion of multilingualism. The term multilingual for Benesch includes the diverse linguistic, socio-cultural and academic experiences that students bring to the community countering labeling the students from a monolingual/monocultural perspective.

The term, multilingual students, thus, recognizes students' individual narratives of themselves. The students' linguistic, socio-cultural, and academic interactions and transnational activities that shape their identities in various ways are legitimated. Since the boundaries among international students, immigrants' Canadian-born children,

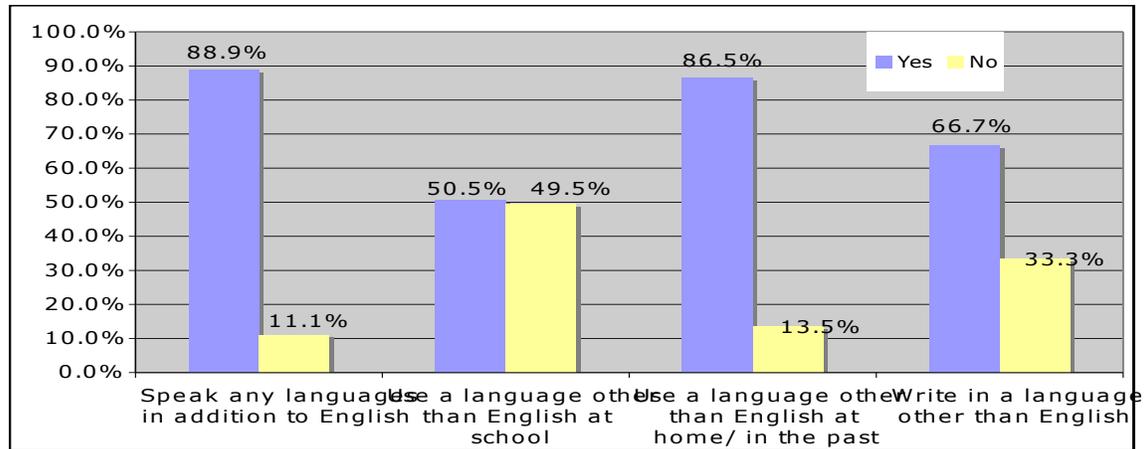
Generation 1.5, and recent immigrants in my study blur, I will employ the term multilingual which embraces this diversity of experiences.

Waterstone (2008) discussed a negative effect of labeling students as ESL. According to Waterstone, “the *ESL* label serves the function of locating deficit, and for students *summoned* to this position, it may stereotype them and limit their possibilities” (p. 54). As a result, students may be confronted with the danger of internalizing this deficit identity, implying that they lack recognition as a legitimate student. In this sense, I see “ESL” as a socio-politically constructed term that suggests language hierarchy and through which students are assumed to have difficulties with the language (Chiang & Schmida, 1999; Lee & Marshall, 2012). To acknowledge students’ diverse linguistic backgrounds, EAL has been adopted to blur the power relations in language use, and to prevent ranking the language as first, second, or third (Marshall, 2010a).

As I got to know my participants, I learned that some of them had gone through English-medium schools since kindergarten, lived in English-speaking countries since childhood, while other students had learned English as a foreign, second or third language. Hence, the term EAL was not helpful in highlighting the students’ diverse language learning backgrounds and the term Generation 1.5 failed to represent multilingual students’ simultaneous immersion in more than one language. I wondered how to describe the study participants in a way that would be more inclusive and embracing of their life experiences. I wanted to celebrate their academic achievements by sharing their stories of becoming university students. Furthermore, the purpose of my research was not to evaluate or discuss students’ English proficiency. After careful consideration, I decided to use the term multilingual instead of EAL or ESL to refer to participants, while using the term ESL when it was used by the participants and EAL when referring to the identity assigned to these students by the institution. I will further review the literature on multilingualism to make sense of the research context and students in my study in Chapter 5.

Student Demographics on FAL

Table 1. EAL summary (FAL orientation, 2009)



As shown in Marshall's Table 1 (FAL orientation, 2009) above, 88.9% of the students taking the FAL course describe themselves as speaking languages other than English at home now or in the past. More than two thirds of the registered students in the FAL course self-reported that they were able to write in two or more languages.

Block (2010) notes that "through advanced technology, and transportation, people can more easily and quickly be in either physical or virtual contact than has been the case in the past" (p. 16). Therefore, along with multilingual skills, a common characteristic of the FAL students is their cosmopolitan transnational identity. Their "lives are characterized by geographical fluidity and [they] identify themselves with at least two places" (Hiebert & Ley, 2006, p.77). Or, as Marshall (2010) explains, "Through family, return visits, diasporic networks and high levels of spoken and written literacy in L1, 'old' lang+uages identities are kept alive and play a major part in individuals' everyday lives and identities" (Marshall, 2010a, p. 3).

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have outlined the contexts of changing demographics: for immigrants in Canada, among students at SFU, and among the students who take the

FAL course. Immigration in Canada brings three trends to the society. The demographics have changed from a predominant European population to a large Asian population after a category of immigration was introduced which welcomes professional and financially advantaged people. As a result of growth of the diverse population, 31% of the BC population speaks languages other than English. This includes the children of immigrants whose parents maintain their national languages. Due to globalization and technological advances, immigrants' lives are now much closer to their home countries. This means that they are physically in Canada, but can keep emotional, social, economic and political lives in their home countries. This may shape transnational identities immersing in multiple linguistic, socio-cultural communities across nations. These descriptions of immigrants are a prominent representation of many of the SFU FAL multilingual students.

I also critically reviewed how to refer to the FAL multilingual students in my study, who are Generation 1.5, international students, and new immigrants. Regardless of the fact that I recruited self-reported EAL students, I realized that the term EAL could be exclusive in the same way as the term ESL. Both have negative connotations and both have been imposed by traditional research, providing the impression that the student may never become a member of the society in which English is spoken. I decided to use the term multilingual to refer to the students in my research, while maintaining the use of the terms EAL and ESL as used in the literature.

In the next chapter, I will provide an overview of Academic literacy at SFU, and FAL curriculum and instruction.

Chapter 3.

Academic Literacy at SFU

SFU introduced its Writing Quantitative and Breadth (WQB) curriculum in all undergraduate programs starting in the year 2006. In this chapter, I will introduce the WQB curriculum. Then, I will describe writing intensive learning and the framework of the Foundations of Academic Literacy (FAL X99) course and the FAL students' linguistic backgrounds.

University Curriculum: Writing, Quantitative and Breath (WQB)

In the Fall 2006 term, SFU introduced a new curriculum called Writing, Quantitative and Breadth (WQB). The purpose of the WQB curriculum was to ensure that students would engage with disciplinary practices in a range of fields, including fields outside their majors. A second, but important goal was to strengthen the writing and numeracy skills of SFU graduates. According to SFU:

Innovations implemented in the SFU undergraduate curriculum are designed to enrich the quality of an SFU education and prepare students for promising futures. These changes affect students admitted to SFU as of September 2006. We offer a challenging curriculum that provides a superior education, with greater applicability and relevance.

(Simon Fraser University, n.d.c)

Besides the courses required for their majors, all SFU undergraduate students must complete writing intensive courses, as well as courses to satisfy their quantitative and breadth requirements. To meet the WQB requirements, students have to complete 36 credits: six credits from introductory and upper levels of writing intensive (W) courses, six credits from Quantitative (Q) courses, and 24 credits from Breadth (B) courses. In

order to complete the WQB curriculum, earning a minimum C- grade for each course is a requirement. I will not explain further the quantitative and breadth aspects of the new curriculum. Instead, I will focus on explaining the W courses since the main purpose of the FAL course is to prepare students for W courses, which are based on writing-intensive learning pedagogies.

Writing Intensive Courses (W course): Writing to Learn vs. Learning to Write

W courses “use writing as a way of learning the content of the course and [students] are taught to write in the forms and for the purposes that are typical of disciplines and/or professions” (Simon Fraser University, n.d.d). In other words, instructors’ responsibilities are not only to teach academic subjects, but also to assist students’ learning by engaging them in writing in a form that is typical for a given disciplinary field and giving instructive feedback based on the writing work (Simon Fraser University, n.d.d). The idea of the W course is influenced by Writing Across the Curriculum (WAC) models that have “the shared goal of encouraging instructors in all disciplines to make writing an inevitable part of the teaching and learning process in their courses” (Spack, 1998, p. 90). In W courses, writing pedagogy is integrated into the regular course content so that students can learn through writing. This emphasizes the pedagogical integration of “writing to learn” and “learning to write”.

W course instructors are expected to follow suggestions as to the type of activities to do in their courses. Such activities include research proposals, laboratory notes, literature reviews, letters to an editor, personal narratives, and text analyses (Simon Fraser University, n.d.e.). Instructors provide a few topics, and students learn about the course-related content as they engage in different writing activities and receive feedback for these activities. For example, students may be first assigned an exploratory writing task about new concepts of the subject. Based on the instructors’ feedback, students learn their academic subject more in depth, and develop their writing skills. They may be required to write annotated bibliographies, critical response papers, and drafts about a topic. Students in the W course expose themselves to various genres of writing on the same topic. Ideally, students’ writing and academic knowledge are

dialogically constructed with instructional feedback through the semester. The pedagogical strength of the W course is to share the responsibility for teaching and learning writing. In other words, embed writing pedagogies within disciplinary writing practices, thereby strengthening the learning and the writing for students.

The SFU curriculum initiative forwards an institutional approach that involves instructors engaging in the students' writing process in various disciplines, rather than leaving students alone in the writing and learning process and categorizing their difficulties as individual learning problems (Lea & Street, 1998). At the same time, power relations commonly associated with literacy activities can be exercised through writing practices because students are trained to produce the particular forms of writing that are socially, politically and culturally relevant to the dominant society (Kress, 1993). One major problem with the writing intensive learning initiative at SFU is that the pedagogies employed are targeting a learner who has sufficient reading and writing skills in the language of instruction to learn through writing. Many EAL/multilingual/Generation 1.5 students entering the university do not match that learner profile. Educational experiences vary from country to country and "ways with words" (Heath, 1983) may have little in common with classroom discourses. In order to register in W courses, students are required to demonstrate minimum, mandatory literacy skills in English. When I collected data in 2009, the policy was that students had to meet one of the following criteria: have at least a 75% score in Grade 12 English (including the provincial examination score); have achieved 50% in each section of the Language Proficiency Index Test (LPI) and a score of four in the essay portion of that test; have achieved a minimum grade of C- from university transferable English courses; completed SFU certificated W courses from other higher education institutions; have achieved department required scores from the International English Language Testing System (IELTS); Canadian Academic English Language Assessment (CAEL) with Language Proficiency Index (LPI) essay score over 5; or pass the Foundations of Academic Literacy (FAL) Course at SFU. Students who have met the overall entrance requirements to study at SFU but who have not met the language and literacy requirements are not able to register for their first required W course until they have met one of the above requirements. Each year, approximately 800 students meet this requirement by taking Foundations of Academic Literacy (FAL X99).

Foundations of Academic Literacy (FAL X99)⁶

According to Marshall (2010, March), establishing the FAL course has been one of the institutional responses to the changing makeup of the student body at SFU. The FAL course is an additive credit academic literacy course for students who have not met SFU's literacy requirements, regardless of their linguistic backgrounds. As an additive credit course, students take the FAL course in addition to the 120 credits needed for graduation. Although the majority of FAL students are multilingual, and are Generation 1.5, new immigrants or international students, monolingual English speaking students who have not met the above described language and literacy requirements also take the same course. Marshall (2010) states in his study that the first year university students who enroll in such academic literacy courses are negotiating the transitions “between *genres* in terms of academic communities of practice, text types/ disciplinary discourses, and the form and situation of writing (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Hyland, 2004; Bhatia, 2002; Giltrow, 2005)” (p. 4). The pedagogical focus of the course is on teaching academic literacies.

The term *academic literacies* was coined by *New Literacy Studies* researchers Lea and Street (1998). An academic literacies perspective “views student writing and learning as issues at the level of epistemology and identities rather than skill or socialisation” (Lea & Street, 1998, p. 159). Within *New Literacy Studies*, literacies are considered “as sets of practice, [where] the focus shifts towards ways in which students learn to participate and make meaning within an academic context” (Henderson & Hirst, 2007, p. 26). In that context, Lea and Street note that students’ writing processes should be viewed as “meaning-making and contestation around meaning rather than as skills or deficits” (p.159). Students need to learn various writing genres associated with different disciplines so that they have a legitimate voice. The FAL students bring values and beliefs from their home countries, previous English prerequisite courses, and high schools into the university classroom. They need to ‘sort out’, and organize these in order to be recognized, and to contest discourses by adding their own voice. Hence, a focus on academic literacies provides students with access to powerful discourses.

⁶ The information above and the FAL course policies and curriculum I explain here are from policies and curriculum at the time of my data collection (2009).

The FAL course emphasizes creating a safe learning space for students and building students' confidence in using writing as a way of exploring their voices and in learning academic literacy conventions in a variety of disciplines (Foundations of Academic Literacy, Simon Fraser University, 2008). Students will then safely practice how to approach and learn academic discourses that are culturally, socially and institutionally embedded along with study skills (e.g., technical aspects of writing) (Lea & Street, 1998; Ivanič, 2004). Instructors play a significant role in academic socialization, because students rely on instructors' lectures, and feedback to learn contextual and situational knowledge. The FAL course is designed to help "students to become effective writers, problem-solvers, thinkers, and active learners" (FAL Brochure, 2008), as well as to learn academic presentation skills. In short, FAL instructors teach students various genres of writing in different academic disciplines, as well as oral presentation skills, collaborative strategies for group work, research skills, and access to academic resources, rather than focusing simply on correcting sentence-level problems.

The program started with around 400 undergraduate students in 2006, and recently there were close to 900 students registering for the course (Marshall, 2010a). At the time of data collection, the course structure consisted of four learning sections/units. In each section, there are various pedagogical approaches to teaching academic literacies, and to facilitating students' academic socialization. Students come to the FAL class twice a week for two hours for 13 weeks. In the next section, I will explain the four units that were the focus of classes during data collection.

FAL Curriculum

In the FAL course, students learn not only various ways of presenting themselves using academic discourses orally, visually, and in written forms, but also to establish a sense of comfort in the academic community. Unit one provides an opportunity to explore personal narrative and voice, as well as to study through peer review. Students first reflect and identify their own strengths, weaknesses, study preferences, and learning habits. Students inquire into their life history by writing about "a major event in my life," and have their classmates review their papers. In some classes, the instructors also ask students to interview their classmates about their background and to write a

biography of another student. In Unit one, students' narratives become tools for the expression of agency in text and for finding and expressing the writers' voice. Thus, the unit affirms students' epistemological values and expression through situated writing (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Lea & Street, 2006; Marshall, 2010a, 2010b).

Unit two focuses on group presentations. The FAL students visit the library and the Student Learning Commons (SLC) for their research and outside-the-class learning support. In the library, the FAL students learn how to look for resources, using online databases. At the SLC, services such as writing consultations and workshops are made available to the students. In the classroom, instructors offer different approaches to literacy and academic social learning: finding a research topic, reading materials critically, and integrating colleagues' work into one topic. After each group agrees on its research topic, the students distribute work assignments for the presentation as a final product of this unit: writing a draft and synthesizing each draft into a PowerPoint presentation. At the end of this unit, students present their work orally with visual aids, and have their classmates review their presentations. By this time, students will have become more independent through familiarization with various academic resources, and collaborative work.

In Unit three, students learn how to write in different styles for different audiences. They practice writing a critical summary, and proofread and self-edit for different genres. In a class I visited, students were required to complete assignments of three writing genres: writing a letter to a targeted audience, writing an argumentative speech, and making a summary of a newspaper article.

By Unit four, students are learning different writing styles, research skills, peer support strategies, and are editing their papers and peer editing others' papers. Throughout the four units, students also submit diagnostic writing to have in-depth feedback from instructors, from where they learn the strengths and weaknesses in their writing.

Finally, at the end of the term, students review and submit portfolios, which are a collection of work done during the course. Some students submit the original writing diagnostic task, as well as the revised version, to show the gradual writing improvement

they have made. Others present their narrative writing or other writing activities that they have worked on in and outside the classroom. Along with their writing samples, students also submit a critical reflection on their study process in the FAL course. The students also evaluate their learning achievement and areas for further study in their academic skills by providing examples of achievements and challenges.

Conclusion

This chapter describes the context of the study. SFU has challenged the foundations of institutional practices in instituting the WQB curriculum. In order to study W courses, the FAL program was set up for those whose language and literacy skills were not sufficient to meet SFU language and literacy criteria. The FAL program, therefore, is one institutional response to demographic shifts, because many multilingual students may face difficulties with W courses. Adopting the concept of academic literacies and academic socialization, students add academic discourse to their literacy repertoires.

The FAL program provides academic socialization, and students become familiar with different genres, and build up contextual and situated knowledge in writing and through the FAL instructors' feedback, lectures, texts, and materials. Understanding the multilingual FAL students' identity process, introduction of their institutional curriculum, and the Foundation of Academic Literacies program is relevant, as the curriculum, instruction and their instructors construct the university ways of learning, while the multilingual FAL students incorporate the new learning into their academic, linguistic and socio-cultural resources that they have brought to the university community.

The purpose of the FAL courses is to provide one mode of access for students; to participate fully in university life, they extend their social network to find academic support networks on campus. Multilingual FAL students in my study construct their perceptions of academic literacies that are crucial in surviving university life through the FAL course, interactions among their instructors and classmates. Moreover, their identity is co-constructed through these interactions and their reflections as shown in the

analysis chapters. Especially in chapter X, I will describe the multilingual FAL students' perception of academic literacy and their self-positioning.

In the next chapter, I will discuss globalization, transnationalism, and identity theories.

Chapter 4.

Globalization, Transnationalism and Identities

The Globalizing Reality

Globalization represents a significant shift in the spatial reach of social relations and organization towards the interregional or intercontinental scale. This does not mean that the global necessarily displaces or takes precedence over local, national or regional orders of social life. Rather the point is that the local becomes embedded within more expansive sets of interregional relations and networks of power.

(Held & McGrew, 2003, p. 3)

Held and McGrew's description of globalization signifies economic, political, cultural, and social processes occurring through their interdependent relationships within multiple networks and organizations across nations. Due to technological and economic advancement, individuals search, collect, synthesize, and use information from distant locations simultaneously. Globalization deepens and speeds up information (Held & McGrew, 2003; Pennycook, 2007). In other words, "globalization may be better understood as compression of time and space" (Pennycook, 2007, p. 24-25). For example, "Indian call centres, indigenous education conferences, Japanese animated cartoons, ... the ubiquity and similarity of urban graffiti are all part of globalization" (Pennycook, 2007, p. 25). Such global phenomena across nations are available in individuals' lives to influence people's activities; as well, individuals search and select the appropriate information based on their needs from broad, globalized resources to make sense of their everyday lives. For instance, many migrants take advantage of the advanced technology (such as email, Skype, MSN, Facebook) to catch up with their home news, politics and cultures. These transnational activities are, as will be discussed later, some of the prominent resources for multilingual FAL students in their everyday lives (Ghosh & Wang, 2003; Kelly, 2003; Marshall, 2010a).

While globalization provides more information and opportunities for promoting and exploring individuals' social and cultural lives, migration has become more common for those who pursue higher educational opportunities, or search for a better quality of life (Singh & Doherty, 2004, cited in Pennycook, 2007). Universities are one of the settings in which globalization and migration are prominent as many newcomers regard higher education as a path to participation in mainstream society in the new country. Moreover, Canada's multicultural policy and continuous prospects for immigration attract people from all over the world for their educational purposes as well as traditional migration motives, such as escaping from poverty and political conflicts. Thus, the university campus becomes ethnically, socio-culturally, linguistically, politically, and/or economically diverse with both traditional and new immigrants, and international, as well as, domestic students.

As globalization is "a process, which embodies a transformation in the spatial organization and social relations" (Held & McGrew, 2003, p. 51), demographic shifts in higher education entail changes in both institutional and individual cultures. Papastergiadis (2000) mentions that:

... the twin processes of globalization and migration have shifted the question of cultural identity from the margins to the centre of contemporary debates. [...] Increased recognition and negotiation of cultural difference has challenged the very foundations of almost every institution or practice that shapes the contours of social life.
(Papastergiadis, 2000, pp. 5-6)

That is to say, multilingual FAL students who have access to multiple linguistic, social and cultural environments can potentially take full advantage of their multi-ness to succeed in their university life, discursively and dialogically. Thus, the globalized reality is reflected in students' university lives as useful resources: in their prompt access to information, in their adjusting and reshaping of institutional cultures, and in their social networks and communities. These resources may exert an impact on individual life, on personal experiences, and on students' identity formation as learners (Cullingford, 2005).

Transnationalism and Transnational Activities

According to Basch, Schiller and Blanc (1994), transnationalism is a socially globalizing phenomenon and “the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement. “[*Without geographic borders, immigrants*] develop and maintain multiple relationships—familial, economic, social, organizational, religious, and political” (p. 7). Transnational activities are social activities that keep people’s everyday lives simultaneously in two or more nations. In the past, people wrote a letter that took 10 days or more to reach different countries. Nowadays, technological advancements and global economic competition compress the time-space concepts in people’s minds as if there were no national boundaries. This is because the Internet speeds up communication between those residing in different nations, or provides hourly updated political news and information (Kelly, 2003). With the use of mobile phones and the Internet, the immediate communication opportunities have increased, as well as the availability of instant financial transfers; those living abroad can easily participate in their family decisions on a daily basis despite their physical location (Ghosh & Wang, 2003; Kelly, 2003). Block (2006b) explains, “today’s migrants are progressively forming part of what are termed transnational social spaces as opposed to traditional immigrant communities” (p. 16). Needless to say, it is important to acknowledge that the notion of transnational social spaces does not apply to all recent immigrants: some of the new immigrants choose not to connect with their countries of origin, while traditional immigrants who reside in a place with pronounced assimilation policy may try to keep psychological ties with their home country in some way. Overall, the borderless (time-space concept) social phenomenon called transnationalism has become a strong alternative form of settlement for many immigrants in new countries (Block, 2006b).

Transnationalism decentralizes national boundaries, thus creating a transnational field. Those who engage in transnational activities collect, integrate, analyze, synthesize, monitor their everyday lives and select appropriate information from multiple agencies (Lam & Rosario-Ramos, 2009). Migrants use their bi/multilingual skills to have access to the transnational field. Therefore, their ‘first’ or ‘second’ language is usually upfront in their lives. Lam and Rosario-Ramos (2009) point out that “language maintenance for these young people goes beyond the preservation of culture and

identity among minority groups in society to the construction of new identities as transnational friends and family members and global information seekers” (p. 187).

This is theoretically applicable to several multilingual FAL students in my study who live in diverse linguistic environments: they seek academic, social, and career information in person and on line utilizing diverse linguistic resources, and synthesizing the information they gather. Outside the university, they entertain themselves with music, games, or media in different languages. Thus, the multilingual FAL students take advantage of their life styles with transnational opportunities, as will be discussed further in the data analysis section. At the same time, some of the multilingual students in my study prefer to label themselves as Generation 1.4⁷, or ESL students (i.e., not fully bilingual fluent speakers, as will be discussed further in the analysis chapter), rather than shedding light on their abilities to access transnational activities, or entering the field as their daily routine.

Thus, both minority and dominant languages mediate and sustain these activities, and the dominant language becomes an access to “the monolingualism of gate keepers as part of long established mechanisms” (Heller, 2007b, p. 542) of the mainstream society. In other words, the dominant language can be just a functional language that provides social, academic and career access to the transnational and multilingual students. For example, as will be discussed in greater length later in the thesis, several of the multilingual FAL students confessed to me that they only speak English in class. On campus, they speak Korean or Cantonese with their friends or with their teaching assistants when they share the same language other than English. Other Generation 1.5 students practice their heritage or parents’ national language to improve their speaking skills in the language even more once they start spending more time with international students from their parents’ home country, or watch weekly updated TV shows on-line in languages other than English. In addition to the daily transnational and multilingual practices, many study participants are financially privileged. They visit their home country quite often; some of them visit their families in China or Korea every semester break. By participating in multilingual practices, as well as connecting with

⁷ Generation 1.4 was a term created by my study participant, which I will describe in Chapter 7.

multiple cultures, students are not forced to choose one culture or language to develop. Moreover, code switching and reciprocal bilingualism are seen among transnational multilingual students' everyday lives (Marshall, Hayashi & Yeung, 2012). Reciprocal bilingualism refers to "an *inverse* form of bilingualism, and one in which each interlocutor maintains their own code *mutually*, rather than switching" (Marshall, 2005, p.91). Multilingualism may reflect on students' identity that is constructed through linguistic, cultural, and social networks and negotiations among one's situated environments (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004).

Transnationalism and Identity

To inquire about the multilingual FAL students' identity construction through their transnational activities, Ghosh and Wang's concept map of transnationalism and identity is useful to understand what goes on in the process of transnational identity construction. Ghosh and Wang (2003) critically reflected on their graduate school life as international students, who engage in both their home and host cultural, linguistic and social worlds. Through self-reflection, they articulated the concept of transnational identity.

Ghosh and Wang illustrate the interrelationship of transnational consciousness and identity, subjective psyche, and the need of transnational acts as evidenced in their experiences as international graduate students. Figure 1 illustrates that socioeconomic and political backgrounds that influence individual, familial, and societal values and morals are elements in forming transnational identities. Material resources (e.g., Internet access), and perceptions and expectations of friends and family also influenced the authors' new lives in Canada.

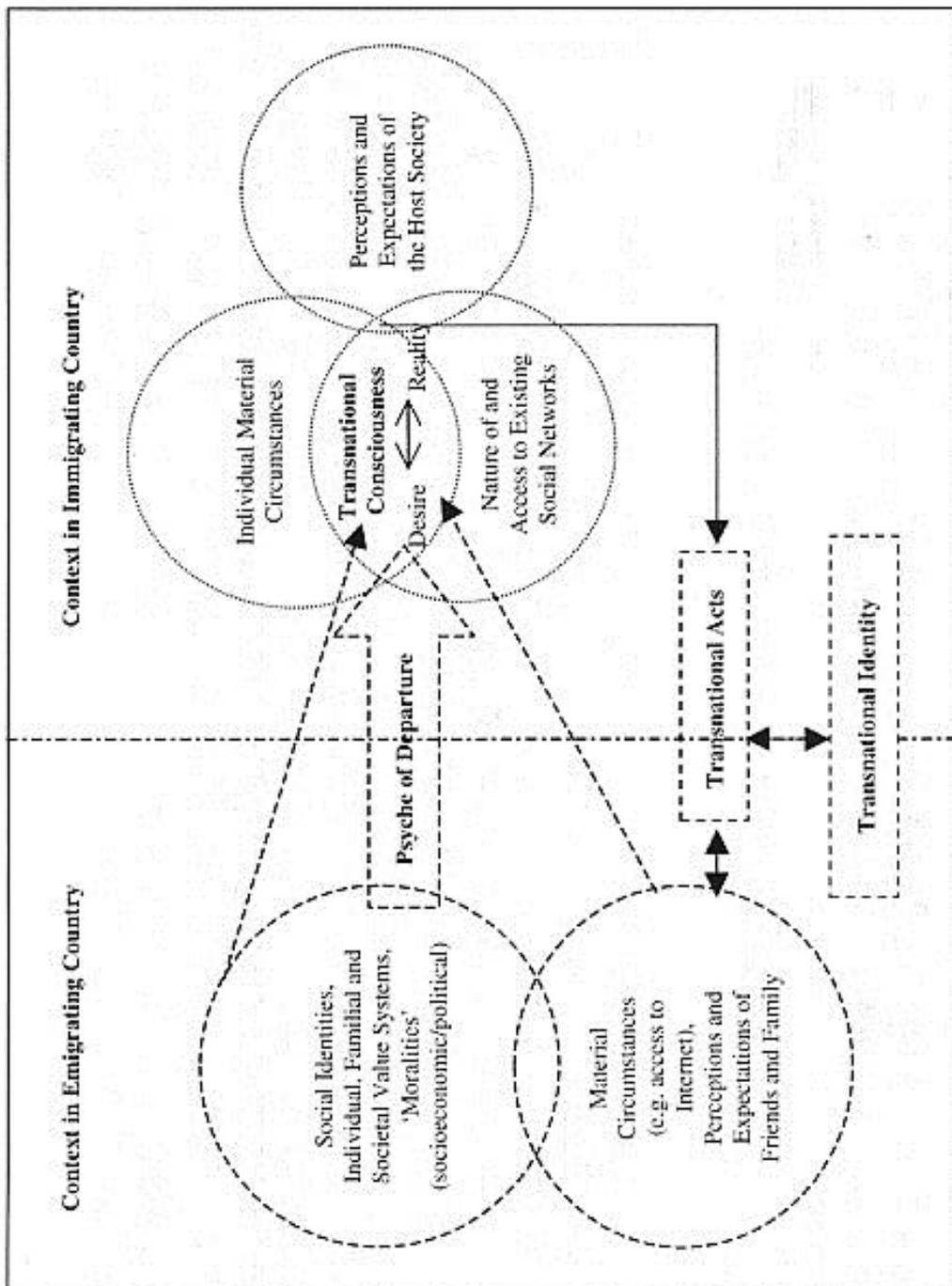


Figure 1. Transnationalism and Identity: A Conceptual Framework (Ghosh & Wang, 2003, p. 279; used with permission)

For example, Ghosh was trying hard to “prove that [she] was the same person” (p. 275) during her visit home to India. Despite her effort of concealing her new behaviors and the words that she had learned in Canada, her aunt called her “foreign

returnee” and that raised her self-esteem as an independent and educated woman. In her flight back to Canada, she was not sad, but rather looking forward to return to her small apartment, where she viewed herself as an independent woman. Her positive experience during her holiday in India provided her with a positive psyche of departure (i.e., attitude towards the new start), to enter the host country again. She listened to Bengali music in her apartment after starting school in Canada, since she had not spoken Bengali for months. Thinking of home, and not being able to find friends who spoke the same language in Canada, she thought more about her home, India: her joyful time with her family who gave her a new identity of herself as an educated and an independent woman, even though she tried to behave the same as before her living and studying abroad. Her memorable time of conversations and sharing happiness with her family became nostalgic once she arrived in Canada, even though she was happy to be back to study. Listening to Bengali music, good memories of home returned to her mind, and constructed her nostalgic feelings, even though she was physically in Canada. Her consciousness went beyond a national boundary, which Ghosh and Wang refer to as transnational consciousness. The transnational consciousness leads to the action — e.g. to listen to Bengali music to fill up the missing part of her identity as a reflection of her trip home. Therefore, transnational activities allow immigrants or international students to manage their multiple identities in the same space. Transnational identity is co-constructed amidst students’ experiences, and reflections of home and host countries. The reciprocity in identity formation through transnational activities differs on the basis of individuals’ experiences.

Regardless of individual differences, acknowledging the notion of reciprocity in identity formation through transnational consciousness is an important element to understand how my study participants react and respond to their transnational activities. Therefore, in order to understand what factors influence the multilingual FAL students’ identity construction, it is essential to inquire into the multilingual FAL students’ transnationalism. We need to ask how transnationalism constitutes the students’ university life styles and contributes to their processes of identity construction. This identity construction is always reciprocally constituted from home and host cultures: their origin culture and their current life based on individual needs for everyday life, including the availability of resources and materials.

Furthermore, it is important to note that transnational consciousness emerges from intersections of individual needs, accessibilities, and material resources that are not always an “‘equal’ process and may include relationships of dependency across global space – economic dependency in one direction, perhaps, and emotional dependency in the other” (Kelly, 2003, p. 213). In other words, “the ‘desires’ to perform cross-border acts are negotiated according to the ‘realities’ of the contexts” (Ghosh & Wang, 2003, p. 282). For instance, one’s financial capacity can limit access to the cultural or linguistic resources when one does not reside in multicultural cities. Nevertheless, “social and transnational identities are often assigned and internalized” (Ghosh & Wang, 2003, p. 281), through interaction and negotiation of transnational acts. In Chapter 9, I will introduce how transnational identities can emerge and be customized as one dimension of multiple identities, or how the multilingual FAL students do not recognize these activities as legitimate activities in their university life.

Identity Construction Theories

In my thesis, identity construction theories play a crucial role in analyzing the multilingual FAL students’ process of identity co-construction, to see how the multilingual FAL students interpret and communicate with their surroundings, and how they integrate their multilingual, transnational and academic experiences. As well, identity construction theories help to explain how the FAL instructors’ perception of multilingual FAL students can be constituted from their past professional experiences, which addresses the research question “How do academic literacy course instructors understand the identities of their first-year course students?”. Therefore, I will first review literature on the dynamic and hybrid nature of identity (Hall, 1992, 1997, 2000), and then discuss questions around core- or root-based identity as resulting from experiencing the Other’s culture (Phan, 2008). Both theoretical perspectives address individuals’ choices and beliefs in managing their multiple identities (Block, 2006a; Marshall, 2009; May, 2001). Then, I will show how multilingual students can respond to power relations in order to exercise individuals’ human agency (Bourdieu, 1982, 2000; Butler, 1993, 2009; Goffman, 1959, 2008; Lee & Marshall, 2012; Marshall, 2009; Pennycook, 2007). In the next section, I will define D/discourse to explain social belonging (Gee, 1996, 1998,

2000), and learning process of academic literacy to legitimate the multilingual students' voices (Casanave, 2002; Ivanič, 2008).

Essentialism vs. Hybridity: Separate or Combined

To answer the research question of "How do these students go through the process of 'becoming' a university student?" Hall's view of identity construction as "a matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being' [*and a*] process [of] belong[ing] to the future as much as to the past" (Hall, 1997, p. 52) is essential to be noted here. Hall's (1992, 1997, 2000) notion on identity formation emphasizes an epistemological stance: subjectivity, hybridity and a positioning of self, namely that a cultural identity is never completed. Hall (1992) explains the *narrative of the self*, as "[*stitching*] the subject into the structure [that] stabilizes both subjects and the cultural worlds they inhabit, making both reciprocally more unified and predictable" (p. 276). Through spotlighting (i.e., highlighting), and interpreting events and stories, one's sense of self is assembled "within representation [*that allows*] us to see and recognize the different parts and histories of ourselves, to construct those points of identification" (Hall, 1997, p. 58). In Hall's view, individual choice of stories, and flexibility of constructing stories to the representing self can be empowering, and self-construction is valued in one's identity formation process. Hall (1992) also compares the concept of identity to the metaphor of a *movable* feast; that is, the constant struggling, negotiating, shifting, and reconstruction of who we become: "The very process of identification, through which we project ourselves into our cultural identities, has become more open-ended, variable and problematic" (p. 277).

On the other hand, Phan (2008) understands the concept of identity as not only hybrid and dynamic, but as also a "core" or a "root", which provides the foundation of a base on which to build new values. Phan's research participants were western trained English teachers from Vietnam who temporarily lived in Australia for earning a graduate degree. Phan especially explains that the core identity of these Vietnamese English teachers (i.e., national identity in her study) was internalized through experiencing another culture. And then, "the formation of hybrid identities operates as an on-going process" (p. 157) embodied together in 'self' and/or others dialogically. The combination of core and hybrid identities allows to "sustain existing values as well as causing them to

transform and renew” (p. 157). In my study, the participants are undergraduate students who are challenging, struggling, and finding their future career through every day experiences with their study, classmates, volunteers and families locally and transnationally. They reside in transnational spaces since their youth as part of their routine. However, Phan’s argument is still relevant in my study, as she claims that viewing identity should be contextualized, and treated in terms of mobility and locality.

Handling the multiplicity of identities is also evident in May’s (2001) work from a linguistic identity perspective. May clearly asserts that people’s management skills of multiple identities exist in different language affiliations:

Maintaining one’s minority language does not in any way preclude ongoing cultural and linguistic change, adaptation and interaction. Indeed, it can be argued that those who wish to maintain their historically associated language, usually alongside that of another more dominant language, actually exhibit a greater ability to manage multiple cultural and linguistic identities. (p. 149)

Moreover, language becomes very important, when it “comes to serve important cultural and/or political functions in the formation and maintenance of a particular ethnic or national identity” (May, 2001, p. 130). This is to say that May’s statement of maintaining multiple identities can explain the multilingual FAL students’ multilingual activities as a legitimated action in various contexts that will be introduced in the data chapters. Moreover, Kumaravadivelu (2008) offers a perspective that allows us to understand how multilingual FAL students’ possible motivation or aspiration to go through their university life influences their identity construction. Kumaravadivelu adds “identity formation, then, is conditioned not merely by inherited traditions such as culture, or by external exigencies such as history, or by ideological constructs such as power, but also by the individual’s ability and willingness to exercise independent decision-making” (p. 144). As such, Kumaravadivelu’s statement can also provide a hint to my research question that looked for impactful factors in the identity construction of multilingual FAL students, as motivation and aspiration are crucial factors of their identity formation.

Identity Capitalism: Institutional Constraint vs. Free Agency

Two well-known social theorists, Bourdieu (1982, 2000) and Goffman (1959, 2008), also discuss individuals as social actors. It is useful to see identity from a social theory perspective, as the cultural and linguistic backgrounds of the multilingual FAL students in my study are various, but their situated community in my study is the university, which requires them to learn institutional (i.e., university) discourses. I will talk about university discourses later in Chapter 8 and 9. However, I will focus on how individuals can recognize the power relationships and practice to enact a desired identity in this section.

Bourdieu (2000) critically examines the power structures, their fragmentation, and subtleties in Hall's notion of cultural identity. According to Bourdieu, cultural identity is constituted with "the collections of positions simultaneously occupied at a given moment of time by a biological individual socially constituted, acting as support to a collection of attributes suitable for allowing him to intervene as an efficient agent in different fields" (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 302). For Bourdieu, cultural identity is not only about making sense of self by spotlighting discontinuous "events that are defined as just so many *investments* and *moves* in social space" (p. 302), but also about how the different forms of capital in society play an important role. To be more concise, Bourdieu prefers to use the term social identity rather than cultural identity, because he includes a socioeconomic aspect when describing identity construction, rather than a cultural or aesthetic perspective.

For Bourdieu (2000), social identity is

the support of the set of properties (nationality, sex, age, etc.) attached to persons to whom the civil law associates legal effects, which are instituted under the appearance of a mere record by the acts of social identity. The proper name is the product of the initial rite of institution which marks access to social existence. So the proper name is the true object of all successive rites of institution or nomination, through which the social identity is constructed. (p. 300)

According to Bourdieu (1982), salient power relationships are embedded in the social world, and "habitus" is co-shaped to normalize one's ways of speech and behaviours to define one's social affiliations. For example, linguistic habitus is "a certain

propensity to speak and to say determinate things (the expressive interest) and a certain capacity to speak, which involves both the linguistic capacity to generate an infinite number of grammatically correct discourses, and the social capacity to use this competence adequately in a determinate situation (Bourdieu, 1982, p.37), and the speech act is a result of interweaving of the linguistic market “which impose themselves as a system of specific sanctions and censorship” (Bourdieu, 1982, p.37). This is to say, linguistic habitus and market inform which social group the speakers belong to through their ways of speaking and use of language, because it (pronunciation, language code, appropriateness) shows “one’s whole relation to the social world, and one’s whole socially informed relation to the world” (Bourdieu, 1982, p. 86). It confirms “the very essence of the interlocutor’s social identity and self-image” (Bourdieu, 1982, p. 87) such as gender, generational tendencies, or social class and positions. Only those who possess the assimilating strategies, and understand the market capital can become members of a different social group. That is to say, the proper object of this discourse “is the *public* presentation, thus, officialization, of a *private* representation of one’s life, [which] implies an excess of constraints and specific censures” (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 301). Having said that, the notion of habitus is dialogic in nature due to its ability to respond to the dominant power.

Goffman’s (1959) identity theory explains that identity can be constructed with acting out and managing impression to others. It means that, individuals are able to learn, practice and perform social discourses in a situated condition. According to Goffman (2008), “[s]ometimes the individual will act in a thoroughly calculating manner, express himself in a given way solely in order to give the kind of impression to others that is likely to evoke from them a specific response he is concerned to obtain” (p. 121). This performative action attempts to set up the situation of interlocutors by initiating the acts (e.g., voice tones, facial expressions, and the use of language) that represent the condition or context of the situation. Goffman also explains that the performers drop off the *language* and *mask* of institutional everyday routines afterwards. This suggests the separation of a private identity from a performing identity in public. Goffman perceives each individual as a capable social being who learns, collaborates, and performs a certain discourse to maintain and express the structure of a “single definition of the situation [...even though] this expression [is] sustained in the face of a multitude of

potential disruptions” (Goffman, 2008, p. 128). Not much socialization occurs while learning something new, because each individual is required to memorize the complete script to perform the routines of the institutional hegemonic and dominant discourse. Goffman’s top-down theatrical descriptions of dominant discourses may well be of relevance to the ways that FAL students try to perform in the stage of learning the new discourse in university.

Block (2006a) explains that identity work is about individual participation in communities of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991) to construct the identity in relation to the targeted community. According to Block, “identity is an emergent process, [that takes] place at the crossroads of structure [i.e., the situated social context] and agency [i.e., individuals’ choices]” (2006a, p. 38). Duff (2012a) defines the notion of agency as “people’s ability to make choices, take control, self-regulate, and thereby, pursue their goals as individuals leading, potentially, to personal or social transformation” (p. 15). Duff further mentions that “agency, power, and social context [...] are [...] linked because those who typically feel the most in control over their lives, choices, and circumstances also have the power [to succeed]” (p. 15). In the context of the multilingual FAL students’ identity process, institutional discourses [academic English and linguistic habitus] are learned and practiced by individuals’ choices, and shape the identities of the multilingual FAL students. The decision making ability of the multilingual FAL students is a power in itself. I will discuss how they empower themselves to be successful in university life in Chapter 8.

Perceptions vs. Performativity

The power that multilingual FAL students exercise to survive the university life can be explained by exploring the notion of a performing identity by Butler (1993, 2000). Unlike Goffman, who locates individuals in the role of performance to satisfy audiences for further social or institutional commitment and sustenance, Butler “problematizes the whole notion of social order and considers what must be *repressed* to make it work” (Lawler, 2008, p. 121). Butler argues that individuals borrow and perform according to dominant discourses. For instance, Butler explains that a lawyer has to understand the clients’ stories and their context first, then transfer them to the lawyer-way-of-talk to fit

being heard as a lawyer, and legitimating the situation of the clients. Through borrowing and citing the lawyer-way-of talk, the clients gain rights. According to Butler (2009),

performativity does not just refer to explicit speech acts, but also to the reproduction of norms. Indeed, there is no reproduction of the social world that is not at the same time a reproduction of those norms that govern the intelligibility of the body in space and time. And by 'intelligibility' I include 'readability' in social space and time and so an implicit relation to others (and to possibilities of marginalization, abjection, and exclusion) that is conditioned and mediated by social norms.
(pp. x – xi)

By citing dominant discourses, Butler binds and confers the power within the voice of borrowed authority. Butler points out that performativity is always a process, because the subject has to read the situation, and then borrows the citation from authority in order to exercise power and rights, culturally and linguistically. In the process, the subject is often regulated and constrained to become what one has been exercising. Butler mentions that “performativity has everything to do with “who” can become produced as a recognizable subject” (2009, p. xi). Pennycook (2007), however, stresses that performativity should not only be about constraint, but also opportunity:

...on the one hand, to avoid the pull towards performance as open-ended free display (we perform whatever identities we want to) and, on the other, the pull towards over sedimentation (we can only perform what has been prescribed): To some extent, the performative is always along lines that have already been laid down, and yet performativity can also be about refashioning futures.
(p. 77)

Lee and Marshall (2012) showed the complexity in multilingual university students' discursive language practices. Lee and Marshall claim that the multilingual students in their study can be referred as a cosmopolitan elite in the context of globalization. However, “these same English language practices simultaneously perpetuate the centering of English as superior form” (p. 78). Lee and Marshall suggest that the researcher should invest more into the notion of performativity by Butler and Pennycook to support multilingual university students' future aspirations. Therefore, in my research, I followed up Lee and Marshall's suggestion and use the term performativity in order to shift the light to the students' positive side to become a free

agent: the aspirations for the future, struggles and negotiations that the multilingual FAL students go through in order to become the desirable person they wish to be.

The Identities that Multilingual University Students Strive to Become

In summary, identity processes can be explained as a social construction simultaneously reflecting constructions and deconstructions of the meanings of power relations as explained in the section above (Block, 2008; Bourdieu, 1982, 2000; Butler, 1993, 2000, 2009; Duff, 2012a; Goffman, 1959; 2008; Hall, 1987; Kumaravadivelu, 2008; Lee & Marshall, 2012; May, 2001; Pennycook, 2007; Phan, 2008). In my research context, I will inquire how FAL multilingual students participate and perform senses of self to acquire university discourses to legitimate their voice academically, and to construct identities as a university student through the FAL courses and their university lives. The notions of struggles and negotiation in constructing identities are applicable to the multilingual FAL students who belong to multiple linguistic, social, and cultural communities. For example, Hall's argument is that one can make sense of self through narratives, and his view on identity aligns with Bhabha's concept of hybrid identity, or third space (Bhabha, 1994). This fluid notion of identity is often described in literature on diaspora communities; however, this does not always fit with my study participants, who hold a strong sense of national identity, as well as feelings of fluidity, or *in-between-ness*. For example, Block (2006a) and Marshall (2009) point out that Bhabha's and Hall's notions of third place and hybridity lack a sense of fixity and privilege ambivalence. Bourdieu shifts the focus from illusiveness, the aesthetic, and the hybrid to the socioeconomic stance on identity that creates habitus. While Bourdieu focuses on representation in groups, Goffman inquires into details of everyday discourse as management of impressions that are performed for the larger audience. Goffman's idea of constructing *representable* identity is highly relevant to explaining the initial stage of learning academic discourses and socialization. Finally, Butler conceived of identities as simultaneously oppressed and subversive. For Butler, the performance of a dominant discourse is an attempt to enact a recognizable idealized identity in order to exercise social power. Her feminist approach on language use is useful in finding access to a powerful sense of authority, or the targeted social network in my study. In other words, Butler's observation on the lawyer-way-of talking explained in the previous section can

be a useful tool to describe the process of the multilingual FAL students' gaining legitimacy in learning, negotiating, employing and accommodating university discourses.

Language, Academic Literacy and Identities

According to Norton (2010), “we are [constantly] negotiating and renegotiating our sense of self in relation to the larger social world, and reorganizing that relationship across time and space (p. 370).” The relationship among language, academic literacy and identity cannot be explained without the concept of discourses. Each discourse represents membership (social identity) in a certain social community, and discourses should be taught or learned in order to be able to belong to Discourse⁸ communities (i.e., communities with similar beliefs, values and life styles whereas– the community can be a social, cultural or religious group) (Casanave, 2002; Gee, 1996; Ivanič, 2008; Lea & Street, 2006; Norton, 2010). According to Zuengler and Miller (2006), “every utterance we produce reveals our stance towards the interlocutors involved, signalling our social positioning within the local interaction and in response to larger sociopolitical forces” (p. 42). For instance, Norton mentions that language confers privilege and authority to a particular group, creates associations between groups and discourse genres, and determines boundaries of outsiders and ownership in language. This is to say, “language is not conceived of as a neutral medium of communication, but is understood with reference to its social meaning, in a frequently inequitable world. It is this conception of language that poststructuralists define as ‘discourse’” (Norton, 2010, p. 350). Norton emphasizes the importance of understanding the concept of discourse beyond language. At the same time, her understanding of the relationship among identity, language and discourse focuses on gaining the power. Applying this to my research context, the multilingual FAL students' multilingual and transnational practices are not well valued in learning institutional and academic discourses in English, as they are not the main activities to become successful in university. This may explain the significance of the multilingual FAL students' participation in academic literacies practices to appropriate the ways of communicating with the institution, and with people

⁸ The term Discourse comes from Gee's study (1996). I will explain the details in the section *Language, Literacy and Identity as Power, D/discourse*.

in university. Inquiring how students and the FAL instructors understand the discourses around university, can respond to one of the research questions. “What are the implications for classroom practice?” in Chapter 6 and 7.

Language, Literacy and Identity as Power D/discourses

The concept of discourse is embedded in sociocultural and historical contexts. Especially in understanding the nature and roles of language and identity construction through socialization, Gee’s study (1996, 1998, 2000) on *D/discourses* is particularly useful. For Gee, language is perceived as a sociocultural, historical, and political product, as well as a way of establishing categories of belonging, or social networks. While the term discourse (with a small “d”) refers to the actual language use in situated contexts, *Discourse* (with a large “D”) refers to,

ways of behaving, interacting, valuing, thinking, believing, speaking, and often reading and writing that are accepted as instantiations of particular roles (or ‘types of people’) by specific groups of people, whether families of a certain sort, ... women or men of a certain sort, and so on through a very long list. Discourses are ways of being ‘people like us’. They are ‘ways of being in the world’; they are ‘forms of life’. They are, thus, always and everywhere social and products of social histories.
(Gee, 1996, p. viii)

Gee focuses on the functions of school experiences, especially viewing literacy education as social practices. For him, literacy means “control of secondary uses of language (i.e., appropriate ways of understanding and expressing words)” (Gee, 1998, p. 56). In other words, learning literacy is connecting words with social ideologies to fit to the context of one’s situated community, which is the next level after language acquisition. In the context of the university, where all information is accessed via literacy practices and evaluated through the students’ literacy performances, language and literacy practices are as important as cultural and social experiences to multilingual FAL students’ identities. Gee (2000) further explains the process of being *D/discoursed* by an authorized knowledgeable group of people:

We see meaning in the world and in texts as situated in learners’ experiences—experiences which, if they are to be useful, must give rise to midlevel situated meanings through which learners can recognize and

act on the world in specific ways. At the same time, these experiences must be named and scaffolded by masters and more advanced peers within a Discourse, and such norming and scaffolding must lead apprentices to build the “right” sorts of situated meanings based on shared experiences and shared cultural models. (Gee, 2000, n/p)

Gee explains that language plays a political role in the production and maintenance of privilege since the power relationship between the novice and the experienced or advanced D/discourse users is evident.

A seminal study in the area of language and literacy as social practices is Heath's (1983) *Ways with Words*. Her ethnographic study reveals ways in which home communication practices employed in three communities mapped onto communication practices at school. The communities were characterized as working class white, working class black and white and black socioeconomically privileged families who identified politically, educationally and economically with the “mainstream”. Heath observed that the three groups employed different “ways with words” at home and those “ways with words” differentially prepared children for the “ways with words” they would encounter at school. Heath proposed that “ways with words” play a significant role in determining the students’ academic success. Heath’s notion of various *ways with words* confirms the inequality of the use of discourses in educational institutions. Thus, for students, one of the interpretations of language and literacy practices is personalizing “language” that is used in the organization (Darville, 1995). Heath’s appropriating the ways with words associated with school literacy is important for the students to be heard, recognized and understood academically. Her work opened up spaces for critical dialogue about ways that instructors in courses such as FAL can learn about and draw upon students’ language resources.

Bakhtin (1981, 1986) refers to language as evolving discourses that hold possibilities to shape meanings in different time and space. For Bakhtin, language is not only a socio-politically and historically embedded construction, but is also a constant renewable creation through sociocultural conditioning. In my research, sociocultural conditioning is evident in the ways in which curriculum, instructors and students communicate during class, and ways in which students’ multilingual and multicultural resources are positioned in the classroom. According to Bakhtin, the notion of

heteroglossia—that is, multiple voices—legitimizes every use of the language by those who belong to different socio-cultural or economic groups. Each community has its own shared knowledge and meaning of written and spoken utterances that are communicated through language. It is stated that “each word tastes of context and contexts in which it has lived its socially charged life; all words and forms are populated by intentions ... language, for the individual consciousness, lies on the borderline between oneself and the other” (1981, p. 293).

Bakhtin’s notion of heteroglossia suggests the possibility of including voices that have not been legitimated in the past, thus, shaping new discourses. Having commented on the relations of D/discourse, language and literacy, Block (2006b) states that identity, language use, and literacy practices are co-constructed through the dialogical process of extending the horizon of discourses that is “negotiating new subject positions at the crossroads of the past, present and future” (p. 39). In Marshall’s (2009) study, the author shows how multilingual students mix codes, and reciprocate more than two of their common languages in the same conversation on line, which is natural and creates meaning in their lives from a sociolinguistic perspective. The process of developing cohesion in narratives provides ontological security to author them to mark their positions, so that individual subjects can enjoy agency (Giddens, 1991).

As will be seen in Chapter 7, aspiration is one of the key factors that contributes to individuals’ identities construction. In the context of the FAL course, the multilingual students practice dominant discourses, while trying to make sense of their voice through narrative writings. Gee’s concept of Discourse enables me to see the multilingual students establishing relations among multilingual practices, transnational activities and academic challenges and socialization. Moreover, the notion of heteroglossia can be applied to students’ legitimating D/discourses and literacy learning processes through integrating voices of students and academic discourses.

Academic Discourses and Identity

The academic identities of multilingual FAL students are often projected onto their academic literacy learning process and assignments, as I will reveal later in the thesis. One of the multilingual students’ challenges is to make a connection between

their previous and current linguistic, cultural, social, and educational experiences to perform well in “translated” academic discourses (Silva, 1993; Zamel, 1997, 1998). The process of learning academic discourses often involves “the kind of immersion, engagement, contextualization, fullness of experience, that is necessary for someone to be initiated into and to be conversant in [university culture, namely academic discourses], for someone to understand the ways in which [university] culture [or discourse] works” (Zamel, 1998, p.188). In other words, learning academic discourses ensures that students participate in academic literacy practices to negotiate and renegotiate meaning in their situated worlds (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998).

When FAL classes foster the creation of “communities of practice” students learn “a way of talking about the shared historical and social resources... [to produce] the social configurations... [that are] worth pursuing and [where] participation is recognizable as competence” (Wenger, 1998, p. 5). Thus, students need to learn about the valued knowledge and practices in the university setting in order to relate their worldviews to those of others in ways that make sense to members of the academic community. However, communities of practice theories position the teacher as a master and students as learners. This suggests an explicit power relation in a learning environment. In my study, the processes of enculturation are not so straightforward. Multilingual FAL students study academic literacies not only from the FAL instructor, but also from their multilingual and transnational resources. Such dynamic relational views of the resources that the multilingual FAL students in my study bring to the university are discussed in Chapter 8. The multilingual students’ understanding of the full participation in university, their educational experiences and the FAL instructors’ understandings of the practices will also be discussed in Chapter 8.

Marshall (2010) points out that the multilingual students in an academic literacy course engage in complex processes of positioning themselves in the university context. Some Generation 1.5 multilingual students may feel they are “re-becoming ESL” before feeling comfortable in the academic literacy course. For instance, multilingual students have mixed feelings over ranking linguistic repertoires as first, second, and third. In Marshall’s study, a multilingual student confessed that her first language became weaker than English after schooling in Canada. Another student had a clear idea of her first language as English, her second one as French from immersion school, and the third as

her parents' home language (i.e., Hindi), even though some people might think the first language would be Hindi, and she is a "non-native speaker of English". Thus, being in the academic literacy course is not only about learning academic discourses, but also challenging and contesting linguistic identity in the university context.

In another example of the identity struggle in the process of learning academic discourses, Starfield (2002) adopts Ivanič's notion of discursal self to differentiate successful and failing students as having different participating conditions, such as a degree of ownership over texts (materials) and writing itself:

Successful students are able to construct a powerful, authoritative textual and discursal identity for [themselves]. [The successful student's] authority lies, in part, in his highly developed "textual" capital and the discourses of academic literacy on which he is able to draw, which are what his autobiographical self brings to the essay writing task. In contrast, the student who fails, struggles to negotiate an authoritative self as author and, relying heavily on the words recognized by authorities in the discipline, is constructed by the marker as a "plagiarizer."
(Starfield, 2002, pp. 121-122)

Students construct different identities based on their perception and action based on their view on texts. Negative academic writing experiences resulting from cultural and discursal adjustment may produce an inferior sense of self. Starfield's example of failing students' perception of texts can be said to originate from the impact of traditional research that describes multilingual students as inexperienced, deficient, or unskilled because of the different worldviews, educational experiences, and cultural values they hold (Kachru, 1999; Marshall, 2010b; Zamel, 1997, 1998). Moreover, framing students' writing experience as success or not seems to be based on social and political influences in academia. For example, Casanave (2002) perceives students' writing practices in higher education as struggling, challenging and joyful experiences through the writing learning process. As well, Zamel (1998) points out the significance of the students' voice in the process of learning academic discourse for students to become knowers in the academic community (Spellmeyer, 1989; Elbow, 1981).

Ivanič (2004) emphasizes that "writing has consequences for the identity of the writer who is represented in the writing" (Ivanič, p. 238). Ivanič (2004) inquires into the constitutions of academic writing, namely, discourses. For Ivanič (2004), discourses of

writing are “constellations of beliefs about writing, beliefs about learning to write, ways of talking about writing, and the sorts of approaches to teaching and assessment which are likely to be associated with these beliefs” (p. 224). Not only does this entail the teaching of conventional aspects of writing, such as grammar, genre, and styles, but also the incorporation of students’ worldviews or sociopolitical purpose, into the writing, as well as the participatory social practices resulting from their sociocultural conditions. Furthermore, Ivanič also mentions that “instantiations of discourses are not always homogenous, but are often discursively hybrid, drawing on two or more discourses”; as well, she suggests that one is “identifying [oneself] with others who think, speak, write and act from within the same discourses” (2004, p. 224). Ivanič (1998) conceptualized four aspects of writing identities: 1) an autobiographical self, by which “the ‘self’ produces a self-portrait” (p. 24) through developing life-history technique; 2) a discursive self (i.e., utilizing sociocultural conditioning writing style to convey one’s thoughts, ideas and opinions; 3) the self as author, that is authoring self as a writer; and 4) possibilities for self-hood in the socio-cultural and institutional context. Ivanič’s conceptualization of four dimensions of writing identities enabled me to see how the FAL instructors perceive the students, and convey their educational beliefs through their classroom pedagogy. The ways in which the FAL instructors create sociocultural conditions from the students’ perspectives plays an important role in constructing academic writers’ identities in the university context. In Chapter 6, I will introduce the instructors’ perception on multilingual FAL students’ identities, and the multilingual FAL students’ perceptions of self to study how the instructors’ are a part of the elements of the multilingual FAL students’ co-construction of identities.

Casanave (2002) explains the adding of the writer’s unique voice or discourse into writing by using the term *game*. She recommends students to enjoy the writing learning process by using the metaphorical term, *game*, to denote academic literacy learning. Accordingly, “academic writing is a game-like social and political as well as discursive practice that takes place within communities of practice, [since] writers’ practices and identities in academic settings change over time” (Casanave, 2002, p. 1). Casanave states that novice students, however, may find the writing practice process rather conventional, not liberating, an uncomfortable process devoid of finding meaningful values or the building of meaningful academic identities. Casanave argues

convincingly that the process of learning academic literacy is a sociocultural way of “becoming” a legitimated student in an academic community. Casanave (2002) uses Ivanič’s notion of a discorsal self to emphasize identity construction in academic settings as adding the layer of the academic writer’s identity, or “learning the game rules and constructing identities as participants in the game. ... Identity is shaped in general by power relations among game players and more specifically by the discorsal constructions of self in the writing that people do” (p. 24).

It is important to note that Casanave and Ivanič focus on writers’ identities in the context of academic discourses of English as adding a layer to the students’ self-identity, while Block (2006, 2008, 2010) discusses more individuals’ choices and flexibility. Nonetheless both perspectives allow me to understand the students’ multiple identities from a holistic perspective in the context of multilingualism. In this sense, Casanave’s study directed me to see the academic literacy aspect of identity construction, more specifically, how the multilingual FAL students try to legitimate themselves as university students.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed multiple views on identity in the context of globalization, transnationalism, multilingualism and academic literacy and D/discourses. First, globalizing realities constitute multilingual FAL students’ everyday lives through multilingual social and academic practices and transnational activities. Because of the compression of space and time from transnational activities and mobility, immigrants, their families and international students are able to keep connected with their home cultures and languages. Thus, maintaining or developing multiple identities in terms of language, culture and social lives have become more common among those who practice transnational and multilingual activities by their own choice.

At the same time, identity construction is a complicated process as it involves the discursive power relations between self and others that require constant adjustment or updates. For example, identity theories on hybridity discuss the individuals’ narratives (e.g. Hall), while Phan’s research on teachers’ identities highlights the combination of

core and hybridity through past and present socio-cultural, academic and professional experiences. Phan's study not only guides my research to examine how the multilingual FAL students construct their core identities to maintain a sense of belonging to their home culture, but also enables me to understand how the FAL instructors perceive the multilingual FAL students through their professional lenses.

Another element that appears in studies of identity construction is identity capitalism, which discusses institutional constraints versus unrestricted agency. This can be applicable to understand the multilingual FAL students' constant adjustment and update of their discourses by acknowledging discursive power relations that come as institutional or instructors' expectations. Moreover, the concepts of perception and performativity by Goffman (2008) and Butler (2009) can explain the multilingual FAL students' epistemological challenges in academic literacies of English and Canadian university life, and how they overcome these challenges. Through borrowing or citing authoritative, academic voices, individuals are able to learn to legitimate their voices to exercise human agency. This applies to the ways that multilingual FAL students find their paths to become legitimated university students in an academic sphere.

Once individuals engage in performativity to gain more recognition, they enter into Gee's Discourse, which reflects membership in a social group sharing a common way of behaving and expressing thoughts, ideas, and values, namely sharing the same discourse. Ivanič and Casanave explain the discorsal self as adding a new layer of identity to the students in the context of academic literacy. This is clearly relevant to my study as academic (or writing) discourses are a starting point for the learners to become legitimated university students. Through learning discourses, multilingual FAL students challenge and contest their worldviews. By pushing the boundaries of various discourses, students may have the possibility of gaining access to express their voices equally in the university, and thus gain legitimacy. This requires students' active participation and negotiation to establish a relationship between the social world they enter and themselves.

The identity theories that I reviewed in this chapter help me as a researcher to understand how multilingual FAL students hold multiple identities and exercise agency to legitimate and to be legitimated in situated communities. I will respond the research

question of how do multilingual FAL students become university students. In Chapter 6 I discuss factors that have an impact on the identity formation of multilingual undergraduate university students in a first-year academic literacy course. I also discuss processes in which academic literacy course instructors come to understand the identities of their first-year students. Specifically I consider how the multilingual FAL students in my study were dialogically and interactively affected by the environment as they worked to construct and reconstruct identities in the university context.

In the next chapter, I will review the concept of multilingualism by inquiring how different forms of languages are located in the context of multilingualism, as well as in monolingual societies, from sociolinguistic, poststructuralist and feminist perspectives. These perspectives are useful to discuss dynamics and variation in the multilingual students' individual experiences from the students' point of view to understand *what is going on* in their university life.

Chapter 5.

Languages

As stated, the aim of my study is to understand multilingual students' ways of learning university discourses through the institutional, social and academic practices in SFU's FAL course, university at large and other communities they belong to. Although many sociolinguists have recently researched multilingual students' language uses and various code choices, and the relationship of these with their social or cultural identities, the multilingual resources that students bring into higher education are still not widely recognized, but rather are seen as extra baggage. Accordingly, Preece (2010) refers to the higher education setting as one "in which monolingualism is the norm and in which the 'multilingual capital' (Baker & Eversley, 2000) that the students bring into the university is barely recognized" (p. 36). In order to highlight the gap between multilingual students' rich ethnolinguistic resources and the monolingual-centered higher education curriculum, I will first ground my work in literature on sociolinguistics, as well as poststructuralist and feminist perspectives on bilingualism and multilingualism. In this section, I will introduce some definitions of bilingualism and multilingualism, and then explain what constitutes multilingual students' identities from sociolinguistic and socio-cultural perspectives.

Defining Bilingualism/Multilingualism

Definitions of bilingualism and multilingualism have changed over the years. Bloomfield's (1933) well known definition of bilingualism refers to "[*the*] perfect foreign-language learning [*that*] is not accompanied by loss of the native language; it results in bilingualism, native-like control of two languages" (pp. 55-56). Weinreich (1953) explained that bilingualism is a result of "the practice of alternately using two languages"

(p. 1). These traditional definitions imply and expect the speakers to be able to master four skills, namely, speaking, listening, writing, and reading.

The terms bilingualism and multilingualism have been challenged by sociolinguists and other social science theorists. Grosjean (1982) explains the term bilingualism from a socio-cultural perspective by pointing out holistic views on bilinguals: “those who are equally fluent in both languages are probably the exception and not the norm” (p. 235). Grosjean argues that the four skills are normally developed by bilinguals as a result of individual needs, thus the level of proficiency among these skills varies. To be more inclusive to the definition of bilingual and multilingual, Altarriba and Heredia (1998) suggest that the definition of bilingual and multilingual should include dialects, vernaculars, sign languages, and oral literacy. Franceschini (2009) also supports the use of the term multilingualism to advocate diversity in language use:

The term *multilingualism* as it is used today denotes various forms of social, institutional and individual usage as well as individual and group competence, plus various contexts of contact and involvement with more than one language. [*The term includes*] not just a country’s or region’s official (national) languages but also regional languages, minority languages, migration languages and—in the broadest sense—language varieties such as dialects. [...*The term Multilingualism*] is used as an umbrella term in linguistics and covers research on bilingualism and trilingualism, as well as acquisition of future foreign languages. (p. 29)

From the multilingualism research perspective, the term ‘bilingual’ is for those who use two languages, while the term ‘multilingual’ describes individuals who are familiar with more than two languages (Kemp, 2009). At the same time, “[s]ome definitions of multilingualism do not use a numeric scale but make a binary distinction between monolinguals, who know one language, and multilinguals, who know more than one language” (p. 15). As well, bilingualism often refers to being able to demonstrate the use of multiple languages (Kemp, 2009; Mackey, 1962). Hence, the definitions of bilingualism and multilingualism can change according to the research purpose and focus, or how scholars frame their study of bi/multilingualism.

To define bilingualism and multilingualism from a sociocultural perspective, it is crucial to include power relations: how politics and the economics of the world influence constructing and deconstructing the terms. Aronin and Singleton (2008) perceive

multilingualism as “the construction of the temporary globalized reality” (quoted in Aronin & Hufeisen, 2009, p. 1), which offers various opportunities and experiences beyond national boundaries. The context of globalization and migration contributes significantly to bi/multilingualism as a result of colonialism, post-colonialism, globalization, transnationalism, migration, immigration, and educational practices and policies (Altarriba & Heredia, 1998; Heller, 2007a; Lee & Norton, 2009; Moyer & Martin-Rojo, 2007; Rassool, 2000).

Heller (2007a) deconstructs the term bilingualism by arguing that bilingualism should be considered as ideology and practice. She defines bilingualism as “a set of resources which circulate in unequal ways in social networks and discursive spaces, and whose meaning and value are socially constructed within the constraint of social organizational processes, under specific historical conditions” (p. 2). Heller’s (2001) study reveals that bilingual education can be exclusive to languages other than the institutionally-dominant language (i.e., standard French vs. French vernacular, English and other languages of new immigrants) due to a French-only policy and middle class Anglo Saxon oriented curriculum at school. In Heller’s study, schools place more value on how students use French than how much French they know. Thus, the maintenance of the institutionally bilingual educational identity ends up marginalizing those who do not fit institutional discourses as being incompetent within the same national language; students are thus required to learn school discourses of French to be recognized academically. Heller’s study enable me to understand why some of the multilingual students in my study who used to attend the English medium school in their home countries still need to take FAL course and why their English is not well recognized and unwelcomed institutionally. This will be of relevance in Chapter 7, where I will address the inequality of language rights in the analysis of participants’ self-reporting of their university experiences.

Rassool also (2000) describes the complicated power relationship of multilingualism in a postcolonial era, as well as, global and transnational contexts. According to Rassool, “the legitimation of powerful ‘world languages’ as the predominant cultural interface” may produce “successful global ‘citizens’” (p. 396). This is because Rassool believes in individuals’ capability of adopting and making decisions regarding their language use in various social situations in their life to gain accesses to their future

career, while keeping connected with their home language. Rassool refers to people able to do that as *flexible language users*. Hence, multilingualism is seen as central to the forging of a cosmopolitan identity, thus representing a strategic lifestyle choice. To understand the power relationship of the minority and a dominant language, she highlighted the notion of “hegemony [that] exists in tension— and meanings [which] are always open to challenge—and therefore subject to change” (2000, p. 390).

Similarly, Lee and Norton (2009) pointed out the contradictory discourse of English learning as both beneficial and oppressive. They reviewed how English language education is positioned in the local and global contexts, employing the lens of Pennycook’s frameworks of the global roles of English and Canagarajah’s (1999) theory of a ‘politics of location’. Lee and Norton found that those from peripheral (i.e., postcolonial countries) and centred communities of English⁹ (i.e., English speaking countries like Canada or the U.S.) have different perceptions and experiences of language learning (or maintenance) and identity construction. In centred communities such as Canada, “the maintenance of minority languages [*has been*] more challenging” (Lee & Norton, 2009, p. 286) because the minority language is not well recognized at an institutional level. On the other hand, those who are in peripheral communities where their native languages and English co-exist as a result of a colonial period do not “necessarily compromise identities [that are constructed] on the grounds of linguistic or religious affiliation. Creative responses to the dominance of English, whether through code switching, appropriation, or subversion, defy essentialist analyses of the spread of English in periphery context” (Lee & Norton, 2009, p. 286). Lee and Norton’s study aims to theorize broadly the use of English as an institutional language; however, I draw more on how students take advantage of their multilingual and transnational resources in promoting their university life.

Furthermore, several researchers argue the complexity and dynamics of linguistic hierarchy. For example, Heller (2007b) argues that bi/multilingualism is still

⁹ Although I directly used the terms centred and peripheral communities from Lee and Norton (2009), I acknowledge that a wide range of English such as vernaculars and dialects exist as peripheral in centre communities such as Canada, the US or the UK. My focus in this paragraph is to show how English as a dominant (institutional) language is valued in the two general communities and how each affects the construction of identity.

“understood as multiple monolingualism, as a string of distinct systems to be mastered and used separately” (p. 546) in public and private sectors. As well, May (2001) emphasizes the power relations in multilingualism (e.g., majority vs. minority languages), drawing on Bourdieu’s (2000). Depending on the situated linguistic capital (i.e., which language is to be valued), individuals may or may not freely choose which language to speak, or not to speak. With regard to power relations in multilingualism, Crawford (1994) states that “language death seldom occurs in communities of wealth and privilege, but rather to the dispossessed and disempowered” (cited in May, 2001, p. 147).

Of interest in this study is how multilingual FAL students perceive English and employ their languages in different social contexts, as stated in my research question that focuses on how the multilingual FAL students become university students in relation to their learning of university discourses, especially academic literacy in English. How and why the multilingual FAL students select, or not select, or manipulate languages are important factors in understanding the students’ ways of accommodating and negotiating language use. With this in mind, I analyze participants’ creative responses to the dominance of English in Chapters 8 focusing on different capital (i.e., linguistic capital to academic capital for peer support with classmates) and 9 (shifting the focus on raising transnational consciousness), while I introduce the multilingual students’ feelings of insecurity of mastering discourses (i.e., academic literacies in English) in Chapter 6.

To provide more focus on responding to my research question of how students become university students, Lave and Wenger’s concept of (LPP) should be mentioned. The concept of periphery and centre within socio-cultural theorizing can be found in Lave and Wenger’s work (1991) on Legitimate Peripheral Participation (LPP). LPP “refers both to the development of knowledgably skilled identities in practice and to the reproduction and transformation of communities of practice” (p. 55). It is sociocultural, and constructive in nature: newcomers practice discourses, skills and knowledge of the situated community through immersion in a given community. LPP structures “resources for learning in practice” (p. 92) and navigates learners to become legitimate members of the new community.

Consequently, language use is not only strongly tied with social networks and institutional relations in one's situated historical and social conditions, but also contests the multilingual students' cultural and social identity construction in how they learned to become bilinguals and how they use each language in different contexts. Furthermore, multilingual students engage in various forms of LPP in communities of practices, and the concept of LPP in communities of practice show how students negotiate, adjust or reject the process of learning and develop learners' identities in university.

Language Use: Code-switching, Mixed Code and Crossing Code

Another aspect of multilingual and multiliterate practice that is of particular relevance to the participants that I researched is code-switching. As will be seen in Chapter 8, participants frequently mixed languages in different contexts, for different purposes, as part of the transnational, multilingual social practices that formed, and were formed by, their processes of identity formation. What, then, is code-switching and why is it relevant to the participants of this study?

Regardless of the hierarchical relationship of bi/multilingualism from an institutional perspective, sociolinguists try to understand the identities of multilingual students by their language choice and use of various codes, which are sometimes challenging the existing authority, or forming the collective or new social identity, sometimes called new multilingualisms (Martin, 2007). Cook (1991, 1996) introduced the term "multi-competence", which recognizes students' multilingual knowledge in one person's mind rather than judging English language competency from a monolingual/monolithic perspective. Some scholars shed light on the positive side of language choice in interactions, observing it as an identity marker or as language variations, rather than as uncompleted sentences in one language, or resulting from an individual's inability to speak the dominant language fluently. According to Marshall (2007), migrants' language choice and alternation are the result of their reflexivity. They are knowledgeable in choosing the appropriate ways of representing themselves in various language discourses. Some of the prominent characteristics of multilinguals' language use are code-switching, mixed code, code crossing, and reciprocal

bilingualism (Androutsopoulos, 2007; Auer, 1984; Auer & Wei, 2007; Gafaranga, 2007; Gumperz, 1982; Heller, 1988, 2007b; Li, 2007; Marshall, 2007; Marshall, Hayashi, & Yeung, 2012; McArthur, 1992; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Pennycook, 2007; Quist & Jørgensen, 2007; Rampton, 1995)

Code-switching is simply defined as “the use of two languages within the same conversation” (Gafaranga, 2007, p. 279). Auer (1984) classified code-switching as *participants oriented*, that is based on interlocutors of how one starts and the other carries conversation in one language, and *discourses oriented*, which “is oriented towards the framing of what has been said” (Heller, 2007a, p. 12), or how interlocutors change the topics, or emphasis of their talk. Thus, code-switching is highly contextual, and politically-based discourse (Gumperz, 1982; Heller, 1988). Code-switching is also viewed as negotiating and marking collective and individual identities, and as a socio-political value attached to the interlocutors (Myers-Scotton, 1998, cited in Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). For example, Auer and Wei (2007) explain that the code-switching elite such as “Martin Luther and his fellow humanist intellectuals ... mixing German and Latin in their dinner table conversation in English [...or] elite in Kenya who mix Swahili and English” (Auer & Wei, 2007, p. 3), are not criticized while, on the other hand, Turkish immigrants who mix German and Turkish, or Danish adolescents’ inserting English slang into Danish are criticized by language purists. This shows that elite groups are perceived as proving their membership in the community by showing their knowledge in using different languages, and socially disadvantaged migrants or youths might be perceived as not fully capable of using both or multiple languages. This is to say that, multilingual FAL students’ multilingual practices can be viewed in negative and positive ways; as an ESL student whose English is not good enough, or as an elite student with various language and transnational experiences. The conflicting and contradicting images of students’ various language uses in different contexts connect with the theory of Butler’s performativity of how the multilingual FAL students deal with their code-switching, mixing languages or translanguaging in public spheres, and exercising power. Rampton’s (1995) crossing code theory later in this chapter brings the focus more on exercising power.

It has been argued that “mixed code contains numerous and frequent cases of alternation between two languages when seen from the linguist’s point of view, but these

singular occurrences of alternation do not carry meaning *qua* language choice for the bilingual participants” (Auer, 1998, p. 16). McArthur (1992) explains that a multilingual person is capable of using various degrees of code-mixing “for different purposes, competence in each varying according to such factors as register, occupation, and education” (p. 673, quoted by Kemp, 2009, p. 15). For example, “music with bilingual lyrics thrived in the 1990s, ranging from ... Bollywood soundtracks to Korean pop” (Androutsopoulos, 2007, p. 207). Boyle (1997) advocates the mixed code instruction in Chinese and English in English medium schools in Hong Kong. His study shows that English-Chinese mixed code is a strong teaching pedagogy for academic advancement in Hong Kong, even though the institutional policies do not encourage the use of mixed-coding. In the FAL classroom, I often heard students using mixed-codes, to ensure they understand the content of instructions in the classroom the classroom instruction. One of ways of viewing university students’ identity processes is to take advantage of their multilingual resources in class and outside the class. Code-switching in my study provide the context of the multilingual students as using mixed-code is effective strategies in their learning and socializing everyday university life. It will be seen in later chapters how participants described in a wide range of code switching strategies that are determined by contexts.

Another form of code-switching is crossing code. The concept of crossing is introduced by Rampton (1995) to illustrate linguistic sensitivity in terms of how urban youth in the UK put together various language codes to create new meanings to gain recognition as doing something new, or cool. For example, young students’ usage of crossing code, such as “Asian English *I no understand* stylizations” (Rampton, 1995, cited in Quist & Jørgensen, 2007, p. 377) in music such as rap, or hip-hop provides them with a new meaning, concept or feeling to construct their identities as somebody new and different than becoming an assimilated mainstream student in the situated community (Rampton, 1995; Pennycook, 2007; Quist & Jørgensen, 2007).

Unlike mixed-code in conversation, where both interlocutors share linguistic and grammatical knowledge of the language, crossing code is normally associated with “its stylistic value, and its place inside or outside registers and varieties of the ‘one’ language of the ‘monolingual’” (Quist & Jørgensen, 2007, p. 386). For example, “the symbolic function of English and other ‘chic’ western languages, as manifested in brand names

and mixed code, has also been attested in fashion magazines in Hong Kong” (Lee, 2000, cited in Li, 2007, p. 438).

In short, crossing code represents the social relations of interlocutors by pushing racial and ethnic boundaries through performing the code of others, and construction and negotiation of local and global meaning occur simultaneously (Rampton, 1995; Quist & Jørgensen, 2007). It is also important to note that crossing code may exclude newcomers (i.e., new immigrants) because of the nature of constructing and shaping new meanings of codes which distinguish multilingual speakers’ social differences within the community (e.g., classroom, peer groups at school). Bailey (2007) refers to students’ extensive use of various codes as ‘multilingual-like ways of speaking’, since they are socially valuable, and sometimes challenging or free from the norm and authority in applying incorrect grammar rules. Thus, various ways of using codes are based upon the performance of actions in society (Corson, 2001). Indeed, in my study, how participants’ ‘multilingual-like ways of speaking’ legitimate their ways of studying will become evident later in this dissertation. The multilingual FAL students in my study use a wide range of codes flexibly for their academic or social purposes, and exercise the power of multilingualism, as these are socially and academically important to learn university discourses of how to become a university student, in other words, how to understand the university ways of learning from the students’ perspective.

Translingualism and Translanguaging

In addition to the various multilingual ways of coding, multilingual students often alternate codes, and reciprocate the use of two languages when they share the same codes. The conversation below is a good example of how multilingual students flexibly alternate and use various codes, reciprocating between two languages, and using loan words in their electronic conversation. This conversation occurred in Vancouver (Amy) and Hong Kong (Daisy) (Marshall, Hayashi, & Yeung, 2012):

暑假新搞作[New Plan for Summer]¹⁰ Between Amy and Daisy

1. Daisy July 13 at 1:16am

我 8 月中會去東京至大阪 7 日呀 [*I will visit Tokyo and Osaka in mid-August for seven days aa.*]

你幾時會返香港呀? [*When will you be back to Hong Kong aa?*]

2. Amy July 20 at 6:04pm

Im coming back by the end of oct.Gd¹¹ for u~ U going with urfrds/family/by urself? Tokyo! Buy me souvenirs! lol.

3. Daisy July 20 at 11:00pm

咁遲嘅...點解要嚮果邊考政府試而唔係嚮呢邊考呀?[*So late ge...how come you write the government exam over there (Vancouver) not here (Hong Kong) aa?*] 我會買...但只限食嘅... [*I will buy...but limited foods ge...*]

4. Amy July 20 at 11:41pm

HKGOV exam will be held in oct in hk - when im still in vanc - and in dec in vanc - when im back to hk... so i think i won't be able to take it until 2010. NOooooim not as 為食 [*wanting to eat*] as u i want 潮物 [*trendy items*]!! Btw, are u gonna visit 小樽音樂盒博物館? [*Otaru Music Box Museum?*] If so, can u do me a favor to buy a custom-made music box for me please? Anyhow, have a wonderful family vacation :D

(Marshall et al., 2012, pp. 13-14)

This on-line conversation reveals that both Amy and Daisy are capable of using these two languages creatively, without language separation. Marshall (2007) refers to reciprocal bilingualism “in which each interlocutor uses a different mutually comprehensible language without any switches, and sets an initial norm to be followed for future interactions” (cited in Marshall et al., 2012, p. 13). The analysis by Marshall et al. above exemplifies translanguaging. Translanguaging is a means of describing language use context that does not have a strong focus on code-switching concepts, but

¹⁰ English translation from Cantonese is shown in the bracket after simplified Chinese writings.

¹¹ GD is one of the informal abbreviated forms along with ex, , U, frds, etc.. These informal abbreviated forms and an omission of apostrophe (i.e., Im) that is typically used in today's digital literacies is seen in the conversation.

“arrangement that normalizes bilingualism without diglossic functional separation (Baker, 2003, cited in Garcia, 2007, p. xiii). Canagarajah (2009) affirms the notion of translanguaging “for those who see the languages as mutually influencing each other” (p. 16) and translanguaging often helps students in multilingual classrooms in their learning process. However, he also notes that multilingual “students have to understand communication as performative, not just constitutive” (p. 20). In a later work, Canagarajah (2011) introduces the term “codemeshing” to refer to the mixing of codes and diverse symbols in the work of multilingual university students in the US. As evident in the example from Marshall et al. (2012) above, through different forms of literacy (i.e., on-line communication) and translanguaging practice, two students construct their multiple identities in two languages.

Multilingual practices are also representational of transnational identity because conversations continue in cyber space regardless of the students’ physical locations (i.e., Hong Kong and Vancouver), and time change. Such social activity that blurs national boundaries and time concepts is referred to as transnational activity (Kelly, 2003). As will become evident later, the multilingual FAL students also engage in translanguaging activities, exercising their agency to find access to learning. Since my study focuses on the way that the student take advantage of the multilingual resources they bring into university life, I use the term multilingual to represent these students (as described earlier), and also to include the aspect of hybridity and fluidity that multilingual students encounter. Many keep Skype and MSN open all day long on a computer screen to chat with their family members back home. While studying at a Canadian university, many multilingual students’ lives are closely connected to where they or their parents came from.

Performing Monolingualism in Higher Education

As stated in the previous section, many multilingual university students engage in transnational activities that offer them bi/multilingual environments. They encounter different everyday life experiences within their communities, and on campus, which contribute to their identity construction process through negotiations, accommodations and representations. For many multilingual students, their home cultural and social

values that they have been socialized in are by parents and communities affect their language uses and behaviors or the D/discourses they employ. Multilingualism is not only about maintaining various languages available to students, but also about negotiating and accommodating cultures they are brought up with. The values coming across in educational institutions can sometimes challenge multilingual students' prior knowledge. From the institutional perspective, the multilingual students' challenges are often perceived as a problem, and deficit. Preece and Martin (2010), in their study of re-imagining higher education as a multilingual space, point out that "this is contributing to [multilingual students'] exclusion and marginalization in English-medium institution" (p. 3).

In terms of negotiating and accommodating languages and cultures in a new country, Ilieva (2005) studied adult immigrants in a college English as a Second Language (ESL) class. Ilieva found that the new immigrants go through a *Cultural tool normalization* (CTN) process that "incorporates processes of acculturation, or more specifically cultural reproduction" (p. 9). CTN in the students results from "the availability, access to, pervasiveness and possibilities for mastery and appropriation of given cultural tools/discourses in a given context" (p. 15). In other words, CTN requires identity negotiations and students' engagement in a dialogic relationship with institutional texts, instructors, and peers in order to actively participate in their new communities.

Another example of negotiating languages, cultures, and thus identity, is from Harklau's (2000) two-year study on the institutional image, and the *representation* of college ESL students. In her study, experienced immigrant adolescents who completed high school degrees in the U.S. were again treated as newcomers in college along with new ESL or international students. They were misidentified as novice ESL students, and their previous academic achievements at U.S. high school were not recognized. The institutional assumptions regarding ESL students reshaped the students' identities, and contributed to the decline in their interests in learning. Likewise, Marshall (2010) found that multilingual students in a university setting often focus on their ESL selves, rather than their multilingual selves. His study on students "re-becoming ESL" (Marshall, 2010) in an academic literacy course illustrates the dynamic process of multilingual students' identity reconstruction. In other words, students' lack of proficiency in academic English is highlighted because of the stress that they face in mastering the institutional dominant

discourses (for example, academic English), and due to expectations that they should be able to perform as idealized native speakers (Leung et al. 1997; Marshall, 2010a). This is also seen in the multilingual FAL students in my study, who perceive themselves through the constructed image of “idealized native speakers” when they talk about themselves in the context of academic literacies, while the same students also shared the opposite stories of their success and educational achievement. I will discuss them in Chapter 7.

According to Heller (2007a), there are three forces that affect bilingual and multilingual students. They are language, identity, and students’ situated communities, which are seen as “heuristic devices which capture some elements of how [*students*] organize [*themselves*]” (p. 13). For example, many transnational and multilingual students’ everyday lives are multilayered with the bi/multi languages and cultures of students’ affiliated communities of university, friends, family, and other activities. Marshall et al. (2012) found that that their participants’ academic literacy practices can be often multilayered and entail various D/discourses or voices, while the university assignments are strictly monolingual, requiring the use of academic English.

In terms of identifying bi/multilingual students, Leung et al. (1997) describe their language qualifications as “*language expertise, language inheritance and language affiliation*”, (p. 555) rather than defining them as speakers of heritage language, non-native language, or second/third language. Leung et al.’s intention is to eliminate the reification of ethnicities, language hierarchy and monopoly that have been discursively practiced in school, community and society. Multilingual students’ everyday lives are likely “cross-overs and cultural mixes ... in a globalised world” (p. 551). In practice, the multilingual students encounter unique university learning experiences: a multilingual learning process with peers to produce the assignments in English that are normally evaluated from a monolingual perspective (Marshall et al. 2012).

Conclusion

I addressed in this chapter issues of defining bi/multilingualism through a review of literature on various uses of languages (i.e., code-switching, crossing code, mixed

code, translanguaging, etc.) in different social contexts, translanguaging, and monolingualism in higher education. Reviewing and discussing the term bi/multilingualism is essential to understand how an institutional perspective could construct the image of multilingual students, and how it might impact on the multilingual FAL students' identity construction.

Traditional scholars have studied bi/multilingualism as separate abilities, used in different private and public spheres. For instance, higher education tends to limit multilingual resources, and often views students' linguistic backgrounds as an extra burden rather than valuable contribution to the future academic community. Therefore, the power relations between Standard English and other languages are prominent in this context and impact the construction of a deficit image of multilingual students. The image constructed of these students as "Others" is powerful, making it difficult to deconstruct and reconstruct such images of multilingual students. My research aims for an understanding of multilingual students from transnational and multilingual perspectives in order for them to be well recognized as resourceful students contributing to the enrichment of the institutional culture.

In my study, I will discuss how multilingual students find, select, and organize their ways of using languages in their situated communities that may shape their perception of who they are. Especially in a transnational context, multilingual students' accesses to linguistic, cultural and social resources and networks are vast, often leading to translanguaging practices in cyber space as well as physical space. These practices vary as multilingual students view themselves differently in different social settings (see Chapters 8 and 9). In short, participants' multilingual practices become more common phenomena and represent transnational identities that occur locally and globally.

In the next chapter, I will describe the methodology I employed in my study by locating the research in an ethnographic study within an interpretative approach.

Chapter 6.

Methodology

Qualitative, Ethnographic, and Interpretive Research

The current study aims to understand multilingual FAL students' identity construction processes in a university learning environment in Canada, in which demographic shift, multilingualism and transnationalism have emerged in society due to an increase in immigration (Hiebert & Ley, 2006; Kelly; 2003, Statistics Canada, 2011a). I conducted an ethnographic study with an interpretative approach allowing me, the researcher, to describe the multilingual FAL students' subjective experiences so as to inquire into *what is going on* in their social and cultural worlds through the lenses of theories and the researcher (Fetterman, 1989; Hammersley & Atkinson 1995; Walcott, 2002). The reason why I also emphasize an interpretive approach is to pay more attention to how the multilingual FAL students and their instructors "make sense of their experiences and also how researchers in turn make sense of (interpret) data obtained from interviews, observations, narratives, and other sources" (Duff, 2012a, p.419). To understand the study participants' subjective individual experiences, as well as to understand the participants' cultural, social and academic experiences holistically, the researcher generates knowledge through data and theoretical analyses and interpretation. By applying methodological knowledge, the researcher can focus his/her lens to ensure "the importance of situated meaning and contextualized experience as the basis for explaining and understanding social behavior" (Pole & Morrison, 2003, p. 5).

In this chapter, I will first provide information about the study participants. Then, I will explain qualitative, ethnographic and interpretive approaches, how I addressed methodological issues around some common critiques of ethnography, and ethical

issues that I faced in my study. In response to the critiques of ethnography, I will discuss validity and reflexivity as a way of legitimating my research and my reflexivity as a researcher. In doing so, I will also describe how my reflexivity as a researcher affects the data. Lastly, I will describe the data collection, procedure, analysis, and how the data has been co-constructed through the researched (my study participants), the researcher (myself) and through my theoretical framework.

Ethnographic Study

Ethnographic research is a methodology that is mostly qualitative, and which allows the researcher to enter the participants' field in order to interact and become familiar with them.

Study Participants

**Table 2. 16 multilingual FAL students in my study
(Pseudonyms: Alphabetical order)**

| Code Name (Sex) | Languages | Country of Origin | In Canada (yrs.) | Faculty | Year at SFU |
|------------------------|--|--------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------|
| Albert (M) | Turkish, English | Turkey | 1 | Science | 1 |
| Gie (F) | Cantonese, English | Hong Kong | 13 | Science | 1 |
| Carolina (F) | Portuguese, English, Spanish | Brazil | 1 | Arts and Social Science | 1 ^a |
| Chloe (F) | Cantonese, English, Mandarin | Hong Kong | 12 | Business | 2 ^b |
| Dave (M) | Mandarin, English | China | 4 | Applied Science | 1 |
| Ellen (F) | Mandarin, English | China | 2 | Business | 1 |
| Edward (M) | Korean, English | Korea | 7 | Communication, Art and Technology | 3 |
| Grace (F) | English, Mandarin, French | Born in Canada | N/A | Arts and Social Science | 1 |
| Linda (F) | Turkish, English, German | Turkey | 7 | Education | 1 |
| Lijo (M) | Hindi, English, Bengali, Panjabi, French | India | 2 | Applied Science | 2 |
| Melody (F) | Cantonese, English | Born in Canada | N/A | Business/ Education | 3 |

| Code Name (Sex) | Languages | Country of Origin | In Canada (yrs.) | Faculty | Year at SFU |
|------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------|
| Pinky (F) | Cantonese, English, Mandarin | Hong Kong | 8 | Arts and Social Science | 1 |
| Sally (F) | French, English | Born in Canada | N/A | Arts and Social Science | 1 |
| Vivid (F) | Korean, English | Korea | 7 | Communication, Art and Technology | 3 |
| Warren (M) | Korean, English | Korea | 9 | Business | 4 |
| Yuria (F) | Korean, English | Korea | 11 | Communication, Art and Technology | 3 |

^a Transferred from Brazilian university.

^b Second degree.

EAL/Multilingual University Undergraduate Students

As shown in Table 2, 16 multilingual FAL students participated in the study: from Brazil, Canada, China, Hong Kong, India, Korea, and Turkey. Participants include both females and males between the ages of 18 to 50 years. The students are not only culturally and linguistically diverse, but also had different life experiences because of their age, gender and national backgrounds. Next, I will give an overview of the students.

Chloe, Ellen and Linda already completed a master's or bachelor degree either from a Canadian or a foreign institution before enrolling in the FAL course. According to Chloe, Ellen and Linda, their study at SFU is for further professional development. Likewise, Carolina has some university experience in her country; she is a transfer student who wants to graduate from a Canadian university. All of them seemed to be ambitious to achieve success in an academic community perhaps as they are more experienced than other novice students.

Angie, Dave, Pinky and Yuria are Generation 1.5 students whose parents migrated to Canada for a better life style and education when they were pre-teen to adolescent. Some family members remain together, while others go back to their countries of origin to continue their work to support their family financially, and visit the

students regularly, or invite them home during holidays. They take advantage of life in two countries.

Grace, Melody and Sally were born in Canada: their parents migrated to Canada before their birth. They went from elementary school to university in Canada.

Albert, Carolina, Ellen, Edward, Lijo, Vivid, and Warren are international students. Edward, Vivid and Warren have been in Canada since high school, and the others came to Canada for their university degree. Among them, Albert, Carolina and Ellen entered SFU to be eligible to immigrate to Canada: As described in Chapter 2, studying at a Canadian university and finding a job after graduation are requirements to be eligible to apply for immigration. Some of the students plan to invite their families to start a new life in Canada.

As shown above, the multilingual FAL students in my study have various transnational, linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Most of their “lives are characterized by geographical fluidity and [*they*] identify themselves with at least two places” (Hiebert & Ley, 2006, p. 77). Thus, most of the study participants share elements of a cosmopolitan *transnational* identity. These multilingual students from five different FAL classes voluntarily participated in the study. In addition, all the students self-identified themselves as EAL students, regardless of their place of origin, or language most spoken in their everyday lives.

FAL Instructors

The eight course instructors who took part voluntarily in my study are mostly graduate students or doctoral degree holders from the Faculty of Education, where they have been trained on educational theories. The instructors were from different gender, cultural and social backgrounds, which could perhaps serve to offer a range of perspectives. They are from North America and other countries, monolingual to multilingual instructors, both females and males, and have lived (i.e., studied, taught English or worked) abroad in places such as Europe, Asia, or the Middle East. The FAL teaching community is not large enough to allow me to identify each instructor’s

background. Therefore, I do not release the instructors' country origins, past teaching experiences or cultural and linguistic backgrounds to guarantee anonymity.

All the participants' (instructors and students) contribution to my study is voluntary and confidential, as promised in the consent form (Appendix B). In order to protect their privacy, I only share analyzed data in the study. Raw data and data transcriptions are kept in a secure place in my study room in order to keep information confidential. I will further discuss ethical aspects of having participants in my study later in the ethical response section. I will now describe qualitative, ethnographic and interpretive research, and how I applied them in my study.

Methodological Approach

Qualitative Study

Ethnographic study is a form of qualitative research. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2005),

Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. [The researchers] turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, ... recordings and memos to the self. At this level qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. It means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. (p. 3)

A qualitative researcher is required to have honest commitment and responsibility towards 1) understanding other people's worldviews in their situated context, and 2) the researcher's active involvement in collecting and interpreting data theoretically.

In terms of understanding the study participant's worldviews, it is important to recognize "the subjective experience of individuals" (Burns, 2000, p. 3; as cited in Blaxter, Hughes & Tight, 2006, p. 63) in qualitative studies. For example, getting familiar with the researched, the researcher can create rapport in the study field. This is

especially important in qualitative studies as “humans actively construct their own meanings of situations” (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2000, p. 137) by reason of the complexity of social and contextual interactions.

For example, I first contacted the FAL director to introduce me to the FAL instructors. After the instructors gave me permission for regular classroom visits, I became familiar with their students. After coming to the instructors’ classes a couple of times, I casually talked to the students, and some multilingual FAL students showed interest and participated in my study to share their stories. By the interview sessions, we were familiar with each other, and most of the multilingual FAL students wanted me to listen to their individual stories. As for the instructors, most of them were energetic and wanted to know more about my study, as well as sharing the teaching philosophies and pedagogies they employed to affect directly the students’ learning in university. Establishing rapport, capturing a moment and exploring the meaning in the field is the strength of qualitative studies. In this way, I attempt to make sense of the study participants’ worldviews and perspectives.

The second part of the quotation above by Denzin and Lincoln (2005) states the researcher’s active involvement in collecting and interpreting data. That is to say, the researcher is also a research tool, unlike quantitative research that attempts to search for fixed and outcome-oriented facts in controlled environments (i.e., the laboratory). Qualitative researchers, on the other hand, employ a wide range of theories, paradigms, methods, or strategies to interpret the contextual meanings of data collected in the research field (Creswell, 2009; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Due to the flexibility in selecting methods and the researcher’s extensive involvement in the study, positivist scholars may criticize a qualitative approach as facing a crisis of representation, lack of study validation, or blurred genre¹² (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Qualitative researchers, however, understand flexibility as a methodological strength. Thus, conducting qualitative research means acknowledging flexibility and interpretive activities that involve the researchers’ subjectivity and morality to analyze and describe others’ perspectives or worldviews, and experiences in a broader sense (Denzin, 1997; Denzin

¹² Crisis of representation, lack of study validation and blurred genre will be explained later in this chapter in a section where I discuss critiques of ethnography and responses.

& Lincoln, 2005). The researcher's careful methodological choice and inclusion of their theoretical stand and self-reflexivity into the research form a strong counter argument against critiques to qualitative research (Davies, 2008).

Since each study participant is bringing individual linguistic, cultural, social and academic life experiences into the university community, taking account of the multilingual students' subjective experiences in-depth in my study is essential to understand the multilingual students' identity process of becoming university students. I chose to apply a qualitative methodology that would allow me to become familiar with the researched in their situated contexts. Within the qualitative framework, I employed ethnographic research principles with an interpretative approach as I will explain in the next section.

Ethnographic Research

"Ethnographic research is characterized by an interest in understanding in a holistic way the complex dynamics of a particular group or human society to 'produce historically, politically, and personally situated accounts, descriptions, interpretations, and representations of human lives' " (Tedlock, 2000, p. 455). Ethnography is specifically a study of people's cultural or social behaviors; therefore, the researcher pays close attention to understand other's worldviews through interviews, observations, reflection and theories. Thus, the ethnographer has to engage in "thick description" (Fetterman, 1989; Geertz, 1973). According to Hammersley and Atkinson (1995), thick description can be obtained through:

participating, overtly or, covertly in people's daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions, in fact, collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of the research. (p. 1)

In other words, thick description can be from notes, personal and theoretical reflections from the field to illustrate social or cultural practices and routines of the group of people in a detailed careful manner, so that the researcher can analyze and interpret them contextually and theoretically later on (Brewer, 2000, 2001; Davies, 1999; Fetterman, 1989; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995; Heath, 1983; Pole & Morrison, 2003;

Tedlock 1991). Such an alternative notion of thick description represents a significant shift from an ethnocentric, outsider point of view to that of an insider. This social anthropological methodology of ethnography was introduced to other fields such as education, social work, and linguistics in the 1960s and 1970s. The huge attraction and contributions that educational ethnography offered relate to “what is going on” in other people’s lives – their lifestyle, beliefs, and all possible types of questions that would emerge from cultural stereotypes and its in-depth analysis of the phenomena (Spindler, 2002; Walcott, 2002).

Understanding “what is going on” in the multilingual FAL students’ lives required investigating how the students constructed and contested identities in the process of becoming a university student. The study participants came to university with various goals; some for immigration, for family obligation, or for professional and career investments and went through different socio-cultural, academic, multilingual and transnational experiences. The students’ multilingual, sociocultural, and transnational resources are diverse in each context. They are highly sensitive areas for the research to deal with. Ethnography allows the researcher to pay attention to these highly sensitive data, the trivial and peripheral cultural and social aspects of the participants to see what is going on holistically through the process of data collection and analysis (Hammersley, 1995; Spindler, 2002; Walcott, 2002). I chose to incorporate ethnographic methods into my study in order to understand multilingual students’ identity construction in their local living contexts, which can be different from multilingual students in other cities where there is less linguistic and cultural diversity than in Vancouver. In this way, I can legitimate students’ data contextually from the students’ perspective as well as the researcher’s perspective into data interpretation. In other words, data are not merely regarded as the answer of the research. Data are to be quoted to show contextual sensitivity, but also to be filtered through theories and the researcher to respond to the research questions. In short, being sensitive to the research context, and including the researcher’s theoretical lens as legitimate knowledge is the strength of ethnographic studies. I will also discuss my role as a researcher, my relationship with the researched and how that affects knowledge co-construction and production in a situated community (i.e. multilingual university in a city with a rich diversity) later in the chapter.

Critiques of Ethnography

Like any other methodology, ethnography also has its weaknesses, and it is essential to point out weaknesses as part of addressing the limitations of the research. Ethnography is often criticized because of the inequality in the power relationship between the researcher (the observer) and the researched (the observed) (Hammersley, 1995). The issue of the power relationship extends to social responsibility and ethical aspects of how to make sense of data, and the possible impact on the study participants, or the field (Brewer, 2000; Carspecken, 1996; Davies, 1999). According to Carspecken (1996),

There are today postmodern methodologists who emphasize the limitless possibilities of interpretation, the lack of absolute standards for judging one interpretation over another. They “deconstruct” dominant ideologies, traditional methodologies, news, programs, and classroom pedagogies; and they love to assault both social and natural “science.” (p. 15)

Carspecken’s statement highlights the powerful impacts that the researcher can bring in while analyzing and interpreting the worldviews and experiences of the researched. The researcher can be powerful and influential to the field, as the participants may respond to the researcher’s expectations, and the presence of the researcher can disrupt the nature of the environment. Moreover, Brewer (2000) defines the complexity of data interpretation and analysis as the crisis of representation: “All accounts are constructions and the whole issue of which account more accurately represents social reality is meaningless” (p. 24). Brewer continues that it is “essential to understand ‘the freely constructed character of human actions and institutions’ in the natural settings and contexts which influence and shape people’s meanings” (p. 34).

One of my study aims is to suggest pedagogical implications of the findings in order to empower multilingual students’ empowerment in learning, recognizing the important role of students’ identity construction processes. Ethnography serves this purpose well as it allows the researcher to be a part of the research and to examine people in the context of their social and cultural world. The researcher becomes a research tool, which is a strength in conducting an ethnographic study. To make sense of data through my personal and theoretical reflection, I was very careful and always aware of my manners, responsibility, and authority in conducting the research as a

researcher (i.e., personal reflection) and research instrument (theoretical choice). In the next section, I will discuss ethical issues and my responses to them.

Ethical Issues

Ethical issues concern accounting for study participants' confidentiality, and a researcher's attitude towards the research (Creswell, 2008). In my study, as written in the study consent form, study participants have the right to withdraw their participation. I kept individuals' personal information confidential by using pseudonyms for all the study participants, and did not describe the origin of the FAL instructors in detail as this easily reveals who they are. I also keep the raw data in a secured storage where nobody can access to it.

Another important ethical issue is the following: what can I offer in return and what are the benefits of this study to the participants? The ethnographer has a duty to be socially responsible and to understand that there are possibilities to bring up the marginalized, silenced or unknown others' voices. In order to be socially responsible, I will discuss how the research can contribute to practitioners' work, those who actually have everyday contact with the multilingual students.

Hammersley (1995) recognizes that audiences of ethnography are likely to be the research community rather than practitioners. Since ethnography illustrates detailed social events and generates data in a process-oriented way, the knowledge can be accurate within a given context; nonetheless, it can be difficult to apply to other contexts. The great value of research is to produce and legitimate specific knowledge; although ethnographic work is not generalizable, other researchers (and communities) can gain insights about their own contexts by drawing analogies.

Multilingual FAL students may be stereotyped by traditional research as "challenged" or "disadvantaged" university students because of their need to improve Academic "English" (Marshall, 2010a; Waterstone, 2008). In my opinion, this is not, however, the only element which creates their identity as university students in the context of the multilingual communities they live in. Their transnational activities influence their multiple linguistic resources, and their socio-cultural environments are often ignored by higher education institutions (Heller, 2007a). Therefore, it is my social

responsibility to bring an awareness of students' multilingualism and transitional aspects of learning and to work to legitimate their identities as university students.

Validity and Reflexivity as Legitimizing the Research Through Sharing the Process

Davies (2008) describes validity as “truth or correctness of the findings” (p. 96) and claims the researcher’s involvement and self-reflexivity should be addressed in ethnographic study. Altheide and Johnson (2011) confirm that “the social world is an interpreted world [...] [and the researcher] can apply this perspective to understand how situations in everyday life are informed by social contexts” (p. 586). Providing knowledge on both process and outcomes of the study only captures the moment of “what is going on in the field” within a specific context (Hammersley, 1995; Heath, 1993). To do so, I have carefully inquired into the data through triangulation and multiple levels of analysis because there is no absolute way to validate ethnographic data (Creswell, 2009; Hammersley, 1995). Instead of discussing the notion of validation, I have shed light on a contextual, heuristic, and reflective interpretation of the worldview of the multilingual FAL students through the thick description of events, field notes, self and theoretical reflections, and interview transcripts. Taking into consideration the process that includes multiple data, the observer, the interpretation, audience and the style contribute to the notion of reflexivity, “the examination of how the research process, including the ‘act of writing’ [that] partially produces the research result” (Marcus & Clifford, 1986; Van Maanen, 1998, quoted in Altheide & Johnson, 2011, p. 587) are explained next.

Reflexivity

Self-reflexivity is viewed as a response to “non-reflexive” positivism that values “objectivity” and “validity”. Self-validation through locating self into the process of the study is thus part of reflexivity. According to Davies (2008), “reflexivity, broadly defined, means a turning back on oneself, a process of self-reference... reflexivity at its most immediately obvious level refers to the ways in which the products of research are affected by the personnel and process of doing research” (p. 4). Davies argues that the “ethnographer must seek to utilize creatively the insights of ...postmodernist perspectives – insights that encourage incorporation of different standpoints, exposure

of the intellectual tyranny of meta-narratives and recognition of the authority that inheres in the authorial voice” (p. 5) through self-reflexivity. Davies’ statement of recognizing the self in the data means that the researcher needs to acknowledge that he/she is in the social process of the field. This is to say, the researcher and the study participants influence and co-construct the environment, identities and local knowledge in the study field. Byrd Clark (in press) supports inclusion of reflexivity in ethnographic study “to look at one’s own position and investment in the research; in other words, looking at and coming clean with one’s own biases, uncertainties, and multiple identities” (p.11). To apply the notion of reflexivity in my study, I acknowledged subjectivity is a part of the process of interpreting data; accordingly, I see the outcome of the study as having emerged from the co-construction of knowledge of the multilingual FAL students, the FAL instructors, my careful selection of theoretical framework, my supervisor and committee’s feedback on analysis and my careful consideration. I took considerable time to read data, literature, feedback, and put all the stories and interpretation together to write, revise multiple times and finalize my thesis.

When acknowledging the co-construction of knowledge, the relationship among the researched (observed/interpreted) and the researcher (observer/interpreter) is sometimes questioned: Who authorizes whose voice, and interprets and analyzes the data? Who selects theories to be examined through data? “Who interprets voice in the field” is a classic critique (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). As a part of ethnographic reflexivity processes, ethical issues through data analysis should be mentioned:

The exploration of ethical issues involved in the process of generating ethnographic information and publishing ethnographic accounts encouraged ethnographers to combine the political, philosophical, and personal within single accounts. Instead of choosing between writing an ethnographic memoir centering on the self or a life history or standard monograph centering on the other, an ethnographer can allow both self and other to appear together within a single narrative that carries a multiplicity of dialoguing voices (Tedlock, 2000, p. 471).

In this regard, Davies (2008) examines the boundary between the researcher and the researched from postmodern and poststructural perspectives. In my study, my role as a researcher as an insider and outsider impacted on the way the multilingual FAL students talked to me, and the way I interpreted their individual stories through my

experiences as an international student and eventually immigrant who had to find a way to settle in Canada. In short, the dual processes of theoretical and personal reflection in data analysis allowed me the researcher to show multiple voices, perspectives or worldviews from the field through reflexivity (Brewer, 2000; Davies, 2008). Thus, my data analysis became a multiple co-construction of the reflexivity of me the researcher, the experiences and representations of the researched, and theories.

My Reflexivity as an Ethnographer

In ethnographic studies, the researcher is recognized as primal methodological tool (Creswell, 2009; Hammersley, 1995; Tedlock, 2000), especially when specifying the notion of reflexivity. Hammersley (1995) mentions that the strength of ethnography is to produce knowledge of the research process as well as the outcomes to legitimate the study (Hammersley, 1995). Legitimizing the research process empowered me as a researcher, because I engaged with the data in several stages which involved transcribing the recorded interviews, immersing myself in the data, coding out the data by theme, and again returned to data to make sure that I did not miss anything significant to my study. When immersing myself in the data, there was significant self-reflexivity that made me reflect on my own life as a student and immigrant. I then went back to literature to find how to interpret the data with self-reflexive voice I nurtured from data immersion. I always asked myself what I wanted to do in this research and how I could legitimate my research and the knowledge that I gained from the field.

Through figuring out data and reading literature, I had to learn how to “shift from a perspective that implicitly elevates the personal to the normative in order to observe what is going on” (Angrosino & Mays de Perez, 2003, p.675) I read literature whenever I felt confused, helpless or stuck from not being able to accurately express my voice that was vague or not being generated yet, or to find what students were really trying to say in the recorded interviews and field notes. I wanted to tell stories in a legitimated way, but I was not sure what was relevant and worth sharing in the thesis. The kind of voice I had was not too expressive in the beginning. My voice was generated slowly through going through the reflective process of employing research methodologies and carrying our data analysis. These processes transferred me into the special area of being careful, thoughtful and sensitive (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994).

These words, “being careful, thoughtful and sensitive”, encouraged me to take time to feel ready for writing reflection, analyzing data and writing up the thesis. My initial worries towards the field, multilingual FAL students, and processing data originated from lack of self-confidence as I always feel as a forever ESL student. The feeling of insecurity and inferiority of being an ESL graduate student affected my research process greatly: should I talk like a researcher who engages in a doctoral thesis project, or like another ESL university student who may have many things in common with my study participants? Am I doing it right? I was trying to visualize what I may see and experience, or how I sit and communicate with students and teachers. I also thought how they may feel about me if I am sitting in the room, disturbing their learning moment. I was worried and sometimes I stopped thinking and writing until I felt better. During the time of struggle, I sometimes thought about my study participants.

One day after the class, one of the FAL instructors asked me if I was intending to evaluate the instructor’s pedagogy as part of my observation. I said no. I told this instructor that I would like to see how the interaction between the instructor and the students impacts on students’ identity. After that, this instructor seemed to feel comfortable and became more open to me, not only about teaching the FAL course, but also shared her graduate student work process, life experiences and trivial things. I learned that many graduate students actually felt similarly about their graduate student lives. After feeling encouraged by others, my worries became just part of the process rather than major disruption in my research. In my reflective note from the field, I wrote:

After 1.5 months of visiting the field, I felt that I slowly established rapport with my study participants. We chatted about the class, family and their university life in general. Some participants (both students and instructors) shared their concerns and reflections of the class and asked me to see it as of the record. I respected their requests. Or, some instructors kindly gave me their reflections on their own teaching, and asked for my opinions. It was a professional teaching development opportunity for me as a practitioner. I felt we were colleagues. I appreciated their trust in me, along with the regular classroom visitations. The instructors are dedicated educators who are not hesitant to share any moments with me once our rapport has been established.

(June 18th, 2009)

In the FAL course context, the instructors play a significant role in how students communicate their academic voices, (i.e., autobiography and reflective writing assignments) based on instructors' pedagogical and theoretical approach in teaching. Finding in-depth understandings and analysis of how the multilingual FAL students construct their realities, and what constitutes their realities, I found it very helpful to communicate with the instructors: getting different perspectives and voice, mingling theirs with my voice, sorting them out, deconstructing what was going on to construct what all of this meant to my research. Gradually, I became ready to respond to the research question of how the FAL instructors construct images of their multilingual FAL students, and respond to them pedagogically in the classroom.

Becoming an Insider as Well as an Outsider

The researcher is often at the edge of both roles of an insider and outsider without clear boundaries, and changes take place depending on the situation, conditions and time. I was an insider and outsider in my study field. These two roles are not only self-created by the researcher, but also dependent upon the researcher's role within the setting and the relationship with the study participants. Acknowledging my position as a researcher (both as an insider and outsider) is an important aspect of the reflexivity that legitimates my study (Davies, 2008).

Bogdan and Biklen (2007) explain that "becoming a qualitative researcher is like learning to perform any role in a society. [...]. You have to feel that the role is authentic for you" (p.90). My understanding of the term authentic is to feel right about establishing rapport with study participants, both instructors and students, and this did not separate my researcher's role into an insider or outsider. However, it is essential to point out that my ethnic, gender, social or cultural background may intersect in some ways with the researched people's voice (Angrosino & Mays de Perez, 2000). I start writing with building rapport. Building rapport began with getting to know one another by visiting classes twice a week. Both with the instructors and the students, we sometimes chatted during breaks, before and after classes. Many stories were trivial, but it was important to understand where students and teachers were coming from, and what their everyday lives sounded like.

My background as an international student may have made the multilingual FAL students feel comfortable to share their challenging experience, as some of the FAL students may have assumed that I had common experiences of struggles and achievements. I felt that I was welcomed in knowing more about their personal stories of becoming a university student. Recording interview sessions sometimes made me feel that I was an outsider, who disturbed the natural environment to make them say something useful in my study. This insecure feeling of becoming an insider and outsider is unavoidable because the researchers “interact with or enter into a dialogic relationship with [each individual member] of the group being studied” (Angrosino & Mays de Perez, 2000, p. 678). The nature of my relationship with students and instructors slowly shifted slightly. For example, unlike the formal researched-researcher relationship, I felt I was perceived as a role model by the multilingual FAL students from Asia, while being viewed as a colleague by the FAL instructors who were in the same graduate program. In these moments of diverting roles, I suddenly became an insider of the research who shares a similar academic background, or similar life path as an international student, and then soon to be an immigrant. Gradually, I realized that the border between being an outsider and an insider became vague and undefined while establishing rapport with students, and feeling more comfortable talking with one another. The same thing happened with the FAL instructors. Once we became familiar, they shared more trivial stories. These stories sometimes gave me a hint of understanding the research questions, different perspectives or broadened my knowledge of the FAL context. Our one-minute casual talk in a hallway after class sometimes inspired me and I directly went to the library to search for meanings.

Moreover, I had to closely reflect on my own life as a graduate student and soon-to-be immigrant, that is, on my own perspective changes. During the last stage of my thesis, I finally had a professional teaching job outside my university which encouraged me more to finish the thesis with a good intention, rather than feeling oppressed, or not being able to be very successful in a new country. Many reflective layers of processing data and generating voice have been required, because my everyday life is also embedded within the study, together with the interactions and interpretation of information that occurs in the field (Tedlock, 2000).

Thus, the dual roles of being an insider and outsider require careful observation and interpretation based on the trust, and repetitive reflections throughout the many stages of the research. When I noticed myself that my dual role provided me with different perspectives, I initially became insecure. I decided to take some time away from the data, and reviewed theories. I realized, however, that being fluid in both roles actually could provide me with new and multiple perspectives (Angrosino & Mays de Perez, 2000; Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). In short, my positioning in the field was not always the same. It was more of a flux and dialogical; positioning the relationship was sometimes co-constructed in a certain context through the process of building rapport, or gaining further knowledge of the field.

Data Collection

Locations

As stated in chapter 2, I conducted my research in 5 FAL classrooms that were taught by 5 instructors in Burnaby and Surrey SFU campuses, where multilingual FAL students attend class twice a week. Creswell (2009) mentions that an immersing setting provides the researcher with “up close information gathered by actually talking directly to people and seeing them behave and act within their context” (p. 175). I immersed myself in the field by making regular class visitations, communicating with the study participants when possible, and keeping in touch with the participants after the term of my visitation. For the interviews, I asked the students to choose the most convenient place for them. We had the interviews in library group study rooms, or a random empty classroom at students’ most convenient campus, wherever they felt comfortable to meet with me. A couple of interviews were also conducted at a quiet food court in a small shopping mall, or café near the sky train of the study participant’s neighborhood. Some shared their private stories, or asked about my life. It was becoming clear how the students wanted to learn in university, and how their identity was being constructed through their university lives (i.e., see Chapter 7, 8 & 9). After having the first interview, the students often came to see me after class for a small chat to share their stories. This was greatly helpful for the second follow up interview, as we already had rapport,

and I had been able to begin to understand participants in their life contexts. I will describe the details in chapter 7.

Collecting Multiple Data

To understand the multilayered process of how the multilingual FAL students' identities are constructed, and co-constructed, I decided to gather multiple data: two open-ended and semi-structured interviews from each multilingual student; one interview with FAL instructors; *casual talk* with instructors; regular classroom observations with 4 different instructors' classes for one semester; analysis of students' writing assignments after being graded; university policies; curriculum syllabus, course outlines, handouts, field notes and my journal. The combination of public documents collected on-line (e.g., university policies, and FAL flyers), and the private documents of students' writing assignments, e-mails, and the researcher's field notes and reflections enabled me to approach data and respond to the questions from various perspectives.

In 2009, I received ethics approval for my research. I asked for permission from the FAL course director if he could introduce his colleagues to me. Then, I emailed a recruitment letter to the course instructors. Seven instructors responded to me, and I had a short meeting with each of them. It was almost the end of semester, and two of the instructors who agreed to the interviews did not teach FAL in the following semester. Five instructors who were teaching during the semester I had scheduled for data collection invited me to come to their class in the first or the second week. Some instructors introduced me when they were introducing themselves, and others introduced me later in the class.

In their classroom, I first introduced myself as a doctoral student who wanted to study FAL students' identities. I handed out the recruitment letters on the first day and waited for their responses. 26 students responded to me. I gave them a consent form to reach an agreement of confidentiality that includes using pseudonyms, keeping collected data safe and respecting participants' right to withdraw. 18 students signed and returned the form to me before data collection: I was able to interview 16 students for the first interview and 14 students for the second interview; 16 students also contributed to my

study by sharing their writing. One student took part in the two interviews, but did not submit any writing; another participated in one interview and submitted their writing.

Sometimes, I walked with instructors after class, and had a casual “talk” with respect to the course, classroom management or their reflection on their own teaching on that day (Campbell & Gregor, 2002). After the summer semester, I was able to conduct an interview with one more FAL instructor, bringing the total of interviewed instructors to 8.

Observation affected the students’ comfort zone in the beginning. For example, I planned to video record the class to capture each moment, so that I could capture their facial expressions and other behaviors that I missed in class for the further investigation with in-depth analysis. However, after several visits, I sensed that recording would interfere with the students’ focus or disturb the safe learning space that the instructors had carefully built up. Before making the final decision not to bring a recording camera, I sat in front of students during their small discussion time, to see how much an instrument (i.e., myself as a researcher) would or would not interfere in the atmosphere of their talk. One girl became silent for a moment and her face flushed. Therefore, I kept a physical distance from this group of participants. She felt more comfortable when not carefully observed. This incident suggested to me that recording students with a camera in class may destroy the safe learning place. I decided not to bring a digital camera and a tripod. Instead, I made a decision to take notes, and to bring my laptop into the classroom in which the FAL students are allowed to bring their laptops.

Classroom Observation

Observation “can enable [me as a researcher] to draw inferences about [a different] perspective that [I] couldn’t obtain by relying exclusively on interview data [...such as] people’s behavior and the context in which occurs” (Maxwell, 2005, p. 94). Classroom observation played two main roles: building rapport with study participants and understanding multilingual FAL students in the classroom contexts.

Classroom observation was a unique field experience, as each instructor had a different expectation of me as a researcher. One instructor asked me to be a complete observer who keeps a distance from students. Another asked me to be a participant

observer to support students' learning process. Another instructor's expectation of my classroom observation was to provide practical benefits to students in class. I was worried if two different styles of detached observer and participant observer in the study would confuse the method, or change the nature of the study. However, I chose to accept these instructors' suggestions and requests, as I wanted to respect their decision and make our relationship comfortable. In fact, this did not affect authenticity in terms of collecting data through observation, as the main purpose of the classroom observation was to "record information as it occurs. Unusual aspects can be noticed during observation" (Creswell, 2009, p. 179). However, I had to note that the different classroom observation style affected the number of student participants. Some instructors stated strongly that my study would benefit students, encouraged me to chat with students during breaks or allowed me to observe their students for multiple times before my research recruitment. I had more students participate from these instructors' class. Thus, classroom observations helped me understand the participants in their learning context.

Written Documents as Texts

Both public and private written documents were collected from 2009 to 2010. Having access to both types of documents "enables a researcher to obtain the language and words of participants" (Creswell, 2009, p. 180) as written evidence from the perspectives of the institution and individuals. Public documents include FAL information on the SFU website, course curriculum, assignments and rubric handouts, evaluations, instructors' worksheets and meeting minutes and power point presentations from FAL informational sessions. As for the individuals' documents, students provided me with their marked assignments such as autobiographical pieces of writing on their cultural backgrounds, learning process, and reflections on the FAL course. Other documents directly from the participants were follow-up conversations through emails. Students' own written texts were useful to understand how multilingual FAL students represented who they were through writing even though "not all people are equally articulate and perceptive" (Creswell, 2009, p. 180), while public documents gave me insight into the institutional legitimization and the purpose and goals of the FAL course. I used the public documents to understand the research context for the literature review before going through the data. Then, I carefully read the students' written texts.

Interviews and Talking

According to Kvale and Brinkmann (2009), 5-25 study participants are generally an adequate number for qualitative research because “[b]eyond a certain point, adding more respondents will yield less and less knowledge” (p.113). Interviewing produces co-constructed knowledge because the interviewed lived world, identities and their indirect information is gathered, transcribed, sorted and “filtered through the views of interviewees” (Creswell, 2009, p. 179). Forsey (2008) questioned “what makes an interview ethnographic?” (p. 58). According to Forsey,

As one committed to the ethnographic pursuit of holism and depth, I find an ethnographic sensibility that aims at revealing the cultural context of individual lives through an engaged exploration of the beliefs, the values, the material conditions and structural forces underpinning the socially patterned behavior of any individual. The questions we ask in an ethnographic interview should allow us to locate the biography of the individual in the broader cultural domains in which they live. Consequently, we should be able to link aspects of their personal story to the issues we are seeking to describe ... in the formal write-ups of our research data. (p. 59)

I interviewed 24 participants: 16 multilingual students who were registered in the FAL course and identified themselves as EAL speakers and eight course instructors. With all I conducted face-to-face, one-on-one, in-person, semi-structured interviews (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007; Creswell, 2009). I also used with both instructors’ and students’ casual talk and more open-ended interview strategies that could offer multi-sensory channels: identifying verbal and non-verbal communication (ex. facial/body expression, emotions, tones, and feelings), accessing participants’ beliefs and values, and exploring activities, behaviors and their further exploration and explanation (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007). Both casual talk and semi-structured interviews “[enabled] respondents to project their own ways of defining the world. [Such an approach] permits flexibility rather than fixity of sequence of discussions, allowing participants to raise and pursue issues and matters that might not have been included in a pre-devised schedule” (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007, p. 182).

With students, there were two interviews, in the middle and at the end of the term, in order to see the students’ identity construction processes through the FAL

course as well as the result of our rapport. Some students became more comfortable talking with me during the end-of-term interview and shared their personal narratives of how and why they studied at university, and their future aspiration. Since the end of the semester is very busy for students because of final exams and assignments, I rearranged the meetings to the next semester or during the break based on participants' convenience. Two students did not come for the second interview. With regard to instructors, I interviewed them once only to ask them about their perception of multilingual FAL students, because my focus was on the students' identity construction and the FAL instructors' interviews helped me to understand the students more in depth from their pedagogical and professional perspectives. Each interview took around 30 minutes with students, and from 20 minutes to 2.5 hours with instructors.

Knowledge Co-construction

During the interviews, the relationship of interviewer and interviewee can be influenced by gender, social status, profession or role in their family: the process of asking and responding to questions, selecting, sharing, clarifying, and seeking in-depth stories generates research knowledge in a co-constructive manner (Jorgensen, 1991). For example, three male multilingual FAL students initially expressed willingness to help me, a female graduate student with my research. These male participants initially shared their achievement, and the efforts they had made to enter university, and sustain the good GPA. However, two of the participants started sharing their experiences of homesickness and depression in the second interview when we became quite familiar with one another after meeting twice a week in class for the previous three months. I was surprised to hear their negative stories as they maintained their image as strong gentlemen supporting a young, female, international graduate student to survive her academic life. I found myself becoming a listener as student, not as a researcher.

On the other hand, three females took advantage of being a study participant to gain further learning opportunities, or looked for advice from an older experienced minority woman. These students had a very clear purpose for getting involved in my study, because they assumed that I had gone through the same experiences of being an international, novice student who had to make linguistic, cultural and social adjustments. My study participants asked me how I came to Canada, and how I chose and planned

my study and future career, so that they could follow a similar path, or get more ideas about their future career. So, we shared our life stories. It is not only that I observed, listened to and analyzed the participants' stories as data; the interview was also playing a part in the students' identity construction processes. Exploring new topics with students, and feeling empathy, their stories changed my role. We built strong rapport, and generated knowledge together in terms of what it meant to be a university student in a different country (discussed in the analysis chapter). Therefore, as a researcher I was able to foster an appropriate role to communicate and co-construct responses. Since knowledge is socially co-constructed through communication (i.e., interviews, talks and observation in my research), I started to reflect on my graduate life and looked for connections among us. As a result, I started looking into transnational theorizing, as I found the concept of transnational activities could legitimate students' *multi-ness* in the university context in a positive way.

Talking with Instructors

In addition to the interviews, *talking* with instructors played a crucial role in the data collection. *Talking* to people meant validating people's everyday world by checking the researcher's understanding in developing an interpretation of the data, "in contrast to going to an interview with a prepared set of questions to be answered" (Campbell & Gregor, 2002, p. 85). Moreover, I especially applied the concept of community of practices in my research to understand how the multilingual FAL students were constructing their identities, and what constitutes their identities. I should note how Lave and Wenger (1991) see knowledge production:

This world is socially constituted; objective forms and systems of activity, on the one hand, and agents' subjective and intersubjective understandings of them, on the other, mutually constitute both the world and its experienced forms. Knowledge of the socially constituted world is socially mediated and open ended. (p. 51)

Thus, inclusion of the instructors' casual talk (in addition to interview conversations) was essential to gain more understanding of their contributions to the identity formation process of the multilingual FAL students in my study.

Moreover, talking with instructors also revealed activities that contributed to the development of certain norms, ways of leading and facilitating the classroom discussion.

Interview Questions

Interview questions were created for students and teachers based partly on Lave and Wenger's (1991) and Wenger's (1998) theory of *community of practice*. According to Lave and Wenger, human beings are always involved in multiple communities regardless of their formality and fluidity. Each community has different functions and roles in one's life; however, people make sense of themselves through participation in various ways (i.e., centrally or peripherally). Through participation, people normally learn the communal discourses that can be negotiable for members of the community.

As for the multilingual students, I formed questions based on five aspects that would allow me to understand their communities of practice, their processes of learning communal discourses, and identity construction: 1) students' transitional experiences that involved changes and challenges through their or their family's immigration, 2) students' home environment, 3) school culture, 4) language experiences and 5) any other communities in which they participate in Canada. I chose these five categories as themes, as they would help me address from different angles my research questions: What factors have an impact on the identity formation of multilingual undergraduate university students in a first-year academic literacy course? How do these students go through the process of "becoming" a university student? And, what are the implications for classroom practice?

Regarding the instructors of the course, I planned to focus on their perceptions of the course, and their experiences as witnessing the process of students' learning (Appendix C). When I found their explanation unclear, I asked follow up questions such as, 1) would you give me some examples, 2) would you explain in more detail, or 3) why do you think/believe so? These additional questions facilitated our mutual understandings, eventually helping me to articulate their experiences based on my research questions, and to narrow down what I wanted to know more about the multilingual students in the study. At the end, or after the semester, I had the second interview with the students with regard to their FAL learning reflections, possible

influences on their university life in the future, and their perception of themselves in the university context (See Appendix C).

Multiple Triangulation

According to Hammersley and Atkinson (1995), “what is involved in triangulation is a matter not of checking whether data are valid, but, at best, of discovering which inferences from those data seem more likely to be valid (p. 184). Thus, multiple triangulation provides various ways of understanding the study participants and the research questions, and most importantly, the various data comparisons increase trustworthiness through construction of produced knowledge of data in a situated socio-cultural environment (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007; Fetterman, 1998; Hammersley, 1983). Moreover, the multiple triangulation of data can blend the voice of the researched and the researcher into the findings. This is an aspect of the interpretive approach that reveals the multilayered nature of knowledge and practices through communicating data and theories. For instance, Morita (2009) states that ethnographic study can include multiple viewpoints of students, instructors and the researcher. I especially applied the concept of community of practices, discussed briefly in chapter 4 and referred to again earlier in this chapter, to understand in my research how the multilingual FAL students construct their identities, and what constitutes their identities.

Like Morita’s study, I included data from students, instructors, and me as a researcher, as well as other written documents. My interpretative approach also involved self-reflexivity, and theoretical and data triangulation to develop rich understandings of the study. I will discuss the details of how I processed and analyzed data in the next section.

Data Collection and Analysis Procedures

During data collection, I paid close attention to how multilingual FAL students understand discursively constructed university practices to negotiate and accommodate themselves to legitimate their being and becoming students. What types of university discourses are in practice? What discourses are available? How do the students become aware of various resources on campus and off campus communities? While

listening to recorded interviews multiple times, I started to recognize students' powerful ways of telling their stories of trying to overcome academic and linguistic challenges and bringing their socio-cultural and linguistic resources into their university lives. Since an ethnographic study allowed me to legitimate a variety of personal perspectives in the participants' situated environments, I was able to pay attention to individual stories. I noticed two themes in common when students shared their experiences: 1) the students' ways of negotiating, accommodating and performing their knowledge and 2) students' reflections on their university experiences, in particular on language and cultural socialization in the appropriation of discourses. Hence, I decided to focus on analyzing *what is going on* in the multicultural and multilingual underpinnings of the multilingual FAL students' university lives.

I adopted Creswell's (2009) qualitative data analysis procedure: 1) organizing and preparing the raw data (i.e., transcription, field notes, and self and theoretical reflection) for analysis, 2) reading through all the data, 3) detailed analysis with a coding process, 4) using the coding process to generate a description of the setting or people as well as themes for analysis, 5) inquiring how the analysis description and themes will be represented in my thesis, 6) taking the final step in data analysis of making meanings and interpreting the data. Through the process, my emic (subjective/personal) and etic (theoretical/integral) involvement as a researcher in making sense of the data was heuristic in thought and on paper (Creswell, 1998; Fetterman, 1989). While legitimating the [messy] process of generating study findings, I began to emphasize the term "an interpretive approach" as the raw data in the field is filtered through multiple layers: the data was interpreted through: 1) the theoretical lens, 2) the study purpose and goal with good intention and 3) emic and etic involvement throughout the research process.

Once I left the field and completed interviews, I immersed myself in the data. I listened to the recorded files on my computer several times to find themes in common, and took note of highlights in the interviews. After having a sense of *what was going on*, I started to transcribe most of the data, except for some incidental talk about the weather, or something out of context. Through multiple readings of the transcribed data, reflections on my own graduate study journey and my decision to immigrate came to mind. The interpreting process was both joyful and painful, and then I started to think about how to contribute to legitimating the multilingual students' identity in the university

context, so that their complex students' lives could become more recognized. At the same time, students' narratives, and the interpretive process also legitimated my voices and my journey of coming to, studying in and immigrating to Canada. These two processes of organizing, legitimating, and authorizing the voices of the multilingual FAL students and my voices as a researcher and as an international graduate student and immigration applicant became synthesized. The synthesis occurred through self-reflection, reading the transcription of the data multiple times, finding literature to support our experiences as international students, and, in the specific context of immigration, I searched for legitimacy in Canadian academia. After coding out thematically, I somehow felt very insecure: Did my way of coding out make good sense of my research? Am I right about what should be included as emerging themes? Were the emerging themes and interpretation relevant to the academic research? I wanted to flesh out theoretical understandings on the data, so I went back to the literature to find ways of authoring voices in order to be heard in academia. I call this period of dwelling in the messiness – flexibly complicated – as I did not have any “preconceptions about the circumstances that may or may not shape experiential reality” (Holstein & Gubrium, 2003, p. 200). I denied my self-reflexivity and stopped the research for a long period of time. After a long period of going back and forth through the data and literature, I was finally able to return to the data findings with some sense of confidence. Gradually, I gained confidence in my research, and accepted the whole messiness of the process. I came to understand that subjectivity is inseparable from understanding “*what's* going on” – a classic question when an ethnographer enters or revisits the field. During the process of dwelling in the messiness, I tried to understand the *whats* I found in my research and to find out the *hows* to describe them. In other words, I was seeking the appropriate words, expressions, and ways of representing the multilingual FAL students' identity processes of becoming legitimate university students.

In the next chapter, I will share the data findings and analysis: entering the field, and the perceptions of the multilingual FAL students from the students' points of view and from their FAL instructors' perspectives.

Chapter 7.

Entering the Field

In this chapter, I will describe the FAL teachers' perceptions of multilingual FAL students and how the multilingual FAL students positioned themselves as language/literacy learners and in terms of identity formation. The first part, describing the teachers' perceptions of the students, will respond to one of the research questions: How do academic literacy course instructors understand the identities of their first-year students? The second part is about students' positioning themselves through their experiences. This part will help in responding to two research questions: 1) What factors have an impact on the identity formation of multilingual undergraduate university students in a first-year academic literacy course? 2) How do these students go through the process of "becoming" a university student?

Getting Started: First Classroom Visit and Students' Learning Conditions

During my first week of visiting the FAL classrooms, I was very excited and nervous. I was wondering who my study participants would be, whether they would accept me or not, and how they would feel about having me in class. Walking down the hall to the classroom, I saw various multilingual fliers on a notice board: advertisements for tutoring and editorial services, invitations to a political debate, a movie night, and music and social events, in different languages such as Mandarin, Korean, Punjabi, Japanese and English. When entering the FAL classroom, I heard students speaking various languages. Some students watched me as if they were wondering who I was. Others were busy chatting with their peers, text messaging on cellular phones, or surfing websites with the laptop computers that they brought in. A few others sat down quietly and waited for the class to start.

The two campuses that I visited offered different learning conditions to the students. One had modern electronic equipment, projectors, and clean big white screens; computer-operated devices to assist in teaching; and almost-new-looking clean lightweight chairs and tables. Because of the light-sized chairs and tables, classroom arrangements were often changed from those of the previous classes. Students had the opportunity to move tables and chairs to form a group space in a flexible manner. On the other hand, the other campus offered very basic teaching-learning conditions. There was no fancy equipment attached or installed in the classroom that I visited, only one overhead projector (OHP), an old white screen, a black board, simple metal coat hooks on one side of the wall, and huge windows on the other side of the room. There were only two electric outlets; therefore, the students were not able to take notes electronically in class when their computer batteries ran out. The study tables were placed in a C shape facing to the front, and tables were fixed. Students sat mostly in the same spot during the whole semester, and they normally had less flexibility for moving around to work in pairs or groups with new peers.

All the classes that I visited had around 15 students each. This classroom size was small enough so that the students could pay attention to each other and learn who they were. After I was introduced to the FAL students, some instructors encouraged the students to participate in my study for their own personal growth, and other instructors rephrased my statements in order to make them more intelligible to the students. I was a bit nervous about introducing my study, because I was worried whether anybody would show interest. Despite my worries about entering the field and recruiting participants for my study, in the first week, almost 20 students signed the consent form. Some students signed up in front of their instructors, maybe on purpose to show interest, but then never responded to my e-mail asking to make an interview appointment. On the other hand, there were students who participated in my study more on their own initiative. Once I felt that rapport was established between me as a researcher and the students, I asked them why they wanted to participate in my study: they said they were curious and wanted to experience being in the study; they wanted to have tips on how to survive university life from me; they wanted to help me because I was also a student. Some of them seemed simply to want to be heard, or to share their linguistic, cultural, or academic experiences in Canada. I felt their loneliness as many were away from their

friends and families in their home towns or countries. I felt that these students' emotional and motivational reasons for participating in my study gave me more insight when interpreting their data.

Teachers' Perception of Multilingual FAL Students

Knowing the FAL instructors' perceptions of the multilingual FAL students is important for me so as to understand the instructors' pedagogical approach: how instructors approach and interact with students; how students react, negotiate and respond to the university ways of learning; and how they understand themselves in the university context. Therefore, I interviewed 8 instructors and asked them how they would describe their FAL students. The instructors' perceptions of the FAL students informed me not only of how diverse the students were, but also of how the instructors' professional knowledge in the field and past teaching influenced their understanding of who their students were. Several instructors (Jennifer, Jane, Emily, Ana, and Molly, Georgia) described the students' cultural, linguistic and national backgrounds, immigration status (such as Generation 1.5) or academic status in a broad sense, while others (Ana and Marty) emphasized the students' fluidity in developing their sense of self by using academic discourses as a vehicle (Ana and Marty).¹³For example, Jennifer described her students by bringing up their academic and linguistic backgrounds:

My students are usually mostly Canadian students, some of them are international students. However, many of them have English as an additional language, not their first language, very very few have English as a first language. Or mature students, who need to brush up their academic skills. Sometimes, there are one or two students who really didn't achieve a high enough score in their G12 exam and what else... international students usually who have a higher score, they don't have to take this course. ... Some students finished high school here, and did well but wanted to be fully prepared for the coming university life.

According to Jennifer, the FAL class is not only for those who did not meet the required English literacy skills, but also for those who returned to university after a period

¹³ As stated in the methodology section, I give no further personal information about instructors so as to protect anonymity.

of absence, and those who seemed to be careful in each step of their Canadian academic life. According to Jennifer, irrespective of the international or immigrant students' English proficiency, some of them were motivated to participate in the academic literacy community as much as they could to take full advantage of their learning opportunities, which suggested their readiness to peripherally participate in the university community (Lave & Wenger, 1991).

Image of Students Through the Lens of ESL

While Jennifer pointed out that the international students had met the university's language and literacy entrance requirements, Molly described the international students quite differently:

The impression about the students I got from FAL... they're required to take it. Mostly they're younger, 18 or 19 years old, they are just starting university. They come from other countries. Their score is low, English proficiency or provincial exams are borderline, so they're required to take FAL. So, they're generally nervous. They enter a class that they don't know what's gonna happen. They're worried about if they're kicked out of university. They're insecure; they usually don't know many people. They're going through cultural shock, mostly they've been in this country for 3-6 months, that's one group. They came from all backgrounds: I had some from Mexico, some from Iran, some from China, Korea, ah. They often find people who speak their own language in class. In FAL it's totally normal.

Interestingly, Molly's view on multilingual FAL students is opposite to that of Jennifer. According to Molly, international students can be insecure due to new and unknown learning and cultural circumstances. Furthermore, she normalized the phenomenon that these multilingual FAL students want to be in the same linguistic group. Sitting together with the same linguistic group could allow students to monitor their understanding of classroom instruction, as evidenced in Boyle's (1997) reference to the pedagogical effectiveness of the use of national languages mixed with English in class. However, Molly's simplification of the multilingual FAL students' description seemed to originate from the students' lack of social, cultural and linguistic experiences that reinforced the traditional notion of ESL students as deficit, challenged or not fully participating in the dominant society. The image of these multilingual FAL students thus remains as one where FAL students are perceived as those who are from abroad

without much cultural, language and social experience in a Canadian university. I will show data from the students' side in the next chapter that contradicts Molly's observation.

Following Molly's description of international students, she also shared her opinions on some of the multilingual students being defensive and angry because they "were born and raised in Canada, and simply didn't do well on high school English, and got below some points in English." (Molly). Georgia also said that "first course, lots of students felt like a remedial course, punishment almost" (Georgia). This relates to Marianna's observation of her students who "are not happy to be there, they think the class is remedial. There is a sense of low motivation and self-esteem" (Marianna). Marianna continued,

Well, [the EAL students] are often very quiet. When I come to class, they're deadly quiet. They're not interested in interacting with other students in the room. They're very private, they don't have sort of advanced social skills, and they start building a sense of community in university. You know, you're gonna be friends in 2 weeks. [But] they're really shut down, and not wanna be friends.

When Marianna described EAL students as being quiet with less advanced social skills, it was not clear to me how being a multilingual student relates to being shy. Furthermore, I was not quite sure how she observed that the students are not interested in interacting with one another. Or, was that her construction of various experiences with students in the FAL course? I wanted to ask if their quiet personality relates to being a new student who just graduated from high school?

Hisako: Do you think because they're just out of high school?

Marianna: Maybe from high school, and maybe insecure about their oral literacy. It is not just written literacy, or ... maybe from high school, they're not happy with being in class, they're not interested in engaging and investing. They are just like, "get me through this". That's the start. That's why we actually started from "how do you feel being here?" Actually, they have to write something around that.

Marianna then explained that her students often give the impression of having low motivation and low self-esteem, so that her teaching approach is to "try and inspire

[her students] and energizing them not just to go through the mechanic... low motivated, self-esteem, and remedial issues in writing English” (interview with Marianna).

The comments on international students and EAL students coming from Marianna and Molly seem to imply that the students’ cultural and linguistic backgrounds affect the students’ level of motivation and their learning attitude. Hall’s (1992) notion of identity construction involving interweaving subjective interpretations of one’s experience fits well with Marianna’s, Molly’s and Georgia’s descriptive image of the multilingual FAL students. The observations on multilingual students by these instructors could be a reflection of some students’ reactions to the FAL class as an additive credit course, which may imply the traditional and institutional definition of an ESL class, that is, a class for a remedial course, which does not get full institutional recognition. As well, the negative image of the FAL students could be one-dimensional, when the instructors viewed the FAL students from linguistic perspectives, rather than viewing them as freshman university students who need to learn how to engage in university academic discourses. Molly specifically mentioned advanced EAL students in her class as “keen, and so honest and so deeply want to be there to improve their English... in a whole other level”. Interestingly, she did not particularly use terms that traditionally carry a deficit connotation, such as EAL, or ESL, when talking about these advanced students in the interview. However, when she introduced the students’ major grammatical errors, she called these “typical ESL mistakes” loudly (from the field notes¹⁴). This may suggest that Molly’s deficit image of multilingual FAL students, who are insecure, and not experienced, was not present while she was talking about advanced students in her class, but the deficit image of ESL students suddenly appeared when she introduced mistakes. This is to say that she described the image of the same group of students from “different parts and histories of [her stories], to construct those points of identification” (Hall, 1992) of the multilingual students.

¹⁴ To remain confidential, the date of the field notes cannot be released.

Image of FAL Students as New Members of the University Community

In contrast, Marty and Ana emphasized the FAL students' identities as university students rather than ESL/EAL students who are developing their English skills. Ana, for instance, recognized the students' language difficulty, and viewed them as possessing their own cohesive ways of expressing opinions. Since the FAL course would give the impression of an English remedial course (Georgia, Marianna, Molly), Ana asked the students the following questions to construct a different identity in her class than one based on English language proficiency.

Are you a scientist? So, what do you enjoy? One student from computer science told me, "I really enjoy logical thinking." So, I asked them, "what about narrative writing?", "I am not good at that". Then, this student being Chinese disappeared.

Ana approached students as novice university community members rather than those who are learning English. Ana's statements above provided various identity options for students, other than as a learner of academic "English". The students may be able to explore their insights about and purpose in learning FAL, rather than just being an ESL learner, or those who are still apprehensive and insecure about their future. Like Ana, Marty shared his perception of the multilingual FAL students in the context of university culture rather than identifying them through their linguistic or national backgrounds.

Hisako: How would you describe your students in the FAL course?

Marty: How do I describe them? I can give you a general description. It changes through the course, the development and who they are changing. You can see their identities and my identity shift constantly. Initially when they came to the class, they're frightened. Some of them don't wanna be there, verbal or non-verbal, I don't wanna be here... There is some apprehension of nervousness. Diversity I see in my classroom, incredibly diverse. Not between or across cultures. They're all part of SFU culture now, they all manifest, and living in the culture and express the culture in such a different way.

While Marty emphasized the university culture, he also explained that the students were in a maturing stage of their lives:

Marty: Here's the interesting paradox. Young and mature at the same time. In some way, they're manifesting incredible youth, [they're] naïve. Another way, they're organized and understanding. Again, those understandings are initially hidden. They don't wanna reveal themselves. But, in a safe environment, they know so many things. Their knowing has never been legitimated, they've never been recognized. Welcome to the scholarly community, you're scholarly. Scholarship is all about developing and playing the knowledge. You're in the academy, you're a part of it! So, combination of maturity and immaturity.

Both Ana and Marty perceived the multilingual FAL students as new members of the academic community, and valued the process of their learning in university. However, Ana's and Marty's understanding of students' community of practice is more complicated than Lave and Wenger's (1991) idea of moving from peripheral to central participation in gaining knowledge of academic culture by being engaged initially in simpler low-risk tasks. Ana tries to foster the students' new identity as a university student who is good at something particular, while Marty welcomes students with a safe environment where students can bring their ideas and share the learning process to exercise their intellectual capacity. Marty emphasized legitimacy in students' voices to legitimate their ways of knowing. That is to say, students are the subjects who produce culturally or socially relevant knowledge by searching for their academic interests and strengths in learning, and making sense of their epistemological views on their learning (Lea & Street, 1998). Thus, from the two instructors' perspectives, central participation within the university community of practice would be to gain legitimacy in students' learning and voices, rather than mastering knowledge of others. In other words, students receive different approaches to learning academic literacy based on instructors' pedagogical beliefs and teaching values. I now return to the research question of "How do academic literacy course instructors understand the identities of their first-year students?"

Diversity in the FAL Course

How the FAL instructors constructed the image of the multilingual FAL students mainly came from two perspectives: sustaining the traditional notion of ESL learners as insecure, low motivated and quiet; and viewing students as novice academic members

of the university who need to find academic interests, learn strengths and explore their worldview to legitimate their voice. To define the multilingual FAL students, diversity seems to be the proper term, since instructors' descriptions of their multilingual students' identities are not simply based on students' cultural and linguistic backgrounds. I found that the instructors understand the multilingual students in the context of the FAL curriculum, which could be viewed through the prism of situated learning, and communities of practice (Wenger, 1998). The targeted communities were academic English, academic literacies, novice university students, or ESL. The instructors understand the students based on instructors' past educational experiences, as well as their professional backgrounds.

There seems to be a difference among instructors in the way that they understand students by using different terms like ESL, EAL, and university student. In Marshall's (2010) study of multilingual university students and a deficit identity, Marshall states that "multilingual students are regularly confronted with a deficit 'remedial ESL' identity which positions their presence in the university as a problem to be fixed rather than an asset to be welcomed" (p. 41). This was also evident in my study. Some instructors associated the terms ESL and EAL with students who are shy, low motivated and insecure with unfamiliar cultural environments. As I will discuss in Chapter 8, the instructors who understand students through deficient perspectives tend to provide low to high risk activities such as drill exercises and slow paced talk. On the other hand, other FAL instructors describe the multilingual students as novice members of the university community who are in the stage of learning how to express their thoughts and finding their academic interests and strengths. Especially in the context of the FAL course, the students came from diverse backgrounds: monolingual to multilingual students born in Canada; therefore, the students are not quite sure which language is their first, second or third); international students who used to study English as a foreign language; and those who came from previously British-colonized countries. The FAL instructors who understand the multilingual FAL students more in terms of institutional culture and academic capital, and understand them as novice members of the university community, seem to recognize students "who describe multiple and complex senses of who they are" (Marshall, 2010, p.53). Thus, the instructors try to legitimate students as university students as will be seen in Chapter 8.

Jones (2013) argues that viewing such non-traditional English “of home, family and community [as] deficient or inadequate as a foundation for [...] learning in school” (p. 96) should be rejected. De Korne (2012) furthermore argues that multilingual students’ use of multilingual resources over literacy learning should be considerable elements of understanding students through curriculum. Thus, labeling students according to linguistic affiliation and experiences is not effective in teaching diverse students, and the instructors’ professional backgrounds as practitioners and researchers who are familiar with theories in the field may greatly affect how the instructors see and understand their students.

Students’ Self-positioning: Stepping into University Life

While FAL instructors perceived their students through the lens of their professional and research experiences, the multilingual FAL students in my study constructed a student identity through their own stories of who they were, how they entered university, and how they have faced and overcome challenges, and confirmed themselves as university students. The students whose family and friends from their home countries had experienced life in a Canadian university had a certain expectation that they would have to accommodate themselves to study in a Canadian university. At the same time, other students faced various unexpected social, cultural or academic changes, and had to self-re-evaluate their learning to overcome challenges. Such challenges include learning the ways of communicating at school, gaining access to academic information, and becoming familiar with university life routines.

The multilingual FAL students come to the class with various cultural, linguistic, social and academic expectations and experiences. The students’ stories from the past connect to the way they position themselves to enter the university community, as well as finding a way to overcome challenges in university. They have the aspiration to become familiar with discourses around university through academic or social activities on campus, to establish a solid linguistic foundation through the FAL course, or graduate to fulfill their family dream to produce a university graduate. Some of the participants’

stories are from their first arrival in Canada, rather than the time of taking the FAL course.

Respecting and Responding to Family Expectations: “My Family Wants a Degree”

One of the research questions asks how the multilingual students go through the process of “becoming” a university student. I found that family was one of the important elements in discussing what encourages students to go through the process of becoming a university student. This is because several of the multilingual students entered university not only for their own aspiration, but also to fulfill their families' expectations. Dave, Edward, Ellen, Grace, Lijo, Melody, Pinky, Vivid, and Wayne stated that their families confer great value on education. Their families believe in the power of education, and that it can lead their children to a great future by enabling their acceptance to graduate school or by helping them in getting a good job. For example, when I first asked Melody to describe herself, she identified herself as an SFU student who wants to graduate. Melody was born in Canada from immigrant parents. Among her family, she is the first member who entered university. Studying at university is a big family responsibility for her, and she strongly felt that she ought to complete a degree (from interview with Melody). I wanted to know more about why she identified herself as an SFU student, rather than with another affiliation, such as linguistic, cultural, or personality-based.

Hisako: Aha. Can you tell me a bit more about that?

Melody: I don't think... usually most of people ask me “which school do you go to?”

Hisako: Do they?

Melody: Yeah, all my family friends, my parents' friends [asked the same question]. That's all they ask. It's a really important issue in our culture.... Once you enter university, you want to finish it. You want a degree. I think it's the most important thing. My family wants a degree.

According to Melody, it is normal for her to identify herself as a university student because everybody asks her university affiliation as a greeting. Her family friends and neighbours are concerned with what she studies and when she is going to graduate from

university. She gradually learned that her university student identity is important for her family and community. Similarly, Pinky's parents told her to earn a university degree, adding that a university degree would provide a good job in the future.

Hisako: Who is in charge of your educational goal?

Pinky: My parents. They say, if I am not going to university, then I won't have a good job, or future. So, I always remember what they say, and I just took a test to enter university. [...] If I don't get a good degree, they're willing to spend more money to let me go to a tutor. If I didn't get a good grade, my mother would say, "don't worry, don't be sad, and try your best."

She said to me that she constantly reminded herself of her parents' wish while studying at SFU, because they were unconditionally supportive. When Pinky did not do well in three subjects, her parents hired three different tutors at the same time, so that Pinky could earn better grades.

Hence, the students' families show their educational values in many different ways. Melody gradually understood that becoming a university student is important in her family and community, and constructed an identity as a university student. It was evidenced when she described herself as an SFU student in the first interview. As well, Pinky stated that her family values a North American university degree as a means for getting a good job in the future.

Block (2006) and Duff (2012a) refer to the notion of agency as individuals' ability to make a choice and be self-regulated, and the combination of the students' situated social context. However, in my study, not only individuals' ability to select the life path, but also family advice and pressure played a significant role. For example, Dave, Lijo, Alberta and Ellen have different ways of gaining capital to exercise individual human agency. Dave and Lijo visualized ways of pursuing purpose and life goals through family advice. Dave's family came to Canada to provide him with better educational opportunities. Dave mentioned, "my dad wanted me to have a better education... My dad, he is a good father. He always tries to get a best way of teaching in a western way, makes me creative and knowledgeable". Although Dave's mother had to return to her job in her home country, Dave's parents chose to live separately for their son's education. It seems that his father regards Western knowledge as a powerful tool for a

better life. Dave admires his father very much because his father also showed his effort by starting his career from scratch in a new country, passing an English exam for his immigration application, and taking an exam for promotion in his career. Through observing his father's everyday life, Dave learned the importance of prioritizing academic achievement, and this became a significant form of capital for Dave to invest in (Bourdieu, 2000).

Similarly, I found that Lijo's family strongly valuing education in terms of earning professional skills, to become a specialist such as an engineer, banker or doctor. Lijo's brother studies medical science while Lijo is studying engineering. Lijo mentioned that his family and friends work in science fields, which are recognized as one of the most profitable and respectable jobs in his culture. Lijo's mother often said to him, "go to NASA, go to NASA", suggesting that a good university education may lead him to work for NASA, which symbolizes one of the most prestigious jobs in the world, according to Lijo. Lijo's family's strong visualization of the purpose of achieving higher education motivates Lijo to try his best in academia by seeking practical advice, which I will explain in the following chapter on university discourses.

Another very different way of respecting and responding to family values by entering university is exemplified by Albert and Ellen. They plan to bring their families to Canada to provide them with a better life-style. Albert mentioned his father often telling him that he is a good person who studies in a Canadian university. "Good" may mean good for the whole family because of immigration possibilities in the future. When I talked with Albert, he looked very proud talking about how his family admires his success. At the same, Albert shared his feeling of "a big pressure to look after the whole family". Responding to his family's hope, he became a university student, and this pressure and his dream to settle in Canada with his family keep him going.

Starting an Exciting New Life

One day I prayed, one night, next morning, I woke up and I said I am going to Canada and I came. ...I want to do something in my life, you know, I want to be happy with what I do. I don't want to only earn money and go home and spend money and be happy. For me, I have to do something, yeah.... [...] Self-fulfillment.

Linda is a new immigrant who started a new life in Canada after attending two educational institutions and working with a post-graduation visa to apply for immigration. Once she received permanent resident status, she wanted to pursue her dream, which required a Canadian university degree. This was the reason for her to return to university, despite her holding a master's degree from a European country. She sounded happy to come back to the stage of studying because of her passion, not for her immigration status anymore. One of the reasons she described for participating in the study was that she wants to contribute to others' lives. Having a sense of self-fulfillment is important for her in her university life.

In contrast, Albert, Carolina and Ellen are international students who plan to apply for Canadian permanent residency after their studies. Carolina shared her aspiration of becoming a university student in Canada as her introduction in the interview. Since she has been studying for the last couple of years in university in Brazil, her challenge was to become familiar with Canadian university norms and discourses in English, in order to successfully achieve a good level of academic quality to get into an internship program, and to eventually be eligible to apply for immigration.

Carolina: I think, I really... I only wanna get more involved [in university life].

Hisako: What do you mean?

Carolina: In university community. Participating clubs and something like that. I'm quite afraid.

Hisako: You are afraid of it?

Carolina: I don't know. I don't feel secure about my speaking. ... It's like, I am afraid of speaking because of my English, if I participate [some university activity], I hope my English improves.

Later, Carolina visited an academic advisor on campus, who showed her an activity list within her field of study. She contacted a professor who facilitated a discussion group in two universities. She thought of this as a great opportunity to practice university ways of learning English. She told me that this activity would make her think and talk in English, as she only spoke Portuguese with her roommates and friends living in the same building. From her interview, it was clear to me that she wanted to practice university discourses through participating in academic-related

activities. One of her reasons for participating in my study was to become familiar with *what was going on* at university. Carolina seems very agentive to me in the way she approaches her university experience. Lave and Wenger (1991) emphasize “the integration in practice of agent, world, and activity” (p. 50) in order to relate oneself with the university context, thus, to become a member of the targeted group. Carolina indeed described being an agentive learner through my research and other university activities. We met for a couple of times other than the interview session, and she asked me about my university life, how to find volunteer opportunities, how to approach professors, literally how to ask things to gain more academic experiences in Canada. She also shared how she dealt with her stress over studying in English. It seemed that she needed confirmation from a more experienced person than her that she was on a good track. To me, she appeared to be practicing the way of being and becoming a university student in Canada through proactively reviewing her activities. Likewise, Ellen has a strong purpose and goal that she wants to achieve in university life: achieving a high GPA to get into an internship program that would lead her to a future job opportunity, and acquiring permanent residency. Since she has completed a bachelor degree in her own country, she told me that she had to be better than other classmates. She explained that her internship experience in her hometown in the police department made her feel proud and confident to face challenges in life. Because of her university study and previous work experience, Ellen describes her feeling that she is an experienced and advanced university student. Therefore, she felt bothered when her peers reviewed her paper and corrected expressions and sentences. She mentioned that her own ideas, sentences, and ways of organizing the paper should come first, because she is the author of the paper and more experienced than other novice university students. Ellen, like Carolina, spends “most time in studying, reading the SFU webpage, trying to find more volunteer jobs, trying to find [my future] career” (Ellen). Ellen’s immersion in anything to do with university was very consistent as she always asked me trivial questions when we met. She tried to find anything that she could participate in to gain university experiences and local knowledge (Lave & Wenger, 1991). For Carolina and Ellen, becoming a university student is not only about being successful academically, but also illustrates their eagerness to gain local knowledge of the targeted society.

Developing Core Identity vs. Marginalized Identity

"I am a very shy person. I don't like when I speak English. I was afraid if someone would laugh at my English. So, I just like, avoided speaking English" (Pinky). Pinky identified herself as a traditional Chinese woman as well as an English learner who repeated the same ESL classes in order to pass one of the university requirements. Pinky is a first year university student who immigrated to Canada with her family when she was in grade 6. She often said to me "I am not sure" during our interview, and stopped talking rather than asking for clarification. This may be a sign of her resistance to speaking English. I wanted to know how Pinky ended up disliking speaking English, even though English is an unavoidable language to deal with for her to pursue her academic life in Canada. She responded,

Pinky: When I first came to Canada, I had to learn English. Some people laughed at my English in my class. Sometimes, I wanted to give up to learn.

Hisako: Did you take ESL class as well?

Pinky: I took [the regular mainstream class] and the ESL class. Some teachers were like... if I didn't speak English, they would not be happy.

Hisako: Really?

Pinky: They say, "Oh, why don't you learn English, your Chinese is so good and why don't you learn English like Chinese." I was SO sad. ESL [teachers were] nicer [than other teachers at school].

Pinky looked upset and sad while telling me the story. This experience of feeling insulted by others had a negative impact on her speaking English, and she felt unwelcome in the community. Pinky's ESL instructor probably did not mean to make her feel uncomfortable, but Pinky's interpretation and discursive construction informs her that the experience she had with the ESL instructor was not pleasant. Pinky understood this experience in a negative way, and her experience is still playing out in the new context. This negative experience shaped her as an even shyer person in an English-speaking environment, although she did not have to feel that way in Chinese. This implies that two languages seem to offer different social and educational agencies to construct or shape different identities within her. Pinky looked happy to talk about her culture and family, and how her best friend encouraged her to study to enter university.

Pinky's voice tone changed to high and pleasant while explaining the details of how she became a university student through peer support within a community, and her Canadian secondary school memories with Chinese speaking friends. Pinky's life in Canada is closely associated with the Chinese speaking community, while she still has to accommodate herself in an English speaking academic environment. According to Pinky's autobiographical essay, she was a very motivate student:

I made up my mind to get into a university, then I did my best in order to enter Simon Fraser University. I took English 12 three times and I believed that if I put effort in my study, I would fulfill my dream. Finally, I did it. In addition, I am a hard-worker. When I was in grade 12, I almost finished ten years of past Math provincial exam papers, and I got an A on my Math exam. I will keep these strengths throughout my university study and even my whole life.

Pinky's autobiography together with her interview showed that her on-going struggles, negotiation and finding strengths in believing her ability came together based on the topics we talked about and focused on. Hall (1992, 1997, 2000) stated that cultural identity is never completed; at the same time Pinky's words highlighted both Phan's (2008) core identity focus on cultural background, in this case Chinese, as well as highlight how Pinky negotiates locating herself in the academic community.

Vivid identified herself as "floating around in between the two places not knowing where to settle in, not knowing who I really want to become" (autobiography from Vivid). She has been going back and forth between her home country and Canada since Grade 10 as an international student. This means that she has been away from her family since the age of 16. She describes her marginalized identity as follows:

I found myself uncomfortable and awkward living in Canada. I started questioning about where I belong to and my satisfaction of my current life. I realized I spent more than half of [my life] outside of my home country. As a joke, I often say that I speak 1.4 languages meaning that I speak 0.7 Korean and 0.7 English. ... This also leaves me confused (autobiography from Vivid).

Vivid's statement of being a 1.4 language speaker may reflect a nativist normativity, based on a monolingual perspective on viewing Generation 1.5 students (Marshall, 2010; Roberge, 2009). Nativist normativity is "the assumption in many [educational institutions] that students are monolingual speakers of their 'native'

language and are in the process of acquiring a second language as an overlay on the 'native' language" (Roberge, 2009, p. 5). This notion of nativist normativity explains well why Vivid feels incomplete (i.e., not fully bilingual, but 1.4 language speaker). Furthermore, Vivid's notion of "1.4 speaker" makes sense in terms of an idealized native speaker of English with full mastery of the language (Leung et al., 1997). In this case, she focuses more on linguistic competency than literacy development at a university level. As well, she feels that her Korean language has become weak because of her life in an English speaking country.

Not only is Vivid problematizing her linguistic competency, but Vivid's sense of loneliness also seems to play a crucial role in emphasizing her feeling of becoming marginalized; that is, 0.7 Korean and 0.7 English. She used the metaphor of linguistic fluency; however, I would argue that what she meant was something different. Vivid emphasized loneliness during the interview; she recalled her successful high school life in Canada as an international student living in a dormitory and serving as a dorm leader. Vivid actually enjoyed the FAL course very much as shown in her interview: Vivid feels that "[she is] back in ESL and it's kinda fun (Giggled)" (Vivid). This is not only because of her remembering the good times at high school as an advanced and experienced ESL student among the international students' group, but also because she took the FAL course with her friends. She felt more relaxed in the FAL course, unlike the lectures in huge halls with hundreds of unfamiliar university students. Such an image of herself as a 1.4 speaker was constructed in her living environments, being away from family, and not being able to register for the majority of courses with friends or acquaintances. It is quite interesting to read her essays and interview transcription, as her everyday life is heavily immersed in Korean social and linguistic environments (i.e., friends, website, car navigation in Korean). I will write more about transnational activities and identity in chapter nine.

Edward also shared his feeling of loneliness. However, his loneliness is due to having less in common with his home-stay family members when he first studied in Canada. This made him speak less English at home, and keep more in touch with his family in his home country. He also read Korean books, listened to Korean music, and watched movies in his national language. He developed a sense of home in using his national language that constructed his core identity while adjusting to English

environments. To this extent, he told me that he felt more comfortable hanging out with his Asian friends rather than his white friends. He emphasized “in my mind” while explaining how his *white* friends would not be patient with his English. I asked the reasons why he assumed that:

Edward: I cannot make jokes in English, so maybe it would not be fun.

Hisako: You think jokes are important?

Edward: Yeah. I really make jokes in Korean.

Hisako: I see.

Edward: I am usually fun in Korean but not in English.

Hisako: You just said your friends are Korean and Chinese, but Chinese people don't speak Korean. Do you speak English with them?

Edward: I think it makes sense, because they are learning English as well. They're like in the same position like me. So, we can understand each other, how we learn English, right?

Edward used the term *white* to represent a native English speaker. Emily, one of the FAL instructors, problematized the terms *white* and *native* speaker, because these terms are socially constructed and fail to reflect the fact that physical appearance does not suggest language affiliation or inheritance (Leung et al., 1997). The instructor shared the story of a Caucasian multilingual student in the FAL course, whom her classmates assumed to be a monolingual native speaker of English. These terms *white* and *native* can be problematic in the context of language education, as they categorize people based on physical appearance and promote unequal power relations: Who owns the language? This applies to Edward's case: His binary way of grouping his friends according to use of different languages possibly led to the notion of us and them, as evidenced in his interview. Concurrently, his living condition (i.e., living and studying in Canada) can be understood as having developed his notion of what is being missed (i.e., family and home language) and strengthened his core identity as Korean.

Warren positioned himself differently based on time and space. He acknowledges his origin, current status as experienced in studying abroad, and future aspiration to be somebody important in the community.

I am like a pure Korean. Well, I've lived in Canada for 10 years and that doesn't make me be really Canadian. [...] I don't pick up chopsticks before elders do. You know, there is an old saying, if you are in the Rome, you'll follow their rules.

As mentioned above, Warren described the details of how he is an authentic Korean, and at the same time, how he feels integrated into western culture. I found that his statement above was contradictory, as him being an authentic Korean and following Western rules in Canada do not match. As he continued his talk, he defined himself as a much better student than other Korean international students since he has been in a Canadian university environment. He passes down his knowledge of how to enter a Canadian university to other younger Korean friends as a leader. Social identity seems to be very important to him as he describes himself in terms of his relations to others and his actions towards others to confirm who he is. Later in his interview, he also described himself as a beginner Canadian in relation to his group of friends at high school. He first came to Canada as a high school student, and he made many Canadian-born friends. His high school friends made him feel confident that he was very successful in a foreign country. All of his high school friends went to university, and they meet regularly to talk about studies, careers, and life in general. It is a social network which he belongs to, enjoys, values and is proud of. Because Warren wishes to enter a graduate program in North America in the future, he hangs out with his high school friends who attend prestigious universities in North America. This social network made him construct an image of himself as a successful international student. As well as defining himself as a pure Korean who is successful in Canada, he also acknowledged himself as a novice Canadian because he learned Canadian culture and life through his Canadian-born friends. Warren's multiple identities develop in ways Phan (2008) indicates: core identity development sustained through the interaction with otherness while adding new values from the other culture. His self-perception changes in different contexts, reflecting his past, present and future. Looking back at his past and present, Warren identified himself as a respectful, pure Korean leader with Canadian experiences that can be shared among younger Korean friends. Warren negotiates identities flexibly depending on time and his situated context (Block, 2006a, 2006b; Marshall, 2009). That is why Warren also saw himself as a novice member of the Canadian community when associating with his Canadian-born friends as well as imaging his future in North America.

Linda's life experiences in different countries with various languages and cultures summarize her identity as a "world person". I asked her what she meant by a world person. Linda responded:

Yeah. I didn't grow up as a Turkish person. I didn't grow up as a Muslim person. You know, I am Muslim and I am Turkish. But I didn't grow up that you are Turkish. Never told that I am Turkish. ... I never had this feeling that I am Turkish. I always have a feeling that I am human. When I was in Germany, I thought I was Turkish and Muslim, because there was so much discrimination, you know. Ah... But I think now, I think again, I don't want to limit, and I don't believe in limit [in identifying who I am].

A world person is her answer; her past life in Europe constructed her as Turkish and Muslim. She told me that media described who these people are; it was not through her social life with people. When she first arrived at the airport in Canada, a customs officer said, "welcome to Canada". This may be just an official greeting for most people; however, it was the first warm official welcoming that she received in her life at Customs. She said, "I was not a human being in Europe but I am in Canada". As Kumaravadivelu (2008) points out, an individual person has strength to make their own decision regardless of the situation the person lives in. Linda defined herself as a world person who does not limit her life, showing her as a strong believer in her abilities. Regardless of the experience of racism Linda went through, she reflected on her childhood in Turkey when she did not have to think of her race and nationality, and she deconstructed and constructed her identity as a world person in the context of globalization.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I introduced the overview of the FAL instructors' perceptions of their multilingual students as well as the multilingual FAL students' self-images of themselves. Recent research suggests that individuals' identities are socio-culturally and historically constructed in relation to space, time, and the conditions of one's everyday life as well as constructed in relation to the future (Block, 2006a, 2006b; Hall, 1997; Kumaravadivelu, 2008). The multilingual FAL students in my study also showed similar insights: The multilingual FAL students belong to multiple communities. So, they position themselves and negotiate various identities flexibly, based on which community

and people they associate with (Block, 2006a, 2006b; Marshall, 2009). On the other hand, constructing images of others seems to originate from one's past experiences with and prior knowledge of others. In other words, FAL instructors tend to interpret and understand the current multilingual FAL students through referencing the past, while multilingual FAL students include their future image and aspiration to construct identities.

First, I respond to the question of how academic literacy course instructors understand the identities of their multilingual FAL students. The FAL instructors' perceptions of students varied from a language deficit perspective to a holistic view on identities, that is, supporting young students' on-going maturing process through academic experiences. Some instructors saw the multilingual students as English learners in the university community, who need to learn strategies and improve language skills. These teachers understand their students to be in a process of linguistic, cultural or social assimilation in the North American university community in order to survive their academic life (Ana, Jane, Jennifer, Marianna, Molly). There were two instructors who shared their views on their students as those who behave quietly, insecurely, and lack enthusiasm in class. On the other hand, other FAL instructors saw the multilingual students as new members of the university community who are learning academic discourses of the university (Ana, Marty). According to some FAL instructors, students take very careful steps to enter an academic community (Jennifer, Molly). They want to be perfectly prepared to take academic courses during their study. These instructors emphasized the institutional culture and academic socialization rather than ESL problems, Canadian cultural adjustment or English language accommodation (Ana, Emily, Marty). Rather, they try to pull out students' academic interests, connecting their knowing to academic discourses, so that students' knowing can be legitimated and recognized. For these FAL instructors, their pedagogical focus is academic literacy rather than language learning, and labels such as "ESL" or "Chinese" that could indicate a *non-native speaker* disappeared. Instead, their pedagogical challenge was the following: how students understand, digest and express their worldviews in their own words to be recognized by others. The way the multilingual students are understood seems quite diverse, due to the instructors' professional background and past experiences: Some view them through the prism of considering linguistic and educational capital, while others seem to be eager to contribute to students' identity co-

building, infusing academic discourses to explore the students' worldviews- in other words, co-constructing the students' academic identities.

Second, I discussed the self-image of the multilingual FAL students to respond to the question of how these students go through the process of "becoming" a university student. The notion of becoming comes from Hall's (1992, 1997, 2000) identity concept, that identity is always in flux and a collection of the individual's narrative stories. For example, while the FAL instructors set up an environment for the multilingual students in a university community as English learners or new members of the community, the multilingual FAL students in my study shared their perceptions of self through their academic and social experiences, as well as family values spotlighted on their past, current or future image of self. They positioned themselves clearly by selecting and highlighting specific time and space as they talked about themselves: Phan's (2008) notion of core or root identity was more evident in the students who focused more on their past academic, social and language experiences in Canada. Strengthening core or root identity for them seemed to make them feel secure about studying in Canada. On the other hand, Warren developed his core (Korean) and new (Canadian) identity simultaneously by reflecting on his values, knowledge and desires for the future. In other words, he took control over positioning himself flexibly and clearly, rather than placing himself in a third space, or emphasizing hybridity in identity construction (Block, 2006a; Marshall, 2009). So too did Linda, who reflected on her life in Europe, Turkey and Canada and labeled herself a world person, which includes different facets of her cultural, social and personal identities. As for Vivid, I found that she contradicted herself in different contexts; when focusing on her language experience and living in Canada, she felt uncomfortable, not-perfect-enough, which was evidenced in her 1.4 speaker's identity; when shifting her focus on her time in Korea, she felt privileged in her North American experience for her future.

Third, regardless of their identity construction processes, many multilingual students were like Vivid, recognizing language capital and investment for their future (Bourdieu, 2000, 2006; Norton, 2000) regardless of whether they stay in Canada or return/go to other countries. Carolina, Gloria, and Linda, who had academic experience in their home countries, invested in academic capital, legitimating their knowing for their

future career, and tried to find more access to various resources that the university can offer, including participating in my study.

Overall, the multilingual FAL students' becoming a university student was not a linear process or a scaffolded construction; rather, they are flexibly selecting different facets based on with whom and when they talk, and who and what aspect of life they would associate with. In this sense, I found that the multilingual students' identity co-construction sometimes conflicts and contradicts the students' self-image through self-reflection of their life. This is part of becoming a university student, as well as responding to family and various communities practices which they have been engaged with.

In the next chapter, I will introduce the findings on literacy practices and university discourses.

Chapter 8.

Understanding Practice: Academic Literacy and University Discourses

In this chapter, I discuss how the FAL instructors and multilingual FAL students understand academic literacies and university discourses. The discussion responds to my research questions: How do the multilingual FAL students engage with the process of becoming a university student; and what are the implications of FAL students' process of becoming a university student for classroom practice. I applied Lave and Wenger's (1991, 1998) concepts of communities of practices and LPP to explain how the FAL instructors and multilingual FAL students understand academic literacies and university discourses. "Communities of practice consist of and depend on a membership, including its characteristic biographies/trajectories, relationships, and practices" (p. 55). Lave and Wenger's concept of LPP (1991) explains that immersion in a given structure allows learners to build knowledge and experiences constructively, and eventually reproduce and develop the social identities common for a given community of practice: Within an FAL community of practice, the multilingual students "are engaged in the generative process of producing their own future" (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 58). In the community, a newcomer takes on work that requires minimum risk at first, and then the work gradually becomes more complicated and riskier. According to Hodges (1998), the learner in the community deconstructs and reconstructs social identities in a positive or negative way, and "become[s] 'multiplied' through ongoing sociality" (p. 273).

Within the framework of communities of practice and LPP, I looked at the practices of the FAL instructors and the multilingual FAL students. The FAL instructors' understandings of multilingual students' participation in the FAL community by organizing classroom activities from minimum to higher risk-taking tasks, and the students' perceptions of and behaviors within these activities. The other side relates to multilingual students' understandings of their own practices via engaging in minimum to

higher risk-taking tasks and their own perceptions and behaviors. Also, I highlighted a range of tensions among participants' views about academic literacies, and comment on their relevance to the work of building students' learning identities, in order to answer the research questions above.

FAL Community of Practice

One day, I participated in the FAL orientation for faculty and instructors to get an overview of the FAL program. The FAL coordinator reviewed three areas of focus – learning process, students' writing products, and genre – and three pedagogical approaches – study skills, academic socialization, and academic literacies (Foundations of Academic Literacy, 2010). After the session, a summary of the meeting was provided electronically. It outlined the instructors' general understandings of academic literacy and identified teaching implications from the discussion. The summary showed the academic literacy concept generated by the FAL instructors to be “identifying voice of discipline, one's own voice within that discipline, and the place of other literacies in and out of that discipline and across other disciplines (i.e., academic literacy as meta-ability)”. It stated key purposes for the FAL course as “moving students' writing from individual opinion to speaking as member of a discipline community” as well as recognizing diverse levels of students' academic literacy skills and needs in curriculum (Summary note sent by Lee, Foundations of Academic Literacy Information Session, 2010). Even though the instructors teach according to the prepared curriculum with a common understanding of academic literacy, they have different pedagogical approaches in their classes. They incorporate their educational and professional values and backgrounds as well as teaching beliefs. In the FAL course, the instructors' stance towards the concept of academic literacy plays a crucial role, as the course hours are limited.

Situating Students in the FAL Community of Practice

Minimum risk-Taking Activities

The FAL instructors seemed to support the multilingual students in order to help them survive the university courses; thus the academic discourses are heavily focused on texts and strategies. Jennifer (T), Marianna (T), and Molly (T) provided constructive ways to legitimate students' knowledge of academic writing. Some instructors are more strategic than others. For instance, Jennifer (T) focused on teaching rules and conventions to reinforce writing structures in order for students to make a stronger argument, because "students want to focus on [improving] academic writing. That's what their major assignments are [in university]. That's what I do" (Jennifer). Her statement was evident from her class: Jennifer (T) strictly followed the textbook to focus on structures and logical coherence in academic writing. For example, when the unit focused on structuring writing sentence by sentence to see writing flow, she assigned the students to work together to make a thesis statement and sentences to follow in the paragraph. In the semester in which I interviewed and conducted classroom observations, Jennifer's (T) students seemed to enjoy working on routine exercises, and followed the teacher's instruction rather than exploring academic interests. In order to respond to students' needs in that term, Jennifer (T) often provided drill practices that allowed them to see something tangible that they had completed. Jennifer (T) told me that "they like tasks... They are happy doing the simple exercise and they are not complaining".

While Jennifer's (T) students were conducting the minimal risk-taking tasks like drill activities, they seemed to be content with their productivity. To show the next step in improving the students' academic literacy, Jennifer (T) reviewed a sample of writing in class to remind students about simple logic in writing, topic sentences and thesis statements.

At the same time, Jennifer (T) showed frustration as her expectation was to bring the students' critical awareness to academic literacy; however, her students were not challenging themselves to her expected level, but preferred drill exercises. To demonstrate her frustration, Jennifer (T) said that this was just one example, and shared a story about students with a higher literacy level. Jennifer (T) first told me that her

students were generally different at each campus in terms of their current life stage, and cultural and linguistic backgrounds. In the previous semester, with mostly mature immigrant students, she felt that the students built a sense of university community through having critical discussions on academic writing, especially on western rhetoric. When she shared the story below with me, she looked much happier to talk about it.

Another very small class; there were only 2 from the same country ... the wide range of [students' national backgrounds in that class] was fantastic. They're all vocal, and they all have opinions about their countries. Very proud, and they're amazing. They said English is such a basic language, why does everybody have to learn it?

Jennifer (T) and the students compared the rhetorical forms they were learning in the FAL course with what students already knew from their previous education. They did this to share different understandings of academic literacies, and to legitimate the students as knowledgeable students. While the students were learning English academic writing, they were also going through the struggles of learning writing with a sense of humor. What I understand from Jennifer's classroom observation and interviews is that there was an unspoken dialogical relationship in pedagogical choices between the students and the instructor. Through the conversation, the students' facial expression, and productivity, Jennifer (T) seemed to adjust her pedagogical approach. I found from Jennifer (T) and her class that it was not only the instructor who decided what to do with the students in class; students also contributed to the instructor's pedagogical choice in the FAL course. Reviewing Lave and Wenger's (1991) and Wenger's (1998) idea of communities of practice and LPP, the notion of gaining central participation seems more dynamic than having a clear goal set for what newcomers should become after being apprenticed into academic writing in the course.

Another example of apprenticeship in the FAL course is structuring writing practices. Marianna (T) incorporated a notion of time and urgency in writing. Marianna (T) repeatedly told students that, "you have to survive university life, all the assignments and exams in different disciplines." In Marianna's (T) class, she set up a time period for free writing to simulate the exam situation, so that students would write with time pressure. Marianna (T) explained that "FAL breaks down personal narrative, oral presentation, style and voice, structuring and coherence, it's slowly moving. One thing that I add is a sense of time and urgency in writing, because [the university student] has

to write essays in exams". Marianna (T) and Molly (T) especially communicated to students directly about the importance of writing in different disciplines in university by creating a community of practice engaged in academic writing. Thus, the multilingual FAL students experience intensive and constructive learning to build a foundation of academic language practices.

Speaking: Peripheral to central participation from the instructor's view

In the FAL class, I noticed that Jane (T) was very organized in making sure that students followed instructions: when she came to class, she would first write an outline of the lesson that would follow, so that students would understand the class procedure. Then, Jane (T) would explain and upload the same information on assignments and homework to the on line learning space for the class. I asked Jane (T) why she was carefully and repeatedly informing students about the class content and activities. Jane (T) replied,

Jane: Because, there are two or three who are late. They come late, and they don't have to disturb others. And every day, [I upload the class agenda and information on] webct. There's information on what they're doing in every class. If they're ill, and they can't come to class, they can check online. I hope it's as clear as possible in every stage; it's not only organization, it's also about language, some students may not hear me, not understand me. It reduces embarrassment. That's something that I'm working on for ESL. [To provide the same information in different ways].

Hisako: That knowledge came from your teaching back in Asia?

Jane: Yes. I always try to speak clearly, slowly, and they can make a process. Later, they will. Something like, assignments, where graded, that I really want them to make sure that they've got rubrics. Everything is here. They don't have questions, but they can check them later. It works the best for me. They are all different levels of aural and oral comprehension.

As a majority of Jane's (T) students came from countries in which she used to teach, her previous teaching experiences in the students' nations became a powerful resource for her. Jane (T) integrated her ESL teaching beliefs into her academic literacy class at university. Speaking slowly and informing in a multimodal way became her solution to build an academic literacy community of practice.

In contrast, Emily (T) seemed to feel that slow talk is disrespectful pedagogy for multilingual students when teaching academic literacy at a university level. According to Emily (T),

if my ultimate goal is comprehensive, I want them to understand what I say, right? I explain more, I paraphrase more, I read the physical clues. [...] I don't, I don't, I don't slow down my speech. I am known that I don't slow down. I don't slow down my speech. I actually do bring my attention a lot. [...] This is also part of me. People communicate in a different way. I am a fast talker. [...] I use other ways, which is visual, or sentential, rather than initiating consonant or vowel level. I'm physical, [and] I am a quite bodily speaker.

Emily (T) believes that modifying talk for the ESL student will not help their comprehension outside of classroom. She continued,

One thing that I do pay attention to is not to patronize them. [...] I am trying to communicate in some ways, I am acting it out. Where the fine line is at, is in the ways in which people modify the ESL speech to adopt an assumption that would improve comprehension and that would affect the pedagogical way to improve the comprehensive way; I don't agree with that. That is not patronizing, but respectable. Cognitive ability has never been an issue. So, that would be my response.

Emily's (T) ways of inviting the students into academic literacy seemed to involve taking more of a risk. Instead of accommodating her students in a special learning environment, Emily placed students into an immersed university community, rather than an ESL-like class. So the students have more responsibility to listen and comprehend. For Emily (T), not compromising for students seems to represent her belief in students' abilities to learn when immersed in an academic community.

The way these two instructors paid attention in teaching academic discourses was different: Jane (T) focused on organizing students' work and strategies for understanding the teacher's expectation. Jane's (T) way of organizing the class and speaking make it much less risky for the students to complete their work, while Emily (T) placed students in an immersed academic community. Emily (T) expected that students would gradually become familiar with academic socialization in speaking practices. At the same time, Emily (T) did not compromise her speed of talking to the students in order for them to become more familiar with English outside the classroom in university,

which requires more risk for the students to fully understand Emily's (T) talk in class. In this sense, I understand Emily's (T) intentional fast paced talk to be aimed at allowing students access to central participation in the university community.

Teacher's role: Peripheral to Central Participation

Molly (T) believes the teachers' role in the FAL course is to encourage students to adjust to and accommodate independent learning styles, because students need to build within a university setting. According to Molly (T):

In the future course, they're not gonna have as much as help from the instructor. I really focus on being self-sufficient in a writing process, self-sufficient in a researching process, maybe learning how to help each other, how to edit each other. You probably noticed that I barely looked at [students' essays in class]. I do that on purpose. They've got all the skills and all the worksheets and guidance that they need to take each other through the process. They've learned the research process. They've learned that way. They also edit each other's work. So, [they can take courses] with a lot more confidence, more successful.

Molly (T) wants students to communicate with and support one another rather than see her as an authority of knowledge and ask her for detailed study directions. During the class, Molly (T) introduced the student learning services, provided information on counseling services on campus for students, and encouraged the use of academic research databases. Molly (T) told me that ideally students would form a study group or extend their social network among students, so that the students could feel a sense of community, and support one another. During Molly's (T) class, she reminded students to be active, asked me to assist students when needed in their writing, and then waited for students to ask for help during the group, pair or individual activities. Molly (T) believed student oriented learning should be practiced in university in order for the students to learn university discourses of what to do when they need help. Molly (T) proudly talked about her previous students who initiated group study after the FAL course. Similarly, Jane (T) told me that she felt good when she saw her previous FAL students walking and talking together on campus. Emily (T) and Jane (T) said that the FAL course allowed students to get to know one another well because of the small size of the class and safe learning environment. Students attending the class individually, then forming a study group or initiating a student community is a positive shift towards

central participation as university students which the multilingual students gradually achieve.

Instructors Legitimizing the Students' Learning Process

While Foundations of Academic Literacy seems to focus on strategies, skills and socialization, some instructors are guided by their own teaching beliefs and ideas into the classroom. Ana (T), Marty (T) and Jane (T) see students' academic writing practices as the whole process of legitimating students' epistemologies rather than providing strategies and promoting socialization (Henderson & Hirst, 2007; Lea & Street, 1998). Thus, developing academic literacies involves constructing identities as university students and writers (Ivanič, 1998, 2004). During class, Ana (T) placed students in the central role to develop their writing by saying:

[...] I need to understand your writing. There is a room for interpretation but interpretation should be based on something that author says. What are your responsibilities as an author? You have to make your own decision.

Similarly, for Marty (T), the writing process involves dialogue among students themselves, others, and the world to find ways of "[fitting] together to relate [to] one another". Therefore, academic literacy practice "has to do with the ability to create shared meanings of one another." For instance, Marty (T) asks students to bring their favorite texts: a poem, old sayings, lyrics, a newspaper article, or any kinds of written texts. Marty (T) then forms groups of students to introduce and discuss what these texts mean to the students, and then the students write about the topic. Through the process of narrowing down the topics of interest and discussing their preferred topics in class, students are encouraged to practice academic literacies, bringing their knowing to others. It is important to mention that Marty (T) engaged with scaffolding students' worldview with forms of academic literacies. In other words, Marty (T)'s role as an instructor is to promote students' knowing so that they can connect with the institutional culture:

Oral and writing skills become a vehicle through which we can develop those understandings. At the very same time, in developing those understandings, we can work on our writing, we can improve our writing. There is a reciprocal relationship between the process of developing understanding of self and others in the world and skills of

writing. They are both complementing each other. You can't separate them. It's all part of literacy. We start off with narrative, and what I find that that does, it accomplishes several things. It reflects his or her own writing to find something that is valuable. They may not even know initially how valuable that personal experience is. That's why what I do is have students do several revisions, rewriting and rewriting and rewriting to help bring out the meaning and significance of the event. (Marty (T))

Marty's (T) pedagogical approach responded to my research questions of how teachers of multilingual students in academic literacy courses might draw upon students' identities as resources for pedagogical decision-making. Marty's pedagogical belief is to develop students' stories and interests institutionally – learning academic convention through self-exploration in a socio-cultural way, of what Ivanič's (1998) refers to discursal self. Freire also discusses raising self-consciousness of learners in order for them to read situated realities, so that learners can express and make opinions about these realities. Darville (1995) used Freire's concept to explain the process of learning literacies in university: "Procedures of reading and writing are constituents of forms of social organization - of social practices, and the relations among people brought into being by those practices" (p. 249). Marty's (T) pedagogical approach to students seems to reflect Freire's approach to literacy education in the context of university as explained by Darville: to be conscious and raise the multilingual students' voice to be well recognized through writing, reading and searching for appropriate forms simultaneously, because writing is a main tool to express students' voice in university.

Validating Students' Voice

Before having the students work on writing a brief autobiography, Marty (T) shares his own story. This is his way of respecting students by sharing, which may create a safe learning environment. He relates his pedagogy partially to Norton's (1995) identity investment, which encourages students to commit to the subject by trying to find their ways to connect with "the literature of the world" (Marty (T)), and express their opinions, and build up confidence in writing. Marty (T) helps them make connections to the literature of the world and the universal themes of literature by showing them connections between the themes that emerge in their own narratives and the themes present in literature; this helps them develop a sense of connection to literature. Marty (T) asked students to build up and synthesize "all their capacity of academic writing" into

a final project. For Marty (T), exploring the students' interests and connecting the students' passion to academic discourses in writing is how he is getting the students to be central participants as university student. As well, Jane (T) mentions validating students' views in writing narratives, and then she shifts the focus to critical writing in class. In the context of my observations in the FAL course, I came to understand that students' voice means learning academic discourses as well as having students' worldviews validated; putting them together (students' voice and academic discourses) is a core task of developing academic literacies in order to be able to play the academic *games* (Casanave, 2002; Henderson & Hirst, 2007; Ivanič, 1998, 2004; Lea & Street, 1998). Language needs reference to its social and institutional meaning to be recognized (Norton, 2010). This is clearly evidenced in Ana's (T) interview quotation:

Personal voice and narrative is very abstract. Voice and narrative is your story, it's not empty, and it's shared and it's also unique to you. You share, and you recognize and you laugh at it, and you get to discuss it together with others, you know, because you all have common references. [...] There is no fixed meaning, you give meanings and values. It's not individualistic in a way. You share the common history of subjects, and you learn together, and you shared the meaning, having a voice then, you are given the tools to join the conversation. So, I said, "you have nothing to say if you do not do the research and you do not become aware". [...] That's also applied to native English speakers. It's very important that they learn about other people in class, and learn about current events, what's happening in the world.

Becoming aware of the connection with the world, literature, and one's life seems to be much valued in Marty's (T) and Ana's (T) teaching approach to articulating students' voice as legitimating the students as university students. Marty (T) and Ana (T) seemed to expect students to construct a university student identity by finding the appropriate expression and words to describe their opinions and explore their academic interests. In essence, Norton's (2010) discourse building through making a connection between social and institutional meaning is emphasized as meaning making, and students are affected by the instructors' teaching philosophy.

Construction of Legitimated University Students' Identities

Jennifer (T) understands that the FAL course offers both academic skills and the opportunity for the students to understand the main purpose of being educated, which is personal development:

Hisako: You just said personal development, but what is the personal development?

Jennifer: For me, it's more like ... not only about grades. University also teaches how to develop essay styles, but develop their identity. [...], maybe [the students] try to do, ... they still have lots of time, and try to do something else that they might be interested in, not the one that parents are interested in.

Furthermore, Marianna (T) described personal development as grounding and exploring a sense of agency and self to build strong confidence in their voices.

Marianna: Agency and sense of self is something that I really pay attention to, because it's really you. You can't write well if you don't believe in your voice. So, you can have all punctuation, and grammar, and spelling of the words, but if you don't have a sense of confidence of who you are, you are not gonna write well. It's really important to write [with intention].

Marianna (T) mentioned her current FAL students eventually starting to feel a sense of community. Chatting with one another and sharing laughs, which was a positive sign of opening up their capacity to others and to developing their voices. Moreover, Molly (T) and Emily (T) mentioned that literacy activities should include academic socialization to build a community for peer support. Molly (T) said, "I am a mentor and expert, but I am not the all-knowing . [Students] know lots more than they think".

To extend the notion of the students' voice, some FAL instructors seemed to connect students' voice with constructing students' identities in the context of university. For example, Ana (T) said:

The course and outlines are designed the way that allow each instructor to bring their own, something unique to them. [...] My main goal is this... how does this help them in their future? How does this help them in math class, or science, or social sciences, or even

philosophy? I tell them also, for each field they value one over the other. They're different, one is not better than the other. You make a decision.

Ana (T) thinks academic literacy is not only about the academic writing practice, but also about students' identity investment to gain legitimacy. In other words, she encourages students to find their preferred academic subjects so that they motivate themselves to explore their academic interests and to express their ideas and thoughts. To do so, she normally has a one-on-one meeting with each student to talk about their ideas on writing topics and writing preferences and to make students think of how they want to write to meet the course requirement and institutional expectation. Students often ask which courses to take after the FAL course and she never gives them an answer but asks questions like: "What do you think your strengths are? Do you like objective things or do you like expressive things?"

As for Emily (T), she tries to help students crystalize for themselves the notion of academic voice and academic literacies in order to let students locate themselves in an academic community. Emily (T) explained as follows:

I do try to get them to the notion of their own voice, very clear, voice is always there, right? But I found that they need to form that, a notion of academic voice. What [do I mean] by academic literate? What I've been trying to do in class is, to is try to get them to find their "academic voice". Not a course sense of academic voice.... You know how to define the notion. What does academic voice mean to them? It might not necessarily look like what we assume what it should look like. My feeling is that is what is actually improved, "their academic literacy," or their awareness of academic literacy? One of assumptions of academic literacies and what they are expecting from you. How to find the, Homi Bhabha's notion of third space? Of who are you as an academic? I don't believe that we all fall neatly into where we all would like. Academia isn't like that. (Emily)

Marty (T) added that students eventually become aware that "identity is not fixed, but they are validating the unique sense of identity, and it can be a struggle." In order to create shared meanings, students need to engage in building a community to make the present learning connect to the past, to have historical foundations for creating future common values and university discourses. For Marty (T), the writing process is visualized as a struggle and it is important to recognize that as a part of the writing process. What Marty (T) means by struggle can refer to making sense of the socio-

political and historical construction of discourses in university. Marty's (T) pedagogical point is that learning to write is "not so much a technique but an attitude; a consciousness of writing as the object to be known". This seems to be very close to what Marty (T) means by the essence of struggle in the process of becoming academically legitimated in a university community.

Going through the process of legitimating students' academic being and becoming, Ana (T) and Marianna (T) recognized students as agents who are going through, sorting out, and finding reference to their narratives in academia. As well, Emily (T) and Marty (T) fostered the students' experience of struggle in writing as a part of inquiring and exploring students' voice in an academic format. Jennifer (T) also sees the whole process of academic writing as a personal development of becoming a university student. Each instructor takes over and deals with students' enterprise differently, and flexibly adjusts to the students' interests and learning tendency. In short, each instructor accommodates his/her pedagogy based on the students' requests and expectations while infusing their educational beliefs into teaching academic literacies. In other words, each instructor has her/his own scaffolding approach to develop students' voice to be heard in academia.

Students' Understandings of the FAL Communities of Practice

The multilingual FAL students in my study, on the other hand, describe caring very much about details rather than community immersion that is, about using correct English. Most students view academic literacies as perfectly written English, and something apart from their everyday lives. For instance, students tend to worry about correcting grammar mistakes, structures, academic format, and citations—in other words, the technical parts of literacy, and skills that directly affect writing. Just as Allison (2009) found that first year multilingual students in higher education often encountered difficulties with course specific terminology, Albert (S), Dave (S), and Gie (S) referred to academic terminology as proper forms of English needed by those who want to succeed and complete their university studies. Mott-Smith (2009) pointed out that advanced multilingual students showed extra care with grammatical knowledge. In this regard, a FAL student, Dave (S), said to me that he did not feel confident in writing English as he did not read or speak English so often. Then he added, "good thing I have lots of good

friends. They always read my papers, and do grammar corrections.” It seemed that his highest priority was mastering grammar in his writing, and he looked happy when mentioning his friends’ support. Similar to Dave (S), Warren (S) also showed evidence of Mott-Smith’s description of advanced multilingual students who paid careful attention to grammar, as Warren (S) mentioned that his major purpose of taking the FAL course is to learn grammar:

Most concern [I have] is about grammar. I also care about structure, sounds and grammar. Here, people see contents, but the way people use semicolon and colon, it makes huge differences. My reason to take FAL is because I want to try to learn my grammar for my future study.

Although Warren (S) acknowledges the value of writing content, he seems to care about fashioning language in written forms. During the FAL class, Warren’s (S) instructor kept telling students that the FAL course teaches academic literacies, which are needed to survive writing intensive courses later on.

As well as Warren’s (S) instructor emphasizing the term academic literacies in class, she gave grammar lectures using on-line visual aids, introduced some common grammatical errors, and described them as *typical ESL mistakes*. This seemed to be an effective way for instructors to draw attention from the students in class. Students focused more on learning grammar concepts in Warren’s (S) class. Although I did not ask explicit questions about how the students and instructors understand the term academic literacies, I made inferences from that question as well as other interview discussions where similar issues arose: Warren’s (S) strong focus on advanced grammar and his instructor’s responding to students’ needs in learning grammar tips by showing *typical ESL mistakes* could suggest that such multilingual FAL students are on the outer circle of academic literacy community practices. That is to say, the instructor and the student co-construct the learning identity of the multilingual student as an “ESL”, even though the class is not about ESL, but about foundations of academic literacy (Marshall, 2010).

Guiding Each Step of Writing

While instructors constructed the class as a safe place, as well as a transitional space where students need to learn to be independent learners, several multilingual

students in my study seemed to wish for more active involvement from teachers in their learning process. This was something they were more familiar with from high school or their home countries. With regard to guided learning, I first describe what the students appreciated in class. Melody (S) appreciated that she practiced each step of making a presentation in a small or big group. Having cue cards was such a simple yet brilliant idea for her to keep calm during her presentation. Melody (S) said in the interview that “[she] was able to read off [them] sometimes and remind [herself]. By practicing in a smaller class, [she] was able to practice the presentation and get over [her] fears.” Yuria (S) also wrote in her reflective writing for her final project about the importance of learning each step of academic writing and getting her study organized:

I knew from the beginning, I lack in organization but the academic worksheet¹⁵ was really helpful. The biggest issue that I had was doing the proof read. I did not realize that proof reading is an important step. Therefore, often when I write, I skipped the last step. By taking FAL, I got into the habit of proof reading. [We also learned] the steps in writing an academic essay. [...] From this lecture, I learned to do free write, primary reading, and then secondary reading (essay from Yuria).

Similarly to Warren (S), in terms of prioritizing his learning to write sophisticated English, Edward (S) and Yuria (S) understood that the FAL course would strengthen their technical skills for the forthcoming studies, such as APA style, peer editing and proofreading. They said they knew how to write, but they did not know each step in writing. Only Lijo (S) explained that learning academic literacies includes “body language, eye contacts, and how to speak, how to stand in front of crowds”.

Gie (S) also agreed on the importance of learning the careful steps in writing, rather than actual writing. She said that “I can write a better paper. I know how to organize my time more, like by researching by the period of time. Going through materials [...] Using citations make my writing sounds stronger.” This is to say that organization in an institutionalized way (i.e., the academic format, a rubric to follow, or time management) is an essential skill for the students in order to complete a university degree.

¹⁵ Academic writing sheet is a rubric sheet that shows teachers’ expectations for students’ writing.

University Discourses: New Learning Strategies of Academic Organization

In terms of adjusting to learning in a new country, Ellen (S) mentioned the following:

I didn't do well in the first semester. We don't put too much attention to the study before final. We started to learn the whole book, when I did my first degree [in China]. That's strategy of life, and I didn't attend class regularly. [...] Only one month before the final study, I started studying. I got scholarship, and I got higher grades. Here, totally different. You have to focus on your study at the beginning of the semester. That's why I didn't do well in the first semester. I changed myself. I think teaching methods [in Canada and China] are different. I have to adapt myself to here.

Here, Ellen's (S) statement shows a move beyond language, into concerns such as study strategies and style. Ellen (S) focused on learning teachers' expectations, and understanding how the instructor would evaluate her work. Ellen's (S) statement of "I changed myself" is powerful. She quickly negotiated and accepted the differences in learning style, and adjusted and accommodated to new conventions to participate in the new community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998). Otherwise, she would fail to fit in and perform successfully in academia, which could result in feeling rejected as a member of the community and developing a negative identity (Hodge, 1998). In this sense, new study strategies are not only forms of academic knowledge, they are also important in learning university discourses – through new ways of studying.

As well, Chloe (S), Yuria (S), and Edward (S) also emphasized the importance of learning university discourses, that is, accommodating and adjusting survival strategies rather than studying hard in their own ways. For instance, they all mentioned that they stopped taking the courses that they really wanted to take after a couple of terms. Rather, they chose the courses that their friends took, or recommended to boost up their GPA. Chloe (S) said "Choosing the courses that you're good at is important thing." Their statements seem to suggest that organization and strategic planning are important elements in achieving success in university.

To support that statement, Vivid (S) shared her troubled experience in organizing courses to register in and complete her degree. Vivid (S) started, "I liked it when I was in

high school, I don't like when I came to university". So, I asked her why and she continued to talk:

- Vivid: I think I used to have somebody organize my [academic] timetable. Even in Korea, they had... like... they gave you the timetable [at school]. In high school [in Canada], they [also] gave me a timetable.
- Hisako: Here at SFU?
- Vivid: Yes, it's kind of an outline or something. But when I came [to university], I had no idea. Maybe because I didn't go to many like, what you called that...
- Hisako: Advisor?
- Vivid: Yes. Advisor. I was blank. Since then, I kinda screwed that. [...] I was all ... my things are all messy, and I did know how to fix them.
- Hisako: Do you mean by GPA, or just taking courses?
- Vivid: All, yeah, taking courses in order. I just wanted to start it all over again. [...] I wasted the one whole year. Yeah. That's why I don't like schooling right now... Yeah...Hmmm... Yeah.

As shown in the interview with Vivid (S), accessing resources without being carefully organized seemed to damage her academic process. In the second interview with her, she emphasized that she had to find the academic information both formally (i.e., from an academic advisor and the university calendar), and informally (from Korean friends). To be successful at the university, her initial peripheral participation in organizing and customizing her curriculum became as important as learning academic discourses. Without taking a step by step process, she was unable to go further to the next step to achieve her goal – graduation. According to Lave and Wenger (1991), to achieve a goal, in other words, to participate in activities centrally, a “particular mode of engagement of a learner” (p.14) is expected. It means that Vivid has to “acquire the skill to perform by actually engaging in the process, under the attenuated conditions of legitimate peripheral participation” (p.14).

Vivid's case showed how she had to understand and manage the process of structuring her university courses, rather than studying intensively for the subject. For Lave and Wenger (1991), legitimate peripheral participation is about “engagement in social practice that entails learning as an integral constituent” (p. 35). This suggests that

being and studying in university is not only about studying subjects to earn grades, but also understanding the institutional structure in order to take each step as a process of learning *how* and *what* to do to achieve the goal. I call the whole process of integrating ways of learning academically, socially and institutionally, university discourse. They are the university ways of expressing thoughts and ideas, and searching for information. Learning university discourses is inevitable if students want to achieve the goal, which is learning academic discourses, taking courses in order, knowing each step of becoming a university student, and graduating from university. These university discourses and academic subjects are heavily valued in higher education. Recognizing university discourses as well as learning academic subjects and variable uses of language allows one to “develop identities, and forms of membership” through the learning process (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 36). Gee (1996), as well, mentioned that each person embodies and/or learns discourses to become a member of certain groups of people, and “each of us is a member of many *Discourses*, and each *Discourse* represents one of our ever-multiple identities” (p. ix). This entails developing a sense of belonging as a member of a community: in the FAL context, becoming a legitimated university student.

Gathering University Discourses: Aiming for Better Grades

Conversely, other students’ focus is strongly directed at earning better grades. For several of them, their expectation is to learn learning tools, as they believed that learning tools would help their future study. Lijo (S) said,

FAL taught me how to do the research. First class I had to write the paper, I used Google and Wikipedia. I even did not use library books. This semester, I had to submit the term paper for different courses, and I searched from the library and used 7 books from library. So, it was good thing. I used the scholarly resources from library, all the library resources. I know others use Google, but it’s childish.

Regardless of his K-12 English medium schooling background, the university had required Lijo (S) to register for the FAL course. Lijo (S) felt misplaced at first, but he changed his mind and tried to get the full advantages of taking the course instead of complaining and showing resistance. Lijo (S) focused on learning research and presentation skills, which he barely had learnt in his home country, to aim for better grades in any upcoming university courses. As quoted above, Lijo (S) differentiated

himself from others and showed his privilege in knowing the legitimated academic search engines which others do not use for their assignments.

During their interviews, Albert (S), Carolina (S) and Dave (S) also shared the story of how they gathered information to become familiar with university discourses. For them, rather than relying on peers, they directly asked their teaching assistants or professors. When I asked Carolina (S) what she cares about the most in assignments, she replied take-home assignments such as essays or projects because she feels they are “guaranteed moments to have good grades” compared with exams. Exams only provide students with a limited time without dictionaries; outside exams Carolina (S) could first understand words then questions. In the FAL class for example, Carolina (S) always checked her writing draft and feedback with the instructor in order to make sure that she understood the assignments perfectly. This may result from the North American GPA-oriented culture. To apply for an internship, international field trips, exchange programs, or further degrees or diplomas, a good GPA is required. Carolina’s (S) actions resulting from her ambition to do well could perhaps be viewed as examples of Butler’s (2009) notion of performativity. Pennycook (2007) takes Butler’s work in the context of multilingual identity. For him, performativity allows the students to refashion their future, thus, Carolina’s (S) careful follow up with her academic work with her instructor was agentic and an integrative act of understanding her situated conditions. Doing well is equivalent to exercising power and rights, socio-culturally and linguistically for their future plans and career.

Chloe (S) told me the story of how she almost got probation from university when she was taking her elective courses that she would enjoy. Therefore, Chloe (S) gave up on her choices when selecting courses. Instead, she started taking safe courses, which she was good at and her friends recommended.

Chloe: After my first, the first semester, second semester, I knew that my GPA wasn’t good. But in the second semester, I still took difficult courses, and made me to go to probation. That’s when I realized that I shouldn’t take random classes, I should take some courses that can boost up GPA. That time, I took Mandarin, I didn’t speak Mandarin that time. I took Japanese and French.

Hisako: Ah...I see.

Chloe: They're simply easy to pick up, and academic things, elective, I must take one course, and I must take the easiest course. The first two years, before getting into core courses, you just wandering around in the supermarket, you don't know what kinds of attitude to use to study. All the courses they're all difficult. That's the difficult part, I found out the first two years. After taking core courses, like [shopping in a] supermarket. All the courses, they're all difficult. [However,] after three years [of knowing the trick of taking easier courses that my friends already studied or suggested], I got A, A- and A+. Choosing the courses that you're good at is important thing.

Hisako: So now you're very careful about choosing courses?

Chloe: Yes. That's right.

From this interview excerpt, I found that gathering legitimate information about registering for courses, searching for academic information, and asking feedback from instructors and friends are crucial parts of going through university life. The cases of Albert (S), Carolina (S), Chloe (S), Dave (S), and Lijo (S) show earning a good GPA as a main goal of learning at university, and they exercise their agency to achieve it. It is difficult to find out what is peripheral and central participation for these students, as their resources are not located in one place, but various spaces (classroom, on-line information, and multilingual communities) with a variety of "old timers" (the FAL instructors, the academic advisors, and friends with the same linguistic background) (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998) .

Contesting Students' Legitimacy

In the interview with Ellen (S), she had to contest with her peers that she had her own coherence in writing, when they tried to change her writing structures in English.

Ellen (S) was offended:

Ellen: I don't have to express in his way, but I do in my way. [A comment directed towards a native speaker who corrects her sentences.] My idea, my structure, my structure for the whole essay is much stronger than my other classmates, and I am good at writing. If you talk about grammar, when students do the peer review and think, "Oh, your grammar is not right," I'll be 100% sure that it's wrong, because my grammar is really poor. If he is like that this structure has problems, then, I will try to explain him why it makes

sense. If he put his idea, I will review. But I just value my opinion first.

Hisako: Aha. It's interesting; you're a very strong person. You want to keep your opinion. I see.

Ellen: Yes, I know what is my weakness and strength. I will try to find [them] out. I just try to make a good advantage of their suggestion.

Ellen's (S) experience of peer editing shows that she may constantly feel the need to contest herself as a legitimated student, and fight over the pressure of changing styles, while reminding herself of her efforts and experiences from the home country, community or culture. Gie (S) mentioned to me that writing her opinion would be most important. Gie (S) continued, "I want my teacher to know who I am, what I think. I think my opinions are really important. That stands you out as an individual. Just to be myself, write my own perspective to it."

Rassool (2000) has studied contesting and contested identities of migrants. Multilingual students can be *flexible language users* who are aware of political-linguistic power in language use. Rassool indicates the individual strengths to adapt and accommodate one's language use; this applies to Ellen and Gie (S), who definitely face a challenge of ways of learning, and how to perform well in the new environment through learning academic and university discourses to legitimate their voices. Furthermore, it is clear that the multilingual FAL students recognize the power of English from the previous section on being grade oriented and learning discourses around English-speaking university culture through gathering legitimated information in several ways.

The power of English is constructed through an ideological and abstract notion of native speaker of English (Pennycook, 2012). According to Pennycook (2012), the myth of the nativist view on English is that "native speakers produce some form of 'correct' English" (p. 82), even though "nativeness is not a product of being born into a language but of achieving a level of competence" (p.83) and through a formal education with particular ways of conducting languages. This is to say that learning the legitimate language, in Gie and Ellen's case, increases their educational, social and linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1982), while they struggled and had challenges when developing their worldviews and opinions in their own ways. Gie and Ellen (S) especially wanted to contest who they are, and what they have brought to university, rather than learning

everything new. This challenging attitude can also be explained through Norton's (2010) notion of language socialization: connecting the students' knowing to the situated social world. Thus, the centrality of university knowledge needs to be strongly connected with their worldviews and their ultimate goal of studying at university.

Contestation: Give-and-Take Relationship

Dave (S) and Warren (S) were also among those who contested their knowledge with other students by contributing in peer support efforts. To maintain his academic self-confidence, Dave (S) exchanged peer support with his classmates.

Dave: I am good at calculating, or chemistry stuff. I help them for these subjects.

Hisako: Good for them!

Dave: I know the ideas, but I don't know how to express in English. My friend asked me to explain details in English. So, I explain them and it became easy to write.

Dave (S) sounded very proud when he talked about peer support. It is clear that he enjoys the equal relationship with peers by exchanging support in learning. This reciprocal relationship is an effective way to legitimate the student as a university student, who shares his intellectual resources with others, while getting help for his writing. Another way of joining the university discourse is to enter an advanced group in class as evidenced in Warren's (S) interview:

When I first came to SFU, there were actually a few friends I met who tried to transfer to Business [department] with good marks. I was in this group. I never got below A- in my presentation or group projects. So, they've got great marks, whenever they write their paper, I take a look at them.

Warren's (S) active participation in the good-grade-team boosted up his grade, which mattered to him significantly. In return, he assisted other class members when he could offer help. In the FAL course, Warren (S) often gave presentation tips to his classmates, and gave examples of using PowerPoint effectively while trying to impress the instructor. Warren (S) looked very proud that he passed down the strategies he had learned to other university students. In Dave and Warren's (S) cases, they participated in the FAL and university communities of practice peripherally and centrally depending

on their experiences and strengths. Dave (S) exchanged skills with his friend to do well on his writing assignments, while Warren (S) joined a group of successful students for their project to study together for a better grade. While Warren peripherally participated in the group project as a newcomer, he acted as an old timer when he came to the FAL course (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Thus, understanding one's situation and acting accordingly to acquire the targeted skill or information seems to be a part of university discourses that the students may want to learn. As well, it is important to note that both Warren (S) and Dave (S) want to be of benefit to others in order to feel like legitimate university students.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed how FAL instructors and students understand academic literacies in order for the students to become university students drawing on Lave and Wenger's (1991) and Wenger's (1998) concepts of community of practice and LPP. I also shared data in response to the research questions of how the multilingual FAL students engage with the process of becoming a university student; and what are the implications to pedagogical practices when having multilingual students in the FAL classroom, for example, to encourage them students to make use of their multilingual resources to enrich their learning. In terms of the multilingual FAL students' engagement in trying to become a university student, I found discourses around university played a significant role for students to gain a sense of being legitimated in their knowledge and skills. University D/discourses are both actual language use in the situated context and a community where people have commonalities: ways of interacting, behaving, valuing, reading and writing in order to be accepted by the institution (Gee, 1996). Therefore, it was important to examine what the FAL instructors believe in their teaching pedagogy and how the multilingual students expect and understand academic literacies.

The notion of academic literacies challenged instructors to recognize and validate the students' entire process of becoming an academic writer in a university through the students' peripheral to central participation in the FAL communities of practice. Throughout the FAL course, practitioners are encouraged to support and

promote the students' social and academic identities, ranging from engaging with students' narratives to helping them develop research skills in order to support the students' academic interests and capabilities (Darville, 1995; Ivanič, 2004; Lea & Street, 1998; Norton, 2010). Despite working from the same curriculum, goal and purpose of the FAL course, instructors seem to be flexible in terms of shaping the classroom pedagogy. The students contribute to the instructor's pedagogical selection to reproduce the students' historical/comfortable ways of learning. For instance, some instructors focused more on peripheral participation in the FAL community of practice by providing drills and writing exercises, and using multimodality to make the students feel safe and productive (Jane, Jennifer, Marianna, and Molly (T)), so that the students would eventually understand study strategies and skills. At the same time, some instructors focused more on the students raising their critical awareness in academic genre and rhetoric; in other words, they teach the academically and institutionally compatible ways of writing in the context of a North American university to gain the power of language and literacy (Kress, 1993) (Jennifer (T)). Ana and Marty (T) placed value on the learning process, such as exploring students' voices through reading, and tried to serve new identities to focus on students' intellectual and learning strengths to provide positive reinforcement toward their academic literacy practices.

As for the multilingual FAL students in my study, they tended to understand academic literacy as learning academic terminology and detailed techniques such as grammar and sentence structures. Some multilingual students in my study appeared to feel that their English has to be perfect (i.e., have no grammatical mistakes) because of their past ESL learning experiences, and appeared to have the fixed idealized native speaker's image to compete with the native speakers of English in courses in the university. To maintain their dignity and confidence, some students have a give-and-take relationship with their classmates to participate in the FAL and university communities of practice. Moreover, some multilingual students are ambitious, and agentive in refashioning their futures (Pennycook, 2007). These students often talk to the instructors to get feedback to make sure that they are on the right track and meet the teacher's expectation. At the same time, the multilingual students also mentioned that they have to be strategic and organize their study. To do so, they have to have access to information through the institution and their unofficial multilingual resources to know

how to survive the university. In short, becoming a university student does not only mean that the multilingual students find their own way to legitimate their knowledge through study, but also finding access to information through socialization. Thus, university discourses are not only about the way of using languages, but also about learning institutional culture and values.

To answer the research question of the implications for pedagogical practices of having multilingual students in the FAL classroom in terms of how the multilingual students make use of their resourceful backgrounds that they bring into university, it is important to discuss what academic literacies mean in the FAL and university context. Academic literacies are not only about learning academic English and perfect grammar and structure in writing, but also understanding the situated conditions and social norms that allow students to successfully express ideas and opinions in order to do well at university. Lave and Wenger's (1991, 1998) idea of communities of practice is useful to find the gap between the multilingual students' and instructors' ways of being in the FAL class. While the FAL instructors wanted the students to be independent learners, and they want the students to form learning communities of practice, the multilingual students expected an active role from teachers in teaching, something that they are used to from their past schooling experiences. When both expectations are different, it may be difficult to aim at achieving a common understanding of what central participation in the university community entails. As well, students bring their multilingual resources to class and these resources should become an important part of university discourses to be recognized.

In the next chapter, I will analyze multilingualism on campus and how transnational activities connect the multilingual FAL students' national and university students' identities.

Chapter 9.

Transnational and Multilingual Practices and Identities

In this chapter, I analyze in detail the cases of seven focal students to discuss what constitutes transnational consciousness and activities, and how multilingualism is practiced, in addressing the research questions: How do multilingual FAL students go through the process of “becoming” a university student; and what factors have an impact on the identity formation of multilingual undergraduate university students in a first-year academic literacy course? Since transnational identities are not of one kind and are produced at different rates and in different ways, and the process of identity construction is based on situated individual experiences (Kelly, 2003), the multilingual students’ stories cannot be categorized into discrete and mutually exclusive themes that have a clear separating boundary due to the complexity of the students’ individual stories. Therefore, I introduce the focal participants’ individual stories (Linda, Chloe, Yuria, Albert, Lijo, Vivid and Warren) to provide an in-depth understanding of the construction of transnational identities and multilingual practices. Moreover, Ghosh and Wang’s (2003) diagram brings into view the value of focusing on ways in which students bring transnational identities into their lives as university students. Therefore, for the analysis, I used Ghosh and Wang’s diagram of transnational identity as a framework to legitimate students’ ways of being and belonging, and inquire how the students bring transnational activities into university life. Ghosh and Wang were international students, and eventually became immigrants to Canada as students in a cosmopolitan city in Canada, which resembles the living situations and conditions of the multilingual FAL students in my study; therefore, it is relevant to use their theory to interpret students’ transnational identities in-depth. According to Ghosh and Wang:

Transnational consciousness is fed by intertwined conduits of the immigrant’s pre-migration social identities, individual, familial and societal

value systems (socio-economic/political), psyche of departure, material circumstances and social connections in the migrant city, sense of perceptions and expectations of the host and the home societies, and material circumstances of friends and family back home.

(Ghosh & Wang, 2003, p. 281)

As in Ghosh and Wang's diagram (see chapter 4), several multilingual FAL students in my study establish or negotiate a sense of belonging in two or more cultures through their past and present university experiences, and through various social and multilingual interactions among families and friends (Linda, Carolina, Yuria, Edward, Warren, Vivid, Lijo, Albert).

In response to my research questions, I found that the students' transnational consciousness, activities and multilingual practices play a crucial role in their academic and social life, helping them to go through university life successfully. Moreover, the main factors that impact the multilingual students' identity formation are personal reflections on their academic and social life in Canada, and the desire to have a social recognition that is compatible with the recognition that the students used to have in their past institutional and educational experiences.

Linda's Case: Transnational Consciousness, Transnational Ways of Being and Belonging

Linda's story shows that the concept of transnational consciousness is complex and fluid. Linda had access to many social and linguistic resources and materials and her past and present life experiences in multiple countries and her current university lifestyle were actively shaping her experiences as a university student. Linda's story shows that the concept of transnational consciousness is complex and fluid not because of her access to the available social and linguistic resources and materials, but because of her past and present life experiences in multiple countries and her current university lifestyle.

Linda: I came to Canada because I couldn't find any jobs in Turkey. I didn't have money, and people did not hire me because I was not young anymore. [...] I was 37, and

nobody hired me. Turkish Government did not hire me, and in the newspaper everywhere, it says until 30[years old] or so. For 4 years, I tried to find the jobs, because I was so sure I could do something for Turkey. But after 4 years, I realized that I would not find a job. I was very afraid that I could be homeless because my family was not happy. [...] One day I prayed. One night. Next morning, I woke up and I said to myself that I am going to Canada. And I came.

Hisako: Really? So, it was an inspiration?

Linda: Yes, but I wanted to immigrate later. I didn't think I could come so [early at that time]. Because I [was not eligible to] immigrate. I need two years of working experience. I wasn't qualified to immigrate. I didn't have money, I couldn't come.

When I asked Linda how she identifies herself, she responded that her nationality was not an important part of her identity because of the racism that she experienced in Europe while she was earning a master's degree, and also because of the discrimination that she suffered because of her gender and age in her home country (as described in detail in Chapter 6). Linda finally came to Canada as an international student to pursue a social work degree, and then worked as a live-in caregiver in order to be eligible to apply for Canadian residency. Regardless of the difficult times, and after years of investment in her career, she had not given up on her professional life and she came to SFU to become a public school teacher. She was happy to be accepted into the university, and registered in the FAL course as a preparation for applying to the teaching certificate program. Ghosh and Wang (2003) describe the psyche of departure as incorporating the goals to be carried out in the new country. This can be seen in Linda's strong determination not to give up on her academic career while in Europe and Turkey, and also in her pursuit of a compatible career in Canada.

Linda's transnational consciousness can also be seen as relating to her language use, although she rarely speaks her national language since she left her home country. Since her departure from home, Linda misses a sense of ownership of a language in which she can accurately express her own thoughts, ideas and emotions. Linda told me, "I always like writing, and my Turkish is really good. I really miss [...] using language, and being competent in language. I am not competent [in English] but better than before. I hope my English is better than my Turkish." When Linda reflected on her

academic English literacy learning-process in the FAL course, she compared her difficulties in using English to her command of her national language, in which she had more freedom and could easily discuss sophisticated intellectual topics. She told me that she felt frustrated not to have the same level of proficiency in both languages. She continued to speak, "In this country, I really use English. So, I need to speak like a normal person. Because when you are not able to speak English, you are like a child". Her statement of the necessity to speak like a normal person shows her insecure feelings and struggles. After two years, I had a follow-up interview through Skype and email to ask about her feelings towards language use. In Linda's email, she wrote that she mostly read in English even though " [she] reads special books relating to [her] culture and history (Poems, cooking books, art books, books written by famous Turkish writers, books about [her] religion, etc.)" (electronic communication with Linda). Linda continued, "I feel ...I connect with my culture. [...] Reading Turkish books makes me happy, relaxes me and inspires me". Regardless of the fact that she wrote about her personal connection with Turkish, she actually had no time to read Turkish books as she had been too busy and overwhelmed with university assignments. Linda's longing for literacy competency in English reminds her of her past literacy experiences, and influenced the construction of her transnational consciousness. She wrote that she wanted to read a chapter of the Ko'ran every day to pray and to feel relaxed, whenever she could find the extra time and energy to carry out this desire.

Linda hoped the FAL course would enable her to express her ideas elegantly in English and so to meet a standard that she had set for herself in light of her professional identity construction. The lack of time to be in touch with cultural and religious materials from her home country was a consequence of her determination to build a professional life in a new country (Canada). Linda's transnational consciousness does not emerge passively in her activities, but is actively constructed in a transnational "way of belonging, through memory, nostalgia or imagination, [where she] can enter [the transnational activities – in her case, reading the Ko'ran or other cultural materials] when and if [she] chooses to do so" (Levitt & Schiller, 2008, p. 287). Her transnational consciousness shows her trajectory in time and space, future aspirations, and reflections of her social and linguistic experiences in lacking language ownership while studying in university. In short, Linda's desire to conduct multilingual and transnational activities to

balance her multiple identities and to be competent in English came together to reflect her transnational consciousness (exemplified by her referring to herself as a “human being” rather than identifying with any national, ethnic, and religious backgrounds), although her life duties limit the activities of her transnational consciousness.

Albert’s case: Transnational Activities and Field— Developing a Core Identity

In the FAL course, Albert (S) developed his transnational identity as a reflection of transnational consciousness, which is shown by his choosing the political and religious issues of his country of origin as topics of university assignments, as well as by his discursive multilingual practices during classes. Albert (S) first came to my interview with great eagerness to share his story of how he entered a Canadian university.

Albert: For example I have many friends. I think all of them go to ESL [schools]. And, they complained that they’re [always] taught grammar. [...They] always asked me about academic life. It’s good for me to explain to them, so they can understand the academic life, you know.

Hisako: Does this make differences in your life if they understand?

Albert: Yeah. Of course, they like me. I’m an experienced student, they like it. They like to listen to all of them. Because, they didn’t know that ESL courses are always teaching grammar. ...They want to study in university.

Albert was especially proud when comparing himself to friends who came from the same country to study English at ESL schools, since he was studying at an institution that offered not only English instruction, but also academic subjects and a bachelor degree. Albert also told me that his grandmother, who had migrated to Europe, supported him financially with her pension. The Turkish currency has less value compared to the euro and so his family would not have been able to support him financially from Turkey. Albert felt academically and socially privileged to be ahead of other Turkish friends in Canada.

Albert told me in the first interview. “I didn’t feel quite alone. Through the English language and communication program, I made many friends from worldwide nationalities and we had a good relationship between us. ...I am not alone here”. Albert (S) added that he thought it was not a good idea to spend time with friends from the same country. Once Albert’s (S) university life began, he joined the international students’ soccer team on campus as he had played this sport in his country since he was young. He looked very proud of belonging to this sport community on campus. For Albert (S), feeling a sense of belonging to a community seems to be very important as he goes through university life. Next, I asked about his teammates. Albert (S) replied, “Many people [joined the soccer team], not only those from my own country, but also international students, and Canadian students. Some of them have been here for many years”. He describes this club as a university community, where he could share his feelings or other aspects of his life such as food. He also mentioned that “in my religion, it’s important to make a good relationship everywhere. It’s also logical, it’s not about religion. It’s logical.” Playing soccer and feeling like a member of the community can be understood as being part of a broader transnational spectrum of social activities, since he played this sport in his childhood in his original country, interacted with fellow international students in the team, having brought this activity into his new life in Canada, to balance his needs of feeling at home and at the same time having a good university life in Canada.

However, in the second interview, Albert (S) made a contradictory statement by emphasizing that he needed more friends speaking his national language:

Hisako: What was your biggest challenge in university?

Albert: This term, I felt very lonely uh... because I am homesick. I didn’t know this word before, homesick, for many months. I thought it was sickness. But there is a different meaning. [...] You know, I’m not okay, because I don’t have enough friends. It’s hard for me to make more friends, as I am having problems in my life.

Hisako: Did you make friends from the course?

Albert: Yeah. But it’s not enough.

Hisako: You said you had Turkish friends.

Albert: They’re gone. Many of them completed their post-secondary school, and another went to Turkey, [so did] his father. Ah..

Hisako: Ah... Okay.

- Albert: I am not having enough Turkish friends. It's not good for me. Sometimes, I feel that I need to speak my first language. It's very important.
- Hisako: Yes, I understand.
- Albert: Yeah. Because I speak English all the time in university as I don't have any Turkish friends on this campus.
- Hisako: Right. Are there many Turkish students?
- Albert: Yes, there are Turkish students in another campus, but I don't have enough time to meet with Turkish friends, so it's a bad thing.

Interestingly, in the first interview, Albert (S) considered having friends with the same language background as a bad environment for this new life in Canada. However, fully immersing himself in Canadian culture also turned into an unfamiliar situation for him. Albert (S) explained me that he learned a new word and new concept: *homesick*. Albert explained that people here were very different from people in Turkey. Even though he met his Turkish friends from time to time, he told me that it was not enough to address his loneliness. He missed his friends from home as individuals. His lack of feeling at home in a new country was evidenced in the second interview; not having a fulfilling social relationship with friends from Turkey made his life difficult even though he was aware that he lived in a different country. Albert's (S) homesickness prompted him to use the Internet to chat with his family intensively. In fact, I witnessed Albert (S) chatting on line with his mother in Turkey during class from time to time. Gradually, Albert's (S) topics in the FAL course became more related to his country, religion, and politics. I asked Albert (S) why he had chosen topics that relate to his country. Albert said that he would like to introduce the class to where he comes from in terms of political and religious beliefs. At the end of the term, Albert's (S) individual final project focused on his own religion so that he could share his religious values with his classmates. Albert (S) researched this topic in his language, and translated his resources and opinions to the class. By that time, Albert (S) had developed a stronger core identity that was based both on religion and nationhood (Phan, 2008). One day after the class, Albert (S) asked me which university had religious studies so that he could learn and legitimately explain to others about his religion and religious beliefs. It seems that the part of Albert's (S) life that he is missing the most in Canada has become a resource for completing the FAL course assignments. Albert's homesickness encouraged him to

conduct research on his religion intensively, which led him into the transnational field to conduct such transcultural activities (Ghosh & Wang, 2003). Albert's transcultural and transnational consciousness due to his homesickness resulted in his finding a connection between the Turkish culture he had been missing and local materials that were available to him to manage his multiple identities as a Turkish person, as an experienced student among Turkish friends, and as a cultural ambassador to Canadian classmates.

Lijo's Case: Developing Transnational Identities

Lijo was born and grew up in India, and came to Canada as a family member of an expatriot. Lijo was very excited to move to Canada as a university student. Lijo shared his successful leadership experience in establishing a student cricket club on campus, a club for one of the most popular sports in India. He said, "The main part of our [study] field is Asians and Indians". Lijo's strong emphasis on a student national and racial demographic became clear when he mentioned that "Canadians play hockey, and I don't know how to play it, so why not cricket here? [...] We have so many students from India. So, we made a cricket club, because SFU funded us. So we opened the club". Thus, Lijo's activities became focused on planning and organizing the club, making a website and writing a proposal to the university to ask for funding. This is a good example of transnational and transcultural activities that promote multiple and transnational identities, shown by how Lijo transferred the sport activity that he was previously involved with in his home country to Canada in an official way. He found university friends with the same interests (social network, community), obtained university funding (access and resources), and got engaged to maintain his lifestyle. Feeling at home in a new country by continuing the same activities carried out at home facilitated the development of the transnational aspects of his identity. Lijo created a borderless (time-space) phenomenon called a transnational field with the help of his friends and institution (Block, 2006). Therefore, Lijo accommodated his individual needs through connecting multiple transnational, local, and institutional relations, and used the particular transcultural activity (i.e., cricket) in his everyday life. This allowed him to

exercise his agency, in terms of languages and transnational identities, by applying the global to the local through his university activities.

Yuria's Case: Multilingual and Transnational Reflective Activity Spaces

Yuria migrated to Canada with her family when she was a preteen. Her family started a new life in a suburban community where English was the dominant language, where Yuria and her brother were two of the few minority students. Yuria successfully entered university in Canada; however, she emphasized striving for belonging to the university community in a comfortable way. "Ah ... I don't know, like in high school I felt like, I was somebody. I know everybody and people know me. But in university, I am alone. You feel that nobody cares about me." That was how Yuria began the story about her struggles in integrating herself into the university community, when I asked her to describe herself. Yuria joined five different student clubs to make friends. However, Yuria gradually lost faith in continuing in some clubs as they charged fines for her absence. In order to avoid paying fines, she reluctantly participated in the meetings. Needless to say, Yuria did not make good friends in university by joining clubs. After giving up making efforts to meet new people, Yuria just came to university to take courses to complete her degree. One day, Yuria went to a small complex on campus for her lunch break, and found several students speaking her national language. The small complex space has a microwave, several tables and sofas. Because of the size of this space, it is always full of people who want to have lunch, who are waiting to use the microwave, or who are simply taking a break between classes. Yuria found it easy to introduce herself to other people while lining up for using the microwave or sharing tables with other students. Yuria and some of these students gradually became friends and exchanged academic information in Korean. This informal space became an important space for her to build a social network in her national language. Yuria actually encouraged her new friends to register in the same courses as her, which was how she started in the FAL class with a group of old and new friends to support one another in their national language not only in FAL but also in their other studies.

Yuria's (S) transnational field was a small informal space where she could make friends with people who spoke her national language. Yuria's initial migration to a mostly monolingual suburban community in her preteen years did not provide many opportunities for linguistic practices in Korean outside of her home. Once she entered university, there was a large number of Korean students on campus. She started speaking more Korean than before, and her academic and linguistic socialization was carried out mostly in Korean. Her FAL classmate mentioned to me that he taught many Korean words and expressions to her. In her case, expanding friendship with other Korean international students and immigrants provided opportunities for rich multilingual practices. According to Lam and Rosario-Ramos (2009), students are in charge of everyday lives and select appropriate information from multiple sources, and their 'first' and 'second' languages blur as they flexibly reciprocate or choose languages to find and have access to the necessary information in different contexts. Yuria's multilingual practices fit well with Lam and Rosario-Ramos' (2009) reference to transnational identities as a new type of identity for some; Yuria is one of those who constructed a transnational identity many years after departing from her home country.

At the same time, Yuria also enthusiastically positions herself as advantaged when compared with other students from Korea, like the students in Shin's (2012) study who "are attempting to position themselves advantageously in all of these markets, [...] the local Canadian market, the Korean market of return, and an elite global market" (p. 185). Outside the campus, Yuria's main transnational activity is her religious practice. During weekends, she attends a Korean-medium church. In Bible school, she teaches English to K-12 Korean immigrant students. Through her church activities, Yuria is well respected and receives recognition from those she teaches and their families. Since Yuria is an experienced and successful immigrant, who attends a Canadian university, parents and young Korean immigrants trust her as a resource to ask for information about entering a university in Canada. Yuria also reflects her multiple identities based on the multiple locations to which she belongs: local, international and global; the Korean community in Vancouver, at the university and elite global capital. Yuria also developed her transnational and multilingual identities through her trips to Korea, which she

enjoyed very much. Yuria brought a “white” friend¹⁶ to Korea. Yuria told me that she was very proud, because many people recognized her English fluency as well as her status as part of a globalized social network, which were evidenced by her accompanying “white” friend. She told me, “It was good that I got attention. I felt good. People said my English was very good.”

Chloe’s Case: Multilingual Practices

Chloe’s everyday life shows a transnational way of belonging and being (Levitt & Schiller, 2008) through communicating with her family and friends in Canada and her home country, since she has a well-established social network on and off campus. Chloe also mentioned quite a few times taking advantage of being in her social and linguistic community. In her home country, Chloe attended a prestigious English-medium private secondary school that was famous for having competitive extra-curricular activities. Chloe was a member of an orchestra group requiring daily practices, while also achieving high grades in academic courses. This intensive daily routine established in her a high self-esteem for learning, performing, and being a member of a prestigious social group. In addition to her strong confidence, Chloe’s belief in hard work gave her a smooth academic transition to a Canadian secondary school. Socially, she accommodated herself successfully due to the support of her community. Chloe’s parents have friends who became immigrants before Chloe arrived in Canada. Her parents’ friends participated in school meetings in place of her parents, and helped her in planning her life, for example, by driving her to the university campus before she applied for university to show her the study options available. They showed her the university’s academic calendar and campus buildings, and explained about university life, so that Chloe could plan and organize her study in order to enter university. Not only did Chloe’s family friends share information, but they reported her progress to her parents. Once she entered university, Chloe (S) mentioned that “[she] already knew what courses SFU was offering” because of her community support. She

¹⁶ I quoted the term white intentionally from Yuria’s interview. The term white also symbolizes social privilege and linguistic capital in Korea. Yuria also used the term white in the interview (please refer to Chapter 7).

has many friends speaking the same language who immigrated to Canada from her country and went through the transition of starting a new life in a different country. When Chloe (S) started university, she joined student clubs for peer support:

Chloe: The first one is [University Student Club]. [It is] organized by Chinese students, [who are] organizing events once a month. [...] The second student club I went was almost the same thing, but it's come from an engineering background. [...] I went to the second one, because some other [friends] went there, so I switched [from the first club]. [I] made lots of friends, [I had] lots of fun. [...] When I was a new [student], I knew someone who was year three, which was good that I could ask him for the note and which professor was better.

Hisako: So, it's for information exchange?

Chloe: Yeah.

In the interview with Chloe (S), she told me that the availability of teaching assistants with the same language background sometimes plays a significant role in choosing a course to enroll in. This is because these teaching assistants often assist students with their national language after tutorials, to make sure that multilingual students fully understand the study contents. Chloe's TAs sometimes provide academic advice from their own perspective, since they have been through a similar learning experience and adjusting process in terms of overcoming language and cultural barriers. Chloe and Chloe's friends on campus visit Hong Kong quite regularly, thus they also exchange trivial information (i.e., places to visit, restaurants, shopping information) about Hong Kong before or after their family visits. In other words, Chloe's life in Canada is closely connected with her family and friends in Hong Kong and Canada, with whom she communicates in Cantonese.

In the FAL course, all of Chloe's teammates (with whom she worked during group activities) shared the same language background, and I often witnessed code-switching and reciprocal bilingual communication during their group work. One day, I asked this group about how they use language outside of the FAL class.. Interestingly, they were not really aware which language they spoke at a given time, or if they mixed languages. For them, code-switching and translanguaging are quite common (Lee & Marshall, 2012); as the outcome of their assignments should be in English, they use

code-switching to be able to fully comprehend the topics and teachers' expectations on assignments. In Chloe's case, her transnational way of belonging is evident as she relies on and appreciates her social and linguistic resources, and her situated learning encourages multilingual practices as legitimate ways of learning university discourses (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Chloe's participation in a learning community started in Hong Kong when she learned self-discipline at school and in her orchestra, and found applications as she began the process of becoming a legitimate member of her academic community. Chloe was ready to work hard in Canada, and she wanted to do well. Chloe relied on a social network in her linguistic group from old timers who migrated from Hong Kong to Canada before her family. These experiences showed Chloe a way to become a university student. Fortunately, she had a smooth transition to more central participation through getting accepted to SFU and through her activities as a student. Once Chloe entered, she joined new communities of practice to complete her university degree. Chloe took advantage of speaking multilingually, and found ways to access academic information that is more relevant to her needs than official information from the institution. In short, Chloe's access to multiple social spaces enriched her learning practices beyond the national boundaries of Canada and Hong Kong. Through her everyday life, using multilingual skills, her transnational identity construction is interwoven with multiple spaces, multilingual practices and transnational/transcultural activities.

Warren's Case: Developing Social Identity Through Transnational Activities

Warren is an international student who grew up in a multilingual community in Korea. Warren's parents registered Warren in a kindergarten that has many children from the UK, so that he could become familiar with English. After kindergarten, his parents would send him to a US military base every weekend to stay with American families. Warren mentioned in his first interview that, "it's only \$30 per month, and I get to go there 4 times a month. Every week, I get to stay there for 3 days. Imagine like that I did my first elementary to 3rd year middle school, so that's 10 years." For Warren, his extensive linguistic and cultural immersion in English while in Korea played a significant role in his pursuit of studies abroad. He was confident, experienced, and privileged to

be in the English environment that his father set up for him. When Warren was a high school student, he decided to study in North America rather than in Korea. This was also his family's strategy to maintain his social identity as a member of a privileged elite (Shin, 2012). Warren told me that Korean people do not respect those who do not graduate from the top few local universities in Korea.

When Warren first arrived in Canada, he only socialized with Korean students in his ESL classes, “[a]s it was too hard to communicate with Canadians, all my friends were Korean. I barely spoke English other than study in the ESL class” (Warren’s written assignment). His initial settlement in Canada started with creating an environment similar to his home. Eventually, he wanted to have self-fulfilment, as well as recognition in the same manner as when he was in Korea. Warren wanted to present himself as someone who could show his strong leadership skills. He wrote in his autobiographical essay as follows:

While I was desperately looking for a turning point of my international student life in Canada, I randomly hear about the school student council activity. It was something that I was always involved with from elementary school through middle school in Korea. Although I was not speaking good English, I bravely stepped in to a student council meeting during lunch. [...Later on] I made a speech in English in front of every student at [secondary school], telling why they should vote for me to be the school president. The election was successful. [...] Since then, I made significant changes and brought fresh idea to school. After my graduation, I realized that I have become a person whom the present student council now recalls as one of the most successful school leader.

Warren explained the steps he took to achieve social recognition in a new country. Warren first located himself in a safe space: his ESL class where he felt protected and not a member of a minority community. However, spending large amounts of time with his ESL friends and communicating in his national language did not satisfy his self-esteem. Warren mentioned in his interview that the school principal encouraged him to join the school council, when the principal became aware of Warren’s poor behaviour and unmotivated attitude toward schooling. Warren’s school principal reviewed his background in Korea and realized that Warren would have appreciated a social recognition similar to the one he used to have in his home country. Warren’s successful transition from an international ESL student who always spoke Korean to a

school leader is an example of a transnational activity in which Warren engaged to develop a compatible social status. Warren gained recognition from both international Korean and local students. Warren's case shows that his transnational activity is strongly tied with reconstructing a similar social identity, rather than nurturing the relationship with his national language. What is important in his case is that he expected to play the same social and institutional role and have the same dignity that he had in Korea. I hoped to hear more about his university life; however, he only told me that he was struggling to find a similar social role at university. Warren told me that he always tried to be in the top group for his project in his business class so that he could learn sophisticated public speaking appropriately for his future career. To develop international leadership skills as a globalized student, Warren joined the international exchange program to study in China for one year through SFU because the Chinese language is powerful and social and linguistic capital for business people. With his successful experiences in high school, university enrollment, and study abroad in China, Warren shared several academic tips of how to enter and take full advantage of university to his younger Korean friends. Warren's efforts, involvement in various activities and achievements in university were already significant.

Warren's experience shows the importance of gaining social, cultural, and linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 2000) transnationally in Korea, his Canadian high school, SFU, and among the Korean community on campus). At the same time, it is important to remember that Warren actively exercised his agency by putting pressure on himself to search for opportunities to gain more recognition in public to construct a desirable social identity at large in the university (Bourdieu, 2000).

Vivid's Case: Struggling with Transnational Identity

Vivid described herself as a 1.4 speaker (i.e., 0.7 Korean and 0.7 English; see Chapter 7 for details), as she lived many years in Canada and the US. Vivid lived in the US from the age of two to seven because of her father's graduate studies. Then, Vivid's family moved back to Korea and her parents sent her alone to a private secondary school in Canada, to invest in constructing her transnational identity, so that she could obtain better opportunities in her future career by gaining North American education

(Dagenais, 2003). This educational and linguistic privilege is reflected in how she communicated with her family during her visits home at the end of each semester. For example, Vivid's father especially values the language aspect in her university life. In fact, Vivid shared her story of bilingualism at home in Korea as follows:

- Hisako: I remember that you and your father talk in English. Do you guys always talk in English?
- Vivid: Not always. But sometimes, when he is drunk. (giggled) He likes speaking [English] with me, I guess. (giggled)
- Hisako: Why is that?
- Vivid: Because nobody in my family speaks English... and I mean, I think he feels proud when I speak English to my brother, too. I think he feels proud.

By speaking English at home with family members, Vivid (S) responds to her father's expectations of her use of English. Vivid (S) also looked very proud in telling this story, which seems to motivate her pursuit of a university degree in Canada. Lee and Marshall (2012) found cosmopolitan multilingual Korean students in a Canadian university increase their capital "*through English*" (p. 78). Speaking English at home symbolizes social privilege: Vivid told me that speaking fluent English with a North American university degree may provide better-paid jobs and higher social status, and that her life could become much smoother once she returned to her home country.

Regardless of her acknowledging the linguistic capital that English adds to her life, Vivid developed a strong tie with Korean resources in Vancouver: she possesses a Korean-speaking car navigator, and spends most of her time with her Korean friends. Vivid told me that she followed her Korean friends' advice in university: as she did not organize and plan well to take courses in order before, she had decided to be more strategic and careful to complete each requisite course. Vivid (S) registered in the FAL class because of her Korean friend's strong recommendation that they take the course together. Vivid's visits to Korea every end of term closely connect her with friends, family, and up-to-date Korean culture and trends. Theoretically, Vivid's mobility allows her to belong to multiple communities to construct multilingual identities proudly (May, 2001). However, Vivid (S) did not perceive her multilingual experience as a privilege in Canada, even though she has a relevant transnational lifestyle. Instead, she wrote "I am confused of my identity, life and future. I hope sometime soon I will be able to find a key

to my true self” (from Vivid’s autobiographical writing assignment). As Shin (2012) discussed, it is difficult to manage a transnational identity in an advantageous way in all markets (i.e., Korea and Canada in Vivid’s case), as each market (i.e., location) “requires something which undermines an investment in others, and partially because the students’ actual position makes them peripheral to all the markets concerned” (p. 185).

Discussion

Through the multilingual students’ cases in this chapter, three themes emerged - transnational activities in the private and public spheres, and multilingual practices - which respond to these research questions. 1) What factors have an impact on the identity formation of multilingual undergraduate university students in a first-year academic literacy course? And 2) How do these students go through the process of “becoming” a university student?

Transnational Activities in the Private Sphere

Transnational activities are determined based on individual needs reflected in one’s past familial, individual, institutional and social identities, values and morals (Ghosh & Wang, 2008). For Linda and Albert, transnational activities mediate the ways of being and belonging and stem from their religious beliefs and values (Levitt & Schiller, 2008). Linda and Albert’s multilingual practices are conducted in private to promote their individual everyday life, and their transnational activities are part of their emotional self-support to properly integrate themselves in a new country. Levitt and Schiller (2008) note that social conditions and institutional culture influence one’s transnational activities and social relationships, and this applies to Linda’s case: Linda’s transnational activities were on hold as her priority was to achieve good grades in university courses for her career pursuit. Linda devoted most of her time to her studies, and immersed herself in an English environment regardless of her wish to read the Ko’ran and to keep up her religious practices. On the other hand, Albert’s multilingual practices and staying in touch with his family and friends became a source of energy to continue his study in Canada. To overcome his homesickness, he needed to locate himself in a transnational

field where he felt at home, and be proud to study in an English-speaking country. Since Albert physically resides in a country different from Turkey, his aspiration of being in multiple social spaces simultaneously is important. Through the FAL course assignments and his homesickness, his transnational consciousness became focused on academically investing in his religious values. Thus, his solution for not feeling homesick was to switch his program from science to religious studies so that he could share his religious values with colleagues in university, in addition to seeking opportunities to speak Turkish.

Transnational Activities in the Public Sphere

Transnational activities for Chloe, Lijo, Yuria, Vivid, and Warren meant strategic tools to create a larger transnational social field for sustaining and enhancing their transnational identities, their everyday life, and their sense of belonging, as opposed to being fully assimilated into the mainstream society and culture (Block, 2006; Levitt & Schiller, 2008). Lijo transferred his favorite sport from one country to another in an official way by registering cricket as a university student club. Warren's transnational consciousness involves constructing a compatible social identity as an institutional leader. Moreover, Warren's transnational activities extended beyond his home and host countries (Korea and Canada), since he challenged himself to study in China through an international exchange program at the university level. Even though the establishment of Warren's social identity as a leader in the university context is still in process, by challenging himself, he constructs his transnational identity with a careful awareness to a context larger than that involving his linguistic groups.

Multilingual Practices

Multilingual practices are often tied with transnational activities as well as with transnational consciousness. For example, Albert, Chloe and Yuria told me the significance of social relations with those who share their national language to improve university life (as described in this chapter in the case studies). The longer Albert studied in Canada, the more strongly he needed to express himself and communicate in Turkish: speaking his national language could not be separated from his everyday life in Canada. Vivid, who claimed to be a 1.4 speaker by comparing her bilingual skills with a

concept of ‘idealized native speaker’ (Leung et al., 1997), set up her surroundings with Korean materials and Korean-speaking friends that are available in Vancouver. Vivid’s struggle to construct her multilingual identity can be seen through her transnational activities and frequent trips to Korea, which she carried out to keep herself updated on the latest trends and family and friend matters. For Vivid, multilingual practices play a central role in becoming a university student (as described in this chapter). Vivid’s conversations in English with her father in Korea construct her as an elite Korean (Shin, 2012), while her use of Korean in Canada is related to the completion of her university degree. As for Linda, despite her heavy immersion in an English-speaking environment, her transnational consciousness is based on her cultural and spiritual connections with her religious beliefs, which involve reading in her national language.

Multilingual practices are often used as a strategy for gaining social and academic network access informally. Yi (2009) mentions that transnational youth are at an advantage “by acquiring tactical competencies that enable them to comfortably and skillfully operate within more than one linguistic and cultural code (Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001)” (p.124). Chloe, Vivid and Yuria take advantage of having friends with the same language backgrounds by registering in courses together for peer support, or by confirming with their peers that they comprehended the course contents. Lijo’s sport activity as a part of a university student club also promotes a multilingual space on campus, as many students in the team share the same language. Because Lijo’s cricket club was initiated with those who studied in the same program, they also exchanged academic information for peer support.

As discussed in an earlier chapter, Gee (1996) defines “Discourses” as social reproduction in a specific social, linguistic, or cultural context; “Discourses are forms of life”. In the context of university, students are expected to learn discourses to be a part of the Discourse of university. In the previous chapter, I referred to university discourses as discourses around university that include language use, academic skills, strategies and information, socialization and accessibility. Additionally, learning the university discourses often facilitate the students’ multilingual practices (Chloe, Yuria, Vivid, Alberta, Warren). That is, the multilingual FAL students use their multilingual skills as academic and social resources to help each other to learn and to adjust to university discourses. The university discourses involve selecting courses, exchanging useful

information on courses, instructors and assignments, and making the students' learning effective.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I argued that multilingual students are often affiliated with multiple sites of languages, cultures, and social groups (Discourses) in their everyday lives through transnational activities, regardless of how their transnational mobility and multilingual identities are recognized in the university community. I identified three themes in the interviews with seven focal participants: transnational activities in the private sphere; transnational activities in the public sphere; and multilingual practices. To construct transnational and multilingual identities, the multilingual FAL students bring their transnational activities into the university context, or into their private spheres, through negotiating their social, cultural, linguistic and academic needs, their struggles and their future aspirations. I now revisit the two research questions: 1) What factors have an impact on the identity formation of multilingual undergraduate university students in a first-year academic literacy course; and 2) How do these students go through the process of “becoming” a university student?

To respond to the first question, transnational activities have a significant impact on the students' construction of transnational and multilingual identities. Ghosh and Wang (2008) mention that social identity in the home country influences the immigrants' motivation to initiate transnational actions that often involve multilingual practices, and these actions have an impact on the immigrants' transnational identities. This can be seen in Warren and Yuria's cases, where their transnational activities and multilingual practices provided opportunities and locations for them to construct a more preferable identity. Moreover, Phan (2008) found that students internalize their core identity (i.e., national identity) as a reflection of their immersion in another culture, and the core identity is the foundation on which multiple identities are layered. Similarly, Albert and Lijo's core identities were strengthened by finding a bridge that connected their home activities to their new university lives. Finally, another set of transnational activities which impacted on the identity formation of my study participants was their multilingual social practices. Shin's (2012) study of Korean transnational youth identity construction

of global elites was relevant to my Korean speaking participants (Yuria, Warren and Vivid). They reflect their social identities in multiple locations (local, international and global) to find a way to earn identity capital through English and knowledge of their university lives (Bourdieu, 2000; Lee & Marshall, 2012; Shin, 2012).

The second question was, how do these students go through the process of “becoming” a university student? The processes of becoming students are dynamic and complicated for the multilingual FAL students. As Levitt and Schiller (2008) state, transnational ways of being and belonging are not consistent, but they are changing and fluid depending on one’s life stages and conditions. My study participants were greatly influenced by various transnational ways of belonging and being, independent of whether their life stage encouraged multilingual practices or not. This is the case for Linda and Vivid, who had a feeling of a lack of language ownership towards English, regardless of their university student status in Canada. Linda’s intensive immersion into an English-medium lifestyle to master her academic literacies would not let her practice her religion, whereas Vivid actively engaged in her multilingual social practices. This was accompanied by a lack of a feeling of institutional legitimacy which raised their awareness of their transnational consciousness and activities. Finally, multilingualism plays a central role in learning university discourses to become a student. Although Lee and Marshall (2012) argue that multilingual students reproduce the power and centrality of English from a larger global perspective, my study sheds light on the students’ perspective: Vivid, Yuria, Lijo and Chloe’s strategic ways of using their multilingual and transnational activities provided them with tremendous access to academic and social resources that are not written on curriculum or course outlines in university. Drawing on multilingualism in learning university discourses (academic contents, university contexts and expectations from instructors and courses) provides them with a safe and comfortable learning process. Thus, multilingual practices are informal but central in the students’ learning.

Overall, through performing diverse social and cultural roles in which they sometimes are successful and sometimes struggle, multilingual FAL students make sense of their lives continuously and construct certain desirable identities as university students. In this process, they gain linguistic, social and academic capital. To gain this capital, my focal participants showed that transnational activities and multilingual

practices are essential for their learning of university discourses from their own perspectives, bridging the institutional knowledge with the students' knowledge. Especially learning outcomes are always in English (e.g., assignments, group presentations, feedback and evaluation, the multilingual students transnational activities and multilingual practices play central roles in their university life, regardless of whether they are newcomers or more experienced members of the academic community (Lave & Wenger, 1991).

Chapter 10.

Conclusion

In this concluding chapter, I will first summarize the study and main findings of how the multilingual FAL students' identity construction took place, and show their relevance to the theoretical issues discussed earlier. Then, I will explain how my research meets the aim of the study, and answer the research questions. Finally, I will discuss the limitations of the study and make suggestions for future research.

Summary of the Study

I conducted a study of the identity construction of multilingual undergraduate university students taking the FAL course at SFU and portrayed the multilingual students' rich resources that they practice in their university lives. Recently, sociolinguistic scholars have provided some empirical research on how multilingual students' identity construction takes place in higher education (for example, Block, 2006b; Marshall, 2010a). Understanding students' identity construction is important as research consistently shows that inclusion of the students' multiple cultural identities as resources in educational settings can enhance their academic success (for example, Cummins, 2006; Norton, 2000). I conducted an ethnographic study with an interpretative approach to highlight the local contexts that the study participants and the researcher (i.e., myself) brought into the study. Conducting this type of study allowed me to participate in the interpretive process of how the multilingual FAL students and instructors make sense of their university experiences; it also allowed me to reconstruct the interpreted data theoretically through the researcher's filter and reflexivity (Davies, 2008; Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Duff, 2012b). Sixteen self-reporting EAL students and eight FAL instructors participated in my study. My data consisted of my observations of regular classroom visits of five classes taught by five instructors throughout the term.

Other data included students' assignments, my notes from the field, and my reflections regarding the study. I now summarize the study findings.

Findings

In the study, I found that the multilingual students' everyday university experiences and their learning of academic literacies impacted on their self-image, and that their transnational and multilingual practices reciprocally constructed their identities as students negotiated, accommodated, and performed various identities flexibly according to individual needs and contexts. The main finding of the study confirms that multilingual students sustain and develop multiple identities.

The multilingual FAL students in my study constructed their identities through different experiences in relation to space, time and the conditions and experiences of their everyday life as well as expectations about the future (Block, 2006a, 2006b; Duff, 2012a; Hall, 1997; Kumaravadivelu, 2008). In line with Hall's identity theory, the students continuously reconstructed their self-identity through their selective individual narratives and others' expectations of them. The students' different experiences were projected onto different facets of their identities. For example, I found that family expectations and the FAL instructors' perception of multilingual FAL students affected the identities of the students to certain degrees. In terms of the FAL instructors, their image construction of the multilingual students was based partly on instructors' past teaching, and current educational and professional backgrounds. The instructors viewed the students as newcomers in an academic community who needed to cultivate areas of interest, or as students who were not confident or motivated and needed to change their attitude. Because the FAL curriculum is intended to provide multiple modes of access for students to participate fully in university life, the FAL instructors had to negotiate their teaching to meet institutional expectations around academic literacy. Instructors thus invested in students' learning; some students took great advantage of their instructors' practices to not only gain access to academic and linguistic capital, but also to become more agentive in order to have legitimacy in the university community.

When the students' families had a strong wish for their daughters and sons to complete university degrees and become professionals, the students tried hard to meet their families' expectations. For instance, Melody was the first person in her family to enter university. Her relatives and family friends often asked her when she would graduate from university. This encouraged her to continue studying in university, and motivated her to construct a stronger identity as a university student. As for Lijo, his family also had a high expectation for his future. Lijo's mother told him to work for NASA in the future. Lijo understood that he had to perform well in his study. Thus a part of their becoming a university student entails: responding to their family's dreams, expectations, beliefs and values.

Phan's (2008) notion of core or root identity was evident in the students, although their expressions of a core sense of who they were focused not only on nationhood but also on their past academic, social and language experiences in Canada. For example, Vivid and Warren recalled their high school times as a golden time when they were leaders at school or in the dormitory. Vivid also said that in high school she could easily follow what she was supposed to do to perform well academically, while she felt that she messed up by not taking the courses in the correct order at university. Her course choices made Vivid feel less competent. Her way of feeling better about herself was to remember who she was when she first came to Canada as an international high school student. She also felt proud when she visited her family in Korea, communicating with her father in English to show her academic and language investment (Bourdieu, 2000, 2006) in North America. Similarly, Warren managed his positive self-identity through sharing the story of his leadership and passing down his old-timer knowledge to younger Korean novice university students (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998). Focusing on identities in relation to their nationhood and the past, Vivid and Warren developed a stronger core identity as Koreans. On the other hand, Linda labeled herself as a world person. Regardless of her hardships in Europe and Turkey, she interwove her core identities as Muslim, Turkish and woman into the new identities she was constructing in Canada. After Linda's labeling herself as a world person, she described the transcultural activities that she wished to engage in when she had time. Linda's statement reconfirms that she had the individual strength to respond creatively to combine her past, present

and her future aspiration of who she wished to become and to move on to the next stage of her life (Block, 2006a; Duff, 2012a; Kumaravadivelu, 2008).

Academic literacies were also shown to be a central part of the multilingual students' identity construction; academic literacy and identities were dialogically co-constructed through contexts and interactions. Linked to understandings of literacy and identity was community membership as both literacy and identity served as means to belong to academic communities. In this regard, Lave and Wenger's (1991) ideas of communities of practice and LPP were useful to analyze the inter-relationship between the FAL instructors' practices and the multilingual students' generative processes of producing their own future. In terms of the instructors, some provided minimum risk-taking work such as drills and writing exercises, taught study skills and strategies, and provided multimodality so that students could follow classroom instruction, learn academic subjects efficiently and take ownership of their learning process. Others focused on raising critical awareness, trying to legitimate the students' epistemology through teaching academic literacies (Kress, 1993; Lea & Street, 2006). Regardless of the different teaching beliefs and approaches that the instructors had, instructors' understanding of academic literacies and practices served to help the students' learning processes, and to recognize and validate the students' broader processes of becoming academic writers in university. In doing so, the instructors could support and develop the students' social and academic identities as university students (Darville, 1995; Ivanič, 2004; Lea & Street, 1998; Norton, 2010). Full participation in university from the FAL instructors' points of view meant to become an independent learner in many ways – legitimating multilingual students' voice in academia, and engaging in academic socialization to allow students to begin to form through participation in the FAL course their own community of practice in university so that they could belong in the university community.

The multilingual students' ways of understanding their academic literacies were complex. Many students cared more about learning academic terminology, perfect grammatical knowledge, and sentence structure, rather than learning literacies, in the sense of exploring and legitimating their own worldviews. For example, Carolina, Ellen and Warren wanted to master perfect knowledge in academic writing, and tried to invest in English capital. Especially Carolina and Ellen were very agentive in finding access to

learn more about being successful in university so that they could immigrate to Canada. Thus, learning academic literacies was not only important for their success in university, but also for leading to their success in life in Canada.

I also found that discourses around university played a significant role for students to gain a sense of being legitimated in their knowledge and skills along with learning academic literacies. For example, Butler's (2009) concept of performativity engages with institutional constraints and free agency in identity construction by recognizing the power of language. According to Butler (2009), by knowing and performing powerful discourses within a given public space, one can authorize/legitimate his or her voice within that space. For the multilingual FAL students in my study, academic literacies were not only a means for them to go through their university lives, but also powerful discourses that could provide access to the next stage of their life, such as working in Canada after graduation to gain eligibility to apply for immigration, bringing their family to start a new life, or becoming a professional in the field of their studies in the future. In order to refashion one's future and exercise agency, mastering and performing the dominant institutional discourse (i.e., academic literacies in university) was crucial (Butler, 2009; Pennycook, 2007).

Transnational and multilingual practices were prominent in the multilingual FAL students' everyday lives to support their emotional needs, and to give them access to everyday university information. I applied Ghosh and Wang's (2003) framework of transnational identity and consciousness to examine the interrelationship between the students' transnational and multilingual practices, the causes of these activities, and their transnational identity construction. Transnational activities were practiced as a reflection of their immersion in a different culture. The multilingual students brought their past experience into the new country and established a similar social identity to that which the students used to have and were familiar with in their respective countries of emigration. These activities included establishing university funded sport teams, student clubs, or informal social groups with the students who share the same languages other than English, and exploring the connection between the students' cultural and religious beliefs and academic subjects they were studying. In other words, the multilingual students' access to linguistic, cultural and social resources and networks were vast, often leading to translanguistic practices. Thus, the multilingual students flexibly

accommodated themselves and made sense of their experience thus constructing who they are in each situated environment and developing multiple identities (Block, 2006a; Marshall, 2009).

According to Gee (1996), Discourse (with a big D) refers to a set of taken-for-granted and shared values, beliefs and a way of reading, writing and speaking. Participation in a Discourse requires the would-be member of the community to appropriate these valued practices. When entering the university Discourse, students had to learn university Discourses in order to be legitimated university students and to survive university life. Gee's concept of Discourse could be used to emphasize enculturation in the university community. However, in my study, Discourse represents a dynamic continuum of the students' individual lifestyles, values and behaviors impacted by the institutional constraints they operated within. This process of entering the university Discourse constructed positive and negative identities for the multilingual students. Some multilingual students made great use of their transnational and multilingual practices to learn university Discourses by collecting, selecting and synthesizing the necessary information in order to become a student and to try to find a sense of belonging in the university community. Other multilingual students actually wanted to have a structured, traditional and authoritative sense of Discourse. I use "authoritative" in this context to refer to institutional and teachers' active involvement in curriculum and study management, with an aim to enabling students to become successful social actors in university (Goffman, 2008). Thus, learning university discourses was not only about learning academic literacies and subjects but also about participants learning to organize their study, to get formal and informal information about courses, and to find academic and social peer support through different agencies to perform at the level of a "good" university student. Participants respond to these Discourses through individual interactions: social, linguistic, cultural, textual, and identity performances. In this sense, Gee's D/discourse (with a big D) and discourse (with a small d) and processes of identity, belonging, and becoming come together as fluid continua.

Meeting the Aims of the Study

The purpose of the study was to provide educators with the opportunity to enrich their understandings of the dynamic and complicated identity formation processes of multilingual students taking first-year academic literacy courses such as FAL, and to bring to light their experiences of cultural, linguistic, and social negotiation in university life. As well, through the research, I aimed to build on the current literature on multilingual and transnational university students' identity from the wide range of Generation 1.5, adult immigrants, international students and Canadian born multilingual students. The study also aimed to understand multilingual undergraduate FAL students' identity construction processes in university learning environments through ethnography with an interpretative approach; the methodology and approach allowed me to gain access to and represent in my writing the complex processes of becoming that my participants negotiated in a city and learning environment characterized by demographic shifts, multilingualism and transnationalism (Statistics Canada, 2011a, 2011b; Hiebert & Ley, 2006; Kelly, 2003). Such an aim contributes to knowledge development among researchers, practitioners and multilingual students.

My contribution to the research community is that I aimed to build on on-going research on multilingual university students' identity construction by bringing in the multilingual students' perspectives. Thus I aimed to contribute to the literature that views being multilingual as an asset, rather than labeling multilingual students as ESL speakers who need to make more effort to fit in to the English medium academic community. Beck's (2007) study of international students in higher education found that international students "are developing networks outside of their home and connections that are moving them towards a cosmopolitan identity" (p. 269). Beck's statement on international students also fits the students in my study, even though some are Generation 1.5, some are new immigrants, and some were born in Canada. The multilingual FAL students developed networks creatively to fulfill their academic, social and professional needs, and these extracurricular activities allowed them to construct more mature identities as university students in Canada. Thus, the students' transnational and multilingual activities and their efforts to earn membership in the university Discourse should be recognized as useful resources. These students'

contexts should be included in defining ESL or EAL students rather than viewing them as deficient and challenged. Therefore, my contribution is to review and update the notion of English as a second language through the theoretical frameworks of multiple identities and the transnational nature of immigrants and English learners' lifestyles (Block, 2006b; Ghosh & Wang, 2003; Hall, 1992; Marshall, 2010a; Phan, 2008; Wenger & Lave, 1991). In this regard, it was useful to examine how the multilingual students' identities were influenced and constructed through their interactions in class and with outside resources and agencies.

With regards to practitioners, my aim was to provide the opportunity to enrich their understandings of the dynamic and complicated processes of multilingual students' identity formation by providing several cases of how participants brought their multilingual and transnational practices into the university community, and how they flexibly negotiated, accommodated and adjusted their ways of being and becoming a university student. Hammersley (1995) pointed out that an ethnographic study does not provide direct advice or implementation towards decision making unless multiple studies are conducted for a specific case. This is because findings from ethnographic studies are usually limited to the contexts of each specific study. Within this limitation I feel, nonetheless, that my stance does have broader scope as it follows that of many other scholars who argue that a deficit view of multilingual students, regardless of labeling them as ESL, EAL or multilingual, promotes deficit ideology to the practitioners and students and limits the students' opportunities and possibilities (Waterstone, 2008). Although it may be difficult to apply the results of my study to other contexts, at the same time, practitioners may still find some ideas in this research that are relevant to their own practices and settings.

To the multilingual students, I intended to bring to light their linguistic, transnational and multilingual experiences of university life, hoping that they find more ways to make use of their transnational, transcultural, and multilingual practices in university life. I also hope that the students' participation in my study provided opportunities for them to reflect on their university life and future and to encourage them to feel that, although they are at a disadvantage in many respects, their rich experiences can also serve as an advantage in terms of becoming a university student.

Research Questions

1. What factors have an impact on the identity formation of multilingual undergraduate university students in a first-year academic literacy course?

Lave and Wenger (1991) stated that “[Learning] involves the construction of identities” (p. 53). In my study, through learning in university, the multilingual students gained diverse experiences. These experiences, and their reflection of the past, present and future, impacted on their identity formation by deconstructing and reconstructing identities with a sense of struggle, nostalgia, superiority or challenge, depending on the context. These experiences were about family expectations and support, students’ transnational and multilingual practices, and their university learning.

Lee and Marshall (2012) stated that multilingual students creatively invest their “capital through English” (p.78) and that this phenomenon can also contribute to the reproduction of global inequality, which “concomitantly increases the dominance of the capital of English” (p.78). In my study, English impacted on students’ identity formation greatly: e.g., through taking the academic literacies course, family expectations to complete a university degree, becoming eligible to apply for immigration upon their completion of a university degree, investing in their future by studying in an English speaking country, and becoming a professional in the future. To fulfill these purposes, academic literacies were an essential part of their lives. Participants’ multilingual practices equally influenced their identity construction, and students invested their global capital through multilingual practices in different contexts. For example, as discussed in the findings section, students were fully aware of taking advantage of their national languages and transnational activities to have more access to academic and social information to survive in university. Through their use of their national language and transnational activities, the multilingual students represented who they were, and reconstructed their core identity (Phan, 2008).

Ghosh and Wang (2008) argued that immigrants’ or international students’ lives need a good balance. For them, good balance is developing a similar social identity to the one from the home country. In my study, some students established and joined sport clubs and student clubs, or found friends with the same linguistic background, or

had constant contact with their family online. The multilingual students tried to create an environment that reminded them of home. The multilingual FAL students' transnational activities were not only the result of raised transnational consciousness, but also of the need to access academic and social information. These activities often encouraged multilingual practices, having an impact on transnational and multilingual identities. Furthermore, in their struggle in studying at a Canadian university, they found more comfort using their national language. This appeared in Vivid's self-description as a 1.4 speaker (see Chapter 7). Shin's (2008) study of Korean youth was relevant in my study as well. Not only Korean students, but also students from other countries, regardless whether they could be described as international students, Generation 1.5, or other term, tended to strengthen their core identities as well as earning social and global capital in their national/local context.

The multilingual students negotiated and accommodated different identities in different contexts to respond to different situations and challenges. They also had individual strength to select an alternate life trajectory by foreseeing the future with dreams and hope (Block, 2006a; Duff, 2012a; Kumaravadivelu, 2008). For example, Linda's hardship in her past (see Chapter 7) made her stronger and wiser to author her life to become a freer agent by referring to herself as a world person (Butler, 2009; Pennycook, 2007).

2. How do these students go through the process of "becoming" a university student?

To answer this research question, I revisited Hall's view of identity construction as "a matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being'" (1997, p. 52). The notion of becoming places emphasis on on-going identities: that identity is a fluid, selective collection of individual stories to create the story of 'me' in relation to the interlocutor, time and space. In the context of becoming a university student, for the multilingual students in my study, the salient keywords to answer the question are agency, university discourses, and university Discourse. Agency refers to actively seeking access to the university community. Agencies, in the context of the study, were not only taking action in a formal sense to gain access to university, such as participation in their classes, and with instructors, academic advisors, and reacting to information on the university's home

page, but also through interacting with the multilingual students' friends, multilingual communities, their own multilinguality, independent attitude and learning philosophy. In all of these cases, individuals' agencies were discursively constructed around the powerful social and academic Discourses that they encountered in their daily lives. Within university practices, I also witnessed tension. Yuria mentioned that she was somebody when she was in high school but became nobody in university since she was unable to participate in a community where she felt comfortable and recognized. Therefore, Yuria joined students clubs and initiated communication with her classmates. Her attempts to become a member of the university Discourse were responded to as she was lining up to warm up her lunch box in a small kitchenette area. While sharing stories of struggles and challenges, some students seemed to resist accepting their negative experiences. Several students shared the negative and pleasant stories at the same time to maintain self-esteem. It seemed to me that the process of becoming a university student sometimes involves resistance - denying the construction of a negative self-image through the process of becoming a university student.

On the other hand, some students were more proactive in gaining legitimacy. Their reason for participating in my study was to communicate with an international graduate student who also does not have English as the first language, to find some insightful advice and information on how to improve their academic skills or how to apply for immigration or graduate programs in the future. Some students found agency within the university, while others relied on their multilingual communities. Either way, these students not only received support from their communities, they also strove to keep their self-confidence and dignity. For example, Dave wanted to participate in my study because he wanted to help a graduate student. Dave also mentioned that peer support is a way to survive university. According to Dave, a give-and-take relationship with classmates was important. In short, the students who wanted to keep their positive attitude in many circumstances were agentive in gaining educational capital from experienced old-timers. They used the gained capital to fully participate in the university Discourse and to challenge the discursive construction of the traditional image of the multilingual students as limited (Lave & Wenger, 1991).

3. How do academic literacy course instructors understand the identities of their first-year students?

The FAL instructors' perceptions of students varied due to their past educational and professional backgrounds. While those who projected traditional deficit views of ESL onto the multilingual FAL students saw them as quiet, less motivated and less self-confident, others welcomed students as new members of the university community who need academic socialization with others to feel a sense of belonging. These instructors believed that the multilingual students should explore academic interests through English, rather than prioritizing the mastering of perfect grammatical skills. For these instructors, academic literacies should be a vehicle to convey the students' thoughts, ideas and opinions to be recognized at a higher education level. Therefore, their pedagogical challenge was to infuse academic discourses in classes, to explore the students' worldviews, imagine the multilingual students' futures, and contribute to students' identity co-construction. In other words, the students' academic identities were constituted through the instructors' understanding of full participation in university and the students' understanding of this process (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998). From such a perspective, students were seen as bringing multiple resources to university and being able to select from their transnational, transcultural and multilingual communities to generate the process of refashioning their future (Pennycook, 2007).

4. What are the implications for pedagogical practices of having multilingual students in the FAL classroom?

To respond to this question, it is important to recognize the rich resources that multilingual students bring into university. Hornberger (2003) defines biliteracy as the students' language repertoires and literacy continuum that are "the dynamic, rapidly changing, and sometimes contested spaces" (p. xiv) and points out that multilingual students can extend their biliteracy skills through interactions of highly complex facets of linguistic, material and educational resources. This means that the multilingual FAL students' languages other than English contribute greatly to their academic literacy development. Therefore, I suggest instructors should reconsider how to connect the students' resources with the FAL teaching pedagogy.

First, it should be mentioned that globalization and transnationalism have rapidly increased multilingual students' academic, social and linguistic resources, allowing them to connect with their own language resources in person as well as online. With

reference to the “realities of complexly multilingual contexts, richly diverse repertoires of communicative media, socially constructed meanings in textual content, and multiple potential trajectories of multilingual language and literacy” (Hornberger, 2007, p.333), Hornberger recommended classroom dialogue to connect the multiple, languages, meanings, narratives, and literacies. As well, Canagarajah (2009) claimed that “we can't expect multilinguals to make accommodations one-sidedly” (p. 45). Therefore, meaningful classroom dialogue to achieve mutual agreement or disagreement is important. Educators, therefore, should encourage meaningful activities that enable students to inquire and explore multiple meanings of topics or concepts from different perspectives such as personal, cultural, national, political, and academic; this in turn may encourage the students to contest ideas institutionally. In my study, I found that the students' and instructors' understandings of academic literacies were not always the same, as described in Chapter 8. I would speculate that similar differences would occur around understandings of multilingualism, which was not covered in my study. As these understandings play a key role in students' becoming and their interactions with instructors, I would argue that learning spaces should be opened up for debate around these issues so that students may feel comfortable to share their points of view, maintain their self-esteem and confidence and negotiate meanings to challenge, problematize and even subvert dominant discourses from multiple perspectives (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). This type of dialogue over the meanings of concepts should be “a logical outcome of this inequality: it may take place between individuals, [...] and, most importantly, between institutions and those they are supposed to serve” (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004, p. 3). I believe, therefore, that multilingual students should engage in contesting and challenging their views and values in courses such as FAL to invest their academic and linguistic capital as part of developing identities as university students (Bourdieu, 1982, 2000). Thus, the pedagogical goal of an academic literacies course is not only teaching skills and socialization, but also offering an educational space for students to explore their worldviews to include them in the academic community (Lea & Street, 1998).

Another pedagogical implication is that “educators should encourage students to mobilise strategies transferable from their inherited learning culture whilst exploring and benefiting from alternative or new ways of learning” (Wang & Byram, 2011, p.421).

According to Wang and Byram's study of Chinese sojourning students in a British university, the students can be very creative in their learning in terms of combining their values, beliefs and culture of learning with those of the new environment, to make their learning efforts successful and rewarding as a result. In my study, most students made tremendous efforts to become a legitimate student through the FAL course, and transnational and multilingual practices. The students' learning processes were sometimes challenging and required self-reflection of their past, present as well as keeping a strong future aspiration. The students also had to be agentive and creative to find a way to feel comfortable and have a sense of belonging. Thus, educators should recognize students' cultural and educational values, not from textbooks or stereotypical assumptions, but from discussing what kinds of learning are effective in class and outside class from the students' perspectives. They should also consider ways to accommodate and extend their teaching into their students' ways of learning, as well as how their students negotiate learning in different ways.

Research Limitations

Although the study attained the research aim and responded to the questions, it has at least three limitations, related to the continuity of the study over time and methodological limitations. The first limitation of the study is in its continuity over time; I could not do a continuous monitoring of the students' university lives and multilingual practices. Although I visited five different classes throughout the term, I could only grasp a limited number of facets of the students' everyday lives during a period of four to six months. It could have been more helpful to see how the multilingual FAL students negotiate, challenge and accommodate what they have learnt in the FAL course in the contexts of other courses: in other words, how the students apply their learnt knowledge as they continue the processes of becoming university students. I realized the importance of following up the students' lives over a longer term when I received an email from Carolina, one of the multilingual FAL students who participated in my study. Carolina e-mailed me a note after the term that I had visited her class. She attached her writing document, and wrote me:

I have great great news for you. I got A- in that paper [from one of the social science courses]. I was so desperate in the beginning, but this grade was a relief for me. It is the proof that I am on the right path. I was so happy, because in this class there are just a few international students, the majority is Canadian. So, to get an A- meant a lot to me. I am sending you the paper, just in case if you need it for your survey. Thanks for everything. (Carolina, Personal communication, October 10, 2009)

Carolina's message made me feel very happy that she successfully used her knowledge in this class where there were many "Canadians" with a few international students. This experience seemed to give her strong confidence to move on to the next stage of her university life – full participation in the university. To understand the multilingual students' identity construction in the context of university, it is important to see how this university experience helps their post-graduate lives. It would be beneficial to learn how knowledge learnt during my study would help participants in their future lives, rather than having to imagine and speculate.

The second limitation of the study is its lack of potential for generalization to other contexts. My study of multilingual FAL students is highly context-based due to the situated learning and living environments of the students. Hammersley (2005) argued that an ethnographic study allows us to produce and legitimate knowledge from diverse situations by focusing on the local context of the study participants, but it does not generalize into a solution for different cases. The multilingual FAL students in my study live in a highly multilingual city. The multilingual students' identity construction in the context of university might not be the same in less multilingual or in monolingual regions, as the students' transnational, transcultural and multilingual practices in such contexts may be more limited, or may not be as available as in the university where these practices are visibly active. However, my research may encourage institutional leaders and educators to rethink and promote multilingualism as an opportunity to all the students on campus. For instance, the University of British Columbia made the study of foreign language courses a requirement to graduate from university. This language course requirement policy could be a response to rapid globalization, and has nothing to do with supporting the multilingual students' identities in a direct way. However, it does serve to foster a more multilingual environment on campus, and thus promotes multilingualism at an institutional level. This kind of support can create a comfortable

space for students' multilingual and transnational practices, and it could become normalized. Hence, multilingual students' identities from the students' perspective are affirmed, and students get involved in educating other students as part of a life-long education for living in a globalizing world.

The third limitation of the study arises from the etic and emic approach that I chose for my methodology. My passion for initiating research on this topic was a reflection of my own experiences in the North American academic life. I was desperately searching for legitimacy and a sense of belonging to the community, and a way of revising the traditional notion of ESL academically. In the ethnographic study with an interpretive approach, I played the role of the research instrument, which is necessary in a qualitative study but can also become a limitation of the research. I was an insider (as a multilingual student), having in-depth understanding of multilingual FAL students' identity construction, and an outsider (as a researcher) when I analyzed the data theoretically. However, the borderline between etic and emic became blurred as I was the one who carefully selected theories, interpreted the data, and made decisions of what and how to describe the findings while also incorporating self-reflexivity through reading and interpreting the data. This self-selected or reported approach to the study could be a limitation in terms of generalization; however, it is also a strength since it produces context-specific knowledge. Furthermore, the multilingual FAL students' individual narrative stories shared with me were also self-reports. My research goal of inquiring into the multilingual FAL students' university lives is thus on-going and open in the future, which confirms that the students' identity formation is a dynamic and continuous process. I illustrated their trajectory of being and becoming a student: challenges, struggles, agentive attitude and behaviors, which were not restricted by my research. In addition to applying a theoretical framework as an etic approach, I included the practitioners' voice in my research so that they could provide their experiences and understandings of teaching academic literacies and multilingual students' identity construction, to gain in-depth local constructed understanding from an emic perspective (Hammersley, 2005).

Many questions remain in my mind with regard to the need for continued research: How will these multilingual students fare in their post-graduate lives? How did the multilingual students subvert the dominant discourses to attain their academic or

professional goals? What do changing transnational, transcultural and multilingual practices mean to them? If they return to their home country after graduation, how do they renegotiate their transnational and multilingual identities in their “other” country in the context of globalization?

Now I end my dissertation with a hope that the multilingual students will fully participate in the university community in multiple ways to be successful in the globalizing world.

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Appendices

Appendix A.

Recruitment Letters to Study Participants

Recruitment Statement to the FAL Instructors

Hello, I am Hisako Hayashi, a doctoral candidate in the Faculty of Education, Simon Fraser University. As a part of the degree requirement for Philosophy of Education, I am working on my thesis entitled tentatively, *Becoming a Student: English as an Additional Language (EAL) Learners' Identity Formation in a Multicultural University*, supervised by Dr. Steve Marshall. The purpose of this study is to provide educators the opportunity to enrich their understanding of the complex relationship between students' identities formation and academic literacy.

I am here today to ask for your participation in my study. I am looking for 10-20 (students), and 3-5 (instructor) participants for interviews, class visitations and analysis of your (interviewed students') course required projects and assignments. If you agree on that, I would like to come to your classroom and recruit your students in class.

There is no risk to participants (i.e., you) as 1) you may withdraw from the study at any time without any consequences or any explanation, 2) if you withdraw from the study, data will be used ONLY if you agree to this, and 3) you have choices not to answer or respond. A pseudonym will be used, and the data of this study will maintain confidentiality of name and the contributions the participants have made to the extent allowed by the law.

There will be one interview with instructors. The interview will take 30 minutes to one hour. If there are unclear statements from you after the interviews, I will follow up with you by email or by your most convenient choice.

Regarding the class visitations, I would like to video-tape your class. For those who are not willing to be in the tape, I will arrange the room so that you and your voice are not recorded. For those not wishing to be participants as part of a class, their refusal to participate will have no adverse effects on your grades or evaluation in the class or course.

The research will be confidential. I will not release your faces, name, and personal information as the recorded tapes will be used only by me. It means that I am going to show only analyzed data with some quotations either in a written, or part of recorded voice (as coded data) without physical appearances in academic conferences, in academic publication, or any kinds of education professional development workshops, any information that might identify participants will be changed or removed in order to guarantee anonymity.

This study will be beneficial to teaching pedagogy in understanding how teachers can see beyond individual students, the class, or the local school learning community, and how learning environments and learners co-construct identities as learners. From this point of view, educators will be able to reflect on their practices in culturally, and socially diverse classrooms, and the researchers in this field will gain knowledge of the study. I really appreciate your contribution to your study.

If you have further inquiry, please contact me at (██████████) or ██████████.

Sincerely yours,
Hisako Hayashi, (██████████)
Ph.D. candidate, Faculty of Education

Recruitment Statement to the Students

Hello, I am Hisako Hayashi, a doctoral candidate in the Faculty of Education, Simon Fraser University. As a part of the degree requirement for Philosophy of Education, I am working on my thesis entitled tentatively, *Becoming a Student: English as an Additional Language (EAL) Learners' Identity Formation in a Multicultural University*, supervised by Dr. Steve Marshall. The purpose of this study is to provide educators the opportunity to enrich their understanding of the complex relationship between students' identities formation and academic literacy.

I am here today to ask for your participation in my study. I am looking for 10-20 (students), and class visitations and analysis of your (interviewed students') course required projects and assignments.

For those who are willing to respond my interviews, there is no risk to participants (i.e., you) as 1) you may withdraw from the study at any time without any consequences or any explanation, 2) if you withdraw from the study, data will be used ONLY if you agree to this, and 3) you have choices not to answer or respond questions and not to submit the course assignments/projects. A pseudonym will be used, and the data of this study will maintain confidentiality of name and the contributions the participants have made to the extent allowed by the law.

There will be two interview sessions for students. Each interview will take 30 minutes to one hour. If there are unclear statements from you after the interviews, I will follow up with you by email or by your most convenient choice. As for your projects and assignments for the course, I will use them as secondary data. It means that you are working on your assignments as your course requirements, not for my research. I will borrow them with your agreement. It will have no adverse effects on your academic record.

Regarding the class visitations, that means all of you in class, I would like to video-tape the class. For those who are not willing to be in the tape, I will arrange the room so that you and your voice are not recorded. For those not wishing to be participants as part of a class, their refusal to participate will have no adverse effects on your grades or evaluation in the class or course.

The research will be confidential. I will not release your faces, name, and personal information as the recorded tapes will be used only by me. It means that I am going to show only analyzed data with some quotations either in a written, or part of recorded voice (as coded data) without physical appearances in academic conferences, in academic publication, or any kinds of education professional development workshops, any information that might identify participants will be changed or removed in order to guarantee anonymity.

This study will be beneficial to teaching pedagogy in understanding how teachers can see beyond individual students, the class, or the local school learning community, and how learning environments and learners co-construct identities as learners. From this point of view, educators will be able to reflect on their practices in culturally, and socially diverse classrooms, and the researchers in this field will gain knowledge of the study. I really appreciate your contribution to your study.

If you have further inquiry, please contact me at ([REDACTED]) or [REDACTED].

Sincerely yours,
Hisako Hayashi ([REDACTED])
Ph.D. candidate, Faculty of Education

Appendix B.

Permission Forms

Informed Consent by Participants in a Research Study [Instructors]

The University and those conducting this research study subscribe to the ethical conduct of research and to the protection at all times of the interests, comfort, and safety of participants. This research is being conducted under permission of the Simon Fraser Research Ethics Board. The chief concern of the Board is for the health, safety and psychological well-being of research participants.

Should you wish to obtain information about your rights as a participant in research, or about the responsibilities of researchers, or if you have any questions, concerns or complaints about the manner in which you were treated in this study, please contact the Director, Office of Research Ethics by email at [REDACTED] or phone at 778-782-6593.

Your signature on this form will signify that you have received a document which describes the procedures, whether there are possible risks, and benefits of this research study, that you have received an adequate opportunity to consider the information in the documents describing the study, and that you voluntarily agree to participate in the study.

Hello, I am Hisako Hayashi, a doctoral candidate in the Faculty of Education, Simon Fraser University. As a part of the degree requirement for Philosophy of Education, I am working on my thesis entitled tentatively, *Becoming a Student: English as an Additional Language (EAL) Learners' Identity Formation in a Multicultural University*, supervised by Dr. Steve Marshall. The purpose of this study is to provide educators the opportunity to enrich their understanding of the complex relationship between students' identity formation and micro (individual condition) and macro (demographic change from on-going globalization) levels of changes. Thus, the goal of the study is to provide more study of identity formation processes in the context of a globalizing university community.

I am writing this to ask your informed consent to interview you, and videotape you in your classroom. I will record interview with you, if you prefer not to be recorded, I will take a note of your interview. If there are unclear statements from you after the interview, I will follow up with you by email or by your most convenient choice. With your agreement through a consent form below, I would like to include casual/informal talk with you about the course, and the classroom environment as data. As for the videotaping, I will videotape your teaching, teaching materials, classroom settings in the class.

I will analyze the interview transcripts to look for evidences of how the instructor construct the classroom and environment, how instructor communicate with students. I will compare this data with videotaped observation, looking at the same issues.

There is no risk to you as 1) it is voluntary, 2) you may withdraw from being taped at any time without any consequences or any explanation, 3) if you withdraw from the study, data will be used ONLY if you agree to this, 4) you choices not to answer or respond to questions. If you are not willing to be in the video-tape, I will adjust the angle for videotaping not to be shown. A pseudonym will be used, and the data of this study will maintain confidentiality of name and the contributions you have made to the extent allowed by the law.

The research will be confidential. I would not release your face, name, and personal information as the recorded tapes will be used only by me without your permission. It means that I am going to show only analyzed data with some quotations in a written form, or a part of recorded voice (as coded data) without physical appearance in academic conferences, in academic publication, or any kinds of education professional development workshops, any information that might identify you will be changed or removed in order to guarantee anonymity.

This study will be beneficial to teaching pedagogy in understanding how teachers can see beyond individual students, the class, or the local school learning community, and how learning environments and learners co-construct identities as learners. From this point of view, educators will be able to reflect on their practices of how they may participate the students' identity formation in culturally, and socially diverse classrooms, and the researchers in this field will gain knowledge of the study. I really appreciate your contribution to your study.

I understand that I may withdraw my participation in this study at any time. I also understand that I may register any complaint with the Director of the Office of Research Ethics.

Dr. Hal Weinberg Director, Office of Research Ethics Office of Research Ethics Simon Fraser University 8888 University Drive Multi-Tenant Facility Burnaby, B.C. V5A 1S6
hal_weinberg@sfu.ca

I may obtain copies of the results of this study, upon its completion by contacting: Hisako Hayashi, contact by email (hisakohayashi@gmail.com), deliver by email or if hard copies are needed, I will submit upon your request.

I understand the risks and contributions of my participation in this study and agree to participate:

Please sign here if you agree to take an interview:

Signature _____

Please sign here if you agree to have follow-ups, including casual/informal talk as data:

Signature _____

Please sign here if you agree to be videotaped in your class. (class visitations)

Signature: _____

Last Name: _____ First Name: _____

Your contact information:

Date (use format MM/DD/YYYY) : _____

Contact information at a future time [Email, telephone or address]:

Signature: _____

Informed Consent by Participants in a Research Study [Students]

– for *Interviewing students and their secondary data*
(i.e., the course required assignments/projects)

The University and those conducting this research study subscribe to the ethical conduct of research and to the protection at all times of the interests, comfort, and safety of participants. This research is being conducted under permission of the Simon Fraser Research Ethics Board. The chief concern of the Board is for the health, safety and psychological well-being of research participants.

Should you wish to obtain information about your rights as a participant in research, or about the responsibilities of researchers, or if you have any questions, concerns or complaints about the manner in which you were treated in this study, please contact the Director, Office of Research Ethics by email at [REDACTED] or phone at 778-782-6593.

Your signature on this form will signify that you have received a document which describes the procedures, whether there are possible risks, and benefits of this research study, that you have received an adequate opportunity to consider the information in the documents describing the study, and that you voluntarily agree to participate in the study.

Hello, I am Hisako Hayashi, a doctoral candidate in the Faculty of Education, Simon Fraser University. As a part of the degree requirement for Philosophy of Education, I am working on my thesis entitled tentatively, *Becoming a Student: English as an Additional Language (EAL) Learners' Identity Formation in a Multicultural University*, supervised by Dr. Steve Marshall. The purpose of this study is to provide educators the opportunity to enrich their understanding of the complex relationship between students' identities formation and academic literacy.

I am writing this to ask your informed consent to interview you twice (in the first half of the term, and at the end the term), and submit your course-required assignments/projects upon my request. The interviews will be recorded with your permission. If not, I will ask you if I can take a note during the interview. I may also contact you if I need follow up to clarify your interview during the analysis stage. Your course required assignments/projects is to see the process of how you explore your voice in writing. I will analyze the written texts to see how your identity is represented in your writing. This will involve me looking for words and sentences in which your voices as a writer come through.

There is no risk to you as 1) it is voluntary, 2) you may withdraw from being taped at any time without any consequences or any explanation, 3) if you discontinue from the study, data will be used ONLY if you agree to this, 4) you have choices not to answer or respond questions, and not to submit the course required assignments/projects to me. Refusal to participate or withdrawal from this study at any time will have no adverse effects on your grades or evaluation in the class or course. A pseudonym will be used, and the data of this study will maintain confidentiality of name and the contributions you have made to the extent allowed by the law.

The research will be confidential. I will not release your face, name, and personal information as the recorded tapes will be used only by me. It means that I am going to show only analyzed data with some quotations either in a written, or a part of recorded voice without physical appearance, a part of your course required assignment/project in academic conferences, in academic publication, or any kinds of education professional development workshops, any information that might identify you will be changed or removed in order to guarantee anonymity.

This study will be beneficial to teaching pedagogy in understanding how teachers can see beyond individual students, the class, or the local school learning community, and how learning environments and learners co-construct the identities formation as learners. From this point of view, educators will be able to reflect on their practices in culturally, and socially diverse

classrooms, and the researchers in this field will gain knowledge of the study. I really appreciate your contribution to your study.

If you have further inquiry, please contact me at ([REDACTED]) or [REDACTED].

Sincerely yours,

Hisako Hayashi ([REDACTED])

Ph.D. candidate, Faculty of Education

I understand that I may withdraw my participation at any time. I also understand that I may register any complaint with the Director of the Office of Research Ethics.

Dr. Hal Weinberg Director, Office of Research Ethics Office of Research Ethics Simon Fraser University 8888 University Drive Multi-Tenant Facility Burnaby, B.C. V5A 1S6 [REDACTED]

I may obtain copies of the results of this study, upon its completion by contacting: Hisako Hayashi, contact by email, deliver by email or if hard copies are needed, I will submit upon your request.

I understand the risks and contributions of my participation in this study and agree to participate:

Please sign here if you agree to take a part of interviews:

Signature _____

Please sign here if you agree to have follow-ups:

Signature _____

Please sign here if you agree to provide the secondary data (course assignments/projects) upon my request.

Signature: _____

Last Name: _____ First Name: _____

Your contact information:

Date (use format MM/DD/YYYY) : _____

Contact information at a future time [Email, telephone or address]:

Signature: _____

Informed Consent by Participants in a Research Study [Videotaping]

[this goes to all the students in class]

The University and those conducting this research study subscribe to the ethical conduct of research and to the protection at all times of the interests, comfort, and safety of participants. This research is being conducted under permission of the Simon Fraser Research Ethics Board. The chief concern of the Board is for the health, safety and psychological well-being of research participants.

Should you wish to obtain information about your rights as a participant in research, or about the responsibilities of researchers, or if you have any questions, concerns or complaints about the manner in which you were treated in this study, please contact the Director, Office of Research Ethics by email at [REDACTED] or phone at 778-782-6593.

Your signature on this form will signify that you have received a document which describes the procedures, whether there are possible risks, and benefits of this research study, that you have received an adequate opportunity to consider the information in the documents describing the study, and that you voluntarily agree to participate in the study.

Hello, I am Hisako Hayashi, a doctoral candidate in the Faculty of Education, Simon Fraser University. As a part of the degree requirement for Philosophy of Education, I am working on my thesis entitled tentatively, *Becoming a Student: English as an Additional Language (EAL) Learners' Identity Formation in a Multicultural University*, supervised by Dr. Steve Marshall. The purpose of this study is to provide educators the opportunity to enrich their understanding of the complex relationship between students' identities formation and academic literacy.

I am writing this to ask your informed consent to video-tape your participation in the class. I will be using a video camera, taking the class focusing on the way you communicate with your classmates, and respond to the instructor.

There is no risk to you as 1) it is voluntary, 2) you may withdraw from being taped at any time without any consequences or any explanation, 3) if you withdraw from the study, data will be used ONLY if you agree to this. For those who are not willing to be in the video-tape, I will arrange the room so that you and your voice are not recorded. Refusal to participate or withdrawal from this study at any time will have no adverse effects on your grades or evaluation in the class or course. A pseudonym will be used, and the data of this study will maintain confidentiality of name and the contributions you have made to the extent allowed by the law.

The research will be confidential. I will not release your face, name, and personal information as the recorded tapes will be used only by me. It means that I am going to show only analyzed data with some quotations either in a written, or part of recorded voice (as coded data) without physical appearance in academic conferences, in academic publication, or any kinds of education professional development workshops, any information that might identify participants will be changed or removed in order to guarantee anonymity.

This study will be beneficial to teaching pedagogy in understanding how teachers can see beyond individual students, the class, or the local school learning community, and how learning environments and learners co-construct identities as learners. From this point of view, educators will be able to reflect on their practices in culturally, and socially diverse classrooms, and the researchers in this field will gain knowledge of the study. I really appreciate your contribution to your study.

If you have further inquiry, please contact me at ([REDACTED]) or ([REDACTED]).

Sincerely yours,
Hisako Hayashi ([REDACTED])
Ph.D. candidate, Faculty of Education

I understand that I may withdraw my participation at any time. I also understand that I may register any complaint with the Director of the Office of Research Ethics.

Dr. Hal Weinberg Director, Office of Research Ethics Office of Research Ethics Simon Fraser University 8888 University Drive Multi-Tenant Facility Burnaby, B.C. V5A 1S6 [REDACTED]

I may obtain copies of the results of this study, upon its completion by contacting: Hisako Hayashi, contact by email, deliver by email or if hard copies are needed, I will submit upon your request.

I understand the risks and contributions of my participation in this study and agree to participate:

Please fill in this area. Print legibly.

Last Name: _____ First Name: _____

Your contact information:

Date (use format MM/DD/YYYY) : _____

Contact information at a future time [Email, telephone or address]:

Signature: _____

Appendix C.

Interview Questions to Study Participants

Interview Questions for Students for the First Interview Session

1. Transitional experiences that can involve changes and challenges through your or your family's immigration:
 - a. I would like to hear about your migration to Canada. [Prompt: yourself, your family, memorable stories of settling down in a new country]
 - b. What challenges have you faced as a student in Canada? [Prompt: schools, university, friends, language]
 - c. I am interested in identities. Tell me about your identity or identities. [Prompt: student, family, non-students issues]

2. Home:
 - a. How do you use languages at home? [Prompt: each family member]
 - b. What is valued the most in your family?
 - c. Who is/was in charge of your educational goal? What kinds of support have you received from your family?
 - d. Are there any differences from your home countries or your parents' educational values or expectations?

3. School:
 - a. Let's talk about school in Canada. How was it?
 - b. In what ways was school in your home country like and unlike school here? Do you have any stories to share with me? [this question is for new immigrants, not Canadian born]
 - c. What was your most challenging experience at school? [Prompt: classroom, peer, instructors, environments]
 - d. What were the major changes in your life style through schooling?
 - e. How did you deal with these changes?
 - f. How do you get used to university life, classes and studies?
 - g. What do you care about the most when you're in class?
 - h. What do you care about the most for your assignments?

4. Language:
 - a. How did you learn academic subjects in English to enter university?
 - b. What was your most memorable story about your English learning experience since living in Canada, or taking the FAL course?
 - c. What was your most rewarding experience of having English as an Additional language?
 - d. Tell me a bit about the differences between academic language vs. everyday language? How did you learn each language?
 - e. What does *English* mean for you?

5. Community:
 - a. What does community mean to you?
 - i. Community is where I
 - b. Which community did/do belong to, and why?
 - i. Who introduced you?
 - ii. What did/do you do in this group?
 - iii. How do you describe yourself in this community?
 - c. Would you tell me your current challenges in your university life?

The 2nd Interview with Students

1. How did you find the FAL course? (Prompt: learning process, environments, challenges, achievement, aha moment)
2. What did you learn the most out of the FAL course?
3. What was your most memorable story about taking the FAL course?
4. How will the FAL course help you in university life?
5. Will you describe how you identify yourself in the university community?

Interview Questions to FAL Instructors

1. Would you describe your students to me? [Prompt: first impression, who they are, why in FAL]
2. What do you care about most when communicating with students inside and outside the classroom?
3. What do you focus on when you teach academic literacy courses?
4. Have you witnessed transitional moments of students' learning attitude, in other words, do you see how EAL students understand, negotiate and experience their identity formation as learners in your class?
5. Would you tell me memorable stories with students in this course?

Appendix D.

Background Information

Student's Background Information [*Interviewed Students]

NAME: _____

Preferred name in my thesis: _____

CONTACT INFORMATION (email or phone #) _____

ENTRANCE YEAR OF UNIVERSITY _____

DEPARTMENT _____

HOME LANGUAGE (or FIRST LANGUAGE) _____

OTHER LANGUAGES _____

Where (countries, cities or town) were you brought up?

Which country did you attend K-12 schools, what was the language of instruction?

- Kindergarten _____
- Elementary (Primary) School _____
- Secondary/Middle/High School _____

When did you come to Canada (or North America)? _____

Please draw your multi-lingual language map (if you speak more than three languages)

- Which language do you speak with whom (community, each family members, school etc.)?

Instructor's Background Information

NAME: _____

Preferred name in my thesis: _____

CONTACT INFORMATION (email or phone #) _____

THE # of terms as FAL INSTRUCTOR _____

HOME LANGUAGE (or FIRST LANGUAGE) _____

OTHER LANGUAGES _____

Where (countries, cities or town) were you brought up?

Which country did you attend K-12 schools, what was the language of instruction?

- Kindergarten _____
- Elementary (Primary) School _____
- Secondary/Middle/High School _____

When did you come to Canada (or North America) if you are not from Canada? _____