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The minority ethnic group experience in Scottish higher education

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Doctor of Philosophy

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March 2006

Declaration

I declare this thesis to be my own work, except where specifically stated in the text. The study was conducted between October 1999 and March 2006 under the supervision of Dr Nicki Hedge and Dr Esther Daborn, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy under the regulations of the University of Glasgow.
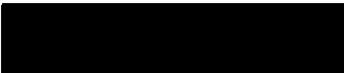
Kathleen McMillan   Dundee, 31st March 2006

Acknowledgements

Abstract

This study explores the contexts and learning experiences of a group of minority ethnic group learners as higher education students in the University of Dundee. The study positions such students within the wider heterogeneous minority ethnic communities resident in Scotland and longitudinally maps their increasing participation in Scottish higher education. The research serves a scoping purpose, aiming to examine the influences, values, attitudes, behaviours and policies that affect the learning experiences of these bilingual minority ethnic group students in the monocultural and monolingual Scottish educational system. An initial exploration of these factors lays the foundation for the further aim of appraising the ways in which ethnicity, cultural values and bilingualism contribute to the learning profile of such students. This leads to the additional aim of assessing whether resident bilingual students have unacknowledged needs as learners in higher education particularly with regard to the development of academic literacies. An overarching aim driven by and emerging from the research explores the sense of Self in Ethnic, Academic and Global modes as these resident bilingual students engage with the learning opportunities and experiences of higher education.

For this present study, quantitative data were obtained from public domain statistical records, and qualitative data from a pilot postal questionnaire, focus group meetings and single or paired interviews. Adoption of a phenomenological approach facilitated an appraisal of this material in ways that provide opportunities for deeper insight into issues surrounding the learning experiences specific to resident bilingual students in universities. Analysis of 'hard' demographic data from statistical records and from the limited body of research work in the area of minority ethnic group participation in Scottish higher education, reveal that such data has not been significantly developed since the work of Powney and others (1998). Research literature underpinning and informing the study draws from various fields including anthropology, bilingual education, demography, cognitive psychology, education, language acquisition, linguistics and sociology. International research contributing to deeper understanding of the issues of bilingualism and education has tended to focus on 'new' immigrants (Baker, 1995; Cummins, 1984; Collier, 1995; Genesee and others, 2004; Krashen, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981) or on second language acquisition (Ellis, 1994; Harley, 2001; Ritchie and Bhatia, 1996; Schumann, 1976). However, an emergent body of work considers learning and language needs of resident bilingual pupils in UK schools (Cameron, 2002; Cline, 1997; Gravelle, 1996; Gregory, 1993; Kearney, 2002; Leung, 2003; and South, 1999). There is little parallel research work

with regard to resident bilingual students in higher education. Work in related areas is also expanding to include consideration of New Identities and New Ethnicities (Hall, 1996 in Morley and Chen, 1996; and Ogbu, 1999); New Literacies (Gee, 1998; Kist, 2005; Stephens, 2000): and the associated field of Academic Literacies (Ivanič, 1998; Johns, 1997; Lea, 2004; Lillis, 2001; Street, 2001).

The voices of the students combine to provide a powerful commentary of their experiences and this gives rise to the emergence of several themes in this research. A key theme, the importance of identity, is one that is woven through this work. Changing emphases can be observed in the developing Ethnic, Academic and Global modes of Self as these mutate in response to tensions that arise for the students as they straddle the dichotomy of heritage and educational cultures. This, together with the weakening of heritage ties, contributes to the creation of new, hybrid identities. This marks a 'quiet revolution' as these students break away from the 'traditional' life path view to grasp new opportunities with new horizons stretching before them.

The difference that distinguishes resident bilinguals from dominant ethnic group students can be seen in their differing language profiles. Problematic aspects of learning at university can apply to all learners, but such difficulties seem to be accentuated in the case of resident bilinguals. The acquisition of academic literacies is one such problematic area and, while both resident bilingual and dominant ethnic group students can be challenged in these areas, this can be in subtly different ways. This study suggests that difficulties might be lessened were a more coherent approach adopted towards the acquisition of these literacies across the school and university sectors but elements of this could apply equally to dominant group students.

This six-part study brings into the public arena an overview of the experience of a category of students whose participation in higher education has not hitherto been addressed in research contexts. In highlighting areas for further research, this work provides a foundation for developing ways in which the learning needs of resident bilingual students can be more adroitly addressed by the higher education sector. In addition, the study projects strategies that would address the similar learning needs of dominant ethnic group students by promoting curriculum modification that places the responsibility for the teaching of diverse academic literacies at all levels of learning within the education sector.

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Part I – Contexts and concepts

§1 Introduction

> The lesson is clear. If all students are to maximise their educational potential, the institutions of higher education have to increase their awareness of, and support for, the growing diversity of students who enter higher education.
> **Hall, 1996 cited in Morley and Chen, 1996**

1.1 Background

This study considers the status and experience of minority ethnic group students in the context of the Scottish higher education system dominated as it is by the needs and traditions of the dominant culture. Personal observation suggested that undergraduate students from minority ethnic group backgrounds studying in the University of Dundee were not as successful in written assignments as might have been expected from their performance in interactive tutorial situations. Speculation as to reasons for this raises a number of considerations including those of language, culture, ethnicity, social background, ability, learning style and educational history. These broad themes straddle a range of disciplines and research directions, some overlapping, others diverging. Preliminary investigation within the Scottish context revealed that a report by Powney and others in 1998 had conducted some tentative exploration of educational issues relating to minority ethnic group pupils and students. However, their findings indicate that information was patchy and generic rather than specific.

Finding a specific explanation for a characteristic such as the disparity between levels of oral participation and levels of academic writing amongst minority ethnic group students, suggested much deeper issues. These students, mostly born and brought up in the UK, could be classified as resident bilinguals and they seem to represent a group that is simultaneously part of, and yet apart from, the indigenous, dominant ethnic group student population. In a monolingual educational system, these minority ethnic group students seem (to me) to stand slightly aside from the mainstream. Identifiable as members of a minority ethnic group in wider society, resident bilinguals occupy a place within an educational system that generally does not differentiate them from learners of the dominant ethnic group. While they appear to share similar educational backgrounds and interests with these dominant ethnic group students, simultaneously, they also share similar heritage, cultural and language bonds with international students.

This is a complex area for analysis and raises a series of questions:

- What is the background of minority ethnic group students such as those observed in classrooms in the University of Dundee?
- What has influenced their learning in terms of values, attitudes and behaviours?
- What policies and practices have influenced their learning experiences as bilingual minority ethnic group learners within the monocultural, monolingual Scottish educational system?
- What learning profiles have they developed as a consequence in their journey through the various educational sectors?
- Might there be unacknowledged learning needs for them as bilingual students, especially with regard to academic literacies that may, or may not, be shared with their peers from the dominant ethnic group?

The following sub-sections outline the aims of the study, the context of widening access to higher education and the need for further study. The section concludes with definitions of terminology used in the course of this study.

1.2 Aims of the current study

In addressing these questions the function of this study is to tease out the complexity of the different strands identified above, thereby performing a scoping study that aims to provide a greater understanding of the contexts, influences, values, attitudes, behaviours and policies that affect the learning experiences of minority ethnic group undergraduate students in Scottish higher education. The study positions the minority ethnic students of the University of Dundee who participated in this research as a small example of minority ethnic group involvement within the wider contexts of an education sector dominated by the needs and traditions of monolingual dominant ethnic group culture.

The study aims to categorise these students by appraising the demographic contexts and distribution of the heterogeneous minority ethnic groups present in Scottish society by examining their representation within Scottish higher education. A further, more detailed scrutiny of this representation within a specific Higher Education Institution in Scotland, that is, the University of Dundee, is intended to provide an example of patterns of minority ethnic group participation in higher education over a 14-year period from 1988 to 2002. Further refinement of the longitudinal data is achieved by analysing the participation of cohorts of minority ethnic group students in three of the University's various widening

access initiatives. The aim of this aspect of the analysis is to map trends in the numbers of minority ethnic group students admitted to university through widening access initiatives since the mid-nineties.

This statistical information provides the background for analysis of qualitative data obtained from minority ethnic student responses to a postal questionnaire and to oral data obtained from focus group and interview activities. The aim is to derive some insights into the ways in which ethnicity, cultural values and bilingualism affect these learners when in higher education. This cannot be fully evaluated without considering the policies and practices that have operated within broader educational contexts in Scotland and elsewhere and without appraising their influence on the educational learning experiences of these bicultural learners in the monocultural system of education in Scotland.

The learning profiles of all pupils are shaped by, among other things, the broader educational policies, their heritage background, language and learning abilities. A further aim of this study, therefore, is to gain some appreciation of what has framed the learning profiles of these bilingual learners in an educational system that has been shaped historically on the basis of a monolingual society in which non-dominant ethnic group learners are expected to conform to the dominant norms, including the use of English. This implies a further aim and that is to identify whether, in learning terms, bilingual minority ethnic group learners have unacknowledged needs that have yet to be addressed in relation to language and other academic literacies.

While acknowledging the existence of multiple identities, the study focuses particularly on evolving perceptions of 'Self' in Ethnic, Academic and Global identities as these emerge through the educational experience. This is a theme that is threaded throughout the thesis.

1.3 The contexts of widening access to university education

The experience of minority ethnic group students in higher education and statistical evidence suggest that there is not a long tradition of participation of such students in the non-statutory sector of education (Goulbourne and Lewis-Meeks, 1993). Although widening access policies have facilitated access for members of such groups, there still remain anomalies that are particular to this category of student. For example, Reay and others (2001) have noted that, while certain minority groups are seen as over-represented in England and Wales, (Mirza, 1998), the distribution of minority ethnic students is

unevenly spread across the sector with greater representation in post-1992 institutions. This can be attributed in part to the way that higher education has developed in the post-war period.

Traditionally, in the post-war period, university entrants were generally regarded as the cream of A-stream pupils who entered university with well-developed learning and language skills and who went on to pursue their chosen career paths. In the 1960s attempts were made to address the perceived 'elitism' of universities and positive steps were taken to widen opportunity by encouraging the admission of entrants with a sound academic track record but who came from backgrounds where there had been very little family history of participation in Higher Education (Robbins Report, 1963). Nevertheless, this involved very little modification of the traditions of university learning and teaching and there was little acknowledgement within the sector of a need to address any apparent change in the student profile. In the 1990s, widening access initiatives offered alternative routes into UK higher education to those without traditional university entrance qualifications. The aim was to erode barriers such as those of age, gender, background, creed or ethnic origin.

This expansion of higher education and the broadening of educational opportunity have been accompanied by marked changes in the nature of university level provision. There is a considerable body of literature, in the form of academic and government publications, which has reported, for example, on the impact of the changes of admission criteria on applications (Davies, 1997 in Williams, 1997; Mullard, 1985); on the impact on the sector of significant increases in the student population (Haque, 2001); and on the learning experiences of those who have entered universities under these initiatives (Bowl, 2003; Hayton and Paczuska, 2002). In response to the manner in which the sector has responded, and/or may still need to respond, to change, debate has been engaged by politicians, academics, students and parents as principal stakeholders in the higher education sector (Times Higher Education Supplement, 26 November, 2004).

Although pre-occupations with the funding and assessment of research have tended to place learning and teaching within higher education as secondary activities, more recently, the shifting culture of quality assurance has meant that learning and teaching have attained greater prominence. In part, this has been used to counter suggestions that the

massification of higher education has led to the lowering of standards (Times Higher Education Supplement, 26 November, 2004).

It has also led to closer scrutiny of data relating to higher education where statistical returns from universities have provided the potential for a greater insight into the composition of university populations across regions. Interrogation of this data has facilitated identification of particular groups within those populations, for example, the numbers of disabled, mature and minority ethnic group students. This shows that uptake of widening access opportunities and concomitant expansion of universities have altered the composition of the higher education sector such that it has, to some extent, become more representative of the wider UK population profile. This process of transition from elite to mass education has meant that many people now seeking to enter higher education do so as the first generation to experience this level of study. This is the case for many minority ethnic group students. Nevertheless, the work of Reay and others (2001:871) has shown that 'higher education is still far from a level playing field'.

1.4 Need for further investigation
There are several reasons that suggest that further investigation with regard to minority ethnic group participation in higher education in Scotland is necessary. A primary consideration, in Scottish terms, is the paucity of available data relating to this category of student as noted by Powney and others (1998) and this is a key factor in assessing the position of minority ethnic groups, in general, and students from such groups, in particular.

From generic statistical information available on the UK-based student body as a whole, it is possible to identify trends in participation in higher education by this particular subset. From this, a gradual but steady increase in the number of students from minority ethnic group backgrounds entering UK universities can be discerned. This endorses the observation from more recent statistical data showing that students from minority ethnic communities are now well represented in UK higher education, although the distribution is often disparate across disciplines, across institutions and across ethnic groups (HESA, 2000; HESA, 2002). However, it is only comparatively recently that this diverse group of students has been identifiable as markedly represented in the sector in Scotland with a level of 4% of the total higher education population drawn from a composite minority ethnic group population of 2% of the Scottish population (HESA, 2003).

Information-gathering has been problematic for a number of reasons which are explained in §4 and, thus, data are varied and coverage patchy. This is reflected in the relatively limited data available. Consequently, research into the recruitment, participation and general experience of minority ethnic group students in higher education in the United Kingdom has been narrow (Goulbourne and Lewis-Meeks, 1993; HESA, 2000; Powney and others, 1998). Reasons for this are more difficult to gauge. In Scottish higher education, it may be that students in this category represent a 'Cinderella' group in several respects. As noted above, theirs is a small numerical presence among a student population that is predominantly white and indigenous to Scotland.

Furthermore, despite being enumerated as homogeneous entities, such students are members of different ethnic communities, each community often with internal sub-divisions. They may have no particular reason to identify with members of other UK-domiciled minority ethnic groups of shared or different heritages. Neither do they necessarily identify with international students with whom they may share their ethnic ancestry, first language and possibly similarities in appearance. Although it could not be said that minority ethnic group students as a subset of the whole are ignored in HE, it is unlikely that any specific characteristics or needs that are singular to their own UK-domiciled ethnic grouping would be acknowledged within the sector. This 'Cinderella' status is less a deliberate act of negligence on the part of HE institutions than a lack of recognition of a phenomenon (MacIver, 2002). The net effect is that there is little discrete, detailed and collated information regarding the experiences of minority ethnic group students as learners within Scottish HE.

This is a fundamental impediment to obtaining explicit information about the participation and learning of students within the minority ethnic group category in Scotland. The Scottish Office review conducted by Powney and others (1998) recommended further research into the access and attainment of Scottish minority pupils in Further and Higher Education and claimed that this group were disadvantaged as students because the white-majority teaching establishment defined the measurements of attainment. A criticism of the review is that, although there was reference to learning and attainment, the general thrust of the report focused on dimensions of race and social class, primarily because there appeared to have been little available statistical evidence in relation to the realities of minority ethnic group pupil/student learning and related issues. At a more practical level, there appeared to have been no dialogue with educational 'providers' at the chalk face or

with practitioner members of professional associations of teachers who deal directly with minority ethnic group pupils/students. However, the report also notes that Higher Education Institutes had been reluctant to co-operate with studies into minority ethnic group attainment.

A further aspect in relation to minority ethnic group involvement in higher education relates to the particular status of these students. Their roots lie within heritages and cultures that potentially set them apart from dominant group students, but, as resident bilinguals educated in the UK, they have shared a similar educational experience with peers from the dominant ethnic group. In many respects, therefore, it could be assumed that these minority ethnic students share a similar learning profile with their dominant group peers. Whether this is in fact the case is a key issue in this study because, apart from differences in culture and ethnicity, minority ethnic group students function and learn in two language worlds and this necessarily makes their learning profile different from that of their dominant group peers. These aspects have received little attention in the research literature with regard to higher education in Scotland and further research attention is required.

1.5 Defining terms

Several terms are used in this work in a particular way and the following section provides some definition and explanation of the interpretation intended with regard to culture and ethnicity, language, minority ethnic groups and identity.

1.5.1 Culture and ethnicity

Hoebel (1971:216) notes that 'no anthropologist, even the most assiduous, can ever make note of, to say nothing of record, all the aspects of any culture, even the simplest known to man.' Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952 cited in Knapp and others, 1987) attempted to find a comprehensive definition of culture and, in the attempt, identified at least 200 definitions which included features such as social organisation; man-made environments; overt forms of behaviour; abstract shared knowledge of members of social communities – politically, geographically as a nation. The list identified a culture group's concept of its worldview; its value orientations; its manners and customs; its orientations towards social and interpersonal relations and preferred styles of thinking and arguing. From this, Hoebel (1971:208) distilled a more comprehensive definition of culture as being 'more than a collection of mere isolated bits of behaviour. It is the integrated sum of behaviour traits which are manifest and shared

by members of society'. Rehbein (1987 cited in Clyne, 1994) and Hofstede (1991) are more explicit. They identify a particular mind-set as a manifestation of cultural identity. Rehbein (1987 cited in Clyne, 1994) uses the idea of culture as a composite of behaviours that is exemplified in a 'mental apparatus', while Hofstede (1991:4) goes even further by intimating that culture is a 'collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category from another'.

These definitions of culture are not greatly dissimilar to the definition of ethnicity offered by Fishman (1977:22) as 'an aspect of a collectivity's self-recognition...an avenue whereby individuals are linked in society i.e. to social norms and to social values...an avenue whereby understandings of the "world at large" are arrived at'. Fishman (1977:27) claims that ethnicity can be explained as coming from two sources – paternity and patrimony. Paternity, he explains as being derived from ancestors. It has overtones of kinship responsibility and moral obligation, while patrimony is learned and is about 'how ethnic collectivities behave and ... what members do in order to express their membership'. Fishman (1977:24) argues that, in coming to an understanding of ethnicity, observers can have a better perception of a society as a whole. In reaching this conclusion, it is difficult to prescribe a framework to inform those outside that collectivity of what it means to be a member of the collectivity.

However, Hoebel (1971:212) holds the view that people reach a state of identity within a cultural heritage by experiencing a process of 'enculturation', which he defines as child training or indoctrination. Ochs and Schieffelin (1984) explore this view further and note that concurrently language learning takes place, although the sequence of this learning varies in different societies. Nevertheless, it appears that language learning acts as both a part, and a reinforcement of the enculturation process. Indeed, for Giles (1977:25) 'language is the prime symbol of ethnicity' and yet, where the language of 'enculturation' is not the language of the dominant society, this engenders a marker of 'difference' that has the potential to isolate and separate, rather then unite dominant and minority ethnic groups within a society. Furthermore, Millar (2003:83) asserts that 'members [of minority ethnic groups] may compare their social groups to out-groups emphasising in various ways, their positive distinctness as a group'.

Other elements also contribute to the complexity of the concepts of culture and ethnicity. Race and religion both represent identifying 'markers' for particular ethnic groupings. As

Essed (1996:45) noted, lengthy shared colonial histories notwithstanding, the 'allochtonous' descriptor used in the Netherlands relates to people from non-white origins rather than to those from a white Dutch or European heritage culture. This suggests that commonality of racial characteristics implied by visible physical features is intertwined in some respect with ethnicity and, thus, to culture. This reinforces stereotypical notions about identification of minority ethnic group members with particular cultures and races.

As a contribution to ethnic and cultural identity, religion frequently has a powerful role to play. A shared colonial history often, but not always, may include assimilation of the religious ethos of the colonising power. However, where the religious doctrines and practices of an ethnic grouping differ from those of the host community, the minority community can be representative of a significant world religion, for example, Hinduism, Islam or Sikhism (Renkema, 1996). Thus, especially where religious difference is overt, for example, by the wearing of a turban or a hijab, religion, like race, can provide another 'marker of difference' that separates and, potentially, maintains the ethnic divisions within the wider society. However, as Woodrow (1996:84) contends: 'Culture may be a matter of choice, ethnicity arguably is not.' Thus, younger generations may find that, while they are placed in positions that compromise their own culture in adjusting to the frameworks of the 'host' culture, their ethnicity, and all that implies, could remain intact.

1.5.2 Language

In order to avoid confusion in this study in relation to language, the term 'heritage language' is used. This is in preference to 'first language' for describing the language that might ordinarily be regarded as the language first acquired, usually at home. Others perceive the term 'home language' to mean whichever of their languages they consider to be their dominant language; this does not always mean the language of the home. For example, some of the bilingual informants in this study regarded English as their first language. Another alternative is to use the term 'community language'. However, this was not felt to be appropriate either as it seemed redolent of a language that was of a low level, spoken language for daily use rather than a language with its own poetry, literature and genres. The term 'heritage' offers an alternative that encompasses perceptions of familial origins in another homeland along with recognition of a society and culture that provides a sense of history and place within the global community. In this work, the expression 'minority language' is used interchangeably with 'heritage language'.

The term 'bilingual' is used to describe the language use of those who are known to function in one or more language in addition to their heritage language. More detailed discussion of the implications of bilingualism is provided in §7.

The term 'multilingual' is used to describe the language use of those who are known to function in more than one language in addition to their heritage language. The term is occasionally replaced in the literature by the term 'plurilingual' (McPake, 2003).

1.5.3 Minority ethnic groups

Debate over terminology seems to be more of an issue in Britain than among her European partners. Discounting international legal discussion on the welfare of indigenous national minorities (Appendix 1) at a functional level, the term 'minority ethnic group' does not easily translate to other European cultural discourses where more fundamental terms, such as, 'black', 'immigrant', 'foreigner' and 'alien', are used routinely to describe people whose heritage roots are not those of the host culture. Essed (1996:45), referring to the Netherlands, identified the term 'allochtonous', derived from the contrived noun, 'allochtoon', to describe such 'non-indigenous' people. In the Dutch case, this means people whose parents were not born in the Netherlands, in practice, those of visibly non-white heritage. Difficulties in finding, and agreeing, a generic term for non-indigenous members of European societies may account for limited statistical information on ethnicity in higher education available from other European Union and Nordic Council states (Essed, 1996).

British society is acknowledged to be a multi-cultural one with significant numbers of people whose descent relates to heritages that are non-British (4.6 million enumerated in the 2001 Census, representing 8% of the total UK population). These people are of diverse national origins, creeds and physical characteristics; some may be first generation immigrants, while others may be able to trace their family residence in the UK across several generations. Finding a generic term, acceptable to all, which can be used to refer to individuals in all such respects, is one that is fraught with difficulty. Over time, such groups have been variously termed, for example, 'ethnic minority', 'black', 'black and ethnic minority'. These terms have been acceptable to some and rejected by others.

Bulmer (1995) defines an ethnic group as

> ... a collectivity within a larger population having real or putative common ancestry, memories of a shared past, and a cultural focus upon one or more symbolic elements which define the group's identity, such as kinship, religion, language, shared territory, nationality or physical appearance. Members of an ethnic group are conscious of belonging to the group.
> **Bulmer, 1995:3**

While this is a comprehensive definition whatever expression is used to describe people from such a grouping, these remain 'loaded terms', for, as noted by Leicester (1993) and Woodrow (1996:83), '"Ethnic group" is a phrase still generally used to denote "Others", while the dominant group considers itself somehow to transcend ethnicity'. Powney and others (1998:vii) subsequently adopted the term 'minority ethnic group' as suggested by Leicester (1993). They, like Woodrow (1996), argue that the term 'ethnic minority' implies that only minority groups have ethnicity, which is not the case. For the purposes of the current study, the rationale provided by Powney and others (1998) has been adopted, namely, that the term 'minority ethnic group' categorises people whose non-indigenous descent relates to a country or national heritage that is not British; the term 'dominant ethnic group' describes people who are of white British descent.

However, ethnic division is rarely based on a dichotomy – the dominant and the minority. Indeed, the heterogeneity of minority ethnic groups is a characteristic of the difference that distinguishes them from the dominant majority. For these minority ethnic groupings their diversity one from another is self-evident, and yet, the view from the dominant culture, may identify all minority ethnic groups as 'Other' with the result that homogeneity is assumed and 'one-size-fits-all' assumptions, attitudes and approaches based on some notional stereotype may prevail (Gundara, 2000; Leung and Harris, 1997).

For the purposes of reporting the study, the term 'minority ethnic group' is used as an inclusive term. The term 'minority ethnic students' defines bilingual participants in UK Higher Education, who are normally resident in the UK, and who have been brought up and educated, for a significant part of their educational lives, within the country and are thus 'resident bilinguals'. The terms 'minority ethnic' and 'resident bilingual' are used interchangeably in this study. It is recognised that such groups are not homogeneous; different heritage groups do not necessarily identify with each other. In this work, distinctions are made, as appropriate, on the basis of heritage.

International students include those from the European Union, whose normal place of residence is outside Britain and who have chosen to study in the UK in the short-term. These students, along with asylum or refugee migrant students relatively recently arrived in the UK, have not been included in this study.

1.5.4 Identity

If identities are, as stated by Norquay (1998:178), 'somehow fashioned through our connections with our "origins"', and, if Fishman's view of patrimony as a dimension of ethnicity based on what distinguishes one community from another prevails (Fishman, 1977), then ethnic behaviour and values are liable to be reinforced. However, for many of the younger generations brought up within the UK educational and social systems, finding that identity is something that presents a challenge. The identity that relates to their heritage culture could potentially be compromised as they simultaneously conform to a cultural context in Britain that, as second-generation minority ethnic group, is theirs only by default rather than by choice.

Figure 1.5.4.1 portrays the 'nest' in which this identity or 'Self' is embedded. At the very core of the nest is the Self and arrayed around this, in the innermost hexagon, the typical influences that may help to shape Self: ethnicity, gender, religion, culture, socio-economic status and language. The outer hexagons represent the wider contexts in which Self is nested: the ethnic (or familial) community; the local or neighbourhood community; the community of the nation-state in which they reside and the wider global or international community.

The Self, influenced by these multiple inputs (potentially more than those shown here), would evolve according to the context in which the individual is situated. Ackroyd and Pilkington contended that 'children do not have one essential identity but switch identities in different contexts and, subject to diverse cultural influences, often produce new identities' (Ackroyd and Pilkington, 1999:445). It could be assumed that adults, similarly, could construct new identities as posited by Hall (1996 cited in Morley and Chen, 1996).
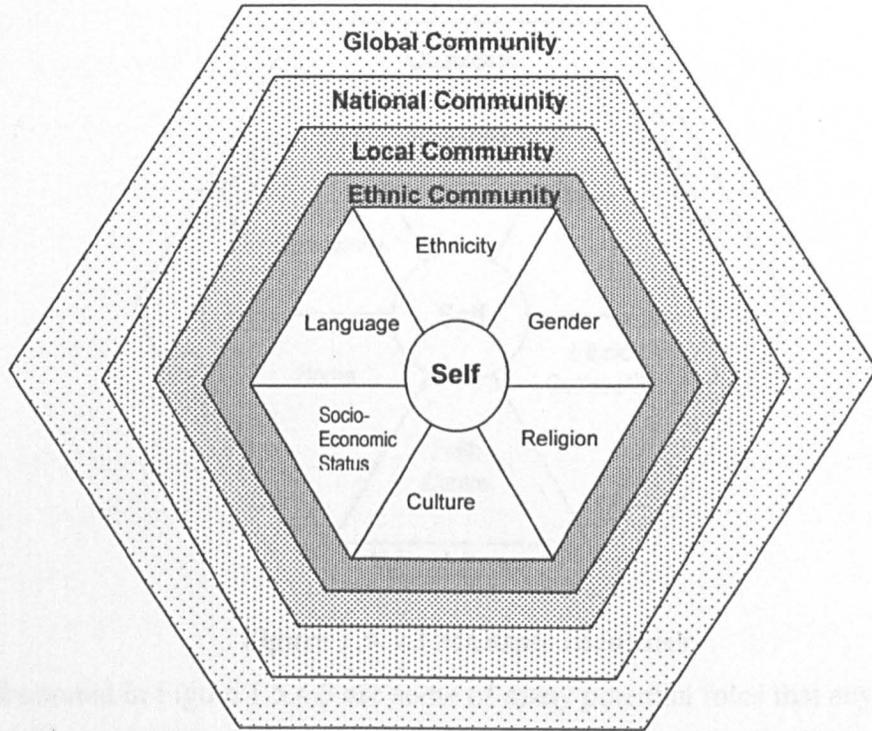
Figure 1.5.4.1 Influences on Self

In Figure 1.5.4.2, this concept of Self is developed further by depicting more specific contexts in which a student might be positioned, namely, how the individual is simultaneously situated within the more specific cultural contexts of home, faith centre and the ethnic or wider familial community and the more culturally diverse contexts of wider community, university and work environments.
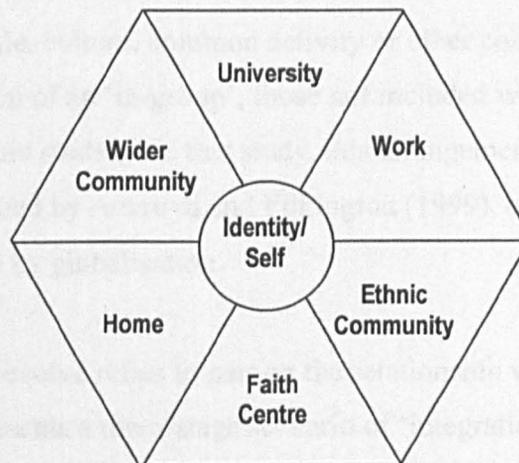
Figure 1.5.4.2 Identity contexts

Figure 1.5.4.3 develops this further by assigning particular roles related to each context.
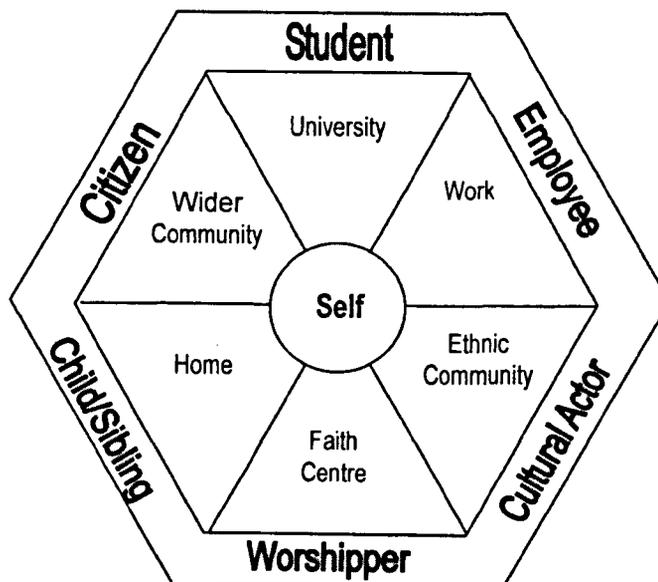
Figure 1.5.4.3 Multiple Identities

The roles illustrated in Figure 1.5.4.3 are some of many potential roles that any individual, regardless of ethnicity, performs. This schema shows those roles that might be acknowledged to be of primary significance for minority ethnic students in higher education. For example, within the cultural contexts, in the home, the student may be child or sibling; in the faith centre, worshipper; within the ethnic community, cultural actor. In the more diverse community, the student has the role of citizen; in the university as undergraduate or postgraduate student; and in the work place the identity of employee. For the individual, it is the composite of these roles that contributes to the unique sense of Self that identifies one individual from another. Notwithstanding, some dimensions of identity might support an element of overlap where individuals share common interests or characteristics, for example, culture, common activity or other common denominator that would result in the creation of an 'in-group'; those not included would comprise the 'out-group'. For minority ethnic students in this study, this arrangement profiles a fluidity and impermanence for, as argued by Ackroyd and Pilkington (1999), concepts of culture and identity have been eroded by globalisation.

How these new identities evolve relies in part on the relationship with the host culture. Schumann (1976:136) presents a three-stage scenario of 'integration strategies' for the interface between cultures. These are assimilation, acculturation and preservation. Although Schumann's trichotomy relates to the experience of overseas students, it could be translated just as appropriately to the situation for minority ethnic students as acceptance,

modification and rejection. Acceptance (assimilation) occurs when the life-style and values of the host community supplant those of the heritage community; modification (acculturation) occurs when host values are accepted and practised alongside those of the heritage culture; and rejection (preservation) implies total antipathy to the host culture and maintenance of the heritage culture. Schumann's argument is that social distance is directly affected by the extent of integration with the host community and that, in turn, relates to the efficacy of learning, the greater the degree of assimilation, the better the learning, the greater the extent of preservation, the poorer the learning.

While these categories are helpful to some extent, clearly, because students in the minority ethnic category defined in this study are, in the main, British-born, there is some absurdity in describing a process that ignores the fact that they have been immersed in the 'host' culture from an early age. Thus, the Inter-group Model outlined by Giles and Byrne (1982 cited in Ellis, 1994) appears to have added relevance. Within this model, five conditions are considered to contribute to the desire to integrate with the dominant out-group. These conditions are: weak in-group identification; latent inter-ethnic comparisons; low in-group vitality; open or 'soft' in-group boundaries; and, for the present context, most importantly, learner identification with other groups so that there are strong intra-group relationships. Ellis (1994) argues that the integration with the dominant group which arises from these conditions facilitates the achievement of 'high levels of social and communicative proficiency in the second language' (Ellis, 1994: 234), in particular, through informal contexts of language acquisition.

However, the debate on the nature of how minority ethnic identity has moved on in other respects and, as discussed above, there is recognition that new notions of identity, and new routes to achieving these, are more appropriate to the description of second and third generation minority ethnic group members' identities. In the globalised world, it is argued, the influences and relationships outlined in Figures 1.5.4.1 and 1.5.4.3 contribute to the creation of hybrid social identities. As examples, Ackroyd and Pilkington (1999: 451) cite the adoption of terms such as Black-British and British-Asian by those who seek to move away from the 'cultural identities tends to entail stereotypical representation of the Other'. Anthias (2003:625) suggests that these hybrid identities 'are never complete and are being continuously made and remade'. In similar vein, Back (1996) has identified that there are areas in the lives of minority ethnic students where traditional cultural boundaries are replaced with what he calls 'liminal cultures'. Thus, these students are rather like hot-house

plants in that they can only survive in specific conditions; they tend to be unstable or transient. Universities might be places where such liminal cultures can exist.

For the purposes of this study, the 'Self' is characterised by three identities that are considered to be most relevant to the context of the undergraduate minority ethnic group student experience - the Ethnic Self, the Academic Self, and the Global Self. The conceptual explanation of each of these is discussed in §3.

1.6 Structure

The diverse nature of this study does not lend itself to a conventional literature review, methodology, data analysis, discussion and conclusion thesis pattern of discourse. Instead, it was decided to tackle the research topic thematically and to conduct the analysis by considering sub-topics under each theme. Thus, the work naturally falls into six parts, each divided into sections. Part 1 sets the parameters of the study by defining contexts and concepts that include methodology and demographic data; Part II looks at education and how the sector relates to bilingual pupils and students; Part III considers bilingualism as a feature of the students' daily lives and as a dimension of their learning; Part IV examines the students' interface with the academic literacies related to learning at university; Part V addresses the concept of identity with respect to writing as the ultimate expression of individual identity in the context of academic literacies; and, finally, Part VI brings the work to a conclusion by identifying key issues incorporating recommendations for further research. The relevant literature is reviewed within the discourse of each section.

The concept of Self is a theme throughout this work. To separate and yet relate the three aspects of Ethnic, Academic and Global Self, these are woven as threads into each section. This is done on a three-way alternating basis so that in any section at least two of these identities are more prominent than the third; this can be likened to the plaiting of three strands where, at any point, two are visible with the third concealed behind the other two in an alternating weave. This approach enabled the construction of a pattern that can be tracked through the entire thesis, not simply for organisational convenience, but because the theme of mutating identity emerges from the data in a quiet, but nonetheless, powerful way. This reflects the way in which these identities, depending on contexts, appear to oscillate in their significance as students move through their education and their daily experiences over time.

§2 Methodology

> Research is formalized curiosity...poking and prying with a purpose.
> **Zora Neale Hurston, 1942.** *Dust Tracks on the Road*

2.1 The context

The starting point for me as a university lecturer teaching on access courses was an observation that, in the University of Dundee, there is gradual, if slow, increase in the number of students registering for courses from minority ethnic group backgrounds, in this case, people from Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Indian or Chinese heritages. Over a ten-year period in my contact with particular cohorts of minority ethnic group students registered on the University of Dundee Access Summer School, there was an observable trend indicating that many of these students frequently sought this non-standard entry route into Higher Education. The criteria on which admission to the Access Summer School operate open up opportunities for access to university education to pupils not expected by their schools to achieve the required academic entry requirements in terms of Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA) Highers, Certificate of Sixth Year Studies, Advanced Highers or General Certificate of Education (GCE) A-levels.

As I and colleagues worked with these potential undergraduate students, it seemed that, in many cases, minority ethnic group Access students demonstrated considerable academic potential for study in higher education in class, but this was not necessarily being reflected in their marks. We noticed that many were submitting written work that, while passable, seemed limited in that it did not replicate their higher levels of performance in other modes of assessment. In particular, their evident competence in oral English did not seem to be matched by equivalent eloquence in writing. However, they were not alone in this as there were instances where students from the dominant ethnic group were demonstrating similar patterns. Nevertheless, any interest in bilingual students from minority ethnic groups in Higher Education, as distinct from multilingual international students or native speakers of English, does not seem to have been profiled in any discrete way. Much of the extant literature on minority ethnic group issues in education relates to the schools sector and is confined to considerations relevant to England and Wales or to the UK as a whole. Such material as relates to Scotland specifically is also generally confined to consideration of ethnicity issues in schools.

My interest lies with university students and I wanted particularly to explore the experiences of the bilingual minority ethnic group university students with whom I worked

as they progressed from Access School into mainstream undergraduate study and beyond. I wanted to investigate their experience of learning within the Scottish university system. In particular, I wanted to look at how these students interacted with the university system, the teaching and learning opportunities it offers and how they saw these things in relation to their previous learning histories and current aspirations.

2.2 Rationale of the method adopted

In order to explore this situation, it appeared inappropriate to employ the methods and rigidity of traditional objectivity and adherence to explicit rules and procedures favoured in scientific research. For this complex and multi-faceted study an approach that could be flexible and responsive to the data obtained in the research phase of the study was required. This follows Strauss and Corbin (1998) who observed that the evolving and expanding needs of conducting educational research into 'real life' scenarios demands a methodology which can offer social scientists (and others) a means of thinking about and studying social reality in ways that do not necessarily fit comfortably with the positivist methodology of conventional scientific research.

This led me to explore a number of different approaches including those of grounded theory and ethnography. However, the ideas associated with phenomenology seemed, in broad terms, to relate most closely to examining the problem I sought to address and to my own intuitive approach towards obtaining and subsequently analysing and interpreting the data.

Exploration of what is meant by phenomenology led me to examine a variety of ideas that seemed to align with what I wanted to do. In the most fundamental of terms, phenomenology is regarded as a philosophical concept that studies the development of human consciousness and self-awareness. This appeared to open up possibilities in probing the experiences of the students in this study. It provides a conceptual framework that enables due respect to be given to the value systems and opinions of the students as informants and is consonant with my attitudes as a teaching practitioner and researcher.

Phenomenology emerged as a philosophy in its modern form in the twentieth century and is associated with the work of Edmund Husserl (1859-1938) and Martin Heidegger (1889-1976) (Spiegelberg, 1975:xxii). However, the evolving world of phenomenology is wide and complex. As a philosophy it is distinguished by considerable diversity. Indeed, some

would argue that it is more than a single philosophy. Ray (1994:118), for example, suggests that phenomenology is 'a variety of distinctive, yet related, philosophies', while Welch (1999:242) described it as a 'family of ideas'.

Although these ideas are regarded as primarily attributable to the epistemology of Husserl and the ontological hermeneutic rationale of Heidegger, their origins are rooted in Aristotelian thinking and their subsequent evolution has been influenced by the work of other notable philosophers. Most especially, these include Gadamer (1900-2002), Sartre (1905-80), Merleau-Ponty (1907-61), Ricoeur (1913-), and Van Manen (1942-). By the mid-twentieth century, what is called 'the phenomenological movement' (Lopez and Willis, 2004:728) had come to incorporate a diversity of interpretations and operationalisations which have formed identifiable 'schools' of phenomenology, for example, the Duquesne school of Pittsburg whose exponents include van Kamm, Colaizzi, Giorgi and others. This school espouses Husserlian thinking and descriptive phenomenology. A further school advocates the Heideggerian hermeneutics pursued by Gadamer and Ricoeur (among others) and embraces the interpretive notions of phenomenology. The Dutch school of Utrecht, developed by Langeveld, Buitedijk, Linschoten, and van Manen (among others), embraces phenomenological description and interpretation (Cohen and Omery, 1994; Holloway and Wheeler, 1996). In sum, therefore, there seems to be substance to Spiegelberg's observation that there 'are as many styles of phenomenology as there are phenomenologists' (Spiegelberg, 1982:2 cited in Seamon, 2000).

This overview exemplifies the degree of divergence of opinion as to what constitutes phenomenology. It also reflects the on-going evolution of the ideas that underpin thinking on phenomenology (Spiegelberg, 1982 cited in Seamon, 2000). Discussion of the discord within the phenomenology movement is not the principal focus of this work, but it is important to acknowledge that, despite philosophical disharmony, for example, between those who adopt an epistemological position and those who favour an ontological view, there are certain common features to be found in phenomenological thinking. The concept of eidetic reduction, for example, is found in the work of Husserl and also in that of later phenomenologists such as Schutz (1962 cited in Stubblefield and Murray, 2002), Spiegelberg (1975) and Colaizzi (1978). It is this commonality which suggests that those who adhere to the phenomenological schools of thought have selectively culled certain elements from Husserlian and Heideggerian thinking to fit with their own interpretations of

the concept. I feel that, as the concepts of phenomenological thinking have evolved, this process is an inevitable and sensible approach to exploring and further developing the concepts and their application to real-world situations.

This is consistent with my own approach/perspective deriving from a view of phenomenology that acknowledges that several of the principal influences from within the phenomenological movement have something to offer the researcher. For example, the Husserlian descriptive tradition based on its epistemological thinking is initially attractive, but, in my view, makes unrealistic expectations of bracketing (or epoché), that is, the idea of suspending belief in order to discount all beliefs and prejudices on the part of the researcher. Yet, the idea of eidetic reduction by which particular essences can be reduced to general themes, along with the analysis this offers, has some appeal.

The ontological positioning of Heideggerian existentialist phenomenology and its interpretive or hermeneutic approach, derived from the involvement of the researcher, goes further in offering an opportunity for a deeper understanding of the phenomena under scrutiny. For Heidegger, it was the shift from the descriptive mode embraced by Husserlian thought to the understanding (verstehen) approach that set his phenomenological philosophy at odds with that of Husserl.

However, it is the thinking of Merleau-Ponty and Gadamer that has pushed the boundaries of phenomenological thought beyond the confines of the work of both Husserl and Heidegger. For example, Merleau-Ponty offers a complementary route to understanding phenomena by investigating the role of perception of the individual within the concrete world.

Gadamer takes the hermeneutic traditions used to examine Protestant theological text to a further stage by trying to identify ground rules for the application of the principles of phenomenology. He argues that pre-understanding emanates from language as the articulation of the cultural and historical experience in the world and that this is related to his concept of 'fusion of horizons' where experiences of past and present horizons, of informants and researcher converge. Gadamer's concept of horizon suggests that it is the function of the researcher to view a wider horizon than that which is immediately present, because it is only by doing so that the immediate can be seen in proportion to the wider world (Müller-Volmer, 2000). This leads to a deeper understanding and completion of the

hermeneutic circle described by Heidegger where 'as we understand something we are involved and as we are involved we understand' (Welch, 1999:242). Gadamer extends the concept of the hermeneutic circle to a relationship between explanation and understanding where the familiar is seen in a new light (Welch, 1999).

A further characterisation of phenomenological thinking that follows the theoretical position of both Heidegger and Gadamer (Koch, 1994; Seamon, 2000) is one where the observer is as directly involved as possible with the subject or problem under examination. Gadamer acknowledges that 'prejudice' (Vorurteil) exists and defines this as a judgement that is reached before all facets of a situation are fully examined (Annells, 1996). It is in this sense that the researcher's experience prejudges the interpretation of the experiences under scrutiny and, hence, any researcher brings to the research activity the temporality of his/her personal experience and world view (Lebensweltanschauung). This, in turn, contributes to understanding. Thus, the researcher's involvement in the interview process as researcher/participant does not contradict, but, instead, empathises with the spirit of phenomenology because, in this instance, the interviewer and the interviewee share a speech context and experience (Lindseth and Norberg, 2004).

How phenomenological precepts might be used in research remains in no way definitive and, yet, in the literature, there seems to be a preoccupation with learning how to 'do phenomenology' which suggests that some people seek a procedural approach to tackling research problems in a phenomenological manner (Devenish 2002, among others). Husserl himself never actually delineated how phenomenology could be applied as a research method (Welch, 1999) and Heidegger rejected representation of phenomenology as a research method (Cohen and Omery, 1994). Despite this, subsequent researchers have frequently sought to 'systematise' phenomenology by outlining step-by-step routines to elicit data from the material derived from their sources. This is particularly the case in those in fields where procedures need to be followed diligently in the application of professional duties, for example, in nursing,

In relation to research, Cohen and Omery (1994) argue that trying to 'map' a research activity on to a specific methodology is contrary to the spirit of phenomenological thinking. They argue that the whole concept of returning to the essences – to the things themselves (zu den Sachen selbst) – is what phenomenology is about and this precludes following a strict sequential model of research behaviour. They argue that to attempt to

identify a theoretical framework before 'die Sachen selbst' have been explored is inappropriate. Thus, they advocate that theories should only be related to the interpretations after the latter have been extrapolated from the 'essences'. In contrast to the conventional approaches to research and writing about research, this puts 'cart before horse'.

Although presented in a different way from the views expressed by Cohen and Omery (1994), Dillon (1988) explains a similar perspective observable in the interpretation of phenomenology pursued by Merleau-Ponty. In this interpretation Merleau-Ponty returns to the riddle of Meno's paradox which attempts to resolve how someone can seek something when they do not know what that something is; and even if they do come across something, how they will know that this is the object of their search. This ancient paradox has been expressed in similar terms by the twentieth century psychiatrist, Laing (1970), in his book, "Knots", poses questions that echo those of the Meno riddle. In similar vein, therefore, how can the researcher state beforehand what research method will be employed before it is known what is being sought?

Merleau-Ponty's view endorsed the Heideggerian view that 'phenomenology can be practiced and identified as a manner or style of thinking' (Merleau-Ponty, 1962: viii). This perspective defines an attitude rather than a process of explicating a practical method and denies what Holloway and Wheeler (1996:121) call 'doing phenomenology'.

Ray (1994) notes the tension that exists in this perception of phenomenology and the practicalities of identifying the nature and source of the material. Her response is pragmatic and very much in line with the Menoian paradox explained by Merleau-Ponty. She suggests that obtaining material requires a random starting point and gathering data without actually knowing where that process will end, or, indeed, whether the starting point is an appropriate one (Tesch, 1987). Indeed, it is the lack of a step-by-step process for conducting this journey that has caused researchers to adopt strategies that seem to individuals to be commonsensical, but at the same time remain within the parameters of the philosophy of phenomenological attitudes already described (among others, Devenish, 2002; Sadala and Adorno, 2002; and Holloway and Wheeler, 1996).

In the context of this study I see the concept of phenomenology as an attitude or mindset rather than a method. This means that, in the present study, my strategy has been to adopt

Ray's pragmatic reasoning in selecting a starting point (Ray, 1994), following this through until the body of material offered sufficient substance for reflection and interpretation. The interweaving of the threads in the study will translate into a method albeit in a retrospective sense, but fully in accordance with the recognition of the Menoian paradox described above.

My attitude fits most closely with those who adhere to a descriptive-hermeneutic phenomenological stance. Thus, following this approach as reported by Annells (1994), I shall adopt some elements from both traditions and acknowledge various contributions to phenomenological thinking along the way. In this manner, my study explores the experiences of the informants as students from minority and dominant ethnic groups in the University of Dundee in the period 1999 to 2003. The descriptive element relates to statistical elements drawn from primary statistical sources while the hermeneutic elements will relate to interaction with the informants in the study. Both elements are addressed below.

2.3 The study

The students in this study experienced a major part, if not all, of their education within the British education system and, for most, this means within the Scottish educational structure. The students who participated in the different research activities of this study included those from heritage cultures of Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, and China (including Hong Kong). The study was confined to these four Asian groupings because these reflect the numerically most significant minority ethnic groupings present in Scotland. For one part of the study, the personal interviews, two Iraqi immigrants also participated because both had experienced some years of study within the Scottish school system and had received English as an Additional Language support before entering higher education. Dominant group students were also interviewed. Cameo profiles of the interview groups are provided in Appendix 2.

In this context, therefore, three types of data are presented in this study. These are data drawn from:

  a. published statistical sources relating to demographic distribution of minority ethnic group populations and minority ethnic group student populations in Scotland. This data is then related to unpublished data relating to minority ethnic students in the University of Dundee.

b. questionnaire submissions from 28 respondents.

c. focus group and interviews with students from minority and dominant ethnic groups totalling 28 interviewees.

In addition, the author spent a valuable day as an observer shadowing an EAL teacher based in Hamilton.

a. Published and unpublished statistical data

The quantitative primary data were available from several sources. Three sources draw from data available in the public domain, namely, datasets produced by the General Register Office for Scotland (GRO), the Universities and Colleges Admission Service (UCAS) and from the Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA).

GRO information provides population information covering the decennial censuses of 1991 and 2001. For the purposes of the current study, the GRO population datasets identified the demographic patterns in relation to minority ethnic group populations in the UK and in Scotland, in particular. This is helpful because it establishes for the reader comparative contexts in which to frame the status of the most significant minority ethnic group communities in Scotland by identifying the relative size of different minority communities rather than simply itemising all minority ethnic groups as a single entity. These data will be discussed more fully in §4 .

The extracted UCAS records on higher education (HE) yielded information about application and acceptance patterns amongst dominant and minority ethnic groups in Scotland over a five-year period (1997-2003), while HESA data identified the actual admissions of minority ethnic group students in Scotland in 2003-4. The lack of congruity arises because of changes in the way data is recorded/made available in the public domain.

In both instances, these data are helpful in that they examine in numerical detail minority ethnic group aspiration and engagement with higher education in Scotland. The data also provide some comparisons and contrasts with dominant group aspiration and engagement. This statistical information helps to scaffold the study and relates to the development of minority ethnic group participation in HE in Scotland.

A fourth source of statistical data was obtained by scrutinising institutional records of students from minority ethnic groups who had attended the University of Dundee over the

period 1990 to 2002. It was unrealistic to attempt to extend this element of the study beyond this date because the University record system was changed in 2002; the new system is incompatible with its predecessor in that it logs information in different ways and does not record all the items that had been archived in the preceding system. Nevertheless, for the twelve-year period, this scrutiny yielded descriptive statistics that permit the identification of general trends in matriculation, participation and subjects studied among different cohorts of minority ethnic group students within the University of Dundee. These data are of value to the study because they can highlight particular allegiances to discipline areas, identify attainment rates and note evolving trends in HE uptake within the institution.

b. Questionnaire data

To identify a starting point for obtaining information from the students themselves, I decided to conduct a pilot study. Further numerical data were derived by means of a pilot postal questionnaire (Appendix 3) among minority ethnic group undergraduates who had attended the University of Dundee Access Summer Schools and pre-sessional ASPIRE programme between 1994 and 2001. This fifth source of quantitative data sought to identify key issues, interests and preoccupations of these minority ethnic group students. A return of 37% (28 out of 75 respondents) was obtained. A mix of closed and open questions provided material from which it is possible to extract some statistical information along with more detailed subjective material. Thus, it was possible to identify issues of specific relevance to the Dundee and Scottish contexts; this could inform further potential areas of investigation in focus group or interview contexts.

c. Focus group and interview data

The information garnered by this means suggested a follow-up series of focus groups. These were later amended to single or double informant interviews. A further opportunity to gain some insight to student experience could be achieved by scrutiny of students' written texts. However, these student experiences need to be placed within a wider context, that of the national 'picture' of minority ethnic group communities which they populate. This implied some recourse to available information in the form of statistical data gathered by different public agencies as well as data that I could gather directly from the informants. This presumed a compromise procedure, that is, one which drew from both quantitative and non-quantitative material, described as the 'middle way' or 'mixed approach' by authors such as Grotjahn (1987), McCalla-Chen (1996), and Darlington and Scott (2002).

Overall, the value of exploring these diverse data lies in the fact that the perceived small number of minority ethnic group members in Scotland means that the realities that exist behind the data are not well-documented in the academic literature nor in the public domain analyses of the data I have chosen to examine. In order to deepen understanding, it was necessary to seek additional non-quantitative material. Hence, I decided to speak directly with a cohort of minority ethnic group students.

In the traditions of scientific research the researcher is perceived as standing outside the research study. However, as discussed above, Heideggerian and Gadamerian phenomenologists recognise that the researcher is the main tool (Seamon, 2000; Holloway and Wheeler, 1996), and this legitimises the involvement of the researcher in the dialogue with informants. While in other circumstances I might have had personal concerns about my status as a white, middle-aged academic/researcher attempting to engage with a context that is not entirely my own, the reality is that the informants share partly in my world and I partly in theirs. My phenomenological perspective enables me to acknowledge my position of 'being in the world' and this allows me to enter into a dialogue with informants as a participant in the research process. This means that listening to the spoken and unspoken messages of the informants deepens my understanding of their life-worlds and aids the completion of the hermeneutic circle. As a lecturer, I had come to know these students quite well and I felt that this strong personal bond would enable me to engage in a dialogue with them on the basis that the research purpose was explained to them, that they were under no pressure to participate and that anonymity would be observed.

The initial plan had been to organise a series of focus groups to obtain oral data. Although I was successful in organising one group, attempts to conduct further groups were unsuccessful. The logistics of gathering groups of students proved to be impossible to resolve, primarily, because of the diversity of timetables, work and other commitments. I also had a sense that the students approached were unwilling to enter into a situation that, for them, was a new one and possibly perceived, for this reason, to be threatening.

The single focus group that did meet comprised five students of Pakistani heritage from the same extended family – three sisters and two male cousins. They were given a series of brief case studies to consider (Appendix 4) and this launched spontaneous discussion. Following Krueger (1998), the focus group discussion was filmed and audio recorded. As

this was an initial attempt at running the focus group and it was uncertain whether the students would consent to the recording modes, an observer was also present at this meeting to take notes on the discussion.

There were considerable advantages in having a group comprising family members. The group were willing to speak freely and informally; they shared a common family history; and had either been born in the UK or had been brought up in the UK from an early age. The mix of genders permitted discussion about the differences that they experienced as males and females in the family, in the community and in the academic situation. Although this raised issues that might only have been relevant to this family's situation, their contributions still represented one reality of life within their community's value system.

As noted, the logistics of gathering a group of people together for focus groups was prohibitive for the reasons already described. Thus, I decided that the pragmatic solution was to invite former Access School minority ethnic group students, either separately or in pairs, to meet with me for an interview that was aimed to last for one hour. These students had expressed their willingness in the pilot questionnaire responses to participate in further research activities. In all cases, the students were generous with their time and volunteered to continue with the interview beyond the hour threshold. The average interview lasted one hour and twenty minutes. Twelve minority ethnic group and eleven dominant ethnic group students were involved in the interview process. Of the minority ethnic group students, six were of Pakistani heritage, three of Indian heritage, two Saudi Arabian and one Hong Kong Chinese. Of the dominant, all-white group, nine were Scots and two English. All students had experience of higher education at undergraduate level.

Meetings were loosely structured on a series of cue questions (Appendix 5) which followed on from some of the responses to the pilot study questionnaire and further reading. Spontaneity was not discouraged and digressions were not curtailed as long as these related to the generality of the topic. With the permission of the informants, I audio-taped the interviews and then transcribed the dialogues in full. I considered that the audio-taping was less intrusive than both the video camera option and the observer/scribe presence in the room. As a novice in the use of this data acquisition technique, I judged that transcribing the full dialogues would ensure that I had an account that was faithful to what had been said and which I could revisit and interrogate more easily than the audio

version. The transcription also aligned with the hermeneutic techniques promoted by Gadamer (1975 in Ray, 1994). This is discussed more fully below.

Following Husserl (1964) and Lindseth and Norberg (2004), transcriptions of focus group and interview discussion were coded into 'essences'. By decontextualising the essences or 'meaning units', it was possible to distil themes. This eidetic process thus enabled identification of the main themes of these students' experiences within Scottish HE, within the wider community and within a particular timeframe, that is, the period of their statutory and higher education. Sometimes an essence could be allied to more than one theme. Thus, there was an element of 'double-entry'.

My next step was to attempt to interpret the underlying meaning from these themed experiences and, following Merleau-Ponty (1962), identify the 'historical person' as the dialectical entity in the world in which it is located (Sadala and Adorno, 2002:286). This permitted identification of informants as individuals (Merleau-Ponty's conception of body) in at least three significant selves: as ethnic self, as academic self, as world or global self. Ethnic Self identifies self in relation to the family, the local minority ethnic group community and the traditions of the heritage community. Academic Self identifies with two other selves: learner self and writer self, while Global Self relates to self in the general community at local level and beyond.

This transcription from speech to text also resonates with the perspectives adopted by Gadamer in relation to language as the conductor of all historical and cultural experience (1975 in Ray, 1994). The process of eidetic reduction and the intuiting that this involves opened up opportunities for the translation of idiomatic vernacular in-group speak, to the more formal register of academic research (Sadala and Adorno, 2002; Lindseth and Norberg, 2004). This means that, within this process, I, as researcher, could analyse the discourse and engage with the Gadamerian hermeneutic circle in which an appraisal of the sum of the parts that comprise the greater whole facilitates understanding. Consequently, this understanding, combined with the explanation drawn from the data, enables me to adopt a new perspective on material that may be familiar and this completes the circle (Gadamer, 1975; Welch, 1999).

Traditionally 'valorization of triangulation' implies three points of reference in the research process in any one project. However, Richardson (1994) contends that

in postmodernist mixed-genre texts, we do not triangulate, we crystallize…(because) the central image is the crystal, which combines symmetry and substance with an infinite variety of shapes, substances, transmutations, multi-dimensionalities, and angles of approach. Crystals grow, change, alter, but are not amorphous.
Richardson, 1994:522

2.4 Summary

The issue being addressed in this work is the nature of the experience of students from minority ethnic group backgrounds as they gain access to and proceed through higher education. Informed literature in this area is scarce and the aim of my work is to offer an insight into this context. I have decided to adopt a phenomenological perspective.

Following a similar modelling of phenomenology by Lindseth and Norberg (2004), I evolved a framework for interpretation by translation of the students' oral reporting into text. This was subjected to the eidetic reduction process. I accepted the notion of Gadamerian 'prejudices' and took into account the temporality of individual and collective situations in my interpretation of the themes derived from the experiences the students described. My aspiration was to achieve that fusion of horizons of both the researcher and the informants as identified by Gadamer.

Seamon (2000) defines good phenomenological research as enabling people to break free from their usual perspectives and to introduce them to new understandings. Using the principles of phenomenology identified above, it is my aim to encourage readers to new understandings of the phenomena identified in my work by examining the texts of my oral interactions with the informants. The commentary of my interpretation will be informed by relating this to relevant literature (Ricoeur, 1976). Koch (1994) notes that interpretations of the material in a study may differ from one person to another, but that it ought to be possible for the reader to follow the phenomenological thinking that led to these interpretations: this contributes to the replicability of the study. This will be the aim in the following sections.

§3 Three notions of Self

In §1 I have already recognized three distinct identities in relation to the data group: the Ethnic Self, the Academic Self and the Global Self. This section provides more detailed explanation of the three distinct, and yet interdependent, identities of Self as these develop over the span of the university experience.

The minority ethnic students interviewed for this study come from families where they are the first generation to enter higher education. Their decision to enter university means a deviation from the traditional cultural rites of passage into adulthood that they might have been expected to follow. This means that, while the university experience provides the potential to broaden horizons socially, culturally and intellectually, it implies the assumption of identities that are complex.

Regardless of their cultural origins, when students enter higher education, they are embarking on a journey where they develop different identities. As new undergraduates, these students bring with them a reasonably clearly defined, if evolving, Ethnic Self. By contrast, the Academic Self is at an earlier stage of development based on previous educational experiences at school and, perhaps, college. This aspect of Self evolves further as the student explores new realms of thinking and learning. Thus, Academic Self, together with further evolution of the Ethnic Self, contributes to the sense of place in society characterised as the Global Self.

In Figure 3.1, I have developed Figure 1.5.4.3 further to show how the three forms of Self are superimposed onto the roles that students perform within the nested areas of activity in their lives. The Ethnic Self encompasses several roles: in the ethnic community as cultural actor, in the home as child or sibling, in the faith centre as worshipper. The Academic Self is manifested in the university as student. The Global Self is structured in the workplace as employee and in the wider community as a citizen.

Figure 3.1 Three identity forms: Ethnic Self, Academic Self and Global Self

These identity forms, in part, follow the work of West (1995) who sees the student Self as divided into two spheres – the personal and the public. He perceives the personal sphere as relying on experiential ways of knowing that are personal, subjective and emotional. Both West (1995) and Hall (1996 cited in Morley and Chen, 1996) relate ethnic identity to relationships within the home, minority community and the faith centre.

For West (1995) the public sphere is defined as the student identity where academic knowledge is objective and abstract. However, in the present study, the public sphere goes beyond the narrow confines identified by West (1995), and becomes a dichotomy comprising the Academic Self, as described, and the Global Self, responding to the wider contexts in which each person enacts a role as a global citizen.

Figure 3.2 draws together the images of Figure 1.5.4.1 and Figure 3.1. The upper nest of hexagons shows how the formative influences of the wider local, national and global communities combine to shape Self, while the lower nest of hexagons exemplifies specific contexts and potential roles that individuals undertake thus making a contribution to the development of each Self.

3.1 The Ethnic Self

Hall (1996) states that:

> we all speak [...] a particular place and time, from a history, and of a particular experience [...] [...] that position us. "Video being" or [...] [...] identities [...]
> (Hall, 19 [...])

As Hall sugg [...] [...] [...] is exerted directly and [...] minority ethnic students in this [...] their communities for culture maintena [...] [...] described in §1. One student explained h [...] [...]

> We have to go t [...] [...] [too] [much], so we feel less distracted than [...]
> Student WA, femal [...]

This suggests that, in attempting to maintain the heritage culture by insisting on attendance at Koranic school after-day school [...] teachers are creating a tension for the children who felt themselves disadvantaged alongside their white dominant ethnic group peers.

As one student [...] [...] difficulties at school [...] [...] from strong parental culture maintena [...]

> [...]

Figure 3.2 Influences, roles and self

Thus, within these contexts the minority ethnic informants in this study stand at the cusp of two very different cultures. This has the potential to create tensions: family heritage culture pulling from one side and dominant British culture pulling from the other. It is in striking the balance between the two that the identity of the Ethnic Self emerges for the minority ethnic students in this study and, furthermore, impacts on the development of the Academic Self and the Global Self.

3.1 The Ethnic Self

Hall (1996) states that:

> we all speak from a particular place, out of a particular history, out of a particular experience, a particular culture, without being contained by that position as "ethnic artists" or film-makers. We are all, in that sense, ethnically located and our ethnic identities are crucial to our subjective sense of who we are.
> **Hall, 1996:447**

As Hall suggests, for everyone, the Ethnic Self is a reflection of the pressures exerted directly and indirectly by the heritage culture. For the second-generation minority ethnic students in this study, there exist additional pressures from within their communities for culture maintenance relating to the modification-rejection process described in §1. One student explained how this influenced daily life when at school.

> *We have to go to the Mosque every day after school* [for two hours], *so we had less advantage than others.*
> **Student WA, female, Pakistani heritage**

This suggests that, in attempting to maintain the heritage culture by insisting on attendance at Koranic school after day-school, the family elders were creating a tension for the children who felt themselves disadvantaged alongside their white dominant ethnic group peers.

Another student highlighted the difficulties at school that emanated from strong parental culture maintenance.

> *Because I had that problem where my Dad was that strict. The cultural problems. Things like in Islam, men are supposed to be separate from women, this, that, the other. I wasn't allowed to talk to boys in my class so all the boys immediately - I mean I didn't know my left from my right, I just had to go by what my parents told me - so when I was young, if a boy came and spoke to me I'd ignore him. Now that is just being ignorant. I didn't know that so that caused problems.*
> **Student FS, female, Pakistani heritage**

The same student noted further evidence in her continuing experience of this tension.

> *My Dad was very strict. He believed: School-home. Shopping-home. And he's still like that. If I'm at home in the holidays, if I'm out, I have to be back in the house by three or four o'clock. Very strict. He doesn't know half of what I get up to here. I think he'd kill me if he found out. He's just stuck in his ways. He can't get out of it.*
> **Student FS, female, Pakistani heritage**

Clearly, the heritage conventions marking the role of the parent and the on-going obedience expected of offspring, even in adulthood, suggests that the maintenance of cultural behaviour has the potential to interfere with the second generation acceptance or modification of the dominant ethnic group mores. The same student explained how she had successfully exercised this denial of the traditional behaviour while maintaining loyalty to her parents in other ways.

My Dad has tried marrying me off, but I've just said 'no'. But I love my parents to bits and I go home every holiday.
Student FS, female, Pakistani heritage

Among these students, the impression of a strong sense of family cohesiveness is evident in the data and reflects the importance of the family in Asian communities. This is exemplified by a concordance analysis of the transcribed interview texts (3816 words in total). Minority ethnic group informants (10) used 'family' words on 319 occasions; the total derived from similar interview data for dominant ethnic group informants (10) was 120. The bilingual respondents, in contrast to dominant ethnic group interviewees, used familial terms in the ratio of 4:1. References to fathers (father, dad) occurred in the ratio of 4:1; references to mothers (mother, mum) were less disparate at 2:1; and references to parents stood at a ratio of 5:1. In qualitative terms, minority ethnic group students related their comments to the family context and, particularly referred to the views of their fathers/parents as significant factors in their lives. White group students made only occasional references to their parents in any context at all.

Philip (1992 cited in Norquay,   q 1998:180) states that the 'immigrant experience' is a transient condition that is a rite through which successful immigrants pass quickly. It can only be supposed that denial of the immigrant experience is likely to be held more strongly by second- and third-generation minority ethnic students whose links to their cultural 'homeland' might be regarded as increasingly tenuous.

> Any remnant connection to the 'homeland' and its traditions was regarded in idealistic fashion: maintaining the language, celebrations and customs was a symbolic gesture of paying homage and respect.
> **Norquay, 1998:180**

While these second-generation students appeared to conform to certain cultural behaviours, there seemed to be ambivalence on occasions. The Pakistani students were all of marriageable age and, without the digression that entry to university represented, they would very probably normally have entered into a marriage contract within one or two years of leaving school. Attitudes and practices varied: some followed the traditional pattern of behaviour in the preservation/rejection mode by conforming entirely to an arranged marriage. This was certainly the observation of one of the white dominant ethnic students who had performed the role of Student Leader on the University Summer School over several years and so had valuable insights into the behaviour and attitudes of the Summer School students, several of whom were young Asian men.

> *The guys seem to have a back-up plan already there...the cousin's shop or something like that, or they're expected to get married at a certain time. Like they're killing time for some of them. Like when you're twenty-one, you're meant to get married and take on that. It's kind of pre-planned before they start.*
> **Student WW, male, Scottish heritage**

In the course of the interviews it did, in fact, transpire that of the cohort of Asian students from one Summer School intake, six had been married within the previous twelve months.

For others, however, the willingness to engage in an arranged marriage came with provisos. This rationale is explained by one student giving his view on arranged marriages.

> *I don't want to be married to someone from Pakistan. In my opinion, it's different cultures...I don't think I can do it because of the way – they are just as educated. I'm not saying they're not intellectuals or anything, but it's just being brought up here in a different world. They don't realise how different it is until they're here. I don't think it's going to be the same. If it's someone straight from Pakistan, they'll be used to staying in the house and not being out. To me, that'd be strange. If you wanted to go out for a meal or something, then you couldn't do it. It'd be difficult. The culture. Everything is totally different here...the thing is, the way you're brought up here, you think, 'I need to know someone before I get married.' It's the rest of your life as far as you are concerned.*
> **Student SM, male, Pakistani heritage**

This attitude exemplifies a position as identified by Norquay (1998) where traditions are acknowledged and maintained but on the basis of a modified set of ground rules. A younger student endorsed this observation.

> *It's changing a lot. I think it's like the kids are taking over. People have realised that education is more important. And you need to have that.*
> **Student SA2, female, Pakistani heritage**

The role of religion in creating the ethnic identity seemed to be demonstrated, certainly by the female interviewees who talked about visible signs of their ethnicity, in terms of clothing.

> *No, I wouldn't wear sharwal kameez at university. It's just something you just adapt to different situations and circumstances. For example, if I'm in an Asian environment and Asian culture, then I know that I've got to have my Asian outfit and I feel good. And then, if I'm at university, then I have to wear this* [jeans and T-shirt]. *You just adapt to it.*
> **Student SJ, female, Pakistani heritage.**

Any potential tension between cultures was evidently not a factor that appeared to have caused any particular problem for this student. However, for another student, the whole issue of clothing and its relevance to religious requirements had been problematic. She explained the family discord this had caused while she was still at school.

> *When I moved and my Dad was, 'You have to put these clothes on' (because we're meant to be all covered). But when all that started my Mum, who's quite modern and a*

> *bit more educated, went, 'Well, we're in England. You can't force them. They've been*
> *born here. As long as they're covered and wearing loose clothing, so what if they're*
> *wearing jeans and T-shirts? They should be allowed.'*
> **Student FS, female, Pakistani heritage**

For students whose migration history was more recent, there was a stronger pull towards
the practices of their own country. Of the two Iraqi interviewees in this study, one wore the
hijab; the other did not. The latter student explained herself.

> *Well, I think, yeh. My sisters wear the hijab (scarf). The thing that I don't like about*
> *hijab is because people look at me a lot. This is why I postpone my decision. I always*
> *think: ok - leave it until next year when I am more confident, because I don't feel very*
> *comfortable, if people are looking at me.*
> **Student LA, female, Iraqi heritage**

For the male students with a declared religious affiliation, views were again ambivalent.
One student had a clear perception of religion as a facet of his life that related more to the
ethnic identity than to the university one.

> *I never knew there was a Mosque - a prayer room - on campus until recently. I didn't*
> *actually know that. I'm just reading more in the papers about making it more of a*
> *society. I've never really gone to look for it... I go to the* [local]*Mosque. If I'm at*
> *University I don't, but if it's the holidays, I go* [to the Mosque] *to the Friday prayers. If*
> *it's like the Eid, then I always go, even if I am at University, I take the morning off to do*
> *prayers. During the month of Ramadan, I always try and go if I'm not at the University*
> *in the evenings.*
> **Student SM, male, Pakistani heritage**

A Sikh student noted that Sikh religious practices were less stringent than those of
Muslims. She was more relaxed about the overt role of religion in her everyday life. While
she conceded her sense of being part of a world religion and thus part of a larger
collectivity that transcended the local community, she also acknowledged that her roots lay
partially in Scotland. She put it quite simply.

> *I prefer to be classified as Sikh, then Scottish. It's a question of pride. It's different from*
> *the pressures on Muslims.*
> **Student SB, female, Indian heritage**

Apart from physiological appearance and other visible manifestations of difference, for
example, in clothing, there was little acknowledgement of being different, of being the
'other' as defined by Said (1979 cited in Goldberg, 1993:150). Only one student referred to
this directly.

> *It's hard to grow up in a community of white people. It's like yeh, you've been brought*
> *up the same as them; you know the same amount; you know how to speak English the*
> *same as them but there's always that difference and they'll always consider you as that*

difference and the odd one out. So, it's like they will always have that in them although they won't show it, you know it. So it's kind of difficult.
Student IY, female, Hong Kong Chinese heritage

Another student stated that difference had not been a factor in her earlier education.

There were so many of us [Asians], *so they didn't make us feel different. If there was less of us, then you might notice something. No-one ever said, 'She's Muslim. She's Indian.'*
Student SB, female, Indian heritage

Thus, the extent to which the ethnic identity is shaped by the influence of home/family, the ethnic community and the religious practices varied from student to student. Nevertheless, what became evident at an early stage in the interviews was the fact that, for most of the students, there is a greater degree of modification and acceptance of operating within the dominant white community in ways than had been the case for their parents. This appeared to be evident in the students' perception of the Ethnic Self.

3.2 The Academic Self

In West's model (West, 1995), the Academic Self represented the student identity where academic ways of knowing were objective and abstract. This contrasts sharply with the characteristics of the experiential learning of the home, the ethnic community culture and the religious base and the interplay of influences on these aspects of the Ethnic Self. In the context of the Academic Self, for minority ethnic students in this study, the situation is less clear. It is argued by Van de Werfhorst and others (2003) that

> Students from 'cultured' homes, where reading and other forms of cultural participation are encouraged, may have a comparative advantage in literacy, and in arts and humanities subjects in general.
> **Van de Werfhorst and others, 2003:43**

This viewpoint is premised on Bourdieu's view that the acquisition of cultural capital is dependent on knowledge of the dominant culture in society (Bourdieu, 1984). He contends that there is 'a very close relationship linking cultural practices (or the corresponding opinions) to educational capital (measurement by qualifications); and secondarily, to social origin (measured by father's occupation)' (Bourdieu, 1984: 13). Put in this perspective, possession of cultural capital suggests an entrée into 'ways of knowing' in an academic context that might be less likely to be available to those without the cultural capital of the dominant culture (although they might be 'culture-rich' within their own cultural community). This interpretation is articulated by Hall (1996:441) who suggests that non-white people are 'positioned as the unspoken and invisible "other" of predominantly white aesthetic and cultural discourses' and, thus, less likely to have had the opportunity to acquire the cultural capital essential for the objective and abstract academic ways of

knowing within the dominant culture. In such cases, part of the explanation for the lack of cultural capital resides in socio-economic background.

Van de Werfhorst and others (2003:41) endorse this view in their examination on subject choice in secondary and tertiary education. They argue that in making choices children are 'guided mainly by the amount of economic and cultural capital that is available within the family'. For all but two of the students, their application for university admission via access initiatives was based on eligibility as members of families without experience of university education or because of disadvantage. Thus, although the social capital and the cultural capital of these students may be strong within the values of their own ethnic system, these may have little currency in the dominant culture. In order to succeed, therefore, they may have to learn to 'think white'. This is not a concept that is prevalent in the discourses about academic capital in the British context, but is one which operates in relation to Black Americans in parts of the United States. This concept was constructed by Ogbu, a Nigerian anthropologist domiciled in the USA, as 'cultural ecological theory' defined as

> The specific historical context and conditions of an ethnic group's incorporation into the dominant society [that] shape and influence the subsequent interactions between a group's culture and the opportunity structure.
> **Horvat and Lewis, 2003: 265**

Ogbu, with Fordham, first articulated the concept of 'acting white' in 1986, namely that, in their case, black Americans have evolved an oppositional social identity that defines

> ...certain activities, events, symbols, and meanings as not appropriate for them because these behaviors, events, symbols, and meanings are characteristic of white Americans.
> **Fordham and Ogbu, 1986:181 cited in Horvat and Lewis, 2003.**

Dibble and Rosiek (2002) explain this.

> As a white man, he doesn't have to think about his position in life, his place in the world. The history books tell him, as they are written, that this world is his. He doesn't have to think about where he goes, what he does. He doesn't have to think 'like a white person'. The way the world has been set up...white IS human. So he doesn't have to worry about how do I think like a 'white person'. I don't know, but I would assume that doesn't enter a white person's mind, because they don't have to deal with that from day one. They step into a world that is theirs.
> **Dibble and Rosiek, 2002:13**

The 'acting white' theory has encountered criticism as not being validated in other contexts, however, for the present study, it suggests a dimension that resonates with the idea of 'identity shift' described by Clyne (1994:208). While it has to be acknowledged that there are those within the dominant culture who may also lack cultural capital,

possibly a reflection of socio-economic positioning within the wider society, they do not have to make such an adjustment, whereas for minority ethnic students this is the case. One minority ethnic student described what it was like to fit into the culture of academic study:

How to plan my studies, but especially about stuff that I wouldn't have had a clue about – like you know when you're reading journals and stuff, I'd be sitting [thinking] I've not got a clue how to read it. What is this person on about and everything? Obviously, when you first start doing something it's new, but the more and more that you do it, the more you get into the way of doing it. How to read it. What to look out for. Stuff like that.
Student FS, female, Pakistani heritage

In describing this process, Student FS is outlining the rationale of academic discourse dictated by the dominant academic culture. This helps to shape and define her Academic Self. Since Student FS was a mature student in her third year at the time of the interview, she had considerable experience behind her and was possibly more reflective of her skills and abilities than others interviewed. These other younger interviewees were beginning to work out where they were in the continuum of university learning as suggested by one student:

I think I'm more analytical. Because I'm 21 now I'm a lot more grown up than when I started Summer School definitely. But I suppose a lot of things I've developed, like my communication skills and willing to participate in a lot of things/like helped me develop as a person. Before I was quite quiet and I wouldn't like speak to anyone.
Student JJ, female, Indian heritage

As people move through the different levels of learning, that is, from nursery through primary and secondary into university, the Academic Self develops and matures with experience. Furthermore, the interaction with members of the dominant ethnic group implies a liaison that opens up a broader experience of dominant culture thinking processes to the minority ethnic student.

From the study, there grew a sense that the internal university culture provided an ambience where cultural barriers were less significant. For example, two students in this study acknowledged that they had experienced racist bullying in school; in other cases where bullying was cited, they felt that this was not racially motivated. However, in the university environment all the minority ethnic students stated that they had no first-hand experience of racism and in only one case was there a reference to racist attitudes. As suggested in §1, within the university environment there is the potential for the development of a liminal culture as defined by Back (1996), that is, a culture that ignores the tensions of the wider community and creates its own inclusive culture where difference

is less relevant. One student seemed to think that the culture in university was of a more liminal nature when she explained:

> *I feel totally comfortable in university because I don't think there is racism in the university. When you are in adult life, when you are in university, you get people from all sorts of backgrounds to come to university from all sorts of areas and they've seen all sorts of cultures and things. They look at you as an individual. Your skin colour or culture has not been an issue at all.*
> **Student SJ, female, Pakistani heritage**

It would seem that this liminal culture is a contributory factor in the development of the Academic Self as the interplay between the Ethnic Self and the Global Self is enacted within the university setting.

3.3 The Global Self

Individuals in society can no longer remain in isolation. The idealised city state of Aristotle, the concept of the nation-state of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the federalisation of power blocs of nation states in the shape of intergovernmental organisations have given way to the realities of globalisation. The 'habitus' defined by Bourdieu (2002) is shaped by events in other parts of the 'global village' where technology breaks down barriers of knowledge, communication, time and distance; and global marketing offers brands and commodities in a consumerist age that enable the adoption of multiple identities rather than the restricted identities of inward-looking societies.

Hall (1996) argues that the old identities framed on the nation-state, local community or family are open to fragmentation and challenge by the construction of 'new identities' where 'the beginning of a positive conception of the ethnicity of the margins, of the periphery' where 'ethnicity [is] predicated on difference and diversity' (Hall, 1996:447).

In terms of the cultural context, in this study these second-generation Asians may well represent a dwindling group whose roots lie simultaneously in two cultural contexts, that of the country of their parents' birth and that of the host country. Subsequent generations may subscribe either to entirely new identities as suggested by Hall (1996) or 'hybrid identities' as defined by Back (1996). Of twenty-eight Access Summer School and pre-sessional ASPIRE students surveyed in the pilot questionnaire, twenty identified themselves as British (rather than as Pakistani, Indian or Bangladeshi), while only one described herself as British-Asian and one as British-Indian. This suggests that some students are in the

process of developing Hall's new identities by the use of the term 'British', while others adopt Back's hybrid model with the use of hyphenated markers of identity.

This identification with Britishness, 'us' and 'them' attitudes, is recognisable in some discourses. For example, one student particularly distanced herself from in-coming migrants by her use of the third person when she observed:

> *I can understand that they want to keep their traditions and their heritage and everything, but the thing is that if they are planning to live over here and they are planning to raise their children over here, they would have to be able to associate with people over here. There is no point in living in a totally different country and a totally different culture and not allowing their children to grow up in that culture. It just makes the children feel left out and unhappy with themselves.* [Emphasis added.]
> **Student IY, female, Hong Kong Chinese heritage**

Another of the interviewees indicated a similar stance and distance:

> *...here, in order to get on with your life I think you need to be in a mixed environment. There's got to be some flexibility, otherwise you're going to be thrown into the world and there's going to be all these problems.*
> **Student FS, female, Pakistani heritage**

This suggests that there is a widening gulf between the young people who regard themselves as culturally integrated in British society with those who are either recently arrived immigrants, or immigrants who have been in the UK for some time but who have resisted the acculturation process. Most minority ethnic students interviewed implied some accommodation to the patterns of behaviour, particularly in the educational system, an accommodation described as a 'voluntary identity shift' (Clyne, 1994:208).

Thus, in order to operate, these students need 'to inhabit at least two identities, to speak two cultural languages, to translate and negotiate between them' (Hall and others, 1992:310) in order to achieve the biculturalism that is their daily lives (Clyne, 1994). However, tensions in biculturalism are noted. Norquay, writing in 1998, asserts that immigrants to Canada 'live in a contradictory space constructed by the dominant group's desire to render them as both "other" and acceptable at the same time' (Norquay, 1998:180). In practice, therefore, the voluntary identity shift may be an accommodation that masks a less obvious tension as noted by Tennant (1992).

> Since cultural values, for the most part, operate in the subconscious, students —and their teachers — rarely conceptualise the cause of cultural discomfort and, consequently, even more rarely verbalise it.
> **Tennant, 1992:1**

Henze and others (1990 cited in Tennant, 1992: 2) puts this point in a stronger fashion by using the words of a Yup'ik Eskimo teacher to explain this cultural discomfort as 'the invisible clamor'. One Muslim student provided an anecdote that exemplified such a 'clamor'.

> *We didn't like it* [having to ask to be excused for religious observance at Eid], *but we had to do it; I had to go for prayer for the Eid, for salvation, and the English teacher that I had said you had to bring a letter. Like I was saying to myself, 'Does she not believe me? Or something.' They had this diary and it said on it 'Eid, Moslem celebration'. I had to tell my Dad and he had to type this letter saying that 'NM will not be here because he'll be celebrating.' I don't think that's really right. When you have Christmas holidays, you don't have to do this. I think that should be changed. It should be recognised anyway. What's the point of asking? They have the school diary every year and all the Christian* [and Eid] *holidays are there.*
> **Student NM, male, Pakistani heritage**

It was not clear whether this student perceived this incident as an overt act of racism, religious intolerance, or ignorance of minority cultural practices in the pursuit of a bureaucratic school procedure. However he interpreted it, he was clearly annoyed by the incident and this clash of cultural values.

Generally, more in line with Tennant's observation (Tennant, 1992), other minority ethnic interviewees did not raise cultural discomfort as an issue. Dominant group informants overtly commented on cultural mismatch or dissonance in the university context as they perceived it. A dominant ethnic student who had performed the duties of a student leader on the Access and ASPIRE Summer Schools, in recounting experience of minority ethnic group student participation in whole-group activities, volunteered the view that:

> *Yeh. They did* [mix] *but they always had three or four of them together. Some of the guys were a wee bit different...the guys were ok, but the girls always had their wee clique.*
> **Student WW, male, Scottish heritage**

Another dominant ethnic student commented on the fact that, in his experience, minority ethnic group students tended to

> *...work away fine but they had their comfort zone and they would go back to people of a like type.*
> **Student SJM, male, Scottish heritage**

Despite these apparently limited horizons, minority ethnic students envisaged careers ahead for themselves once they graduated. In 12 cases, questionnaire respondents cited 'getting a good job' or 'finding a job' as their main career goal. Another nine respondents cited particular career goals, for example, in Law, Psychology and Social Work. Only two cited involvement in family business enterprise. Otherwise, there seemed to be no

particular pressure to abandon their chosen field in order to support the family business. One student in response to a question about having the freedom to follow a career emphatically asserted:

> *Yeh, definitely. Not in Dundee. Career-wise I'd want to move out.*
> **Student SJ, female, Pakistani heritage**

Two other female students had identified pathways to follow:

> *I actually want to do medicine. I'm not sure yet. I'll see how it goes. If not, then I might just do cancer research or something.*
> **Student SA2, female, Pakistani heritage**

> *I might study further. I wanted to do medicine but I might just end up with pharmacology. I'll see how it all goes.*
> **Student NA3, female, Pakistani heritage**

Although there seemed to be some uncertainty as to the outcome, interviewees were clear that a career was a possibility. One student stated that she was under no pressure to follow the traditional marriage route.

> *Parents are actually telling us 'no'* [to marriage].
> **Student SA2, female, Pakistani heritage**

This shift in attitudes amongst the female students from Asian heritages was strong and is exemplified by statements from two students. The first saw adulthood, whether within the university or beyond, as an opening a door to independence.

> *Well, if I wasn't at university, I'd be thinking, 'What would I be doing?' I'd probably just be working because I don't like staying at home, just sitting at home doing nothing. Not for me. I'd have to be doing something. For a lot of Islamic girls their parents are putting them down for getting married and things like that and that's why they have to stop their education.*
> **Student JJ, female, Indian heritage**

In expressing this view, Student JJ clearly rejected the marriage option at this stage. Student FS who had also overcome attempts to arrange a marriage saw university as a liberating experience:

> *I thought, 'Failed everything at school. Did my job and that's it. Stuck in this for the rest of my life.' I've come to uni, met different people. Studied. It's broadened my mind, my thinking and everything. And I'm just thinking, 'WOW!'*
> **Student FS, female, Pakistani heritage**

From the perspective of the minority ethnic interviewees, the pull of the ethnic identity was countered either by the hybrid identity or by a 'new' identity that reflects changes wrought by globalisation. Thus, the recognition of another self, the Global Self, emerges from the educational context and exemplified by identity shifts that challenge traditional perceptions.

3.4 Summary

This section has presented the characteristics that cumulatively contribute to the three notions of Self identified as key to the current study. The Ethnic Self for the students in this study emerges from the competing pressures of the heritage culture on one side and that of the dominant culture on the other and identifies ways in which the respondents and interviewees in this study accommodate these two vying pressures.

In the context of university, the Academic Self is developed from the experiences of school learning and responds to new learning challenges at higher education level. In adjusting to the different demands that university education makes of them, students recognised that their competence in the skills required at university had improved. The liminal culture of the institution afforded them a learning environment where race was not an issue and thus was not seen as a stress at university. Together, the Ethnic Self and the Academic Self contribute to the creation of the 'habitus' and provide the impetus for the emergent Global Self that cradles the 'new identity' that creates new ethnicities defined by Hall (1996).

In this work, each Self, as a single strand, will interweave with the others to form a plait-like structure; each strand will be discussed in relation to one of the other strands in turn and the whole will terminate with a broader discussion that relates to all three.

§4 Demographic contexts

Minority ethnic group students in Scottish HE are the focus of this study and it is the aim of this section to place this group within the context of the wider Scottish society in which they live, work and study thus initiating the concept of the Global Self and its interrelationship with the Ethnic Self.

Initially, there will be a brief appraisal of minority ethnic group populations in Scotland in comparison to those in the UK. This review has a number of aims:

- to identify the principal minority ethnic groups resident in Scotland and in the UK;
- to establish whether there are marked disparities in the demographic distribution of these groups over the UK as a whole and Scotland, in particular, as a different administrative area; and
- to identify established long-term minority ethnic group communities in particular areas in Scotland.

This general national appraisal will be followed by a review of the distribution of minority ethnic group students across the Scottish higher education sector with the aim of analysing minority ethnic group participation in higher education (HE) that has not been previously tracked in any great detail, by considering:

- minority ethnic group aspiration to participation in higher education in Scotland in the form of applications for entry to university and the relationship between such applications and acceptances;
- specific features that can be derived from the statistical demographic data, for example, male-female ratios and socio-economic background;
- the profile of minority ethnic group acceptances in the context of subject choice;
- the relationship to admission patterns across the sector; and
- any degree of marginalisation of minority ethnic group students in higher education in Scotland.

Finally, the status of minority ethnic group participation in one Scottish HE institution, the University of Dundee, will be considered in order to demonstrate:

- the presence of minority ethnic group students in the University of Dundee over the period 1988-2002 and 2002-3;
- increasing participation trends for these groups within the University;

- representation across socio-economic groups and relationship to national trends;

- male-female ratios of participation; and

- distribution of minority ethnic group students across disciplines within the University in comparison with distributions at national level.

For scrutiny of the general population data, decennial census information available from the Office of National Statistics (general UK data) and the General Register Office (GRO) for Scotland (Scottish specific data) will be used. Information relating to higher education populations within the Scottish HE sector is derived from data collated by the Universities Central Admissions Service (UCAS) and from the Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA). Specific information relating to minority ethnic group representation in the University of Dundee will be derived from institutional records maintained on an electronic database system to which access was granted as a concession to conducting this project.

For historical reasons, national UK data is frequently collected and reported in diverse ways. Data reported from government agencies based in London sometimes relate to England and Wales, sometimes to the UK as a whole; data relating to Scotland is usually collected and reported for Scotland only. However, there are occasions, the decennial census being one such, where Scottish data is subsumed into the total UK data. These arrangements are context dependent and it is not the function of this paper to debate the merits of these practices. However, data relating to minority ethnic groups can become confused for these reasons. For the purposes of the current study, the data used will make a distinction between populations in the whole of the UK, in Scotland or in the University of Dundee. The following sections will address these three areas and provide a context for the broader study.

4.1 Census data: minority ethnic groups in UK and Scotland

The 2001 UK Census data show that non-white minority ethnic groups represented approximately 8% (4 635 296) of the total UK population (Appendix 6), whereas in Scotland, the representation is 2% (101 677) Table 4.1.1. Minority ethnic groups in Scotland are not homogeneous and Table 4.1.2 shows the composition of the total minority ethnic group population in Scotland. The Pakistani community has the largest representation; this is consistent with UK figures.

Table 4.1.1   Scotland: Census 2001 – principal minority ethnic groups

	Total of all people including white	All minority ethnic groups	Black and Other	Chinese	Indian	Pakistani and other South Asians	Mixed
Total Scottish populations	5 062 011	101 677	30 360	16 310	15 037	39 970	Not applicable
Percentage of total Scottish population	100.0	2.0	0.6	0.3	0.3	0.8	n/a
Percentage of non-white population	n/a	100	29.9	16.0	14.8	39.3	n/a

Table 4.1.1 shows that there are three significant minority ethnic groupings in Scotland: Indian (0.3%), Pakistani and other Southern Asians (0.8%) and Chinese (0.3%). There are very few Bangladeshis (0.04%) resident in Scotland although Bangladeshi communities elsewhere in the UK are the most significant minority ethnic group. It is for this point of possible contrast and for completeness in representing all three Asian sub-continent communities that the Bangladeshi statistics have been included. Bangladeshis in Scotland are superseded by the Black community (0.16%). In this case, this is a highly fragmented, yet widely dispersed, composite of Black, Caribbean, African, and mixed Black groups. Although the other non-white classification comprises 0.4%, there is no indication of what ethnic representations might be included in this total. Therefore, for the purposes of the current analysis, African, Caribbean, Black Scots, Other Black, Bangladeshi, Other South Asians, Mixed Background, and Other minority ethnic groups will, in general, be discounted. Bangladeshi, Other South Asian and Mixed group data will be included at some stages in the interests of completeness where identification of minority groups with a heritage based in the Asian sub-continent is important to the discussion. Although numerically small, Chinese statistics have been included because the Chinese community in Scotland is bigger in percentage terms in Scotland than it is elsewhere in the UK.

Table 4.1.2 presents data on the largest minority ethnic group population concentrations in Scotland. In addition, data for the regions of Fife and Perth and Kinross, the two regions adjacent to the Dundee area, are included for comparison. In terms of distribution across the country, some minorities demonstrate a preference,

dictated by economic as well as social interests, for establishing closely-knit communities within specific zones. For example, in Scotland, Pakistani communities, which comprise the largest minority ethnic group (0.63% of the total Scottish population), have tended to settle in urban areas, for example, Greater Glasgow, Edinburgh and Dundee. The Pakistani community comprises 1.18% of the Dundee population; only Glasgow and East Renfrew supersede this with Pakistanis representing 2.65% and 1.98% of these populations respectively. The Bangladeshi community in Scotland is very small indeed at 0.04% and has no particular locus in the country. Chinese people choose to establish family units in both rural and urban areas, although it is in Edinburgh and Glasgow that Chinese are most significantly represented at 0.79% and 0.67% respectively. Indian communities are evident in the four largest Scottish urban areas of Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Dundee. However, it is in East Dunbarton that they represent the highest proportion of any local population (1.42%).

Table 4.1.2 Scotland: Census 2001 - most significant ethnic group by area

| | | All people | Percentages | | | | | |
			Bangladeshi	Chinese	Indian	Pakistani	Other South Asian	White
	Scotland	*5 062 011*	*0.04*	*0.32*	*0.30*	*0.63*	*0.12*	*97.99*
Cities	Aberdeen	212 125	0.16	0.57	0.39	0.19	0.22	97.1
	Dundee	145 663	0.16	0.48	0.70	1.18	0.29	96.34
	Edinburgh	448 624	0.14	0.79	0.53	0.88	0.27	95.93
	Glasgow	577 869	0.04	0.67	0.72	2.65	0.35	94.54
Regions	East Dunbarton	108 243	0.04	0.47	1.42	0.47	0.18	96.91
	East Renfrew	89 311	0.01	0.38	0.77	1.98	0.17	96.15
	Fife	349 429	0.02	0.21	0.15	0.34	0.06	98.73
	Perth & Kinross	134 949	0.02	0.23	0.10	0.1	0.06	99.03

Derived from KS06: GRO, 2003

Immigration by these identified minority ethnic groups has taken place over a number of decades and generations. Table 4.1.3 shows that 55% of the Pakistani community resident in Scotland were born in Scotland or elsewhere in the UK. For Indian residents in Scotland the figures show that the number born in Scotland is 49%. The

Chinese community shows a very different balance with only 34% having been born in Britain. These figures suggest that Chinese immigration history is more recent than that of Indians and Pakistanis.

Table 4.1.3 Scotland: Census 2001 - country of birth

Country of birth as percentage in relation to total minority ethnic group				
Country of birth	Chinese as % of total Chinese population	Indian as % of total Indian population	Pakistani + South Asian as % of total Pakistani + South Asian	White % of total White population
Scotland	30	34	44	88
Rest of UK	4	15	11	9
Total in UK	34	49	55	97
Outside UK	66	51	45	3

Derived from Theme Table CAST07: GRO, 2003

However, further breakdown of the figures shows that, in each case, a large proportion of the UK-born minority ethnic group members were born in Scotland (as opposed to elsewhere in the UK). This indicates an element of stability within communities with heritage ties to the Asian sub-continent and implies that, for these groups, there is the potential for a growing identification with Scotland rather than with the heritage country. As the years go by and further generations grow up in Scotland, it could be expected that this would lead to a weakening of the 'home' ties that first generation migrants frequently seek to maintain. From the current study, it was noted that young people from minority backgrounds prefer to categorise themselves as British or Scottish Asian rather than Pakistani or Bangladeshi. This suggests some dilution of the 'home country' influence among minority ethnic group second- and subsequent generation members with implications for the sense of Ethnic Self discussed in §3.

4.2 Census data: implications of collection of ethnicity data

In the preceding section, I sought to examine the context in which people of non-British heritages live in Scotland. By examining population composition and dispersal of minority ethnic groups in Scotland, I have highlighted the significant differences between these communities in the wider UK context and those in Scotland.

This appraisal has also brought into harsh relief, the relatively limited recognition by policy and planning decision-makers of issues that would be of concern to long-

established communities within Scotland. This is manifested, for example, in difficulties with terminology when talking or writing about minority ethnic groups, and when considering issues related to ethnicity and different cultures. Furthermore, as the mood and trends within the host culture shift to recognise Scotland's own minority heritages, in particular the Gaelic community, there has been an apparent reluctance within the decennial census exercises to identify the language and other needs of other minority ethnic groups in Scotland.

The demographic data and analysis in this section provide a backdrop for further examination of minority ethnic group participation in Scottish higher education and contextualise the emergent Global and Ethnic identities for the students in this study.

4.3 Sources of statistical data for minority ethnic group participation in higher education in Scotland

Explicit detailed statistical data on participation of minority ethnic groups in Scottish Further and Higher Education are not easily found in the public domain. There are several possible reasons for this. Firstly, the collection of data on ethnicity by public agencies has been fraught with controversy, principally because, as noted, there is disagreement as to how ethnicity should be defined and what terminology should be used to describe members of different minority ethnic groups. Although a degree of standardisation has been achieved more recently, changes in terminology and classification criteria impose limitations on comparison across all groups over time.

In addition, in recent years there has been a degree of change across the Scottish HE sector with some rationalisation, exemplified by mergers of institutions. This leads to discontinuity in longitudinal analysis of data because the composition of the expanded institutions has altered with the integration of another institution, for example, the University of Aberdeen has merged with Northern College and the University of Glasgow with St. Andrews College of Education.

Furthermore, as noted earlier in this section, it was suggested that, in Scotland, the collection of data relating to ethnic origin has been limited and, thus, such data have not traditionally been fore-grounded in research or analyses of data. In relation to Scottish HE, John (2003:11) identified a syndrome as 'there [being] no problem here because "they" are not here' which he felt some in the sector used as a justification for

ignoring ethnicity issues. He laments the lack of baseline information on minority ethnic group involvement with the sector. This echoes an observation made by Powney and others (1998:9) who note the lack of 'accessible statistical information on which to base enquiry and conclusions'. This suggests that little progress has been made over the intervening five years. My experience in seeking the data relevant to the current study seems consistent with the difficulties identified in both the John (2003) and Powney (1998) Reports as well as those outlined in the Scottish Executive Central Research Unit's Audit (Netto and others, 2001). Thus, the data and analyses that follow represent a trail which has hitherto largely remained overtly unexplored.

In relation to Scottish Higher Education, source material was derived from the two agencies with particular remits for gathering data related to Higher Education in the United Kingdom, the Universities and Colleges Admissions Service (UCAS) and the Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA). UCAS collates applicant, course and institution statistics at national level, that is, anticipated participation and activity in the sector at first year level. HESA, acting as the agent of the respective Funding Councils, has the remit of collection and analysis of data relating to the HE sector once students are committed to a particular institution. This includes data on student enrolment, student participation at all levels, destinations after graduation, staffing and finances. HESA claims to be independent in its appraisal of the data it collates. Although certain data relating to Scottish Higher Education can be extrapolated from both these sources, they represent two quite distinct databases created for different purposes. They are not directly comparable or complementary.

Other sources of information include publications produced by the Scottish Executive and the Scottish Higher Education Funding Council. The Scottish Executive, through the General Register Office, derives some limited statistical information on Higher Education from the decennial censuses. SHEFC derives information from HESA and from the HE sector directly.

4.3 UCAS: Pre-entry data

UCAS data is probably the most informative of the available data in that it provides figures on applications and acceptances to Higher Education with data tables giving breakdowns according to various criteria, including ethnicity, for Scotland, England and Wales. Whereas earlier Census data reported minority ethnic groups in the broad

categories of White, Indian, Pakistani and other South Asian, Chinese and Other, UCAS has used slightly different categories in recent years. This means that in the UCAS data, minority ethnic groups are sub-divided into 6 broad racial categories: White, Black, Asian, Mixed, Other and Not Known. These are broken down further. For reasons that are explained in Appendix 6, there are inaccuracies in recorded data. Thus, figures should be seen as reflecting broad trends rather than precise per capita records.

UCAS data are useful to the current analysis in that they reveal aspirations to participate in the HE sector across all ethnic groupings. Not all applications translate into acceptances in the final case; not all acceptances correspond to the original applications. This can be accounted for by students changing their minds, accepting second-best choices or gaining acceptances they had not expected. It is an inexact science, but the data are helpful in showing groups who seek to enter HE and in which subject areas. For the present study, this provides something of a social commentary on attitudes to higher education held by potential students of all ethnicities.

Table 4.3.1 shows that, amongst Asian groups, in all but one case, there has been a decrease in the number of applications and acceptances over the four-year period. As noted, there could be reasons for the disparity between applications and acceptances. In particular, there is a significant difference between Pakistani applications which translate into acceptances where the percentage disparity is consistently around 32%. This is the highest rate of all the groups scrutinised in this study. These figures seem to support perceptions that Pakistani families encourage participation in higher education in greater proportions than in other minority ethnic groups; the figures could also indicate that the aspirations to participate may not reflect ability to obtain places in HE.

Table 4.3.1 Scottish domiciled student applications and acceptances 2000-3

Minority ethnic group	Year	All Applications	All Acceptances	Percentage disparity applications to acceptances
Bangladeshi	2000	33	25	24
	2001	26	21	19
	2002	30	26	13
	2003	26	18	31
Chinese	2000	246	197	20
	2001	255	200	22
	2002	237	189	20
	2003	222	178	20
Indian	2000	212	170	20
	2001	195	137	30
	2002	196	148	27
	2003	191	150	21
Pakistani	2000	599	409	32
	2001	586	406	31
	2002	542	362	33
	2003	585	398	32
Other Asian	2000	103	81	21
	2001	66	53	20
	2002	95	72	14
	2003	104	76	27

Derived from UCAS 2000-3

Table 4.3.2 shows that, in relation to minority ethnic groups, in any of the given years, more females were accepted than males in two-thirds of instances. Of these, Pakistani heritage women are numerically the highest seeking admission to HE, and, in all but one year, they surpassed Pakistani heritage men in making successful acceptances.

Table 4.3.2 Scottish domiciled student male and female acceptances 2000-3

Minority ethnic group	Year	Male Acceptances	Female Acceptances
Bangladeshi	2000	13	12
	2001	10	11
	2002	12	14
	2003	12	6
Chinese	2000	101	96
	2001	95	105
	2002	91	98
	2003	91	87
Indian	2000	73	97
	2001	66	71
	2002	72	76
	2003	70	80
Pakistani	2000	213	196
	2001	196	210
	2002	177	185
	2003	182	216
Other Asian	2000	30	51
	2001	24	29
	2002	43	29
	2003	41	35

Derived from UCAS 2000-3

Changes in the way that socio-economic data were classified occurred in 2002. This makes comparisons over the period 2000 and 2001 incompatible with those of 2002 and 2003. Despite this, data from the latter period show some indications of trends relating to socio-economic background of the applicant on the basis of parental occupation (Table 4.3.3). It can be seen that, in all cases, acceptances match or fall short of applications. This can be accounted for by reasons already noted.

Table 4.3.3 Applications and acceptances to Scottish higher education by ethnicity and socio-economic grouping based on parental occupation 2002-3

Minority ethnic group	Year	Applications (App) and Acceptances (Acc)	1. Higher managerial + professional	2. Lower managerial + professional	3. Intermediate occupations	4. Small employers + own account workers	5. Lower supervisory + technical occupations	6. Semi-routine occupations	7. Routine occupations	8. Unknown	Total
Bangladeshi	2002	App	3	8	0	9	0	1	1	8	30
		Acc	3	8	0	7	0	1	1	6	26
	2003	App	7	4	0	4	0	3	3	9	30
		Acc	7	2	0	2	0	2	2	5	20
Black (all)	2002	App	19	19	10	3	1	16	5	52	125
		Acc	15	15	8	1	1	11	3	34	88
	2003	App	23	31	13	5	1	17	2	46	138
		Acc	19	18	6	2	1	8	2	32	88
Chinese	2002	App	14	23	12	31	0	90	6	61	237
		Acc	12	19	8	22	0	74	5	49	189
	2003	App	17	23	13	22	0	73	7	69	222
		Acc	18	20	12	17	0	58	6	49	178
Indian	2002	App	31	50	8	20	3	28	8	48	196
		Acc	23	40	5	16	1	18	7	38	148
	2003	App	34	36	8	23	4	22	7	57	191
		Acc	31	27	6	19	3	18	6	40	150
Pakistani	2002	App	27	98	23	114	0	71	21	188	542
		Acc	17	64	16	81	0	44	13	127	362
	2003	App	43	104	28	111	4	84	22	189	585
		Acc	29	66	20	76	2	56	14	135	398

Derived from UCAS, 2002; UCAS, 2003

Table 4.3.4 conflates the data from Table 4.3.3 and includes data relating to white groups. It shows that, across the minority ethnic groupings, more significant numbers come from families where parental occupations are in the higher and lower management/professional categories and, to a lesser extent in all groups, with the exception of Pakistanis, from semi-routine occupations. In the Pakistani case (Table 4.3.3), the most significant numbers come from homes where the parental occupation is from the small employer/own account worker category. This would appear to endorse the view that older generation Pakistanis are active in almost all socio-economic categories, value higher education and are willing to encourage their children to seek admission to university. Nevertheless, these figures also have to be scrutinised relative to the white groups. As Table 4.3.4 shows, there are the striking numerical differences between minority ethnic groups and white groups in their engagement within the HE sector and overall the percentage of white applicants being accepted into higher education is higher than applicants from minority ethnic groups. This is not unsurprising given the size of the total minority ethnic group population in Scotland.

Table 4.3.4 Applications and acceptances to Scottish higher education by ethnicity and socio-economic grouping 2002-3

| Ethnic group | Year | | Socio-economic groupings as adopted with effect from 2002 | | | | | | | | |
		Applications (App) and Acceptances (Acc)	Higher managerial + professional	Lower managerial + professional	Intermediate occupations	Small employers + own account workers	Lower supervisory + technical occupations	Semi-routine occupations	Routine occupations	Unknown	Total
Total minority ethnic groups	2002	App	94	198	53	177	4	206	41	357	1131
		Acc	70	146	37	127	2	148	29	254	813
		% Acc	74	74	70	72	50	72	71	71	72
	2003	App	124	198	62	165	9	199	41	370	1166
		Acc	104	133	44	116	6	142	30	261	836
		% Acc	84	67	71	70	67	73	73	71	72
Total White	2002	App	5732	8032	4145	1971	1491	3467	1678	4552	31068
		Acc	4773	6438	3217	1506	1135	2606	1212	3447	24334
		% Acc	83	80	78	76	76	75	72	76	78
	2003	App	5818	8187	4089	2119	1594	3659	1581	5625	32672
		Acc	4797	6389	3110	1578	1216	2670	1095	4193	25048
		% Acc	83	78	76	75	76	73	69	75	77

Derived from UCAS 2002; UCAS 2003

From the data in Table 4.3.5 it can be noted that, while the percentage of Chinese acceptances in each group is generally higher than the percentage in the dominant white group, the percentage of acceptances in the Pakistani group is consistently lower than those of the white group. How this could be interpreted is open to conjecture. One explanation might be that aspiration outstrips ability in the Pakistani group or that Pakistanis, for some reason, are encouraged more than other minority ethnic groups to seek university admission.

Table 4.3.5 Acceptances as percentage of applications to Scottish higher education by ethnicity and socio-economic grouping 2002-3

		Socio-economic groupings as adopted in 2002								
Ethnic Group	Year	Higher managerial + professional	Lower managerial + professional	Intermediate occupations	Small employers + own account workers	Lower supervisory + technical occupations	Semi-routine occupations	Routine occupations	Unknown	Total
Chinese	2002	85	82	66	71	0	82	83	80	80
	2003	n/a	86	92	77	0	79	86	71	80
Indian	2002	74	80	62	80	33	64	87	79	75
	2003	68	75	75	83	75	81	85	70	78
Pakistani	2002	62	65	69	71	0	61	61	67	66
	2003	67	63	71	68	50	67	64	71	68
White British	2002	83	80	77	76	76	75	72	75	78
	2003	82	78	76	74	76	73	69	74	76

Derived from UCAS 2002; UCAS 2003)

Table 4.3.6 is derived from Table 4.3.5 and shows that, overall socio-economic groups in the period 2002-3, minority ethnic group acceptances to a Scottish HE institution represented only 3% of the total acceptances to the sector in each year. Once again, these small figures, whether calculated numerically (Table 4.3.4) or as percentages (Table 4.3.5), illustrate that minority ethnic groups, even collectively, have much less prominence in the sector than the majority white group.

Table 4.3.6 Total minority ethnic group acceptances as percentage of applications to Scottish higher education by socio-economic grouping 2002-3

Categories	Year	All socio-economic Groups
Total minority ethnic groups as percentage of applications to Scottish HE	2002	3%
	2003	3%

Derived from UCAS 2002; UCAS 2003)

Graph 4.3.1 shows the acceptances to Scottish Higher Education as a percentage of each minority group based on subject choice over the period 2000-2003 for the subject areas with the highest percentage acceptances. The higher percentages in the Pakistani heritage columns across several subject areas are immediately evident. A more thorough analysis of the data also reflects some of the commonly held perceptions about affinities certain minority ethnic groups have with some subject areas. In addition, there are instances where the perceptions are not consistent with the reality.

Graph 4.3.1 Acceptances to Scottish higher education by subject as percentage of minority ethnic group 2002-3
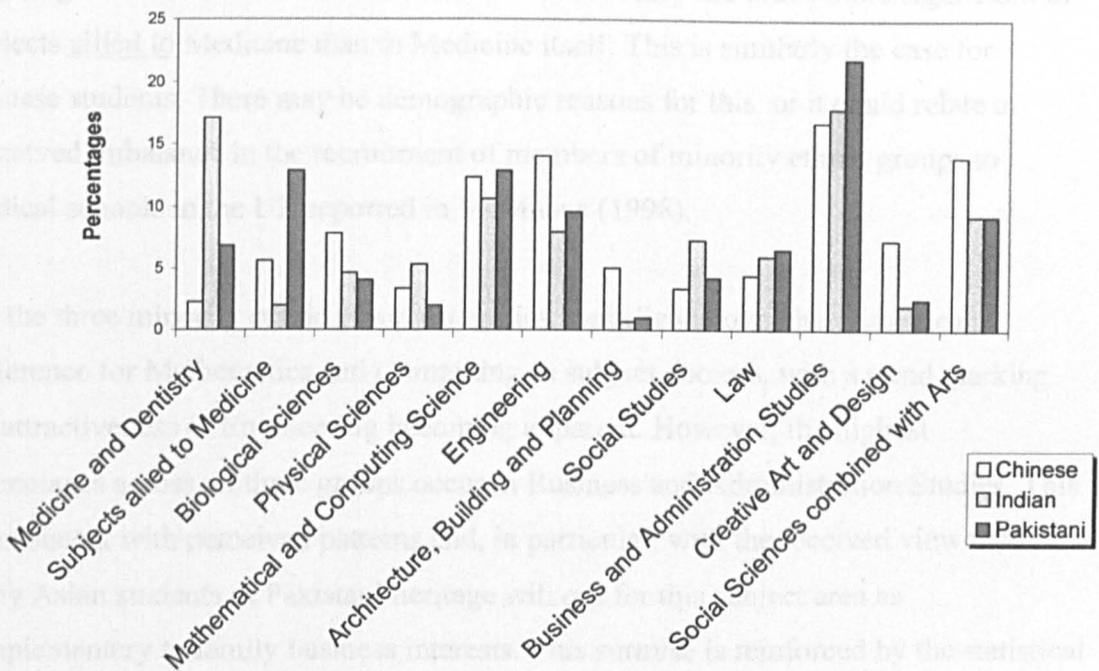
Derived from UCAS data 2000-2003

Graph 4.3.1 shows that, in Scotland, of the six discipline areas said to be most attractive to minority ethnic group applicants, Medicine and Dentistry, subjects allied to Medicine, Mathematics and Computing, Engineering, Business and Administration; and Social Sciences combined with Arts.

Law, as a discipline, is reputedly particularly attractive to minority ethnic group families who perceive this to be a respected profession with a degree of social cachet within their communities. The data in Graph 4.3.1 indicate that, for all three groups, Law attracts only a small percentage of minority ethnic group students. For students of Indian and Chinese heritages, the database of figures showed no acceptances were

achieved in 2000-1, although in 2002-3 around 10 acceptances were achieved in each year. For the Pakistani group, the pattern was similar, but in the two latter years more than 20 acceptances were recorded. Despite this emerging positive trend, in general, it remains an aspiration rather than an actuality for minority ethnic group students. The fact that Scottish universities with Law departments, with one exception (University of Dundee), concentrate on Scots Law places some constraints on later professional activity outside the Scottish jurisdiction.

The perceived traditional affiliation to Medicine and Dentistry by Indian heritage students is clearly upheld, but for Pakistani students who are popularly regarded as targeting Medicine, this is not the case. As a cohort they are much more significant in subjects allied to Medicine than to Medicine itself. This is similarly the case for Chinese students. There may be demographic reasons for this, or it could relate to perceived imbalance in the recruitment of members of minority ethnic groups to medical schools in the UK reported in McManus (1998).

For the three minority ethnic group categories identified above, there is a clear preference for Mathematics and Computing as subject choices, with a trend marking the attractiveness of Engineering becoming apparent. However, the highest percentages across all three groups occur in Business and Administration Studies. This is consistent with perceived patterns and, in particular, with the received view that many Asian students of Pakistani heritage will opt for this subject area as complementary to family business interests. This surmise is reinforced by the statistical evidence given in Table 4.3.5 which shows that the highest proportion of Pakistani students accepted into Scottish HE come from backgrounds where parental occupation is in the small business or own account worker category.

Minority ethnic group acceptances for Social Sciences combined with Arts indicate that there may be some shift in attitude towards the merit of a university degree per se rather than following a vocational degree route. However, in Scottish terms, there is little evidence of any marked trend towards minority ethnic group graduates entering the caring professions of education and social work.

The limited scope of study in the graduate training years reflects not only minority ethnic group perceptions of these few professions, but also the fact that current students encounter few role models within other professions, in particular, the higher education sector in which their training takes place. Bunting (2004) examines the reality of employment statistics for HE academics from racial minorities in the UK overall. While noting that HESA statistics for 2002-3 show that racial minorities to represent 10% of academics in UK HE, Bunting identifies that 54% of these are, in fact, foreigners. This reduces the engagement of British minority ethnic group academics to tiny percentages: Pakistani/Bangladeshi heritages, 0.4; Indian heritage, 1%; and Black heritages, 0.7. Furthermore, progression for minority ethnic group academics through the HE promotion structures is noted to be more difficult than for those from the dominant white groups. Discussion of factors that might govern these figures is beyond the scope of this paper. Suffice it to say that the Bunting article exposes a failure on the part of UK higher education to extend its widening access policies for students to the recruitment of staff. Without the participation of minority ethnic group staff in significant numbers in higher education, students have few role models, and this has the potential to have a detrimental effect on the attitudes and hinder participation in higher education, possibly for generations.

If the lack of role models is accepted as a reason for non-involvement in certain discipline areas in higher education, this also suggests that the deficiencies in higher education are probably reflected in primary and secondary sectors of the UK educational system. If it is the case in the UK as a whole, the deficiency is likely to be even more marked in Scotland with its very small minority ethnic group communities. Powney and others (1998) identified this weakness and also observed that, in Scottish terms, there is some potential for monitoring minority ethnic group recruitment across the educational sectors. Some broad indication of minority ethnic group practitioners within the school sector is evident in data from the Educational Institute for Scotland (EIS), the dominant teachers' union in Scotland. This organisation reported that, of its registered membership of fifty-two thousand, only 230 members identify as members of minority ethnic groups (Netto and others, 2001). This suggests that there are limited numbers of role models available to minority ethnic group students in professional roles within the limitations of their school educational experience; this may be a factor in numbers of minority ethnic group students participating in non-mandatory educational development opportunities.

4.4 HESA: Post-entry data

As with the UCAS data, the HESA data used in this study relate to UK or Scottish domiciled students; this means that no statistics related to international students of similar heritage origin to those from minority ethnic groups are included in these datasets. In its most recent sets of published figures HESA notes that the changes to ethnic classifications used in the 2001 Census, together with requirements for the sector to report in different ways to devolved administrations, have meant that HESA figures may not be entirely accurate with regard to ethnicity. Furthermore, because of the statistical practice of rounding up or down, in HESA statistics pre-2002 numerical values are given to the nearest five or ten, this makes longitudinal comparisons difficult with later statistics which, for ethnic data, are given as accurate numbers. For this reason, in the following analysis, the figures for 2002-3 will generally be cited as they are more accurately presented in the source documents, although HESA admits some rounding in these datasets also.

The received view is that minority ethnic groups are over-represented in higher education (Insight 2000, 1999). However, with a UK minority ethnic group population of 8% (Census 2001), the presence of a minority ethnic group student population in Scotland of 3% in 1999 and 4% in 2003 does not indicate over-representation in UK-wide terms (Table 4.4.1). Contrasted with a minority ethnic group population in Scotland of 2% (Census Scotland, 2001), these percentages of 3-4% represent an imbalance in favour of the minority groups. However, not all minority ethnic group students who attend university in Scotland have a first residence in Scotland, but may be domiciled elsewhere in the UK. In short, therefore, the comparison between the Scottish minority ethnic group population overall and minority ethnic group student populations in Scottish HE might not withstand close scrutiny.

Table 4.4.1 Minority ethnic group students in Scottish higher education 1999-2003

	Total overall Scottish HE student population	Total minority ethnic group in Scottish HE	Minority ethnic group as percentage of total Scottish HE population
1999-2000	289 540	8 910	3.0
2000-2003	316 755	13 429	4.2

Derived from HESA Planning Plus, 2003

Whatever the reasons, the limited availability of data relating to ethnicity must inevitably impact on approaches and attitudes towards policy and planning relating to

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minority groups across the HE sector. More detailed analysis of the available data provides some unexpected insights into the distribution of minority ethnic group students across the sector in Scotland. For example, Table 4.4.2 compares the percentage of dominant group students with the percentage of students from minority ethnic groups in that institution. The list excludes the percentages of students whose heritages are unknown; this accounts for any apparent discrepancy in the figures.

Table 4.4.2 highlights the five institutions with the most significant numbers of minority ethnic group students. The fact that the University of Dundee is ranked as third highest in the number of minority ethnic group students runs counter to the figures placing centres of minority ethnic populations in the central belt of Scotland.

Table 4.4.2 Minority ethnic group students per higher education institution as a percentage of Scottish minority ethnic group student population 2002-3

	Higher Education Institution 2002-2003	Total number of students per HEI	Minority ethnic group total per HEI	Minority ethnic group students as % of minority ethnic group student population in Scotland *
1.	University of Edinburgh	18 631	1 009	14
2.	University of Glasgow	22 342	919	13
3.	University of Dundee	14 150	834	12
4.	University of Strathclyde	20 327	747	11
5.	Glasgow Caledonian University	14 451	707	10
6.	Napier University	11 532	531	8
7.	University of Aberdeen	11 615	425	6
8.	University of Paisley	10 027	350	5
9.	Heriot-Watt University	6 184	382	5
10.	Robert Gordon University	10 017	268	4
11.	University of Abertay	3 872	177	3
12.	University of St. Andrews	5 627	213	3
13.	Queen Margaret University College	3 901	113	2
14.	University of Stirling	8 121	124	2
15.	Edinburgh College of Art	1 265	40	1
16.	UHI Millennium Institute	4 145	58	1
17.	Bell College	4 001	105	1
18.	Scottish Agricultural College	631	2	0
19.	Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama	597	9	0
20.	Glasgow School of Art	1 212	34	0
	Total	172 648	7 047	100

Derived from HESA (www.hesa.ac.uk). * Bangladeshi, Chinese, Indian, Pakistani heritages only

In institutions where there is a strong vocational element to the curriculum options (numbers 15-20), there are few minority ethnic group students. Where the curriculum is broader (numbers 1-14), students from minority ethnic groups are more evident. As noted, this reflects the courses favoured by minority ethnic group students.

Table 4.4.3 highlights the five institutions with the most significant percentages of minority ethnic group students. It might be supposed that institutions where the percentage of minority ethnic group students is higher would be found in the central belt of Scotland with its higher density of minority ethnic populations. The fact that the University of Dundee is ranked as second highest in the number of minority ethnic group students runs counter to this supposition. There may be reasons for this, including the existence of a leading Medical School on the University of Dundee campus covering Medicine, Dentistry, Nursing and other medical related disciplines.

Table 4.4.3 Minority ethnic group students per higher education institution as a percentage of Scottish minority ethnic group student population 2002-3: top five

Higher Education Institution 2002-2003	Total number of students per HEI	Minority ethnic group total as % of total student population per HEI	Minority ethnic group students as % of minority ethnic group student population in Scotland
Glasgow Caledonian University	14 451	707 (5%)	10
University of Strathclyde	20 327	747 (4%)	11
University of Dundee	14 150	834 (6%)	12
University of Glasgow	22 342	919 (4%)	13
University of Edinburgh	18 631	1 009 (5%)	14
Total for Scotland	**172 648**	**7 047(4%)**	**4**

Derived from HESA, 2004 (www.hesa.ac.uk).

Tables 4.4.4 and 4.4.5 present some points of contrast relating to urban populations.

Table 4.4.4 Distribution of minority ethnic group populations in Scottish cities.

Locations	Total populations Minority Ethnic Group Population							
	Total population	Bangla-deshi	Chinese	Indian	Pakistani	Other South Asian	Total minority ethnic groups including non-stated	% of cities' minority ethnic group population
Scotland	*5 062 011*	*2 024*	*16198*	*15 186*	*31 890*	*6 074*	*101 743*	*2*
Aberdeen	212 125	339	1209	827	403	467	6 156	3
Dundee	145 663	233	699	1 019	1 718	422	5 328	3.7
Edinburgh	448 624	628	3544	2 378	3 948	1 211	18 348	4
Glasgow	577 869	231	3871	4 160	18 313	2 022	31 433	5.4
Cities total	1 384 281	1 431	9323	8 384	24 382	4 122	61 265	4.4
% in cities	27	71	58	55	76	68	60	

Derived from Census Scotland 2001 (GRO 2003)

Regional distributions of population according to 2001 Census Scotland figures shown in Table 4.4.4 indicate that, while 27% of the total Scottish population live in the four major cities, in rank order, Dundee, Aberdeen, Edinburgh and Glasgow; 60% of Scotland's minority ethnic group are concentrated in these cities. Thus, it might be expected that a similar pattern might be evident in the distribution of minority ethnic group students across the HEIs situated in these four concentrations of population.

Table 4.4.5 shows HESA figures (2002-3) for minority ethnic group students attending HEIs in the four main urban centres of population. Glasgow (five HEIs) has the most significant portion at 2 416 (4%); Edinburgh (five institutions) has 2 075 (4.9%); Dundee (2 HEIs) has 1 011 (5.6%); and Aberdeen (two HEIs) has only 693 (3.2%). This totals 6 195 students based in 14 HEIs and represents 88% of the total minority ethnic group students in Scotland and 3.6% of the total Scottish HE population. Comparison of the shaded columns in Tables 4.4.4 and 4.4.5 shows that, with the exception of Glasgow, the representation of minority ethnic students is higher in percentage terms than their group representation in the wider local urban populations.

Table 4.4.5 Scottish higher education institution ethnic group populations by urban area 2002-3

Area	Total ethnic group student population from all HEIs in the given areas							
	Bangladeshi	Chinese	Indian	Pakistani	Total overall	Total minority ethnic group	Minority group students as % of 'group' HEI population	Minority ethnic students as % of total Scottish HEI population
Aberdeen	17	114	105	103	21 632	693	3.2	0.4
Dundee	33	117	180	194	18 022	1 011	5.6	0.6
Edinburgh	51	440	286	317	41 513	2 075	4.9	1.2
Glasgow	40	405	409	835	58 929	2 416	4.0	1.4
Total minority ethnic students	141	1076	980	1449	140 896	6195	4.3	3.5
Total Scottish HEI student population	153	1 152	1 120	1 696	172 648	7 047	4.0	3.6

Aberdeen:	University of Aberdeen and Robert Gordon University
Dundee:	University of Dundee and University of Abertay, Dundee
Edinburgh:	University of Edinburgh, Heriot-Watt University, Napier University, Queen Margaret University College, Edinburgh School of Art
Glasgow:	University of Glasgow, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow Caledonian University, Glasgow School of Art, Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama

Derived from HESA statistics (HESA Planning Plus 2002-3)

In respect of place of domicile and choice of place of study, John (2003) notes that there is a perceptible trend for minority ethnic group students (and their families) to prefer a university within travelling distance of their homes. Although the data are not infallible in demonstrating this preference for the close proximity of place of domicile and place of study in the Scottish context, the comparison shown in Table 4.4.6 indicates an interesting feature, namely, that for Dundee, the minority ethnic group student population represents 19% of the total minority ethnic group population. Whether this is attributable to a particularly high uptake of places in the two institutions in the city relative to minority ethnic group uptake in other cities is a matter for conjecture.

Table 4.4.6 Comparison of minority ethnic group higher education institution population and minority ethnic group population within the same urban areas.

Cities	Total minority ethnic group population	Total minority ethnic group students	Minority ethnic group students as % of local minority ethnic group population
Aberdeen	6 156	693	11
Dundee	5 328	1 011	19
Edinburgh	18 348	2 075	11
Glasgow	31 433	2 416	8

Derived from Census Scotland 2001 and HESA Planning Plus (2002-3)

In 2004, the Scottish Higher Education Funding Council (SHEFC) commissioned a publication entitled 'Higher Education in Scotland: A Baseline Report' (Kemp and Reibig, 2004). The report purports to provide what it calls a 'current and holistic picture of higher education in Scotland'. However, it is noteworthy that, in this report, there are no references to the term 'minority ethnic group' in the context of students and the limitations of HESA data in relation to the status and participation of minority ethnic group students in higher education restrict the possibilities for analysis. The breakdown into ethnic groupings applies only to institutions. There is no similar analysis of minority ethnic group students by affiliation to subjects or to socio-economic grouping as provided in the UCAS datasets. This means that there is no means of comparing the pre-entry and post-entry data.

In the HESA analysis the only reference to 'ethnic minority' related to the representation of minority ethnic group staff in the HE sector. Nine lines of text and a

table reproduced from HESA data are attributed to a discussion of 'ethnicity' in the context of participation and progression, while twelve pages are devoted to discussion of the positioning of international students within the Scottish HE sector. There are no references to refugees or asylum seekers who might have been accepted into HE. There is a single statement indicating that there will be some exploration of more accurate data in relation to staff from minority ethnic group backgrounds, but there is no such aspiration expressed in relation to data concerning minority ethnic group students.

This pattern of limited information could be said to reflect the relatively small proportion of the total Scottish population represented by minority ethnic groups (2%), and thus the perceived lesser status that the minority ethnic groups in Scottish society represent. However, as noted in the Baseline report, minority ethnic group students are represented in Scottish HE in higher proportions than the minority ethnic group profile in Scottish society would suggest. HESA admission figures (Table 4.4.7) for Scotland indicate a general increase in participation across all groups including white (HESA 2002; HESA 2004). It should, however, be noted that, for HESA figures pre-2002, statistical rounding up/down resulted in data sets that could only be loosely related to the real situation. In the absence of anything more accurate, these data are presented simply to give some indication of a trend that, in broad terms, appears to show an increase in participation on the part of minority ethnic group students in Scotland.

Table 4.4.7 Percentage increase in admissions across all significant ethnic groupings 1999-2003

Institution	Bangladeshi	Chinese	Indian	Pakistani	White	Asian other	Other	Unknown
All Scottish HE 1999-2000	80	870	920	1 390	129 570	530	770	16 910
All Scottish HE 2002-3	153	1 152	1 120	1 695	151 376	617	1 463	13 596
Difference	73	282	200	305	21 806	87	693	- 3 314
% increase of groups in Scottish HE	91	32	22	22	17	16	90	-20

Derived from HESA 2002 and HESA 2004.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that the Baseline Report makes only token mention of minority ethnic groups, misuses accepted terminology and commits all the errors of inappropriate classification for which the 1991 Census was criticised (Appendix 6). This is critical as it suggests that those with responsibility for policy and planning

within the sector seem to be unaware of the currents and thinking that have prevailed in relation to minority ethnic group issues over time. It appears that such groups, if not 'invisible', attract less attention for policy, action and change. This seems to be very much at odds with the requirements of the Race Relations Amendment Act 2000 (RRAA). The fact that SHEFC had commissioned a report on the RRAA and its impact on HEIs (John, 2003) also suggests that, while anti-racist policies present a legal obligation and thus a priority, any recognition of needs of people from minority ethnic groups that might arise with regard to their educational requirements meet neither of these criteria.

This is not to say that there is a total lack of awareness of the desirability to improve the status and opportunities for people from minority ethnic group backgrounds across all socio-economic categories. In January 2004, an event sponsored by the Scottish Executive, Scottish Enterprise and Commission for Racial Equality Scotland was organised with the purpose of addressing the repercussions of the Strategy Unit Report on 'Ethnic minorities and the Labour Market'. Publicly accessible proceedings from this event highlighted a number of issues of relevance to the current study, for example, training, education, employability. What is significant about this event was that, despite expressions of the need to improve communication with all minority ethnic groups in the context of education at all levels, there were only 6 delegates at this event who had even a tenuous link with the provision of education. For example, no English as an Additional Language practitioners were present and, apart from two SHEFC representatives, only two representatives of the HE sector were in attendance. Titles provided suggest that these were not people working at practitioner level with students. This seems to typify the problems in relation to minority ethnic group issues. The people closest to the problem do not seem to have the opportunity to interact with those whose remit is to provide 'think tank' solutions, steer or implement policy. And yet, the proceedings conclude with a statement that 'Scotland needs to be more joined up in terms of the work being done with black/minority ethnic communities across the country'.

4.5 University of Dundee contexts: patterns of minority ethnic group admissions 1988-2002

Dundee is Scotland's fourth city and its economy is now based on its role as a university city. The University of Dundee is now the main employer and, with a

university student population of sixteen thousand students (estimated 2005) travelling to or living in the city, it represents a key element in the broader economic life of the city. Although the neighbouring former Dundee Institute of Technology attained university status in 1994 as the University of Abertay Dundee, it remains a small institution with, on average, only four and a half thousand students, 62% of whom are from the locale. Thus, it does not challenge the University of Dundee as a significant employer nor does its inflow of students have such a strategic impact on the local economy.

The University of Dundee is principally a city centre campus although there are three outlying campuses: Ninewells Hospital on the western outskirts of the city; Gardyne campus on the eastern side; and a further nursing campus in Kirkcaldy, Fife. There are currently seven faculties: Arts and Social Sciences; Duncan of Jordanstone College of Art; Education and Social Work; Engineering and Physical Sciences; Law and Accountancy; Life Sciences; Medicine, Dentistry, Nursing and Midwifery. The University has an international reputation in research terms, particularly in the fields of medicine, dentistry and biochemistry. Thus, it is from international, national, Scottish and local Tayside contexts that the University of Dundee draws its student body. In 2003, of the total student population comprising fourteen thousand students, 10,000 were undergraduates and 4,000 postgraduates. Of the total, more than one third were studying within the Faculty of Medicine, Dentistry, Nursing and Midwifery.

This section examines the extent to which students from minority ethnic group backgrounds have been represented within the University of Dundee community in the period 1988 to 2002. With institutional permission, all data were derived from records maintained on an electronic database system. The system operated using a commercially purchased package designed specifically for higher education. However, changing requirements required by HESA over the years had led to some modification of the original design. This is somewhat unwieldy as a tool and has manifested some serious limitations for research or other analytical applications. Furthermore, the lack of standardised procedures in completing data for the system is evident in the gaps that occur in the way that some faculties, departments and schools have chosen to enter student data. Some records remain incomplete.

The way in which ethnicity information has been recorded over time can be attributed to the fact that, in the early years, questions related to ethnicity were not asked. This reflected the practice adopted in national census question forms that did not explore the multi-racial nature of UK society until the 'race question' was introduced in the 1991 Census (Appendix 6). In addition, parental occupation was either 'not provided' or 'not sought' in the earlier years of the period 1988-2002. Changes in society and widening access initiatives in the HE sector as well as legislation, such as the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000, have occasioned more attention to the recording of such data within the sector.

Thus, figures from the University database for the period 1988-2002 are incomplete in some respects and can only provide an indication of trends rather than, in all cases, a precise record. New university data recording procedures were piloted using new software in 2002-3 and were fully implemented in 2003-4. Access to this source is available only on a case-by-case basis and, thus, it is not possible to provide further detailed composite data on the student population post-2002.

Records extracted from the previous database covering the period 1988-2002 were for UK-domiciled students who gave their ethnicity as Bangladeshi, Indian, Pakistani or Chinese. Records for Black or other African were so small in number that they were excluded from the current analysis. Overseas students from these four identified heritages are also excluded from the analysis. Totals for the predominant minority ethnic group in the University over the 14-year period are shown in Table 4.5.1.

Students of Pakistani heritage (257) were the most significant grouping, followed by those from Indian heritage families (215). Chinese heritage students totalled 53 in number; Bangladeshi heritage students were fewest in number (44). Of the four groups, students in the Chinese cohort were exclusively born in the UK. Three-quarters of Bangladeshis and two-thirds of both Indian and Pakistani heritage students were born in the UK. Thus, this cohort of students could be classified, in the main, as second-generation minority ethnic group members.

Table 4.5.1 Minority ethnic group representation at the University of Dundee 1988-2002

Total University population 1988-2002 (39991)	Bangladeshi	Chinese	Indian	Pakistani	Total minority ethnic group
Total number of students	44	53	215	257	569
As % of minority ethnic group students in University of Dundee	8	9	37	45	100
As % of total of University of Dundee student population	0.1	0.1	0.5	0.6	1.3
Number from minority ethnic group domiciled in Dundee area	24	17	63	113	217
Dundee domiciled as % of own minority ethnic group student population	54	32	29	44	38
Dundee domiciled minority ethnic group students as % of total University of Dundee student population 1988-2002	0.06	0.04	0.1	0.3	0.5

In the current study, the term 'domiciled' is used to indicate the location of the student's family home. Thus, the statistics relating to minority ethnic group students attending the University of Dundee could be expected to demonstrate similar trends. As Table 4.5.1 illustrates, although numerically small in number, Bangladeshi heritage students represent 54% of the local Bangladeshi student community. Pakistani heritage students represent 44% of the local Pakistani heritage student community and this supports recognition that many minority ethnic group families have a preference for family members attending an institution near to the family home (John, 2003). However, the figure of 29% for students from Indian heritages illustrates that, for some minority ethnic groups, being tied to a particular area does not seem to be a pre-requisite in the choice of higher education institution.

To demonstrate how these data correlate to the picture of all locally domiciled students attending the University of Dundee over the period 1988-2002, Table 4.5.2 shows the distribution of students who indicated their home address as situated within the local area. Minority ethnic group students account for 3.7% of the total of locally domiciled students, but only 0.5% of the total University population over the period 1988-2002. The statistics shown in Table 4.5.1 indicate that 38% of minority ethnic group students in the University over this period were domiciled locally. This supports the assertion

made by John (2003) in relation to minority ethnic group preference for attending local HEIs, it still represents a tiny fraction of the total University of Dundee population domiciled locally over the time-span and is much higher than the dominant group percentage of 13.9% over the same period.

Table 4.5.2 Comparison between students from minority ethnic group and white group backgrounds living in the Dundee area 1988-2002

Total University population (39991)	Total number of students living locally	Total white group students living locally	Total minority ethnic group students living locally
Number of University of Dundee students living in wider Dundee area	5 796	5 579	217
As % of total locally domiciled University of Dundee students	100	96	3.7
Dundee domiciled students as % of total University of Dundee student population 1988-2002	14.5	13.9	0.5

Given the vagaries related to the collection of and other data on ethnicity over the period 1988-2002, as already noted, it is not possible to state categorically what trends have emerged. All that can be shown are apparent shifts and patterns. Data in Table 4.5.3.provide institutional ethnicity profiles derived from HESA (2004).

Table 4.5.3 University of Dundee students 2002-3 by ethnicity

	Bangladeshi	Chinese	Indian	Pakistani	Asian other	All Black	Other	Total minority ethnic group	Unknown	White	Total overall
Total student population	28	81	159	141	81	126	218	834	447	12 869	14 150
As % of total student population	0.2	0.6	1.1	1.0	0.6	0.9	1.5	6	3.1	91	100

Derived from HESA 2004

This table shows that students of Indian and Pakistani heritages were the two most dominant minority ethnic groups in the University of Dundee. Furthermore, when contrasted with figures given in Table 4.5.1 it can be seen that, in the fourteen-year period, the total number of minority ethnic group students amounted to 569 students, while, as seen from Table 4.5.3, the total number for the single academic year 2002-3 was 834. The former figure represented 1.4% of the total University of Dundee student community over the period, while the more recent figures indicate that minority ethnic

group students represent 6% of the student populace over the academic year 2002-3. The numerical and percentage statistics in both sets of figures imply that there is a noticeable and progressive increase in numbers of minority ethnic group students over the period within the institution. This would be consistent with widening access policies designed to increase numbers over previous decades in the University overall and in higher education as a sector.

This upturn in minority ethnic group student numbers is evidenced from the internal institutional data on date of entry. Table 4.5.4 shows the discernible pattern of a general trend of increasing enrolments emerging over the period covered by the data. It should be noted that the registry system was in transition in 2002 and there was some concern that not all data may have been recorded; this may have been a factor in the apparent decrease in numbers in that year.

Table 4.5.4 Minority ethnic group students at the University of Dundee 1988-2002 by year of entry and ethnicity

Year of entry	Bangladeshi	Chinese	Indian	Pakistani	Total entrants per group
1988	0	0	1	0	1
1989	0	0	1	0	1
1990	0	0	1	3	4
1991	0	0	9	5	14
1992	3	0	11	10	24
1993	1	0	17	5	23
1994	3	5	11	14	33
1995	5	3	16	13	37
1996	3	6	18	26	53
1997	4	8	25	27	64
1998	7	5	25	27	64
1999	4	7	31	46	88
2000	7	4	22	30	63
2001	3	5	20	30	58
2002	4	10	7	21	42
Total entrants per group	44	53	215	257	569

Institutional records relating to university entrance qualifications for the four groups present an interesting development across the fourteen-year period. Table 4.5.5 shows the distribution of qualification types that minority ethnic group applicants possessed on entry. It will be noted that students of Pakistani heritage achieved entry to HE via Access courses in more significant numbers than any other group. Again, figures are small and this prejudices any conclusions that might be drawn. However, the figure of

14 entrants with HND/HNC entry qualifications in the Pakistani group, almost three times that of the Indian and one and half times that of the Chinese group, suggest that students from Pakistani backgrounds are more likely to enter the University via a Further Education College (as opposed to direct entry from school) than any of the other groups and also most likely to enter via an Access course.

Table 4.5.5 Minority ethnic group students at the University of Dundee 1988-2002 by entry qualification and ethnicity

	Bangladeshi	Chinese	Indian	Pakistani
HE degree level qualification	1	2	11	14
HNC/HND	0	9	5	14
School leaving certificate e.g. GCE A-levels, SEB Higher and related qualifications	35	38	160	136
Access Course	2	3	13	48
No formal qualification	0	0	6	7
Not known	6	10	20	38
Total	44	53	215	257

GCE = General Certificate of Education; SEB = Scottish Examination Board

Table 4.5.6 shows that, of the students in the four significant groups, males exceeded females in the recorded student numbers. The ratios male:female for Bangladeshi cohorts were 28:16 and for Pakistani cohorts 132:125; but the gender balances were reversed female to male in the cases of Indian (113:102) and Chinese (30:23) students. The numbers are too small to state definitively that there is any significance in this breakdown. However, it could be surmised that there might be some predisposition, within some minority ethnic group communities, to encourage boys to enter university more than girls. However, the closeness of the gender divisions suggests that minority ethnic group families are, in general, equally supportive of male and female participation in higher education.

Table 4.5.6 Minority ethnic group students at the University of Dundee 1988-2002 by gender and ethnicity

	Bangladeshi	Chinese	Indian	Pakistani
Male	28	23	102	132
Female	16	30	113	125
Total	44	53	215	257

Fewer than 5% of minority ethnic group students over this period were studying part-time (Table 4.5.7). This reflects the views acknowledged by minority ethnic group

informants that participation in higher education is highly regarded within their communities and that families are willing to support study on a full-time, rather than a part-time, basis.

Table 4.5.7 Minority ethnic group students at the University of Dundee 1988-2002 by mode of study

	Bangladeshi	Chinese	Indian	Pakistani
Full-time	42	53	205	250
Part-time	2	0	10	7
Part-time as % of students in group	4.5	0	4.6	2.7
Total	44	53	215	257

In the University of Dundee context, positive attitudes towards the benefits of higher education do not seem to be confined to any particular socio-economic grouping except in two possible instances. This is evidenced by the breakdown of parental socio-economic activity that relates to the occupation of the higher earning parent using HESA classifications conflated into generic headings as shown in Table 4.5.8.

In the case of Indian students this reveals that, where parental occupation is recorded, 35 are classified as medical practitioners, whereas for the other groups, the figures in this area are negligible. In the Pakistani group, however, the one significant grouping is that of manager/proprietors where 58 students have parents who fall into this category; Indians were also active in this area although to a lesser extent. In most other cases, across all minority ethnic groups the skilled and semi-skilled occupations represent engagements within service or catering activities. In the case of the Chinese cohort, more than half of the number were involved in the catering industry. What is worthy of note is that unemployment features in only one grouping (Pakistani) and that professional occupations are generally not well-represented across the groups.

Table 4.5.8 Minority ethnic group parental occupations for students at the University of Dundee 1988-2002

	Bangladeshi	Chinese	Indian	Pakistani
Medical practitioner	3	2	35	3

Scientific	0	0	3	1
Engineers	0	0	4	4
Professionally qualified	0	0	7	1
Education	3	0	5	3
Health Support	0	3	2	0
Managers	7	5	30	58
Skilled and semi-skilled	15	23	34	58
Unemployed	0	0	0	10
Not recorded	12	10	84	101
Invalid specification	4	10	8	18
Total	**44**	**53**	**215**	**257**

Some indicators relating to parental perceptions regarding the value of education are further emphasised by considering the data relating to school attendance prior to admission to university (Table 4.5.9). For all minority ethnic groups there was a clear preference for sending children to some kind of fee-paying establishment. Table 4.5.9 shows that, while Bangladeshi, Pakistani and Chinese communities predominated in attendance at comprehensive schools, Indian parents chose the grammar/independent/ grant-maintained school sector for education in 103 out of 215 cases (48%). This statistic may relate to the comparatively more prosperous socio-economic conditions that could be assumed to be enjoyed by a community where more than fifty per cent of those represented fell into the professional category. This suggests that it is more likely in the Indian community that there are familial role-models to support proactive professional career aspirations in the children of student age. If this is accepted as the case, then the lack of familial role models in the professions among the other three minority ethnic groups, might well account for the limited scope of uptake in non-vocational courses in Scottish HE.

Table 4.5.9 School attendance for minority ethnic group students at the University of Dundee 1988-2002

Type of school	Bangladeshi	Chinese	Pakistani	Indian
Sixth form centre	4	6	48	15

Sixth form college	2	0	14	16
Comprehensive	14	29	99	62
Grammar	0	4	2	10
Independent	16	11	43	77
Grant-maintained	3	0	7	16
Other secondary	0	0	1	0
Further education	1	3	17	7
Higher education	0	0	1	2
Art and Design College	2	0	19	5
City technology college	0	0	0	1
Not known	2	0	6	4
Total	**44**	**53**	**257**	**215**

Table 4.5.10 provides a numerical overview of the UCAS entry subjects that indicate the general fields of study undertaken by minority ethnic group students in the University of Dundee over the period 1998-2002. All minority ethnic groups have a prevalent affiliation with medicine and medicine related fields: Indian (126), Pakistani (103), Bangladeshi (26) and Chinese (14). These figures may have been influenced over the period as a result of claims in the McManus Report (1998) that minority ethnic group students were inadequately represented in medical education in the University of Dundee. These claims were refuted by the University Medical School.

Table 4.5.10 Minority ethnic group students at the University of Dundee 1988-2002 by discipline area

Discipline areas	Bangladeshi	Chinese	Indian	Pakistani
Medicine, dentistry and related	26	14	126	103
Law, accountancy and business	3	14	44	67
Mathematics and related	1	0	8	10
Sciences	4	5	10	8
Engineering and related	2	8	7	7
Arts and social sciences	6	11	12	53
Not known	2	0	7	10
Total number of students	**44**	**53**	**215**	**257**

After Medicine and its related fields, the next most significant discipline areas in which minority ethnic group students are represented are those within the Law, Accountancy and Business grouping. Indian (44) and Pakistani (67) groups are most evident in these areas over the period, with Pakistanis showing the highest levels of recruitment;

Bangladeshis again have few students (3), but Chinese representation (14) indicates some more focussed interest from that grouping. Participation in Law is still nascent across all heritage groupings; consistent with national trends, greater interest among minority ethnic groups continues to lie with the business and accounting areas. There is no evidence to explain this lack of engagement with a high status profession. However, it could be surmised that it is a profession that, in Scottish terms, is perceived to be closed to those without some connections with the profession.

Pakistani (10) and Indian (8) minority ethnic group students also featured in a minor way in mathematical and computing subjects; figures for Bangladeshi (1) and Chinese (0) heritage students were negligible, despite the fact that the latter are reputedly particularly attracted to numerical subjects. This pattern in relation to the minority ethnic group students of Chinese heritage is not consistent with national findings (Graph 4.3.1) where mathematical related subjects were the second most significant in terms of acceptances and, within that grouping, the Chinese heritage students far outstripped those of Indian heritage groups and came second to Pakistani. The differing patterns may be explained by the relatively small number of minority ethnic group Chinese living locally, small numbers of minority ethnic group Chinese on the campus and the fact that mathematics and computing are relatively small departments within the University of Dundee.

Similarly, numbers in the Sciences and Engineering are low for all minority heritage groups. By contrast, however, Pakistani students figure significantly in Arts and Social Sciences. These data reflect national trends as seen in Graph 4.3.1.

In general, the figures in Table 4.5.10 covering the period 1988-2002 appear to indicate that the presence of minority ethnic group students at the University of Dundee covers the discipline areas in a broadly similar manner to that of minority ethnic group students in other HEIs in Scotland. While it is acknowledged that some of the data is incomplete, it seems that discernible emergent trends in relation to participation of minority ethnic group students across the discipline range in Scottish HE are being emulated within the University of Dundee.

There is some evidence that suggests that there is a shift away from the perception that the acquisition of a degree leading to a career in one of the professions is the only path

to follow in higher education. In Table 4.5.11 this is particularly evident for Pakistani students where 53 students had elected to enter Arts and Social Sciences courses over the period 1988-2002. This shift in attitudes is supported by the observation of one informant from the Pakistani minority ethnic group community on campus:

> *I think in the beginning it was doctors and that, but I think it is now changing; people are doing history, geography and other kinds of subjects – they've got a choice now to do what they want.*
> **Student SM, male, Pakistani heritage**

Changes in the registry system and different modes of record-keeping in the earlier years of the period for which data were available (1988-2002) make any attempt to identify exit pathways and form of degree achieved unreliable. However, as shown in Table 4.5.11, from the limited data available, it is possible to identify that Pakistanis had the highest number of students whose studies were terminated (12); only one student was discontinued because of academic failure in both the Pakistani and Indian groups. Nine Indian and sixteen Pakistani students discontinued study for 'other' reasons, that is, no reason was given.

Table 4.5.11 Minority ethnic group students at the University of Dundee 1988 –2002 by reason for leaving

Reason for leaving (where known)	Bangladeshi	Chinese	Indian	Pakistani
Personal reasons	1	0	2	2
Financial reasons	0	0	0	1
Transfer to another FEI or HEI	4	1	6	4
Studies terminated	1	0	2	12
Failure	0	0	1	1
Other	0	1	9	16
Not known	0	0	0	1

4.6 Summary

This survey of contemporary numerical facts relating to the presence of minority ethnic group communities in Scotland has been able to examine and position Scotland's minority ethnic group student communities within the wider Scottish community, Scottish higher education sector and with particular reference to the University of Dundee (1988-2003). In outlining these global contexts this has framed the specific Ethnic identity and the broader concept of the Global Self.

Minority ethnic groups represent 8% of the total UK population but only 2% of the Scottish population. The three most significant groups are Chinese, Indian and Pakistani. In addition there is a small Bangladeshi community in Scotland. Indian groups are under-represented in Scotland in contrast to their representation across the UK. More than half of the present Pakistani community were born in the UK/Scotland.

This analysis has shown that their ethnic diversity and numerically low numbers in Scotland mean that minority ethnic group populations in Scotland are often not taken into consideration in policy-making at national level. This has been particularly noted by John (2003) in relation to the HE sector where fundamental detailed baseline data is lacking, despite the fact that the data show that minority ethnic groups are over-represented in higher education. The paucity of detailed information on minority ethnic group students in other respects, for example, breakdowns of levels of study, graduation details and progression to employment, necessarily restrict a more comprehensive understanding of the current situation. The data gathered and analysed in this current study go some way to beginning that scrutiny within the limitations of the available public domain data by tracking data that have hitherto remained largely unexplored.

Scottish data on higher education provide a social commentary of minority ethnic attitudes towards higher education and that most minority ethnic group students are domiciled in one of the four major Scottish cities. There is a preference for HEIs that are close to home and those that offer broader curricula rather than highly specialised institutions. Full-time participation in higher education for male and female students is encouraged across the four selected groupings. However, there is a significant discrepancy in percentage terms between applications and acceptances achieved by minority ethnic group students. There is also a distinct difference in percentage terms between acceptances achieved by dominant group and Pakistani students, for whom the rate of acceptances is consistently low. The reason for this can only be surmised but one possibility is that the ambition of this group is not matched by ability to achieve the required entrance qualifications. Those minority ethnic group students successfully admitted to universities are the 'advance guard' for others from their communities.

With regard to areas of study, the data show that Pakistani and Chinese more likely to target Medicine-related subjects than any other groupings with Indian heritage students being significantly represented in Medicine. Law attracts only a few members of minority ethnic groups, but the data for Scottish HE show an increasing number of Pakistanis entering Law in 2002-3. The so-called 'computational' subjects of Mathematics, Computing, Business and Administrative Studies are all preferred fields of study. However, the data also indicate that few staff members from minority ethnic groups in the Scottish education sector overall means a lack of role models for minority heritage students.

Specific data from the University of Dundee for the period 1988-2002 show an increasing trend in the participation of students from minority ethnic groups over that period (569 over 14 years, but 834 in a single year, 2002-3). These data also support the observation (John, 2003) that minority ethnic group students are more likely to attend an HEI in their own locale. In addition, the numerical and oral data are consistent with Scottish data in showing that minority heritage families support full-time university education for male and female children without bias. An interesting trend is noticeable in the University of Dundee data that show Pakistani students as being more likely to enter university via Further Education College rather than directly from school. Reasons for this are unclear but in at least two instances in this present study it was noted that students had attended college in order to upgrade their entrance qualifications as well as to gain some grounding in a vocational subject not taught in school. It is also noteworthy that, while many minority ethnic group students had attended comprehensive schools, many had also attended independent or grammar-type schools.

Parental occupation, reflecting the socio-economic background of students admitted to the University of Dundee, show high numbers of managers and self-employed in all ethnic groupings. The one significant exception was the grouping of Indian heritage doctors; this could be accounted for by the fact that the University of Dundee has a Medical School and Indian heritage students were noted to feature significantly in selecting that discipline.

Otherwise, in the University of Dundee over the period for which statistics were available, the data show that, consistent with the Scottish data, Indian and Pakistani

students favoured courses in Law, Accountancy and Business Studies. Contrary to Scottish trends, Chinese students had not undertaken courses in Mathematics. Numbers in Sciences and Engineering were also low. Interestingly, Pakistani students figure significantly in Arts and Social Sciences. These data serve to show some slight shift in trends as minority ethnic group students venture beyond the targeted vocational courses.

Thus, there is a changing profile of the minority ethnic group populations in Scotland and within Scottish higher education, in particular. While it can be noted that minority ethnic group students are not dominant in numerical terms in Scottish HE institutions, they represent disparate groups, each with characteristics and needs that the existing frameworks of the higher education have yet to acknowledge. The University of Dundee has a demonstrable history of minority ethnic group participation in higher education and this suggests that further exploration of the experiences of this category of student offers an insight into their journey as they progress through higher education.

Thus, following the phenomenological approach described in §2, subsequent sections examine what this experience means to the students in this study. It requires me to enter into their world and, by returning 'zu den Sachen selbst', try to present that world as they see it using the evidence of their individual contributions to the research interviews. In order to tease out the issues from this evidence, I shall follow the Merleau-Pontian conception of body and explore the three significant selves defined in §3 as the Ethnic Self, the Academic Self, and the Global Self.

Part II – Education

§5 Learning in the UK educational systems: contexts for learners from minority ethnic groups

This section examines the way in which the tradition of educational governance has evolved with particular reference to addressing the changing ethnic profile within Scottish education and the expanding Academic and Global identities that this dictates. This examination falls into four divisions.

The first of these divisions briefly outlines the historical background of educational provision in Scotland. The aim is to recognise the contexts in which the distinctive Scottish education system has developed and how the levels of autonomy exercised in the delivery of educational policy influences the learning opportunities for pupils and students.

The second division of this appraisal explores the approaches adopted in England and Wales to support the learning of minority ethnic group pupils. The purpose is to identify the changes in attitudes, policy and practice that have taken place over the past thirty years to meet the learning needs of pupils and students for whom English is an Additional Language.

The third division is closely related to the second in that it comprises a similar examination relating to Scotland. Comparisons are drawn with the developments in EAL provision in England in order to evaluate the extent to which changes adopted in the English system have influenced Scottish approaches to teaching minority ethnic pupils.

The fourth division maps the route of the students in this study as they have progressed through the education system into higher education sector. The aim in scoping this progression is to evaluate the extent to which the macro context of policy and approaches at national UK and Scottish levels have related to the micro-level school and classroom experiences of these students as they progressed from nursery through primary and secondary schooling. This will serve to set the scene for subsequent sections where the particular aspects of their experiences of learning in higher education are examined.

5.1 Historical background: the Scottish education system

Scotland has a long tradition in providing education for all. While exclusive education was provided when the first universities were formed in the fifteenth century (St Andrews,

1411, Glasgow, 1451, and Edinburgh, 1495), by 1560 John Knox had instigated the creation of elementary schools in each parish, an aspiration that became a reality in the 1696 Education Act. As this tradition of education for all was funded from the public purse, it followed that government and emergent local authorities had an influence on the nature of the provision.

From Knox's vision of education for all at the expense of the parishes of Scotland, the creation of a separate government office for Scotland in 1865 brought the responsibility for more general educational policy within the remit of the Secretary of State for Scotland. It was this demarcation that launched Scottish education onto a path of development and policy clearly separated from the system that prevailed in England and Wales. This prefaced the creation of an independent curriculum and examination system. Unlike in England, the established Church had less of a role to play within the provision of education and, since the Education (Scotland) Act 1872 compulsory education allowed pupils the right to opt out of religious education. It was only in 1918 that schools run by the Roman Catholic Church were integrated into the state system on condition that they continued to operate as denominational schools.

It is against this backdrop that general educational provision across all sectors has evolved in Scotland (Paterson, 1991). This is defined by the Scottish Executive Education Department, and it is the responsibility of local education authorities to administer the funds to pay for the schools sector. For Further and Higher Education, administration of funding was formerly operated under separate funding councils reporting to the Scottish Executive, but these were merged in 2004 to form the Scottish Higher and Further Education Funding Council (SHFEFC). In the current Scottish Executive administration the responsibility for the tertiary sector is conducted at Ministerial level.

Overseen by the independent governmental structures of Scotland, educational autonomy is ensured at policy levels. The system in the post-war period has continued its pursuit of providing educational opportunity for all pupils. However, the achievement of inclusiveness has been more difficult to accomplish, especially in relation to discrete policy and provision for pupils and students from minority ethnic groups. This process has evolved more slowly in Scotland than in England and Wales, probably as noted because people from minority ethnic group backgrounds represent a relatively small percentage of the Scottish population (2%). The groups are disparate in ethnicity and are scattered across

Scotland, although, as discussed in §4, the most significant numbers live in the central Clyde-Forth corridor. These demographic factors reflect different approaches to minority ethnic group provision across all sectors of education and all regions.

Therefore, rather than a centralised policy in Scotland grounded on established educational principles, it has been largely left to the separate educational sectors within regions, their institutions and staff to develop and facilitate the underpinning educational philosophy and approaches required to address the needs of minority ethnic group pupils and students (Landon, 2001). In the absence of any real direction from government over the long term in this respect, the tendency has been for educational practice, research and accompanying theory to have developed through the activities of professional associations. These provide fora for practitioners and researchers from across the UK to engage in research and debate, exchange ideas and provide a focus for an area of teaching that has no ownership of a discipline-base within the UK educational system. These associations include the National Association for Language Development in the Curriculum (NALDIC), the Scottish Association for the Teaching of English as an Additional Language (SATEAL), the Scottish Association for Teachers of English as a Foreign Language (SATEFL) and the British Association of Lecturers of English for Academic Purposes (BALEAP). Other commentators suggest that the Educational Institute for Scotland (EIS), the Association of University Teachers (AUT), the National Union of Teachers (NUT), the National Association of Schoolmasters (NAS) and the Union of Women Teachers (UWT) have also contributed to this process (Parekh Report 2002).

Thus, in Scotland, the development of approaches to English language and teaching issues, as well as those of discrimination and race within education, has been influenced by events and a wider forum of debate extending beyond the confines of the Scottish jurisdiction.

While it is acknowledged that the demographic contexts and educational systems in England (and Wales) differ considerably from those that prevail in Scotland, the way that these issues that have been addressed in England, in particular, provides some insight into their influence on the evolving approaches emerging in Scotland.

5.2 Ethnicity and the educational system: England

5.2.1 Rampton and Swann Reports

Although there had been provision for the teaching of English to pupils from minority ethnic groups in schools since the 1960s in England and Wales (Local Government Act 1966), the Rampton Report (1981) and the Swann Report (1985) marked a watershed in considering how 'education for all' might be achieved for young people in these groups. A key proposal was the re-introduction of ethnic monitoring of staff and pupils. This had been abandoned in 1973 on the grounds that this was a discriminatory exercise. However, the aim of its reintroduction was to inform policy and action in the pursuit of the 'education for all' goal. Theoretically, collection of ethnic data of both pupils and staff was fully implemented in England and Wales by 1990, but Gillborn and Mirza (2000) and the Parekh Report (2002) noted from their researches that this was not, in fact, the case.

Both Rampton (1981) and Swann (1985) were criticised because of a perceived bias in their consideration of educational achievement of pupils from West Indian and South Asian backgrounds, but had failed to investigate performance of pupils from other minority ethnic groups with the same degree of rigour. They found, for example, that West Indian school-leavers between 1979 and 1982 had achieved a marked improvement in performance. By contrast, Asian pupils were found to stay on longer at school, achieved lower than the national average, were more likely to move on to Further Education and less likely than white pupils to enter university. It was reported that they had failed to make any significant improvement in the 1979–82 period. Critics noted that Swann had treated Asian pupils as a homogenous group, making no distinction between Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi pupils and, furthermore, had ignored other significant minorities, for example, Chinese, Cypriot, Italian, Vietnamese or Traveller groups (Tomlinson, 1986).

Writing in the immediate aftermath of the Swann Report (1985), Tomlinson (1986) commented that, in relation to minority ethnic group pupils

> ... explanations for the level of educational achievement by ethnic minority pupils currently lack a conceptual framework for understanding which factors, inside and outside the education system affect the performance of these pupils in ways which are different from those factors which affect white pupils.
> **Tomlinson, 1986:14**

However, already English as a Second Language (ESL), more recently termed English as an Additional Language (EAL), had assumed a role within schools in England and Wales under Section 11 of the Local Government Act 1966. This formed part of the mosaic of

measures dealing with a group of pupils who did not fit into the mould of a notional typical (British and white) pupil. This appeared to indicate some acceptance that language deficit was a factor in attainment for EAL pupils. As Tomlinson (1986) noted, there was a concern that EAL tuition (and those who received it) identified with Special Educational Needs (SEN) provision which endorsed perceptions of deficit models in the context of EAL pupils and their learning. With hindsight, this may have been a factor in lower achievement, not because the minority ethnic group pupils were less capable, but because the expectations made of them were less within these frameworks (Tomlinson, 1986; Rosenthal and Jacobsen, 1968).

Subsequent work relating to how minority ethnic groups fared within the educational system was spasmodic in the eighties and nineties as changing educational philosophies and policies that affected all pupils were put in place, in particular, the Education Reform Act of 1988. The legacy of the Swann Report (1985) left an image of a homogeneous group of minority ethnic underachievers. This perception was elucidated by subsequent research that identified continued underachievement in general but most specifically amongst boys of Afro-Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi origins plus, in London, those of Turkish origin (HMCI, 2001). Rampton and others (2001) claimed that this perception contributed to the belief that race was a key factor in explaining underachievement. Where schools had high numbers of minority ethnic group pupils, it was argued that there would be a greater propensity for low attainment. This would discourage the parents of non-minority ethnic group pupils from sending their children to schools with high numbers of minority ethnic group pupils; this would have the concomitant result, of reducing numbers and thus loss of national funding creating a downward spiral of continuing under-achievement. Rampton and others (2001) further contended that the promotion of English national culture alongside the teaching of the National Curriculum meant that any shortfall in achievement by minority ethnic group pupils was attributed to their affiliations to non-British cultures. These trends accentuated the division between white and non-white schools and fuelled the racism that was to be highlighted in the Stephen Lawrence case in 1993 (Macpherson Report, 1999).

5.2.2 National Curriculum and Language

Rampton and others (2001:2) map what they call 'the deteriorating school provision' for ESL since 1984. However, the period since the Swann Report of 1985 was not one of stagnation but one of conflicting tensions. It saw a welter of debate about how language

should be taught in schools, that is, for all pupils. The Conservative Government had underpinned the Language in the National Curriculum Project (1989-92) by commissioning the eminent applied linguist, Henry Widdowson as its consultant, but had ignored any consultation with practitioners in the field of English language teaching in schools thus ignoring a body of expertise bedded in practice rather than in more theoretical approaches to the understanding of language delivered to learners in other countries, in the main (Rampton and others, 2001). This intervention signalled shifts into teaching the technicalities of grammar and away from the socio-linguistic aspects of culture and social group identity that had previously characterised the generic teaching of English language within the school curriculum. This marked a three-way tension characterised, firstly, by theoreticians more familiar with methodologies applied to the teaching of English as a foreign language (EFL); then, by practising language teachers with the remit to teach English as first language to indigenous pupils; and, finally, by teachers of English as an additional language with a remit to teach a wide range of pupils for whom English might be a second, third or even fourth language.

In this period of flux within the English educational system, there persisted a throwback to Swann (1985) in that underachievement by pupils from minority ethnic backgrounds was still considered to be evident and to be solved by the acquisition of a sound command of Standard English. This view was reinforced by the advent of the undifferentiated 'Literacy Hour' element of the National Curriculum (NC) in 1998; this ignored the particular needs of EAL pupils and insisted on measuring their attainment against the English language criteria applicable to mother tongue speakers of English within the NC framework. It further failed to acknowledge the importance of first language learning as a key to aiding bilingual pupils advance their conceptual understanding and, thus, their learning. This is perceived to be to the detriment of EAL learners, as Leung (2001 cited in Rampton and others, 2001).

> In spite of constituting a student group which really could gain from some explicit instruction in the linguistic and discursive structures of English, learners of EAL have been rather left to languish in an enfeebled afterglow from the Swann Report.
> **Rampton and others, 2001:15**

Nevertheless, by 2003, OFSTED reports provided evidence that there was an improved awareness of the difficulties that pupils from minority ethnic backgrounds might encounter in the production of written English which in turn would impact on their written work across the curriculum (OFSTED, 2003a, OFSTED 3b and OFSTED, 2003c). The reports

dealt explicitly with writing in English as an additional language and addressed this at Key Stage 4 to post-16 in one case and at the needs of advanced learners of EAL at secondary school and college levels.

5.2.3 Achievement and minority ethnic pupils in England and Wales

Since Swann (1985), interest in advancing the education of pupils from minority ethnic group backgrounds had been evident in independent research work, for example, by publications from the Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations (Anwar, 1996), the Policy Studies Institute (Modood, 1997) and from interest groups such as the Runnymede Trust (1998) and the National Black Youth Forum (2000). In addition, a growing number of academics, themselves from minority ethnic group backgrounds, directed their attention to the contexts in which minority group learners, often UK-born, experience the education system (Leung and Harris, 1997; John, 2003).

It was not until 2000, some fifteen years after the Swann Report (1985), in the aftermath of the MacPherson Report on the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry (1999) and the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000, that the profile and priority of attention on minority ethnic group educational underachievement and its perceived causes was foregrounded in Government-sponsored reports. These included reports from the Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED) (Gillborn and Mirza, 2000); the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) (National Curriculum, 2000) and HM Chief Inspector of Schools (2001); Aiming high: raising the achievement of minority ethnic pupils (DfES, 2003); OFSTED, 2004a; and OFSTED, 2004b.

The OFSTED report by Gillborn and Mirza (2000) was concerned more with the wider issues of race, class and gender in education than with the specifics of learner attainment although it was recognised that the omission of consideration of social class and gender as important variables in any analysis of attainment patterns. However, it was the emphasis on policies aspiring to eliminate racism, for example, by placing new responsibilities to counter institutional racism on the educational sector, including HE, that resonated with contemporary views on the reasons for perceived under-attainment.

In 1999, the Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant (EMAG) in England and Wales was introduced to replace the Section 11 arrangements of the Local Government Act 1966 that had paradoxically provided Home Office funding for an educational function, namely, the

teaching of English as a second language (ESL) within all sectors of education (National Curriculum 2000). EMAG arrangements marked a fundamental change in perspective on the whole issue of achievement and how pupils from minority ethnic groups could be supported. It placed the responsibility for this teaching with the Department for Enterprise and Education (DfEE later DfES) with funding being administered at local levels on a capitation basis and, in terms of teaching, the approach considered learning across the curriculum and not only to discrete teaching of EAL. The transition between the two processes was perceived to have caused difficulties; in some Local Authority Areas (LEAs) funding formulae meant that some schools with the most disadvantage lost around twenty thousand pounds per annum. In some instances, EAL staff were reduced in number or replaced by bilingual classroom assistants or home-school liaison workers (HMCI 2001).

However, by 2004, two complementary OFSTED reports on managing the EMAG in primary and secondary schools depicted a process which, while not without its flaws, was generally considered to have achieved some measure of success in improving achievement of minority ethnic group pupils (OFSTED 2004a; OFSTED 2004b). The Ethnic Minority Achievement (EMA) initiatives allowed for flexibility within LEA areas and within individual schools; this enabled a more holistic approach to achievement across the curriculum, and not simply confined to a language issue with an EAL teacher, often peripatetic, to support some of the school population. The element of co-ordination within the EMAG frameworks meant that pupils could be profiled by EMA staff in order that, in terms of support, mainstream staff could be more aware of the needs and identified targets of individuals.

It should be noted that these developments were not uniformly welcomed or implemented wholeheartedly and have to be placed in the context of a time of considerable turmoil within the primary and secondary sectors of education in England.

What is noteworthy, in the context of the current study, is that evidence presented in the OFSTED reports (2004a and 2004b) showed that not only are the aims of the EMAG working in relation to improving achievement of minority ethnic group pupils, but that this funding regime has shifted the focus of EAL support from 'stories and music from around the world...[to] progress and achievement' (OFSTED 2004a:5). Each of these reports identified, as an example of best practice, a list of ten activities expected of the EMA staff

(OFSTED, 2004a:10; OFSTED, 2004b:10). Racism awareness and equality issues, although key to the whole EMAG philosophy, were overtaken on this list by greater emphasis on the delivery of educational objectives related to the wider curriculum and specific literacy objectives for pupils using English as an additional language. This appears to mark a change in priority in tackling discrimination and a difference in approach to the teaching and learning of minority ethnic group pupils.

EMAG programmes allowed for greater flexibility in how funding could be targeted to meet the needs of schools and their pupils within the local context (OFSTED, 2004a; OFSTED, 2004b; HMCI, 2001). This included the use of bilingual support workers who had home liaison duties as well as roles within the classroom. It enabled more rigorous evaluation of the efficacy of EMA teaching by data collection that, in turn, informed policy changes and adjustment in how and with whom EMA teaching could be targeted. The publication on EAL assessment by the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) in 2000 laid out guidelines for compiling assessment profiles of EAL pupils. However, this related only to attainment in language and made no link between language competency and learning using English as the medium of learning. By contrast, EMA initiatives adopted a more holistic approach to the process of language learning as part of the greater scheme of learning.

5.2.4 Bilingualism and EAL

Furthermore, while Rampton (1981) recognised the importance of encouraging the use and development of the home language in the acquisition of English, the Swann Report (1985) had placed the responsibility for home language teaching on the minority ethnic group communities themselves. The legacy of this has been that the National Curriculum failed to value minority languages within its parameters (Tosi, 2001). However, the EAL research community has long advocated the view that teaching of the heritage language and the use of the heritage language as a medium of instruction can impact positively on the acquisition of English (Cummins, 1984; Collier, 1995; and Franson and others, 2002).

The EMAG process has instigated a mild resurgence in recognition of the importance of the use of heritage languages as a factor in the wider education of bilingual or plurilingual pupils (HMCIS, 2001; Leung and Harris, 1997). More recently, the ability to undertake study of at least two minority languages, Chinese and Urdu, at GCSE and Advanced GCE levels has marked a further step in normalising the study of minority community languages

within the school curriculum. However, as noted by Tosi (2001) the training of minority community language teachers is provided through the Royal Society of Arts rather than through initial teacher training. Some local authorities, for example, Tower Hamlets, have instigated a certificated training programme for its bilingual teaching staff who deliver heritage language teaching within their area. This deficit in mainstream provision for minority language teacher training may have been attributable to the lack of a coherent policy on language acquisition in English as a mother tongue and in modern foreign languages. In such a context minority community languages did not appear to be taken into the reckoning.

5.2.5 Teacher training and teaching minority ethnic pupils

This lack of teacher training opportunities is not confined to minority languages alone; it applies also to the teaching of EAL. Initial teacher training in EAL as a main subject is not available in England (nor in Scotland) and it has long been recognised that Initial Teacher Training fails to devote sufficient attention to specialist approaches required to provide learning and language support for minority ethnic group pupils and students (ITTSEAL, 2004; Rampton and others, 2001; Tomlinson, 1986). It was in response to this lacuna that NALDIC, in association with the Teacher Training Agency, established a website for Initial Teacher Training Subject English as an Additional Language (ITTSEAL) in 2004. What is most significant here is the fact that a professional academic association, with the status of an interest group, working collaboratively with the definitive government agency for the provision of teacher training, has been a prime mover in placing EAL on the formal training agenda. This suggests that all official reports notwithstanding, the construction of expertise on EAL depends on the interest and motivation of individuals rather than on government initiative. This reflects a fundamental failure on the part of policy makers to recognise the highly specialised nature of the EAL teacher role within the educational process for the pupils they teach.

One of the outcomes of the EMAG process is that it has placed in relief the fact the teaching of EAL is situated in a state of academic limbo. It has no status as an academic discipline within the National Curriculum. Furthermore, it is perceived to lack an acknowledged theoretical framework on which to construct its teaching rationale (Leung and others, 1997). Practitioners of EAL teaching present this as a hybrid discipline drawing its theory from linguistics, second language acquisition, bilingualism, cognitive psychology, social and cultural ethnography, curriculum studies, theories of teaching and

learning, and language assessment and testing (South 1999); its pedagogy resonates with that some aspects of modern language teaching and with the teaching of English as a foreign language (ITTSEAL, 2004).

An anomaly arises. Under the EMAG arrangements, despite the fact that EAL has neither the status of a subject, nor a formalised initial teacher training within the frameworks of other disciplines at primary or secondary level, EAL teachers, as members of EMA teams, are expected to provide continuing professional training for mainstream teachers. Such training is meant to include coverage of EAL teaching strategies, plus language and cultural awareness, in order to support a school ethos that promotes inclusive, non-racist values indirectly through mainstream teaching.

Franson and others (2002) reported the recommendation that EAL teachers should complete three years of classroom teaching experience before moving into EAL teaching. This leaves a rather inconclusive picture of what qualifications might be required in order to undertake a role as an EAL teacher. In the respect that all teachers seeking qualified teacher status are required to teach core literacy and numeracy, this suggests that almost any qualified teacher could opt to apply for specialist EMA or EAL teaching. NALDIC appears to have assumed a role as a disseminator of information on EAL training and presents a list of 15 English Higher Education institutions that offer a variety of post-qualification courses leading from a simple in-house certificate (2), through single module (3), recognised postgraduate certificates (5) to modularised M.A. or M.Ed. qualifications (5). These are largely offered on a part-time basis over a period of a year or more. While some LEAs offer participation on some certificate courses under Continuing Professional Development (CPD), there appears to be no compulsion on teachers moving into EAL or the EMA area to undertake such a course of study. However, although the literature assumes a level of expertise residing in the body of EAL teachers, it is less easy to identify what additional training such people undertake to qualify them in this area. The lack of subject status means that there is no identifiable career structure in place to encourage teachers to aspire to a career path through EAL (HMCI, 2001); this may have financial as well as career implications.

In sum, it is probably the shift in focus that the EMAG processes have facilitated that has brought about the 'coming of age' of the teaching of EAL within the compulsory educational sector. Under EMAG, the EAL teacher works as a member of a team with

goals and strategies recognised within the wider curriculum – 'EMA had a Cinderella image...now we are seen as equal partners with clout' (OFSTED, 2004b:4).

5.2.6 Implications of changing minority ethnic profiles in the educational system

As can be seen, nothing remains static in the area of EAL or the teaching of minority ethnic pupils. The 2001 Report of HM Chief Inspector of Schools on managing attainment of minority ethnic pupils commented that the nature of provision could lead to lack of a long-term strategy in tackling this area of education (HMCI, 2001). Nevertheless, in the period between the introduction of the EMAG in 1999 and the OFSTED reports of 2004 on good practice in the management of the EMAG funding, the issues relating to the education of minority ethnic group pupils had altered considerably. Periodic influxes of pupils, many traumatised, from asylum or refugee status families newly arrived in the UK has placed additional pressures on the EMAG systems and EAL, in particular. This changed the composition of the target groups and meant that there was the potential for EMA staff and resources to become even more thinly spread in certain areas in order to deal with a much-changed ethnic profile (HMCI, 2001). In one area cited in the HMCI Report (2001) these sudden shifts in requirements occasioned by the arrival of significant numbers of refugee children adversely affected the support that could be given by EMA teachers to settled British Asian children in particular. In this respect, Rampton and others (2001) rightly report deterioration in provision, although, interestingly, they make no reference to EMAG in their paper.

Some of the developments in relation to EAL teacher training, the use of bilingual classroom assistants and liaison workers, all encouraged under EMAG, appear to be addressing the real needs of pupils and students. Nevertheless, speaking in 2001, Cummins warned of an observable trend evident in North America where the 'bureaucratisation' of education has caused a response to teacher-shortage in which

> ... people who do not have formal teaching qualifications are brought in and simply deliver the script.
> **Cummins, 2001:1**

Cummins asserted that the bureaucratic impression that pupils can learn English very quickly stems from a belief that any claim that it might take five years or so to achieve full competence is simply a ploy to sustain EAL jobs (Cummins, 2001). This might be regarded by some as scare-mongering; it suggests that financial expedient might well overcome pedagogical principle. In the British situation, within the EMAG arrangements,

financial underpinning is a consideration and decisions may well be taken at a local level to employ cheaper non-qualified assistants rather than trained, but more expensive, teachers with qualified teacher status to meet growing demands made of schools.

The impact of the Stephen Lawrence events (1993) and their aftermath cannot be down-played in the overall context of provision and practice in relation to minority ethnic group pupils and the schools they populate in England. It is debatable whether this proliferation of reports and initiatives would have happened in any case. Whatever, the effect has been to raise the profile of minority ethnic groups and their particular needs with particular reference to achievement and to engineer collection of data in order to monitor the efficacy of support provided. Thus, the situation has moved on considerably since Swann reported in 1985 and increasingly so since the MacPherson Report of 1999. The concurrent influxes of children from refugee and asylum-seeking families has also altered the parameters of what schools can be expected to cover. The extent to which these factors and the evolving approaches to EAL provision in England have impacted on the Scottish situation will be considered further.

5.3 Ethnicity and the educational system: Scotland

For Scotland, it is more difficult to plot the sequence of developments that address the educational needs of minority ethnic group pupils and students in the same way as for England and Wales. The legislation and measures that have been implemented there and the debate that underpinned these have not been replicated in Scotland. This is attributable, in part, to the very different demographic profile in Scotland discussed in §4. Nevertheless, as argued above, the exchange of information and close professional relationships that exist between Scottish professional teachers' organisations and those in England means that developments in Scotland have not occurred in isolation.

This section traces the development of approaches to minority ethnic group teaching in Scotland with particular relevance to the learning of English as an Additional Language. It identifies areas where the influence of events and trends in England has been manifested within the Scottish system. In addition, factors that are unique to the Scottish educational system will also be explored.

5.3.1 The Scottish context

Recognition of ethnicity in education as an issue to be addressed does not appear to have been fully acknowledged at Scottish Office level until 1998 when Powney and others reviewed research into the education of minority ethnic groups in Scotland. As already reported, Powney and others (1998) found statistical information lacking in relation to the education of minority ethnic pupils and students; it was also noted in the same review that investigations in this area in Scotland were small-scale and did not find their way into the mainstream literature. Nevertheless, the report was comprehensive in its coverage of literature available at that time and cited 218 references. Yet, only 40% of these referred to Scotland (87) and, of these, one quarter (23) referred directly to the issue of racism. The report focused principally on the situation in schools. The review cited only two references to higher education. No citations on further education were included. This suggests that there was very little relevant published work relating to these sectors before 1998.

The primary focus of the review was to identify 'whether people from minority ethnic groups get a fair deal from the education system in Scotland' (Powney and others, 1998:vii). This was done by conducting an appraisal of existing research work into minority ethnic group educational participation, noted to be focused more on awareness-raising than on evaluation of the status quo. The reviewers made extensive recommendations for further research into the curriculum, liaison between home and school, language issues, attainment, ethnicity and educational employment. Therefore, it might have been expected that there would have been some response to this work. Yet, although attitudes have changed in the interim period, Powney, writing in 2002, noted that the research into minority issues continued to be led by projects funded by agencies beyond Scotland and cites the Department for Education and Skills (DfES) and the Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE), in particular.

5.3.2 Countering racism in education

Powney and others (1998) had recognised that, in order to create a positive school ethos in this area, combating racism was a priority for teacher education and staff development. It is not unexpected to find that what has subsequently emerged in Scotland is that much of the work done in relation to minority ethnic groups in education has been conducted from a baseline of countering racism. The developments have included the creation of the Scottish Ethnic Minorities Research Unit (SEMRU)1985-2000; the setting up of the Centre for Education for Racial Equality in Scotland (CERES)1991-2005; the declaration of 1997 as

the European Year Against Racism and Scotland's participation in this; the Scottish Executive response to the Macpherson Report with the paper entitled 'The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry; an Action Plan for Scotland' in 1999; the creation of the Race Equality Advisory Forum (REAF) in 1999 and the launch of the Scottish Executive's 'One Scotland' racism awareness campaign (2002). This sequence indicated a groundswell of activity that profiled racial inequality in Scotland. The Scottish Executive's Audit of Research on Minority Ethnic Issues in Scotland from a 'Race' Perspective (Netto and others, 2001) scoped a problem that went far beyond racism in education. It made only passing reference to Scottish Higher Education with only five cited references related to HE, two of which were from the same project.

The last publication produced by CERES before its closure at the end of its funding in February/March 2005, 'Minority Ethnic Pupils' Experience of Schools in Scotland' (Arshad and others, 2004), brought racism in education again to the forefront of debate and research. Supporting the view held by John (2003), Arshad and others (2004) explained

> For too long, it seemed that policy makers, academic researchers, service providers and the general public were wedded to the belief that racism was not an issue 'north of the border'. However, in its first term of office, the Scottish Parliament signalled a significant shift by introducing major social and political developments which address the systemic barriers that lead to social exclusion in the lives of significant sections of Scottish society. Part of this climate of strategic rethinking has included an acknowledgement of the issue of 'racism' in 'mainstream' Scotland.
> **Arshad and others, 2004:1**

However, as noted by Parekh (2002), although there has been activity to counter racism for many years, limited national governmental initiatives have left organisations such as CERES without statutory effectiveness and he notes specifically that 'their documents are unlikely to be read by those who most need them' (Parekh, 2002:143). It is interesting to note that funding for CERES terminated in February/March 2005 just four months before the deadline for compliance with the Race Relations (Amendment) Act in June 2005.

The Scottish Executive campaign for tackling racism under the banner of 'One Scotland' (2002) is an acknowledgement of Scotland's multicultural society. This initiative might be seen more as a response to demonstrations of racism, in one case murder, faced by refugee and asylum seekers who have entered Scotland rather than to a realisation that members of Scotland's settled minority ethnic communities have been exposed to this form of abuse for decades. The work of John (2003) and studies of Arshad and others (2005) have shown

that racism exists in Scottish society and within its education system; this cannot be denied.

Thus, attempts to achieve recognition of the problem of racism have continued to dominate educational circles. The high profile approach has had some degree of success through the Multi-cultural and Anti-racist Education (MCARE) policies adopted throughout all education authority areas. Within the various education sectors, the emphasis on countering racism is manifested in the creation of institutional policy statements on race equality in observation of the race relations legislation, namely, the Race Relations Act 1976 and the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000. However, if policies are to be in place, then they need to exist not only in print, but also followed in spirit and in application. One instance where this appears not to be the case relates to ethnic monitoring.

5.3.3 Ethnic monitoring

In England, Swann (1985) recommended the reintroduction of ethnic monitoring of staff and pupils although, as already reported, this did not uniformly occur in practice. In Scotland, the policy of ethnic monitoring was to apply only to pupils; as had been the case in England, this does not appear to have been consistent across the education authority areas. Two examples serve to illustrate this point. For example, one Scottish EAL teacher reported that she compiled her own list of minority ethnic group pupils by going through the class lists and picking out minority ethnic group names (personal communication). This suggests that certainly for that school, which may or may not have been typical of others in Scotland in the late 1990s, there was no list available on demand that might have been of use in ethnic monitoring. The second example, citing a situation some ten years later, reports a response to a written question from Margo MacDonald, MSP, in which she asked for the numbers of EAL pupils in Scottish schools. Scottish Executive Minister, Peter Peacock, stated that numbers of EAL school or pre-school pupils are not collected centrally (Scottish Parliament, 2003). The rationale for ethnic monitoring is that collation of data ensures that equality of opportunity is seen to exist and that resources can be allocated accordingly. Both examples cited suggest that, within the mandatory education sectors, there is some considerable difficulty in accurately assessing the demands being made of the educational system to meet the need for educational support, EAL or otherwise, for minority ethnic group pupils in Scotland.

In a paper on EAL provision in Northern Ireland, Hansson and others (2002) drew comparisons with the situation in Scotland and noted that statistics collected on EAL

pupils by the Scottish Executive Education Department are limited and confidential; similar figures from regions are also not available. This apparent lack of transparency may indicate that ethnic monitoring is not rigorously pursued across the country and, even if it were, not all minority ethnic group pupils and students would receive EAL support. Pupil Census Results published for 2002 show that 3% of the Scottish school population are of minority ethnic heritages (Scottish Executive National Statistics), but no distinction in these data is made between pre-school, primary and secondary pupils. Overall, this lack of detail makes it even more difficult to assess whether minority ethnic group pupils in Scotland are being disadvantaged educationally and, if so, in what respects. It also raises an interesting question relating to the perception of when minority ethnic group pupils might require language learning support and that is: at what stage do EAL pupils cross the divide from being seen as in need of EAL support and as being completely functional in their additional language such that they can cope alongside their dominant group peers in an undifferentiated manner? This is a question that will be addressed later in this study.

5.3.4 Underachievement as an issue in Scotland

In England minority ethnic group disadvantage in schools has been characterised by perceptions of underachievement. It was in recognition of this that the EMAG process was instigated. In Scotland, the perceived deficiencies in ethnic monitoring make it difficult to draw parallels. The Scottish Executive consultation document, 'Improving our schools' (2000), laid out anticipated national priorities for education in Scotland. While it did recognise underachievement as a problem, it related this to weaker attainment amongst boys. The ethnic dimension to underachievement observed in England was not even a consideration in the Scottish consultation stage. There is some evidence from a single and restricted Scottish case study of five Glasgow schools undertaken by an EAL support teacher which suggests that underachievement is a characteristic of young, male minority ethnic pupils (Gillies, 1989). If these findings, although dated, are indicative of a trend, then Scottish educational policy has failed to declare this as a potential area for attention. This might be partially explained by the fact that the gathering of statistical information is not sufficiently rigorous to elicit this fine-grain detail (Powney, 2002). Arshad and others, reporting in 2005, note that the level of detailed data required to evaluate the performance of minority ethnic pupils remains inadequate. Thus, compared to England, Scotland has some way to go in coming close to the position related to identifying the requirement and supporting minority ethnic pupils' achievement proactively in schools.

Although it appears that this is one area where the information on indicative trends from the English situation has not been identified as applicable to Scotland, this is not the case in practice. Through the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2002 and its implementation in schools, the issue of underachievement has been subtly integrated into the process. As an example, Highland Council Education Authority in compliance with the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 publishes its race equality policy.

> Schools should routinely monitor attainment and attendance specifically in relation to ethnic minority pupils. Any underlying trends or patterns of underachievement should be investigated and addressed by the Race Equality Co-ordinator in collaboration with the Senior Management Team/Head Teacher.
> **Highland Council: Race Equality Policy, 2004:14**

Nevertheless, in interpreting this duty for the education of minority ethnic group pupils, especially in terms of underachievement, this authority appears to see this primarily in race equality terms with educational concerns as a secondary consideration. Furthermore, it suggests that monitoring attainment and attendance applies only for minority ethnic pupils with an implied assumption that underachievement is to be expected. From one perspective this is simply a sloppy piece of drafting; from another it is perpetuating racist stereotypes in the very document that is intended to counter such a thing.

While there are references to minority ethnic pupils' underachievement in Scottish Executive documents and reports from other agencies, the figures are not available to verify whether, as in England, there is a problem in this respect. The data simply is not available (Arshad and others, 2005).

In earlier discussion of the issues of perceived underachievement of minority ethnic pupils in England, it was acknowledged that there has been a shift away from problematising race and race equality as the fundamental factors in accounting for underachievement. Harris (2000) suggested that the emphasis on racism as an explanation for underachievement is no longer appropriate and that seeking solutions within that agenda would not be productive. He notes that this is evident in the arrangements for implementation of the EMAG where combating racism is seen as an underpinning tenet to the process rather than the primary issue. In Scotland, if, as in the Highland Council example cited above, racial inequality is seen as the explanation of underachievement and if this is typical of interpretations of other education authorities, then it is possible that attention and research activity could be diverted from other underlying factors that might be influencing levels of achievement of minority ethnic pupils and students in all sectors. For this reason, therefore, in this current

study, the issues of racism will be laid to one side except where these have been raised by the interviewees.

5.3.5 EAL Teacher Training in Scotland

Other aspects affect the ways in which minority ethnic group learners experience their education. The school and its teachers are the point of contact for pupils. The institution is the unit that is required to interpret policies whether they come from local government, as suggested by Landon (2002), or from the Scottish Executive. How teachers are placed within the system impacts directly on their pupils.

As in England, teacher training possibilities are limited for practitioners of EAL in Scotland where registration with the General Teaching Council for Scotland (GTC) is a pre-requisite for holding a teaching post within the school sectors. This, therefore, discounts anyone holding an RSA certificate as might be acceptable for a community language teacher in England, for example. Only one establishment, the Faculty of Education of the University of Edinburgh, offers training in Education Support (Bilingual Learners) for ESL/EAL teachers at Masters and Diploma levels. These are part-time courses requiring a commitment of 72 months and 48 months respectively. There is no full-time equivalent.

Other training opportunities at national level are not evident apart from those organised from within the profession itself through the activities of the Scottish Association for Teachers of English as an Additional Language (SATEAL) which is representative of EAL teachers from all regions of Scotland. A recent development has been the formation of the Scottish EAL Co-ordinating Group which has worked with CERES in developing a guidance document on the teaching of bilingual learners in Scottish schools (January – March 2005). Despite these professional initiatives, there remains a feeling amongst Scottish EAL teachers that there is no coherent conduit to channel their concerns to the wider educational management at government level and that, furthermore, they are not perceived to have a common 'voice' as expert witnesses when, for example, proposed legislation is tabled for consultation and discussion (Gillies and others, 2004).

Hansson and others (2002) report that in Glasgow (the area in Scotland with the largest concentrations of minority ethnic group pupils), INSET on teaching minority ethnic group pupils for mainstream teachers is held annually. Provision elsewhere in Scotland is less

transparent. Research conducted by Smyth (2000) exemplified the limited training opportunities for mainstream primary teachers in Scotland where she noted that, of 17 teachers of whom all but two had more than 10 years of service, only two could report a passing mention to teaching minority ethnic group pupils in their initial teacher training while another could report a reference to bilingual pupils in the context of Special Educational Needs (SEN). Thus, in Scotland, it appears that the interests of minority ethnic group pupils are not well-served by the systems in place to train their mainstream teachers and appear to be limited for teachers of EAL.

The anomaly of EAL/EMA specialist teachers being used in continuing professional development activities in England has a parallel in Scotland in that in the process of training mainstream staff in issues relating to the compliance with the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 for its deadline in June 2005, it is EAL staff who seem to have been delegated this responsibility (Watson, 2004). This suggests that the role of the EAL practitioner diversifies into the promotion of race equality issues with the concomitant distraction from the delivery of EAL teaching, although it is difficult to see where else this responsibility might reside within the Scottish educational system where acknowledgement of race equality issues occurs only by virtue of enacted legislation as a priority for action. In Scotland, therefore, it seems that the promotion of race equality issues and the teaching of EAL remain inexorably intertwined. Arshad and others (2005) argue that EAL dominates thinking in the minds of teachers and deflects attention from the wider issues of racism in schools. It could be argued that preoccupation with anti-racism, worthy though this is, does not address the reality of underachievement for learners in the classroom.

If EAL exists in an academic limbo in England, the situation is not much different in Scotland. No official figures exist for teachers who are involved in teaching EAL in Scotland. This may be because, as in England, EAL is not perceived to have the status of a subject. Similarly, there is no recognised career route in this specialism which is seen as a peripheral activity in some schools. EAL specialists are not always welcome in schools on the grounds that the head teacher may consider that mainstream school staff can cope with the needs of minority ethnic pupils without specialist input (Smyth, 2002). Thus, even within the teaching profession itself the work of the EAL practitioner may be regarded with some suspicion and, it seems, as inconsequential. For example, one EAL practitioner (white) reported being subjected to racist remarks in the staff room on the basis that her

minority ethnic group pupils were of lower ability than their white peers and therefore less worthy in some way (personal communication, EAL teacher, East of Scotland, 2000).

In describing the status of the teaching of EAL in Scottish schools, Landon (2001) offers a frank appraisal of the reality.

> Most local authorities fund an EAL support service, usually as part of provision for wider educational support. However, the extent and nature of support that these services provide and the level of expertise of the staff differs considerably from one authority to another.
> **Landon, 2001:5**

This does not sound an optimistic note for the development of a service confronted by an expanding pupil population from the constantly fluctuating refugee and asylum seeker population as well as from 'settled' minority ethnic group families. This problem of scarce resource is tackled by confining activities to working with children in the early stages of learning English, peripatetic visits to schools and providing consultancy for mainstream teachers (Landon, 2001). Again, Landon is not optimistic.

> The lack of expertise amongst support staff, the frequent low level of awareness of school managers and the failure of schools to provide consultation time mean that these [consultancy] claims are largely rhetorical.
> **Landon, 2001:5**

EAL provision is only a part of the greater whole of the curriculum and the role of mainstream teachers, their attitudes and approaches to the teaching of minority ethnic group pupils is fundamental to the experience of these young people.

5.3.6 Approaches to the teaching of minority ethnic pupils in Scottish schools

It has been acknowledged that mainstream teachers have a limited understanding of what teaching minority ethnic group pupils involves. As noted, initial teacher training, in both England and Scotland, does not enhance an understanding of the challenges of learning in an additional language, issues of bilingualism or cross-cultural communication (Franson, 2002; Landon, 2001; Smyth, 2000). In one case in the Smyth (2000) study, for example, one teacher did not know and had not tried to find out the first language of the only minority ethnic group pupil in her class.

Stephen and Cope (2003) recount their observations of teachers' attitudes to inducting children from nursery into the reception class in the primary school (Primary 1). In their study they identify attitudes held by teachers that children ought to 'fit in' to classroom routines. Where this did not occur for whatever reason, the teachers uniformly adopted a

deficit stance by placing the blame on the child's inadequacies rather than on the school. This suggests that teachers perpetuate deficit models of pupils who differ from what Smyth (2000) calls the 'master model'. Stephen and Cope (2003) were not looking particularly at minority ethnic group pupils although they mention five minority ethnic group pupils in their case study, but their comments could apply equally to dominant or minority group children. Their research observations resonate with those made by Smyth (2000) who notes a teacher expectation that children comply to classroom norms. For these teachers, minority ethnic pupils with limited bilingual competence tended not to meet these expectations. Perceptions of 'not fitting in' and of difference prompted one teacher in the Smyth (2000) study to suggest that the child needed extra learning support (noticeably not language support). This approach is consistent with the view held in the past, in Britain and elsewhere, that a linguistically challenged minority ethnic child must require learning support which often translated inappropriately to inclusion in the Special Educational Needs category (Baker, 1995; Cline, 1997; Cummins, 1984; Gillborn and Gipps, 1996; Levine, 1999; Smyth, 2000). Using the terminology of the time, Tomlinson (1986) reported the observation that some teachers still believe that 'black [minority ethnic] children have a "natural" lower ability' (Tomlinson, 1986:15). This is a view that continues to prevail (Stead and others, 1999).

Recently drafted legislation showed that this view is not yet eradicated. The Additional Support for Learning Act 2004, when at the consultation stage, demonstrated particular insensitivity and lack of awareness regarding the educational needs of minority ethnic group pupils. The terms of the draft Bill fuelled the misconception that bilingual pupils should be taught under SEN guidelines by appearing to include EAL as an 'additional need' alongside SEN. In responses to the Consultation Document it was suggested that the Bill gave 'the impression that bilingualism is a condition or an impairment rather than something to be celebrated' and that it 'indicated that systemic and institutional barriers were being perpetuated' (Scottish Executive, 2003 paragraph 19). As staff from Shawlands Academy, Glasgow, asserted

> ... our major concern is that the deficit model of bilingual pupils which we have been struggling to counter in Scotland over the last twenty years will be given a boost by the inclusion of all bilingual pupils in this Bill.
> **Gillies and others, 2004**

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Table 5.4.1 tracks a typical educational journey for these students as they entered nursery school, then first infants, advanced into secondary education and then on to Summer School following their sixth secondary school year. The bold black line marks the end of their school and the beginning of their university experience. This table shows that the first minority ethnic group students who joined the Access Summer School intake in 1996 began their experience of the mainstream educational system in 1982. The pattern continues over the period 1982-98. The column of events on the left of Table 5.4.1 shows that for the students in the early years there had been very few developments that applied explicitly to the education of minority ethnic pupils. However, for those pupils who began school after 1985, the Swann Report (1985) marked a watershed in the UK educational systems. For almost a decade it was the point of reference in approaches to meeting the needs of minority ethnic pupils in the field of education. Furthermore, its findings contributed significantly to the stereotypes and misconceptions identified by Smyth (2003) and commented upon by Landon (2001). Only five events listed in Table 5.4.1 relate directly to Scotland, but, significantly, these were not directly related to the delivery of language or learning support.

It can be seen from Table 5.4.1 that, for students in that first intake in 1996, their experience would, in normal circumstances, have begun in 1982. The pattern continues over the period 1982 – 2005. The column of events on the left of Table 5.4.1 shows that, for the students in the early years, there had been very few developments that applied explicitly to the education of minority ethnic pupils. However, for those pupils who began school after 1985, the Swann Report (1985) marked a watershed in the UK educational systems. For almost a decade it was the point of reference in approaches to meeting the needs of minority ethnic pupils in the field of education. Furthermore, its findings contributed significantly to the stereotypes and misconceptions that Smyth identified in 2003 and that were commented upon by Landon in 2001.

In the context of the present study, the data show that EAL support in the early stages of full-time education would seem to have taken place in some cases. There is some evidence in the data that suggests that, for these students in primary school in the mid-eighties (Table 5.4.1), this took place in a support centre rather than in the mainstream classroom.

Table 5.4.1 Minority ethnic student's journey through the Scottish educational system

Events for Scotland (bold); both England and Scotland (italics)	Year	University entry 1996-7	University entry 1997-8	University entry 1998-9	University entry 1999-2000	University entry 2001-2	University entry 2002-3	University entry 2002-3
	1982	**Nursery**						
	1983	**Primary**						
	1984							
Swann Report	1985							
Adoption of MCARE philosophy	1986							
	1987							
	1988							
	1989							
	1990	**Secondary**						
CERES set up	1991							
	1992							
	1993							
	1994							
	1995							
Gillborn & Gipps on achievement of minority ethnic pupils	1996	**University**						
	1997							
Powney Report	1998							
Macpherson Report; EMAG introduced **Scottish Parliament; REAF established**	1999	**Degree**						
Race Relations (Amendment) Act OFSTED Mapping, race, class and gender QCA Language in common: assessing EAL	2000							
REAF Education Action Plan OFSTED report on EAL writing	2001							
Parekh Report	2002							
Aiming High: raising awareness of minority ethnic pupils	2003							
EMAG Reports	2004							
Arshad and others on school experiences *Race Relations (Amendment) Act compliance*	2005							

Key:	Enter nursery	Enter first infants	Enter High School	Standard Grade	Higher Grade	Higher Grade or CSYS Advanced Higher	Access entry route to university	University Degree

Additional data from a single student receiving EAL support at secondary school in the mid-nineties indicated that this was still the case. Informal classroom observation in 2000 in one Hamilton secondary school and two Hamilton primary schools showed EAL teachers working alongside mainstream teachers but working with mixed groups of dominant and minority ethnic group pupils. Thus, a mix of approaches seemed to prevail over the relevant period. Had the process of EAL support continued over the later school years, then this might have meant a different outcome for the language competence of the students in the current study as they entered higher education.

The engagement with higher education by the minority ethnic group students in this study will be addressed in §6.

5.5 Summary

This section has examined changes in attitudes, policy and practice in England and Wales and also in Scotland. What has emerged from this appraisal is that in England and Wales, the introduction of the National Curriculum, especially the Literacy Hour has been signalled, in relation to EAL pupils, by a shift of focus from discrimination and racism to greater attention to language competence of all pupils in terms. In addition, it has raised issues about perceived underachievement of pupils for whom English is an Additional Language. This has wrought significant change in the provision of language learning support through EMAG implementation. However, it is apparent that this provision, although an improvement, requires further development. Teaching professionals have identified that a fundamental alteration in the area of Initial Teacher Training with respect to the teaching of EAL and broader issues of teaching children from minority ethnic groups is required (ITTSEAL). Although sanctioned by education officials, the pressure of the ITTSEAL initiative to raise EAL to the status of a subject within the National Curriculum is being driven and co-ordinated by a professional teachers' interest group, NALDIC, rather than overtly by policy initiatives by government departments.

In Scotland, policy initiatives remain fragmented and lie some way behind. Limited statistical information about numbers and distribution of minority ethnic pupils has inhibited any holistic approach to addressing the learning needs of this particular

category of pupil across the sector. It appears that the influence on pedagogical change in the techniques of language teaching and learning for EAL pupils arises, for the main part, from practice within the profession and its professional associations, for example, SATEAL and TESOL Scotland. Policy shifts emanating from the Scottish Office Education Department or the Scottish Executive tend to be related to broader issues of delivery of the curriculum and, where particularly directed at minority ethnic groups, were seen to be dominated by projects related to discrimination and racism rather than discrete policy on support for learning for EAL pupils.

The progress under the EMAG arrangements in England which enhanced the status of EAL practitioners within the English system has not been echoed in Scotland. Teacher training and career development within the area of EAL is still perceived as low status and low priority in terms of teaching activity and this inevitably reflects on the provision available for all students of EAL whether learning at the initial stages or at more advanced levels. There are grounds for suggesting that the quality of teaching among teachers of EAL may be lower than would be desired; this has implications for pupils and their subsequent learning as students.

This section has identified the deficit view of bilingualism and perceptions regarding underachievement by minority ethnic group pupils and students remain largely unexplored. Data to substantiate the suggestion that the English evidence relating to underachievement could be replicated in Scotland is limited. This represents a significant short-coming for the learners for whom English is an Additional Language. If achievement of these 'special' groups is not being monitored, then it is easier to assume that low levels of achievement are attributable to gender or social issues rather than to a language deficit that inhibits learning.

However, as numbers of minority ethnic students proceed to further and higher education in Scotland, this adds a different dimension to the achievement of 'settled' minority ethnic pupils in schools and, by implication, within further and higher education. There has been little examination of issues relating to a possible re-focussing on diagnosis of support need as students aim to tackle more advanced forms of academic literacy required for higher education. This would require some consideration of the adequacy or otherwise of language among minority ethnic

pupils who may have reached a 'plateau' in their language competence (McKay, 1995 in Brindley 1995).

This section has traced developments in the learning experiences of minority ethnic group learners that distract attention from the Ethnic Self and focus intensively on the emergent Academic Self. The general contexts in which the Academic Self develops presents the learner with an environment in which the Global Self can be seen to have a place. The following sections will explore these and other aspects of the students' current and earlier learning experiences and consider the ways in which the 'macro' events described above have impinged on their 'micro' learning experiences as university students.

§6 Engaging with Higher Education

This section considers the factors that were significant for minority ethnic students in this study as they embarked on their path through higher education. It relates this to literature, in particular, a set of axioms following the work of Tierney (1993 cited in Kirkness and Barnhardt, 2001). Thus, this section draws on the data for illustrative features that demonstrate the developing identities of the Ethnic Self and Academic Self. The aim is to identify the challenges that entry to higher education present and illustrate ways in which minority ethnic group students and their families meet these challenges.

The first significant factor in this analysis is the changing profile of higher student education in the UK. Recent national policies have sought to increase numbers so that 'inclusion' has become the watchword for this process. This has found some synergy with terms such as 'non-traditional entry', 'widening access', 'widening participation' and 'diversity' and conveys the message that access to higher education is recognised to be available to all those eligible without prejudice of age, gender, socio-economic background, culture, religion or race (Tomlinson, 2005:162).

Concurrently, after a long period of gestation, the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 has brought race equality issues to the fore in all sectors of UK education. Incorporation of race equality as a cornerstone of the provision of education in all sectors is scheduled for June 2005. A document produced by Universities Scotland entitled 'Action for Inclusion' refers only to 'non-traditional' without any reference to race or ethnicity (Universities Scotland, 2001). While it is not the function of this study to debate issues of race and equality within education, as noted in §5 these are issues that have dominated the development of approaches to the teaching of minority ethnic pupils and students in Scottish education. It seems that, while measures have been put in place to highlight race equality, recognition of minority ethnic issues, particularly relating to language, remain to be fully incorporated into the political and educational agenda in Scotland (MacIver, 2004).

This means that the minority ethnic students in this study have experienced school and higher education in a period when the scaffolding of equality policies for all has been under construction. Theirs is the first generation to have engaged significantly with the higher education sector in the University of Dundee and they have done this by 'fitting in' with a culture that was largely unknown to them or their families. These students, with

only two exceptions, completed their earlier education within the Scottish educational system. As outlined in §5, as school pupils, they have been subject to such prevailing educational policies as existed in relation to the learning and teaching of minority ethnic students in Scottish schools. The two students educated in England had similarly experienced such policies as they applied in England (Table 5.4.1).

Increasingly, competition for students and the need to match numbers to government-imposed quotas, has made it essential for universities to facilitate the induction and integration of students into their institutions more energetically. Tierney (1993 cited in Kirkness and Barnhardt, 2001) produced a set of five 'axioms' on which US universities based their approach to supporting student transition into higher education. These could apply equally well to institutions in the UK. These can be paraphrased as:

1. recognising higher education institutions as ritualistic and entry symbolic of transition from one educational life-stage to the next;
2. transferring from one level to the next requires leaving one state behind and moving into the next;
3. achieving success is dependent on successfully inducting new students into the traditions and practices of the institution and sector;
4. guiding students to the achievement of similar goals through synthesis, reproduction and integration; and
5. developing effective strategies to enable students to become academically and socially integrated.

These 'axioms' provide a useful tool in analysing the relationship between the students in this study and the higher education system. The remainder of this section considers the ways in which minority ethnic students in this study respond to each axiom.

6.1 Axiom 1: *Recognising higher education institutions as ritualistic and symbolic of transition from one educational life-stage to the next.*

This sub-section considers how minority ethnic students in this study realigned their goals so that they moved away from the cultural traditions of their ethnic community and targeted university admission as a goal and further stage in their education. It examines attitudes towards the traditional routes into higher education and ways in which the students complied with or challenged these.

6.1.1 Breaking with traditional life patterns

Entry to higher education is a time of challenge and adjustment to an unfamiliar learning environment for most students, but is additionally so for minority ethnic students. As discussed in §3, this is because, for minority ethnic students from some communities, the move into higher education marks a break from the traditional cultural rites of passage into adulthood. For girls, this may mean leaving school for an arranged marriage; for boys, finding employment or integration into family business activity. In this study, from the 75 pilot postal questionnaires sent to students identified as coming from minority ethnic group backgrounds, the ratio female to male was 37:38. This parity shows that educational opportunity is not regarded as the exclusive prerogative of male family members. One student related her own experience to evidence this change in attitudes.

> *My Dad's looked into it* [University entry] *and that. He has always been really, really helpful. I remember I was in sixth year or something and I was deciding what I'd do at University and my Dad sat me down and talked through everything. Not many Asian men do that...but I've been very lucky in that sense because my Dad has shown an interest in my education.*
> **Student SJ, female, Pakistani heritage**

This break-away from tradition with regard to education and, in particular, gender roles, distinguishes the minority ethnic students in the present study as trail-blazers. This directly impacts on self-image of the Ethnic Self and Academic Self.

Widening access philosophy is predicated on broad concepts that have developed over the period covered by this study, has altered the traditional rituals of university admission. These have conventionally been vested in the acquisition of five to six years of secondary schooling matched with high levels of attainment in national examinations. The outreach approach used in the Scottish Wider Access Programme (SWAP) set up in the 1980s to attract mature students went some way to challenging the traditional routes into HE. Leicester's 'Race for a Change in Continuing and Higher Education' (Leicester, 1993) examined the potential scenarios of a higher education sector attempting to offer better opportunities for access to higher education for minority ethnic groups.

> The access course becomes an alternative route to higher education – a route still based on crossing a boundary by reaching a standard, but having fewer race-, gender- or class-based hurdles along the way.
> **Leicester, 1993:61**

For the minority ethnic students in the current study, their access to higher education via the schools route did not correspond to the outreach principles related to the SWAP

approach. As seen in §5, apart from the Summer School initiatives set up in major Scottish universities, there was no particular initiative in Scotland in the mid-nineties to facilitate university entry explicitly for minority ethnic students any more than for any other group from the school population. Thus, the majority of the minority ethnic student interviewees entered the University of Dundee through one of three pre-sessional access formats, the Access Summer School, and its sister ASPIRE and Transitions Programmes. The criteria for consideration for places did not explicitly include membership of a minority ethnic group (Blicharski, 2000). This meant that there were no special concessions nor was there any particular 'targeting' of students because of their ethnic origin. Nevertheless, several had attended the same secondary school where EAL and guidance teams particularly encouraged minority ethnic students to apply for university places through the Access Summer School or other pre-sessional access opportunities. Thus, the minority ethnic students who had entered the University had either achieved the grades for standard entry, or had met the widening access criteria in some way, for example, on the basis of 'no parental experience of higher education'. This was encapsulated by one student talking about why she had taken the opportunity to progress to higher education.

> ...not like my parents who did not have the chance of education so they have to work without qualifications.
> **Student JJ, female, Indian heritage**

6.1.2 Routes to accessing higher education

Despite the fact that there is a perception that there has been 'greater engagement with minority ethnic groups' (Rawson and Kelly, 2002), statistically, it has been shown that, generally, it is less easy for members of minority ethnic groups to make a successful application for a place in higher education. Leslie and others (2002) estimated that, in UK terms, minority ethnic students have 5.8 per cent less chance of being accepted for a place than white dominant group candidates. Furthermore, Shiner and Modood (2002) showed that there was a greater likelihood of acceptance for minority ethnic applicants than for white in the 'new' post-92 institutions than in the 'old, traditional' pre-92 universities. In relation to mature students in Scotland, a SHEFC report published in 2001 indicated that the proportions of students of Asian background are lower than younger students of the same ethnicity (Rabb and Storkey, 2001).

It is unclear whether applicants from minority groups are aware of these statistical trends. The data suggests that what is more likely, in the Dundee case at least, is that the 'trail-

blazing' example set by some minority ethnic students has encouraged others to follow suit.

That's what Asians do. When one does it, then others follow.
Student NA1, female, Pakistani heritage (Personal communication)

Of the 28 respondents, 18 placed themselves as first or second in families within multiple sibling families. Were Student NA1's observation above to be accepted as reflecting typical behaviour, then it could well follow that these younger siblings and other family members would be more likely to enter HE. In relation to this study, this was exemplified by the participation of five members of the same extended Asian family of which Student NA1 was a member. This sibling trait was certainly the case for students from the dominant white group. One such student reported.

My brother was at university before me, so he was able to say: you'll go through this and you get to do this. He gave me lots of examples.
Student KT, female, Scottish heritage

Another dominant ethnic student noted a similar experience.

I kind of knew what to expect because my brother and sister went to university and they told me. So I did have an insight of what goes on.
Student FH, female, Scottish heritage

To get to this point, however, it is necessary for these 'trail-blazing' minority ethnic group students in this study to overcome the mindset that characterises Ogbu's cultural ecological theory described in §3 (Ogbu, 1999 cited in Foster, 2004). Put more colloquially, this theory suggests that minority ethnic young people in lower economic groups would regard university education as 'not for the likes of me' (Marks and others, 2003:1). One of the slightly older students in the study explained her sense of inability to achieve.

Yes. I needed something a lot more challenging. Because I hadn't found myself. I'd left school. Failed everything. Thought I'm not good at anything. Thought, 'Shop work. I'll just do that. That's what I'm meant to do.' This that the other. And as I started doing the job it just became boring. Same stuff day in, day out. And I thought: I think I can do something more challenging. So I've just took it a step at a time.
Student FS, female, Pakistani heritage

This student's initial fatalistic assumption of failure and a future of dead-end jobs appears consistent with the basic principle of Ogbu's theory that suggests that minorities 'know their place'. However, her decision to break out of the apparently pre-ordained life-path that this student had imagined to be her lot, demonstrates a shift in perspective of her Ethnic Self as she explores other possibilities. Her decision to enter higher education is indicative of recognition that some of the obstacles to entry to the sector can be, and are being, eroded.

As the data examined in §4 shows, over the past fifteen years, there has been some fragmentation of the composition of the minority ethnic student group across the Scottish education system. In order to understand this, it is necessary to consider how and when pupils or students from minority ethnic groups enter the educational system.

Following Leung and Harris (1997), three sub-sets of minority ethnic group students can be identified for the purposes of the current study. The first consists of second-generation members of minority ethnic families who generally enter the educational system from the starting age. They may regard themselves as balanced bilinguals, that is, having equal facility in their heritage language and English. In the second subset, there are those students, generally of school-leaving age or thereabouts, who are first-generation immigrants who may have less facility with English, but are still able to cope with the requirements of the curriculum. The third subset comprises refugees or asylum seekers whose education may possibly have been interrupted by the often traumatic circumstances of their transfer to the UK. Once in the UK, they seek to pick up the threads of school and higher education. For this latter category, language competence might be an issue. A more detailed discussion on the aspects of bilingualism will be undertaken in §7. For the moment, it suffices to make these three distinctions.

As noted in §1, Schumann (1976) identified a continuum of adjustment through the assimilation-acculturation-preservation continuum. This model derived from observation of immigrants with lengthy stay in the host country and without instruction in the dominant language. Dependent on individual contexts, for the second and third categories defined above, their transition through Schumann's continuum will possibly be in progress (Schumann, 1976). Their status on this continuum may be that they continue to identify more with their nation-state identity than with the host cultural traditions and heritage of the UK; their sense of standing out from the host community may still remain manifest.

For second-generation minority ethnic students from 'visible minorities' the 'specific historical context and conditions of [their] ethnic group's incorporation into the dominant society' may be unclear (Horvat and Lewis, 2003:265). This generation are part of the host culture and yet apart from it; the same and yet different. Several students commented on aspects of difference, of being different. In one example a student described this as being 'special'.

I think people did consider me as special because I was the only Chinese girl there and they were scared that I was going to get bullied and so they kept an eye on me. And when they were going through things, the teacher would stand next to me and they would actually write it down in front of me and I kind of feel that I'm stupid in front of the rest of the school.
Student IY, female, Hong Kong Chinese heritage

Another student described her strategy for coping with being different.

Right from the start at High School, I didn't feel that I fitted in very well. It wasn't the bullying. I wasn't the one that got picked on. I was the one that got forgotten about – not forgotten about but not in the centre in the focus of things all the time. I'm a bit of an attention seeker so I'd make myself look a bit of a fool sort of thing. I played up to it a bit. Normally I come across as quiet but [I did it] to fit in.
Student SB, female, Indian heritage

Being 'special' or 'different' presents a concept defined and coined as a word by Derrida as 'différance' which is a play on the French word 'différence' and translates as meaning simultaneously 'dissimilar' and 'delayed' (Derrida, 1973:129-160). Rattansi encapsulates this concept as describing a condition that lies somewhere between 'identity' and 'difference' that is 'always open to reinterpretation and transformation (Rattansi, 1994:30). Thus, for second-generation minority ethnic students their sense of 'différance' may be blurred and constantly shifting 'in a 'continuous process of translation' (Anthias, 2001:623). In speech, behaviour, and many other aspects of day-to-day action minority ethnic students may be little different from those of their dominant ethnic group peer group. However, at a deeper level, beyond the outward signs of appearance and skin tone, and the banality of daily life, Fordham and Ogbu's concept of 'acting white' is powerful one for the current study (Fordham and Ogbu, 1986 cited in Horvat and Lewis, 2003). This can happen in subtle ways reminiscent of the 'voluntary identity shift' described by Clyne (1994) and the 'invisible clamor' identified by Henze and others (1990 cited in Tennant, 1992). An example of these characteristics is given by a student talking about asking questions at the end of a lecture.

I've seen other students wait behind to speak to the lecturer. If you see other students do it, then it's ok. It's better to ask at the end.
Student NA3, female, Pakistani heritage

This 'double-think' approach reflects the daily subliminal acknowledgement of cultural 'translation', as described by Anthias (2001). Yet, again, however, this could be a behaviour that might be adopted equally by a member of the dominant group, although possibly for different reasons, such as shyness, for example.

It appears that the cultural ecological model may operate in a modified form in the UK, for it has been noted that many minority ethnic students appear to prefer to continue their

education in an FE college before attempting to gain access to university (Modood and Shiner, 1994). This trend was also noted in the Scottish statistical evidence in §4. In this context, of the minority student interviewees in this study, three had chosen to enter FE and move from there to university by taking the widening access route to gain admission. One student explained the reason for this.

> *When I was at school, I came across the College Prospectus and there was a 'Preparation for Architecture' course there...and I had to do Higher Psychology and Higher English just to get my grades and I got them too and that's why I thought I'd do Summer School as well just to get more knowledge to get you through university as well.*
> **Student NM, male, Pakistani heritage**

This suggests that, because this student had not obtained the requisite entry qualifications at school, an FE course gave him a 'second chance' at achieving his goal. What is additionally interesting, in the context of the cultural ecological theory concept, is that the initiative to pursue this course of action had come from the student rather than from encouragement from the school he attended. At face value this student's action seems to contradict the cultural ecological theory model, but, in practice, his approach could be interpreted as successfully navigating a strategic route as an alternative to the more conventional process in which he had already failed – consistent with the cultural ecological theory model. As he described the process of choice, it seems as if he had found out about a route beyond school for himself. By undertaking the subject-specific architecture course, he was ensuring a more achievable access to university than when he had followed the direct school-university route.

Another student used the Summer School route as an alternative path.

> *I thought I'd be able to get in through my school but I wasn't very confident and so it [School] was just a backup. And just before the results of Summer School came out - a week before that I knew then that I'd got into University and then a week later I found that I'd got in through Summer School and I was really pleased.*
> **Student SJ, female, Pakistani heritage**

In these instances, it was evident that, having seen university as a possible route, both Student NM and Student SJ had recognised the risk that they would not achieve their goal. Each had taken contingency steps to pursue non-standard approaches to achieving entry. The whole concept of widening access and transition courses is to provide a process that side-steps the rituals and traditions of entry to higher education. This process applies equally to all students, regardless of ethnicity, who meet widening access criteria. However, the data suggest that these minority ethnic students were operating strategically in creating their own paths along routes that, at the outset, had no certainty of achieving the end-goal.

6.2 Axiom 2: *Transferring from one level to the next requires leaving one state behind and moving into the next.*

This sub-section examines the practical dimensions that transfer from the known educational context of school to the 'unknown' of university involves. It explores the rationale of choice of institution and marks the local university as being the most likely destination as the next stage in the educational journey. Although acknowledgement of the merit of extending educational opportunity is made, practical implications of cost and contribution to the wider family income remain as do residual family fears of what dangers students, especially girls, may be exposed to within the largely mysterious university environment. This exemplifies the underlying tensions that accompany transfer to higher education.

6.2.1 Choice of university

It is acknowledged that minority ethnic students select higher education institutions within their own locale or within daily travelling distance (John, 2003) and, of the interviewees in this study, only two had moved to the city from England; the others all lived in Dundee or district. Table 6.2.1, extrapolated from Table 4.8.1, illustrates the longitudinal analysis according to minority ethnic group and the numbers permanently domiciled in Dundee.

Table 6.2.1 Minority ethnic students attending University of Dundee 1988-2002

Period 1988-2002	Indian	Pakistani	Bangladeshi	Chinese
Total students	215	257	44	53
Dundee domiciled	63	113	24	17
Per cent domiciled in Dundee	29	44	55	32

Table 6.2.1 shows that University of Dundee students of Bangladeshi heritage had the highest percentage with a family home address in Dundee (55%). These were followed by students of Pakistani heritage (44%), while the percentage of Chinese heritage students living locally was much lower (32%) and those of Indian heritage showed the lowest percentage (29%). Numerically, there were more Pakistanis from the immediate locale than for any other grouping.

Explanations for this pattern can only be surmised. Financial cost could be a factor because living in the family home is cheaper than living in halls of residence with possibly attendant travel costs. The culture of the large extended family is maintained more strongly

in Muslim cultures represented by Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups. Therefore, this might be a contributory factor with respect to these groups where the idea of an individual, especially a girl, living alone and beyond the family fold in another town is more likely to be culturally unacceptable. In the particular case of Dundee, it has the third largest urban Pakistani population in Scotland and this would, in part, explain the considerably higher number of Pakistani students in the longitudinal data (257) as opposed to the Indian (215), Chinese (53) and Bangladeshi (44) students over the 14-year period (1988 – 2002). However, for the student interviewees domiciled in the area, it appeared that they very much identified with Dundee and saw the University of Dundee as their university in their city. One student expressed this by saying.

> *It's good. I mean the prospectus does give you a good idea of what you're going to do.*
> *Dundee University is a great university because it provides you with everything. It is*
> *one of the best universities for doing nursing – I'm glad I'm doing it here.*   .
> **Student JJ, female, Indian heritage**

The same student gave a hint of the attitudes to moving away from the immediate family circle when she said, in the context of job-hunting.

> *There are no jobs in accountancy and family have had to move out of Dundee to get*
> *jobs.*
> **Student JJ, female, Indian heritage**

It is perhaps significant that, in the course of the interviews, of those minority ethnic students in this study who entered via an access course, only two referred to a target subject. This does not mean that the others did not have any goals, but it suggests that, in the main, their first priority was to get into university with the discipline and course following from that.

6.2.2 Value of Higher Education

Research evidence endorses the observation that minority ethnic parents and the wider family value education highly and see their children as the realisation of their ambitions (Lock Kunz, 2001; Scourfield and others, 2002; Tomlinson, 1986). This reasoning may explain the apparent tendency for minority ethnic students to remain in full-time education longer than their dominant ethnic group counterparts (Cunéo, 2001). As indicated in §4 in this study, this may account for the fact that minority ethnic students are over-represented in contrast to white students in higher education in the UK overall (Shiner and Modood, 2002; Cunéo, 2001). As noted in §4, this is also the case for Scotland.

Yavash and Bailey (1999), whose work took a UK-wide perspective of minority ethnic group engagement with HE, found statistically that minority ethnic parents are more likely than white parents to have considered higher education as a possible life choice for their children. This may influence the course choices made by students. Perceived family preferences for Medicine, Dentistry, Accountancy, and Law may reflect a limited understanding of the scope of higher education such that the opportunities offered by disciplines such as Mathematics, Computing Science, Engineering and Humanities may be unacknowledged or regarded as being of lesser value or status. The statistical record discussed in §4 (Table 4.9.10) appears to lend credence to this observation in the case of the University of Dundee over the period 1988 – 2002.

The data suggest that family members may have little appreciation of the academic demands made on students in this study and the support that this may require. For example, there appears to be limited appreciation of the variety of rhythms of university life. One student indicated that this was something she had observed.

> *My Mum's like that. Like* [1] *come home one day at two and the next day it's seven.* [She says,] *'Do you not have classes or something?'*
> **Student SA2, female, Pakistani heritage**

Another student felt that the family did not understand what she had to do.

> *Parents don't understand what study means especially if they see you 'just reading'.*
> **Student NA2, female, Pakistani**

One comment suggests that parents have a fixed idea of the role of the school and may well translate this to their perception of the university.

> *Parents expect all the teaching to be done in school.*
> **Student WA, female, Pakistani heritage (Personal communication)**

This lack of understanding suggests cultural dissonance between heritage and educational cultures and draws a tension between the Ethnic Self and the evolving Academic Self. One student resolved this tension by separating the two identities in a physical sense.

> *Home is for relaxing and university is for work.*
> **Student SB, female, Indian heritage**

Despite these manifestations of cultural dissonance, the value placed on education by older family members is reflected by the fact that they show willingness to support their children financially in higher education. In the current study, this is reinforced, in part, by the 28 questionnaire returns, which indicated that 14 respondents classified themselves as non-employed, 10 as financed by their families and 4 had student loans. In support of the

perceptions about family supporting higher education for their children, one interviewee indicated that financial support is critical.

Most Asian parents are willing to put out the money for education.
Student SB, female, Indian heritage

This appeared to be supported by the fact that only one questionnaire respondent was a part-time student. This would suggest that being a university student is regarded as a full-time occupation and one which minority ethnic group families are willing to support.

However, while noting the value of education as perceived by her family, the one Chinese heritage student in this study reflected parental cultural values, namely, that she had to contribute to the family income and had quite a demanding commitment to earning.

I've got three jobs. I work for an agency as well. On Saturdays, I work every Saturday for my uncle in a take-away. So I work eight hours for him. But for one Saturday a month I work in an agency as well, so I do an extra 6, that's 14 hours on a Saturday and four hours on a Sunday. And then during the week I can either give or take for the agency –waitressing. The agency does things for the University.
Student IY, female, Hong Kong Chinese heritage

These comments compare with evidence produced by Woodrow and Sham (1997) who report that there is an expectation that, where the family is involved in the restaurant/take-away business, Chinese children are expected devote their non-school time to helping out in the family business. It seems that such students need to meet parental expectations of compliance with cultural values and practices, while simultaneously meeting the study demands required by the HE culture of learning; again a tension between the Ethnic Self and the Academic Self.

Paterson (2001), in addressing issues of inequality within the British educational system states that education 'allows individuals to achieve better jobs, more income, higher status, and access to more education itself' (Paterson, 2001:2-3). Individual students in this study had slightly differing views about the value of education. For example, for one student, a postgraduate at the time of the study interview and who had entered the University by the Access Summer School route, had a perspective where the value of university education represented earning potential and meeting his responsibilities once married.

I've always had a more serious outlook and I always think ahead – the future – and when you get to University, I just think that makes it even more so. I've always been thinking throughout especially in the later years: what am I going to do after this? Looking to get married and so on, have an income – things like that...In fact, you get paid for tutoring so you tend to think 'Where can I get the next money?' And you're always thinking about finance.
Student SM, male, Pakistani heritage

Another student had a pragmatic perspective on the value of education as she explained in the context of changing courses.

> *I'm interested in getting an education. When I decided to move from Accountancy* [to Nursing] *I thought it's a shame to waste this chance to get an education. The Government's paying; it's free, so I should take the chance.*
> **Student JJ, female, Indian heritage**

However, the value of higher education for one student was expressed more simplistically in terms of the independence it gave her. She considered that university offered

> *...more of a challenge, more freedom. I think you learn more at university than at school.*
> **Student WA, female, Pakistani heritage**

Whatever their perspective on the value of education, Students SM, JJ and WA articulated a view that suggests that they recognise that their university experience is markedly different from school in that the dividends are both more immediate and of greater intrinsic value as opening up fields of study, greater degrees of independence and work at levels higher than school.

6.2.3 Expectation of university

For the students in this study, starting university meant that they were faced with what Lawrence (2003:1) describes as the 'a new and unfamiliar culture'. Although this is probably true for all students in any UK university, for minority ethnic students in this study, a significant culture shift had to be undertaken, in part related to their expectations of what university would be like for them as 'visible minorities'. One Chinese student reported that her expectations of university had proved to be

> *...better than I thought it would be 'cos I was very scared of coming to university because the thing is I left after fifth year. I was very scared. I didn't know anybody – nothing. I thought that university is just like high school where there's groups of people and they just won't like you and stuff like that. When I came in, it was just more relax.*
> **Student IY, female, Hong Kong Chinese heritage**

However, the sense of being confronted by a different environment and culture is not a feeling unique to minority ethnic students. One dominant ethnic student clearly saw university as something that did not relate to his background. In talking about his expectations he commented

> *It's come up to my expectations in the way that it's upper class.*
> **Student MM, male, Scottish heritage**

All of the minority ethnic interviewees in this study stated that university had come up to their expectations. One student recounted the advice from his father that indicated some awareness of an element of change.

My father told me that when you go to university it's going to be slightly different from school. It's all down to you what you do. I did expect university level to be like this and as you go higher, year-by-year, it's going to be more difficult and you just have to settle in.
Student NM, male, Pakistani heritage

Despite the value placed by minority ethnic parents on education, the deviation from the cultural traditions and way of life represents a large unknown. Two postgraduate interviewees talked about the expectation of university from the perspective of parents. In both cases, they voiced concerns that parents have about permitting their children to go to university. One offered the opinion

I think that's the main worry for parents, really thinking, 'Wonder what goes on?' I think the main worry is because they don't know what the guys are going to be like. I know that a lot of the girls: our parents think, 'College? University? What are the guys going to be like? Are they going to be chasing after you?' Some of them realise that guys aren't sitting there thinking, 'Oh, must go and chase some girls.' They're more of, 'I've got better things to do.'
Student SM, male, Pakistani heritage

The second interviewee considered that parents were particularly concerned about female children. As she explained

For a lot of bilingual parents, it's about fear, especially daughters getting into the wrong company, teenage pregnancies and that sort of thing. That is very predominant especially in the Asian society where parents are very concerned about their daughters and the welfare of their daughters. It really is fear for their daughters.
BR, female, Indian heritage

It seems that, while minority ethnic group families may subscribe to the idea of higher education, the transition that this requires leaves them with much less overt control over the activities of their children. This represents a major challenge and identity shift for parents as well as their off-spring.

6.3 Axiom 3: *achieving success is dependent on successfully inducting new students into the traditions and practices of the institution and sector.*
This sub-section reviews the data that indicate that students had positive recollections of the induction process they had experienced in the Summer School period. It examines their perceptions that the strategies differed from those they had learnt at school and that the Summer School strategies could be applied to university learning and assist them in realising successful achievement in higher education.

6.3.1 Induction: vocational access courses as an introduction to university

In the current study, the minority ethnic students who had come to the University as a result of the Access Summer School/ASPIRE/Transition experience were uniformly of the view that this induction had helped them to make the transition from school to university. One female Asian student explained it thus

> *Access Summer School was like the foundation of everything. What University was going to be like. So when I went into University in October, it was, 'OK. Bring it on. I can take it now.' That's the kind of attitude I had. So it's like writing styles, lectures, everything. It was one great massive package and you just unwrap it. It was just like a beautiful gift that came out of it.*
> **Student SJ, female, Pakistani heritage**

The advantage of their Access Course had become apparent to students once they entered the mainstream and encountered the reality of what was expected of them alongside students who had not experienced this preparation.

> *Those who had not been through Summer School, were sort of thinking, 'This is going to be easy', but after the first couple of weeks, they were going 'Whew! How do you go about doing this?' They didn't know.*
> **Student SM, male, Pakistani heritage**

Another student felt that the experience was worthwhile in its own right.

> *If I had started without having Summer School as my back-up and I'd just started in October coming straight from school, I wouldn't have had a clue. I learnt a lot from Summer School. Not just because I passed it. Even if I'd failed Summer School, I would have taken a lot with me.*
> **Student SJ, female, Pakistani heritage**

These statements show how, with the value of hindsight, both Student SM and Student SJ identify the positive aspects of what they had experienced while on Summer School. Their statements indicate that reflection on the process had been something they had undertaken subsequent to the events and show a deeper understanding of what the Summer School ethos sets out to achieve.

6.3.2 Induction: the difference from school

The students in this study had chosen to take the step into higher education and, without exception, they had perceived the major difference to be that they needed to exercise much greater autonomy. One student saw the change as marking the need for greater self-reliance.

> *You feel more independent. I feel totally, totally independent. When you're at school, you feel as if you're being treated like children, but when you're at university, you're treated like an individual first and then you're treated like an adult. You get a lot of respect at university. People look you right in the eye and tell you, 'Right. This is what it is.' They don't tell you what to do. They just tell you how to go about it. There's a lot of authority at school – control freaks – but not at university. School is very important, I'd*

> *say, despite the fact of how it treats you or how it prepares you for university, it can never prepare you for university.*
> **Student SJ, female, Pakistani heritage**

It was not clear from this comment whether she felt that she would not have been receptive to such preparation at school or whether school would have been an inappropriate place for such preparation. However, there is a third option and that would be that only by having the lived experience would an individual be able to assimilate the university's ethos, traditions and requirements.

Self-motivation seemed to be a key factor linked to the requirement for autonomy that several students mentioned.

> *You're not totally spoon-fed the way that you were at school, because you've got the teacher telling you, 'That's your homework. You go do it.' Because, at university, it's up to yourself if you're going to do it or not. They're going to say you, 'No chasing up. It's up to you if you're going to learn.'*
> **Student JJ, female, Indian heritage**

Another student voiced a similar viewpoint.

> *It's not like school; it's more relaxed and they let you do it in your own time. They have a set time for you to do it, but they don't exactly, you know, keep on at you, 'Remember to do it' and things like that.*
> **Student IY, female, Hong Kong Chinese**

For this student who had come from the independent school sector, the absence of overt competitiveness was a benefit and possibly a relief.

> *University is less competitive because at the High School everybody is thinking about who's going to be dux and who's going to get what, prizes and things like that. You know, the top half of the class. In school you would know who is where in class, whereas at university it's by matriculation number and so you are more relaxed about it. So you don't know who's there and you're not embarrassed.*
> **Student IY, female, Hong Kong Chinese heritage**

For Student IY success at university appeared to lie in not being placed under pressure to compete with others. The anonymity that the university system provided allowed her the freedom to perform at her own level without comparisons being drawn among her peers about her performance in relation to that of others.

6.3.3 Induction: practical applications

The data show that students saw the experience of Summer School as one that inducted them into the thought processes and practices that distinguish higher education from other sectors of the system.

It was a totally different experience. You wanted to do it, where with Highers you didn't want to do it. At Summer School you were determined to do [well] because everyone around you was really determined. The atmosphere was really comfortable. You weren't being told to do it, although there were deadlines being put on. I remember being told you had to hand this in by 5 o'clock and everyone running up the stairs to hand it in. It just built you up for university.
Student SB, female, Indian heritage

This alteration in motivation and application was clearly a shift in perspective that identifies with both axiom 2 and axiom 3. Another student reported his sense of being made aware of what was required in the university system.

When I came to Summer School, they told us what to put into it [the essay], what structure, what language to use, the words and how to emphasise, so that was very helpful for my essays in Architecture.
Student NM, male, Pakistani heritage

This student had a clearer picture of the strategies that he needed to adopt in order to meet the standard. In the induction to university as represented by the Summer School he had been able to identify the 'right' way to go about extensive writing and this had enabled him to apply this in his later specialist studies.

6.4 Axiom 4: *Achievement of similar goals through synthesis, reproduction and integration.*

This sub-section examines students' awareness of the goals to which they had to aspire, the challenges presented by university learning and the new skills, learning strategies and independent learning this required of them in order to become integrated into the university system. The data further identifies the concept of boundary-crossing and transition to adulthood which contribute to the reflection that is part of their growing understanding of the demands of higher education.

6.4.1 Recognising the goals

For all students moving on to higher education, there are differing experiences that shape their performance. Students arrive with a history of learning experiences and skills derived from earlier learning events. In response to open-ended questions in the pilot questionnaire, 16 respondents indicated that they had found learning independently to be the most enjoyable thing that university had taught them. This was a recurring theme in the study. Having to take responsibility for their own learning at university contrasted sharply with their experience of school. For some students this took some time to become evident.

It's not easy. Especially in first year, because it's hard. I think second year will be much easier.
Student SB, female, Indian heritage

There was a general feeling, not surprisingly, that the learning experienced at university was different from school.

> *I think the subjects we did at school are such a low level. Although when you're at school, you're saying 'Oh, it's Highers' and you think it's difficult, but when you're at university, it's nothing. It's so simple compared to what I'm doing. Challenging.*
> **Student SJ, female, Pakistani heritage**

In relation to content, students commented on the way that there was a different emphasis at university.

> *A thing I noticed was in Biology in high school, I needed to be more specific, whereas here it is not so specific and I was kind of confused about that to begin with.*
> **Student IY, female, Hong Kong Chinese heritage**

The same student remarked on the way that university learning required some ability to synthesise information from multiple sources.

> *They give you the lecture here and you go. You could either read the lectures or you can get more information from other sources. In school, you just rely on the book actually all the time. You don't need to get more information.*
> **Student LA, female, Iraqi heritage**

The inference from this statement was that the norm had been to consult a single source and, therefore, at university the skills of evaluating and synthesising were new. This was a particular challenge to this student because she had only entered UK during her secondary schooling and was less secure in her command of English than the British-born minority ethnic students. For other students it was not something that they remarked upon, but this does not mean that this was not the case for them also. However, from questionnaire returns it is possible to identify that more than half of the respondents, 17 out of 28, acknowledged that they had acquired new learning skills. More than half of the respondents (16) felt that the new subjects they had taken at university were amongst the most enjoyable aspects of the experience.

6.4.2 Self-awareness

Evidence from the minority ethnic students was consistent with the view held by Kearney (2000:14) who observes that 'epiphanies or authentic understandings of self begin to appear at late adolescence about the age of twenty. Perhaps they are the defining point of adulthood'. Data manifest this sense of self-awareness. Several questionnaire respondents noted improvement in their self-confidence as a change they attributed to the university experience.

> *I've become really more confident. Before I came into Summer School I was a very shy person. From Summer School I became really confident. Like I could walk into the*

[Students'] *Union on my own. And I know I'd be able to just sit there and relax and be able to make friends I'm not over confident, but confident enough. I'm not going to underestimate myself.*
Student SJ, female, Pakistani heritage

This exemplifies the 'boundary crossing' described by Weber (2003). As an Asian female, in exercising her independence by entering the Union alone, she chooses to conform to the behaviours that would be typical of the dominant ethnic group. Weber (2003) suggests that such actions require the development of

> ...situationally adequate instruments for mindful observation, mindful listening, techniques to recognize the verbal and non-verbal cues in the interaction, identifying the roles adopted by the interaction partners in that particular situation, interview techniques for recovering the background of the persons, groups and/or situations, cultural aspects, social relationships etc.
> **Weber, 2003:166.**

It can only be conjectured whether this student consciously recognised that her action was one of cross-cultural significance. All Summer School students were introduced to the Students' Union in the early days of the School and, because this occurred in the vacation, this was the only venue where students could convene socially. Thus, from the student's point of view, the hypothetical act of entering the Union is more likely to relate to her desire to conform to the behaviours of her peers regardless of cultural background. This is described by Parekh (2002).

> Young people who have been educated in British schools often have more in common with their white peers than with their parents – they reinterpret themselves not only in terms of their origins but also in terms of the surrounding culture.
> **Parekh, 2002:29**

In summary, given that licensed premises are unlikely to be known to Asian students just out of school, this activity would be one where the student would be more than likely, certainly initially, to engage in some of the strategies Weber (2003) describes resulting in a reinterpretation of herself in terms of the surrounding culture. This is also consistent with Fordham and Ogbu's notion of 'acting white' (Fordham and Ogbu, 1986); Clyne's notion of 'voluntary identity shift' (Clyne, 1994) discussed in the earlier part of this section.

6.5 Axiom 5: *Developing effective strategies to enable students to become academically and socially integrated.*

This sub-section explores the importance of feeling integrated into the social and academic frameworks of the institution.

6.5.1 Sense of belonging

It seemed that, in line with Maslow's thinking, social acceptance came very high on the priority list for these students as they sought to negotiate the transfer and integration into higher education (Maslow, 1943). As Wrigley (2000), researching into the success in education of bilingual pupils across the UK, observed:

> Asian and other bilingual pupils spend their lives moving between cultures and social structures.
> **Wrigley, 2000:10**

This observation resonates with similar behaviour identified by Anthias (2001) and Henze and others (1990 cited in Tennant, 1992).

Weber (2003:166) notes that, in order to do this, individuals develop strategies of 'mindful observation, mindful listening' that enable them to identify needs and attitudes of others. This, according to Tierney (1993 cited in Kirkness and Barnhardt, 2001), would assist them to integrate into the mores of the new situation of which they had no prior experience. Initially, it was observed that each year on Summer School, the minority ethnic students, even where they did not know each other beforehand, quickly gravitated into separate ethnic groupings within the larger grouping.

By the time that the minority ethnic respondents came to complete the questionnaires used in this study, most were well into the undergraduate experience. For all but two of the minority ethnic student questionnaire respondents, university was perceived as an environment where they placed high value on making new friendships. This is a point on which Liebkind (1989 cited in Renkema, 1996) remarked noting that while members of minority ethnic groups

> ... are also increasingly showing concern for their own identity, their first interest has, in general, been the integration into the majority.
> **Liebkind, 1989 cited in Renkema, 1996:219**

This reinforces the observations made by Paterson (2001) who contends that, through a university education, an individual acquires social capital. This idea of social capital derives from the work of Bourdieu (1991) who sees social capital in the form of 'connections'. These connections, derived through informal networks of clubs and families, could be created through universities. Paterson (2001) further argues that the accumulation of social capital would in time even out social inequalities. Although it is not the case that this need to fit into the institutional culture is exclusive to minority ethnic

group students, it does seem that these groups have a discernible need to identify as a subset within the wider group in the new and untested atmosphere of higher education.

Interestingly, however, in the questionnaire responses, half of students reported that they had mostly Scottish friends, while the remainder identified that they had some Scottish friends. This in-group collegiate identification suggested that, for some students, the separate Ethnic and Academic identities had begun to meld into the liminal culture defined by Back (1996). One student described the process.

> *Like you get involved in groups and you meet new people.*
> **Student LA, female, Iraqi heritage**

The broadening of the social circle and breaking out of the behaviours of the school environment was exemplified by one student.

> *Staff events, I go to all of them. Even though I might not have an interest – like they've gone skating and I can't skate, but I'll go along anyway. Even if you're not skating, you're still getting to mingle with everyone - not just at an academic level. I'm definitely more sociable* [than at school].
> **Student SM, male, Pakistani heritage**

The change in his level of social interactions exemplified the importance he placed on being part of the new university in-group culture and, while not threatening the Ethnic Self, recognised the emergence of a higher profile Academic Self and the contribution to social capital. These experiences were not exclusive to the minority ethnic students. The dominant group students had a slightly different, perhaps more realistic view of the ebbs and flows of friendship groupings.

> *Maybe because I'm a wee bit older, it doesn't seem to be a problem for me. I seem to be 'in' for some reason, so socially, it's been great.*
> **Student WW, male, Scottish heritage**

This particular comment indicates that the need to identify with a particular friendship grouping from within the university community is not exclusive to minority ethnic students; the data identifies the importance that students of all ethnicities place on friendship groups.

6.5.2 Importance of peer group support networks

Axiom 5 places emphasis on strategies that facilitate academic and social integration. The data sustains this view, particularly in relation to the creation of peer group support networks. This is explained in the work of Ting-Toomey (1999 cited in Webber, 2003:166) who sees 'social identity relates to an individual's conceptualisation of the self that derives from membership in emotionally significant categories or groups'.

For these students, in-group situations enabled them to develop their friendship circles and this then reinforced peer group support. The students interviewed reported that this was an important factor for them.

> Balancing studying with mixing in with people. It's new people and having friends because at the end of the day when you get stressed out, and you're studying and you haven't got a set of friends that you can go and have a moan at, whinge to, then you can feel quite isolated. And if you're in a good crowd that can balance both, it helps you as well. It keeps you motivated with your studies.
> Student FS, female, Pakistani heritage

For another student, the support networks included mature students and this was a feature of in-group behaviour that she had found quite remarkable.

> But in my course, it's a varied age of people in it. You've got loads of Mums like who've got kids who're probably twelve, thirteen now and then the thing is that they [the Mums] are your friends now. You wouldn't think if I came with a friend and she was a Mum, people would think, 'How come they're friends?' Of course, they would make their judgements about you, but it's quite good being with them. They've got a lot more experience and they'll help you as well because you are a lot younger and they'll make you understand things. They help you with your communication and with your thinking as well. They kind of help you to bring yourself out a bit.
> Student JJ, female, Indian heritage

In this case, the student appeared to be gaining both social and cultural capital in that the mature students were dominant ethnic group members of the class and it could be surmised that their interaction appeared to be bringing the minority ethnic student in touch with aspects of dominant culture and ways of thinking. This intra-group cross-cultural and generational networking had clearly brought significant benefits to the student.

Where such peer networking did not take place, then potential for isolation was increased. A dominant ethnic group Law student recognised the difficulties that could arise if these networks were not established:

> I think the whole point of Personal Skills [(P@SS) Summer School module] is that by the end of it everyone knows who everybody else is. See when you're in first year, you could go six months before anybody speaks to anybody else. They form wee groups. Everybody forms wee groups. I've done it as well; I've been part of a wee group. They don't mix. In the first few weeks - if there was a team of P@SS people - that ice-breaking stuff - because they'd know everybody else.
> Student WW, male, Scottish heritage

This observation pinpointed just how easy it would be to remain isolated and excluded without the 'engineering' of social interaction such as students experienced on Summer School where improvement of intra-personal communication was a primary aim of the 'ice-breaking' strategies described by Student WW.

One of the older minority ethnic student interviewees reflected on the change in perspective as they progressed through their time at university.

> *I've noticed a change over the years. Like first and second year, they tend to/you've still got people who muck around now, but first and second years, that's something different. Second year – perhaps because they're young, they go clubbing and pubbing and everything. But they tend to be a lot more focused because we're in our final year now and they're all like, 'I need to leave with a decent enough degree' and that. I think all the ones that were mucking about have either been dropped back a year or they're out of uni. So, they tend to be more focused now.*
> **Student FS, female, Pakistani heritage**

This student had seen through the superficiality of the initial university experience relating this to immaturity and had identified the need to become much more focused in the later years for the instrumental reason of achieving a good degree.

6.5.3 Pressures as inhibitors to integration

The data in this study suggest that students felt themselves to be under particular pressure as they attempted to integrate academically into the university system. This could be attributed to the fact that several of the students in this study had experience of academic failure in the past. The lack of confidence in their own abilities, mentioned by several, represented both a challenge and a pressure under which they put themselves.

> *I think basically I didn't do well at school - I'd got Ds in all my GCSEs; working in retail for so many years, got up to Deputy Manageress and I thought, ' I'm doing this easy-peasy.' I lost the motivation. I needed something a lot more challenging and my Manageress at the time went, 'Go to Uni. Go and do a course. Pick something that you're going to like because you need something more challenging.' When I came up to Scotland I was working and I met somebody and she was studying Accountancy at college; she went - I always used to go and ask her – 'Have a go' and I kept going, 'But I failed everything. I don't know whether I'm cut out for it.' She said, 'Have a go at it. You might surprise yourself.' That's how I got back into learning. HND is a good step because it's not exams straight off. It's continuous assessment and it builds you up into going into University.*
> **Student FS, female, Pakistani heritage**

By working her way through the system stage at a time, Student FS was able to complete each challenge and then appraise her next step.

Some students in this study responded to the pressure of doing a subject that either they did not engage with or that they found too difficult by transferring to different degree courses or modifying their portfolio of modules. In a sense, this was side-stepping the difficulties presented by academic integration; in another sense, it was a pragmatic response to a situation in which they found that their experience and awareness were restricted.

For example, one of the postgraduate interviewees reported a case of a student changing programme and gave his interpretation of this move from his perspective as a postgraduate tutor.

> *In computing, there was four or five Asian students and I knew some of them and they all left after the third week except for one. I didn't know this and I just thought they weren't turning up to classes. I met one of them and I said, 'You don't come to classes any more'. And he said,' I do. I'm not doing computing any more.'* [I said,] *'Why is that?'* [his answer was,] *'I changed my degree. It was too hard.' But that was maybe because of that subject they didn't like.*
> **Student SM, male, Pakistani heritage**

Some students had an awareness that not all students remained in higher education as noted by a nursing student.

> *A lot of people drop out - you see it in the lectures where there are great gaps in the lectures. You know people have left as they are very strict about the attendance in nursing.*
> **Student JJ, female, Indian heritage**

However, another student remarked that although he had not observed a marked drop-out, where this had happened, he cited marriage as the reason.

> *But I don't know of any Asians that I know specifically that have dropped out of university. I know that some people have left from Summer School. There was R. - she dropped out because she actually got married. Marriages might be the case for the girls because the husbands, if they are from Pakistan, they don't agree with the women being out of the house.*
> **Student SM, Male, Pakistani heritage**

One student pondered on the implications of failure and on the difference between failure at school, where progression was a foregone conclusion, and university where failure marked potential closure of the experience.

> *At university, because you're not being spoon-fed, you know you've got to do it and you know if you've failed, you know the consequences you will be facing. At school, it's like regardless of the fact that what you do, you know you're still going to be going into third year, fourth year, fifth year, sixth year whatever. But at university, it's not like that. There's a lot of consequences to face if something goes wrong.*
> **Student SJ, female, Pakistani heritage**

For this student failure to integrate academically raised issues for her that, although she only hints at them, clearly have her placing herself under pressure to achieve integration and its related success. For other students, the pressure lay more in specific aspects of workload as these played out over the rhythms of the academic year.

> *I'd explain this in a way that sometimes at the beginning of the year they don't even ask you for much, but all of a sudden, in the second term, you've got to hand in this, this and that, all at once. Then there is too much pressure. I wish they'd like, you know, make it much more easier.*
> **Student SJ, female, Pakistani heritage**

This student explained how other mechanical aspects of producing work brought pressure and fear of failure.

> *You get marks taken off for it [grammar]. They're strict here. That can mean that you pass or fail because of it.*
> **Student JJ, female, Indian heritage**

This observation placed academic integration as drawing on skills and abilities that had apparently not been part of the requirement in earlier phases of education. This perceived deficit was thus crucial to this student's success.

In the questionnaire responses in this study, just under half of the respondents found coping with the stress of university was a difficulty for them. Nineteen respondents reported that fear of failure worried them considerably. Although 23 out of the 28 respondents reported that they were confident or quietly confident of succeeding at university, their assessment of their performance so far showed them to be evenly split between coping with university learning easily or quite easily and with some or great difficulty. There appeared to be the perception of some responsibility towards parents that seemed to imply some pressure. Questionnaire responses showed that all 28 respondents regarded success as important or quite important both to themselves and their families.

It is not possible from these responses to say categorically that these perceptions constituted pressures, although the section in the questionnaire was headed 'Internal and external pressures'. However, as already noted, parental influence on subject choice does seem to have been a factor for minority ethnic students. One white informant had observed that, among minority ethnic groups, there was some social cachet in achieving a university place, but that this seemed to bring pressure to bear on students. His observation was that this in itself was not enough, and that minority ethnic group students were placed under significant additional pressure to perform at the highest possible level. He recounted his observation of Asian students in the Law Faculty.

> *There seems to be a great deal of pressure on them to succeed full-stop. Even if they get into Law, they are expected to be one of the top. There's a lot of 'Mr. So-and-so's son came top in the Medical Faculty. You're a disgrace because you came third in the Law Faculty'. They seem to be under a lot of pressure – the ones who are there.*
> **Student WW, male, Scottish heritage**

This student's observations indicate that although academic integration may be successful as in the case he describes, this may still be insufficient as a performance in the eyes of the parents who hold other expectations.

The data showed that academic and social integration were inhibited by the need to take on paid employment. As noted previously, finance was a factor for several interviewees and they reported the need to work a considerable number of hours over the week. They noted that there was some advantage in living locally because they were of the view that

> ...[people] *from a different city tend not to work here.*
> **Student WA, female, Pakistani heritage**

and, thus, it might be difficult to find work because

> ...*a stable job won't keep them* [non-local students] *on if they want to go home at holidays.*
> **Student NA2, female, Pakistani heritage**

Questionnaire respondents were equally divided on this; exactly half reported that they did not have paid employment, the other half worked for anything from between 8 and 20 hours per week. Twelve had taken out a student loan, two received a bursary and four were supported by their local authority. Of the remainder, two were self-supporting and eight were supported by their families. The time allocated to paid employment necessarily erodes the time available to integrate more socially and academically.

6.6 Identities of Ethnic Self and Academic Self in higher education

Tierney's axioms (1993 cited in Kirkness and Barnhardt, 2001) were drawn up in the context of US student transition into higher education. The discussion of the data shows that, when related to the UK situation, there is some overlap between the axioms; it is recognised that the data used to illustrate the applicability of these axioms might be equally relevant under more than one axiom heading. However, the axioms serve the purpose of mapping the transfer from one mode of education to the next and highlighting the students' reflections of their experiences of this transition process.

In the course of this study, the students interviewed and those who responded to the pilot questionnaire were at different stages in the university experience and were representative of a number of ethnic groups. Both minority and dominant group students, in all cases, were eager to extend their educational opportunities and the various narratives in this section indicated that, in many ways, their reactions to the higher education experience were similar to those that might be expected of dominant ethnic students.

As might be expected, these 'visible minority ethnic groups' were not homogeneous. They exemplified widely differing practices and attitudes among members of each group. However, it was possibly amongst the Pakistani heritage students that the widest disparities

could be observed. For some students their behaviour and attitudes were strongly consistent with culture maintenance, especially in terms of dress, attitudes and practices, while others had clearly made decisions to make voluntary identity shifts to fit in with peer group behaviours by adopting the dress and behaviour codes of their dominant ethnic group peers.

However, in relation to issues that related to the 'différance' that distinguished them as minority ethnic students, aspects of their experience were not the same as for students from the dominant ethnic heritage. In that the group of minority ethnic students in this study comprise a very small sample of the wider minority ethnic student community in the University of Dundee, their stories can only be said to represent thumbnail sketches of what it is like to be a minority ethnic student in higher education when no-one else in the family has had a similar experience. The experiences the interviewees describe show a measure of treading new ground, not just on their own account, but as representative of their wider community. Nevertheless, they were a diverse group and, interestingly, at no time did any of them express any comments that indicated that they felt marginalised collectively within the higher education system, although there was evidence to suggest that at school, race had been an issue for some individual students. Evidence presented thus far suggests that a liminal culture has evolved in the university where the tensions of the wider diverse community do not come into play.

Within this environment, it appears that students are comfortable about maintaining the identity of their Ethnic Self while developing concurrently an identity as Academic Self.

6.7 Summary

The emerging stories of these first-generation minority ethnic students bear testimony to the fact that they are breaking new ground for themselves and others in their communities. It has already been noted that they straddle two cultures as they go about their daily lives. As a first step, in countenancing admission to university as potential students, they contradict the traditional patterns of behaviour for people on the threshold of adulthood within their own ethnic groups. They are simply following the norms of their generational group by pursuing the same expectations as their peers in the Scottish secondary sector.

If the cultural ecological theory is accepted as having applicability, then it is not surprising that minority ethnic students seek access to university through routes that do not follow the

traditional entry routes. Statistically more likely to prolong education by proceeding to FE after school, some minority ethnic students have identified a mode of approach that appears to present a more attainable goal. The route through vocational access courses provides another alternative path to higher education, again with greater likelihood of successful achievement.

The data in this study has shown that once inside the university system, minority ethnic students face further challenges of modifying their behaviour in 'voluntary identity shifts' to comply with the practices within an institutional system that is designed to meet the needs, abilities and aspirations of the dominant ethnic grouping. This means that in seeking and finding the stepping-stones that enable them to traverse this uncharted path, these young people are developing a new hybrid ethnicity that sustains, but simultaneously transforms, the Ethnic Self to meet the evolving needs of the Academic Self. Further sections will identify key aspects of the Ethnic, the Academic and the Global Self that contribute to the creation of these new ethnicities.

Part III - Bilingualism

§7 The phenomenon of bilingualism

The overarching aim of this section is to identify what bilingualism means for the students in this study as a lived experience. This raises several issues, in particular, establishing the global diversity of bilingualism in general and identifying how minority ethnic students in this study are placed as bilinguals, in some instances, as multilinguals, within their educational communities and the wider community (See Figure 3.1). In addressing these lines of enquiry the aim is to establish whether the students in this study represent a special category of student within the UK/Scottish educational sectors. This continues the examination of the developing Global Self alongside the mutating Ethnic Self.

The section is split into two significant parts. The first considers diverse definitions of the phenomenon of bilingualism and the implications of these on being bilingual within the UK educational system. The second considers the development of bilingualism as a lived experience by examining what this involves, in practical terms, for those who operate in parallel 'language worlds', in this case, the minority ethnic student respondents and interviewees in this study.

7.1 Defining bilingualism

In the literature, bilingualism is addressed from a number of perspectives, for example, what bilingualism is; what functioning as a bilingual means; how bilinguals acquire language; how bilinguals should be taught; and the impact of bilingual competence on communication. These few instances exemplify the breadth of discussion in this area. For the purposes of the present study, the discussion of bilingualism is confined to educational and social dimensions.

The term 'bilingual' indicates facility in 'two languages'. Mackay (1962) defines this in the following way:

> The phenomenon of bilingualism is something entirely relative ... the alternate use of two or more languages by the same individual.
> **Mackay, 1962 cited in Harding and Riley, 1986:23.**

This rather simplistic definition acknowledges bilingualism as encompassing more than two languages but makes no allowance for differentiation of the degree of proficiency in

each language. This serves to demonstrate that bilingualism has a complexity that goes beyond a single definition.

Writing and research on the subject of bilingualism has generated a myriad of terms to classify those who operate, willingly or unwillingly, in language worlds beyond that of their heritage language (Hoffmann, 1991; Baetens-Beardsmore, 1991; and Tosi, 1984). For the purpose of this analysis, the two broad categories identified by Baetens-Beardsmore (1991), functional bilingualism (extensive, productive usage) and dysfunctional bilingualism (limited, receptive understanding), have been adopted. The terms, drawn from a variety of literature sources, are ascribed to each of these categories and are presented in Appendix 7. A refinement has been made by the addition of a third category: constructive (explicitly taught) bilingualism that may provide a bridge between the dysfunctional and functional categories (Appendix 8). However, the relevance of these categories to the present study requires a brief analysis of the composition of the student population in terms of the circumstance of their presence within the UK educational system.

As already noted elsewhere in this study, there has been a perception that minority ethnic groups are not homogenous in terms of ethnicity; by a similar token, nor are they homogenous in terms of their status within the population at large. The aim in Figure 7.1.1 is to identify this diversity within the minority ethnic population. In order to do this, members of minority ethnic groups have been divided into five broad categories of learner. The categories can be explained as follows:

- **resident monolingual** (RM) – the indigenous dominant ethnic group; English as heritage language with development in mainstream teaching contexts;

- **resident bilingual** (RB) – born or brought up in the UK, possibly as 2nd or 3rd generation of immigrant families; English developed through mainstream teaching with possible teaching in English as an additional language (EAL);

- **economic immigrant** (EI) – brought to UK as part of family migration to enable access to a more propitious life-style through economic activity; no formal tuition in heritage language in UK, perhaps with some English derived from EFL education in own country; may require EAL support;

- **asylum/refugee immigrant** (ARI) – enter UK in the wake of crisis developments or as a result of war, famine, political upheaval or natural disaster in their home country; no formal tuition in heritage language in UK, perhaps with some English derived from EFL tuition in own country; may require EAL support; and

- **visiting immigrant** (VI) – transient resident in UK undertaking educational or business activity of limited duration with the objective of returning to own country when pre-arranged period of stay is over; heritage language with English for Academic or Business Purposes derived from EFL training in own country; may seek further tuition in EFL or English for Academic or English for Business Purposes in UK.

Types of Learner	Learners and Language 1					
	1. Resident Monolingual (RM)	**2.** Resident Bilingual (RB)	**3.** Economic Immigrant (EI)	**4.** Asylum / Refugee Immigrant (ARI)	**5.** Visiting Immigrant (VI)	**A**
English Language Development	Main-stream	Main-stream / Plus or minus EAL	Limited/ No English / EFL=SLA	Limited/ No English / EFL=SLA	Limited/ No English / EFL=SLA	**B**

KEY: EAL: English as an Additional Language   SLA: Second Language Acquisition
       EFL: English as a Foreign Language

Figure 7.1.1 Categories of learner and their language development

In Figure 7.1.1 five categories of learner typically found within the UK educational system are shown in Row A. In Row B, the possible status of English language development is shown. For Resident Monolingual (RM) and Resident Bilingual (RB) categories, this development takes place for the dominant language in the mainstream curriculum. Some RB pupils, depending on their status as bilinguals (Appendix 7), may receive EAL support. EI, ARI and VI groups may share the characteristic of having potentially weaker command of English, although for different reasons, and may have had some input towards Second Language Acquisition (SLA) in terms of EFL tuition before arriving in Britain.

It should be noted that, while the groupings shown in Figure 7.1.1 are based on the assumption of entry to the educational system at the earliest possible level, it is, of course, possible for entry to occur at later points in childhood and adolescence.

For the purposes of the current study, it is those students classified as resident bilinguals (RB) who are the principal focus. The status of their bilingualism requires some analysis. Leung and Harris (1997) provide a typology of six categories of minority ethnic pupil three of which identify as resident bilingual class. Following the Leung and Harris (1997) model, Table 7.1.1 outlines typical features of the resident bilingual category, giving slightly more detail as to potential characteristics.

Table 7.1.1 Characteristics of resident bilinguals (RB)

Group	Origin	Entry to school system	Cultural	Heritage language	English proficiency
1.	Born and brought up in UK	In early years	Heritage culture dominant	Predominant	Low
2.	Born and brought up in UK	In early years	Familiar with British culture + education	Approximate oral parity	Confident use of vernacular English; may have difficulties in certain aspects of English literacy.
3.	Caribbean descent, born and brought up in UK	In early years	Familiar with British culture + education	Approximate oral parity	Confident use of vernacular English; may have difficulties in certain aspects of English literacy.

It is reasonable to assume that the Leung and Harris (1997) typology of RB pupils would apply to the students in the present study when they were at an earlier point in their learning history, that is, within the school system. The third group in Table 7.1.1 are seen as a sub-set of group 2. They have been singled out because of long-standing perception that pupils of Caribbean heritages perform least well of all minority ethnic groups (Swann, 1985). Group 1 could be seen as representative of minority ethnic group pupils at the point of entry to the school system and these could be expected to achieve the status of Group 2 bilinguals over the period of statutory education. Subsequent discussion relating to the current study will be restricted in terms of language to the characteristics of Groups 1 and 2. Discussion of difficulties with aspects of English literacy shown in the English proficiency column will be discussed in Parts IV and V of this thesis.

Returning to the categories of bilingualism drawn from the literature and presented in Appendix 7, the students in this study, in general, would fit into the category of co-ordinate bilinguals, that is, those for whom two language systems were learnt in two different environments. In the case of these students, this means the home (for the heritage language) and the school (for English as an additional language). Explanation of the

circumstance of their learning requires further definition. Figure 7.1.1 is expanded in Figure 7.1.2, with the areas of particular relevance to the RB category in shading.

	Learners and Language 2					
Types of Learner	**1.** Resident Monolingual (RM)	**2.** Resident Bilingual (RB)	**3.** Economic Immigrant (EI)	**4.** Asylum / Refugee Immigrant (ARI)	**5.** Visiting Immigrant (VI)	**A**
English Language Development	Main-stream	Main-stream Plus or minus **EAL**	Limited/ No English	Limited/ No English	Limited/ No English	**B**
			EFL=SLA	EFL=SLA	EFL=SLA	
Context of Provision	**Scenario 1.** • Nursery/Primary • Same for RM and RB • Submersion experience for RB	**Scenario 2.** • Nursery/ • Primary • EAL or SEN support, limited or discontinued in later years	**Scenario 3.** • Further Education College • Community • Secondary • Primary	**Scenario 4.** • EFL in own country • In UK, EAL at level of educational sector		**C**
KEY: EAL: English as an Additional Language			SLA: Second Language Acquisition			
EFL: English as a Foreign Language			SEN: Special Educational Needs			

Figure 7.1.2 Learners, language learning development and contexts

Figure 7.1.2 shows the context of provision of language development in Row C. Scenario 1 shows that no distinction is made between the RM and RB groups: the contexts of input in language development in the dominant language (English) are much the same. It could be expected that each group will normally enter pre-school and progress through the different sectors of education where it could be anticipated that they would be exposed to similar input in language development in the dominant language. However, for the minority language user, the experience would be one of submersion where the value-system and language of their heritage culture would have less status alongside those of the dominant culture (Baetens-Beardsmore, 1991). This is broadly consistent with the situation in Scotland where, although multicultural approaches are a perceived theme within the curriculum, the mores of the dominant culture prevail. Nevertheless, the work of Smyth (2003) and Landon (2001) indicates that, since there is no official policy (with the exception of Gaelic) relating to the promotion of heritage languages, the status of heritage languages and the inherent cultural values that distinguish these are not acknowledged.

This means that bilingualism is less likely to be rated as an asset, a factor that emerges in the data in the present study that will be discussed later in this section.

In Scenario 2, in addition to mainstream language development, alternative provision is made so that RB pupils may receive support in learning English as an Additional Language; in some cases, this may be provided (controversially) under the heading of Special Educational Needs (Baker, 1995; Cummins, 1984; Edwards, 1983). As noted, EAL support may be withdrawn once a child is orally competent in English (Lo Bianco, 2001).

These apparently neat scenarios mask yet further variation in terms of the pupils' command of their heritage language and its relationship to their competence in English. The variations in levels of operation as bilinguals can differ enormously. For example, although many RB pupils come from second- and third-generation minority ethnic group families, this does not necessarily imply that they will be functional bilinguals. This may be explained by the fact that, because, in some cases, traditional arranged marriage patterns are perpetuated, one parent may be a first-generation immigrant with limited English. For the children, this may be reflected in less exposure to the use of English in the home. Thus, some children continue to enter the school system as dysfunctional bilinguals.

Similarly, in other cases, cultural and linguistic maintenance within some minority ethnic groups, for example, in Chinese families, may have the same impact on school entrants' abilities to communicate in English. It cannot, therefore, be assumed that the heritage and dominant culture languages in second- or third-generation children will be linguistically aligned at the point of entry to nursery or the infant reception class in school. Indeed, it is suggested by Genesee and others (2004) that, in the early stages of induction into the learning environment of the school, it may be that some pupils demonstrate 'first language attrition' (Genesee and others, 2004:143). This means that there is a decline in the use of and facility in the heritage language as the second language becomes dominant.

Genesee and others (2004) attribute this decline to
1. desire for assimilation into the majority society;
2. absence of academic support for the heritage language;
3. dominance of the majority culture; and
4. language shift in the home.
   Genesee and others, 2004:144.

As noted (Appendix 7), RB pupils fall into the category of co-ordinate bilinguals (Jacobovits, 1968 cited in Baetens-Beardsmore, 1991); this condition is not static (Baker, 1995). For many, this means that, initially, they are perceived as ascendant bilinguals (Baetens-Beardsmore, 1991), that is, continuing to develop the second language as opportunities to do so increase, for example, by attending a monolingual school where total language immersion in the dominant language is the norm within an assimilationist perspective. As the process continues, it might be possible to attain the status of balanced bilingual (Abudaram, 1987 cited in Baetens-Beardsmore, 1991). This means that the language of the dominant majority culture has achieved rough equivalence or parity with the heritage language. Yet Dorian (1978, 1979 cited in Baetens-Beardsmore, 1991) suggests that total parity, referred to as ambilinguality, is an ideal that cannot be fully achieved in reality because it would be impossible to replicate every language acquisition experience in all domains in both languages. It is inevitable that there is some imbalance between the languages. This, it is argued, becomes evident when the balanced bilingual comes under stress or is tired, for example, and clear pronunciation or accuracy may be compromised. It is also argued that the bilingual will opt for the use of one language over another, dependent on the domain in which they operate (Baker, 1995). It is suggested that balanced bilingualism is close to equilingualism where, in usage, interference between the languages may be evident (Baetens-Beardsmore, 1991). This language switching or code-switching will be discussed below.

7.2 Development of bilingualism

As noted in §5, the provision for supporting minority ethnic pupils within the educational systems of England, Wales and Scotland has evolved to address the particular language development needs of pupils for whom English is an additional language. Recognition, firstly, that ethnic variation and bilingualism are factors in the learning of such pupils and that, secondly, competence in more than one language is an asset to be celebrated are now acknowledged in some areas (Cline, 2002; Gravelle, 1996). This approach marks a shift from the deficit model that was ascribed to pupils who operate within two or more language systems to one where the perception of difference has 'a more liberal feel' (Gravelle, 1996:58).

Nevertheless, as noted in §5, more could to be done to develop an understanding amongst mainstream teachers about the teaching of bilingual children (Constantino, 1994 cited in Smyth, 2003; Cline and others, 2002). Without the incorporation of adequate training in

teaching bilingual pupils at Initial Teacher Training stages, discussed in §5, it is difficult to see how the educational system can support its teachers, and their pupils, across the curriculum. The consequence of this is that minority ethnic children are, in effect, primary bilinguals. This means that they pick up

> ... two languages by force of circumstances, either in the home as a child or by moving to a community where the speaker is obliged to work with more than one language, but where no systematic instruction in two languages has been provided.
> **Houston, 1972 cited in Baetens-Beardsmore, 1991**

One example drawn from personal experience is the fact that, at one time in parts of Scotland, no discrete English as an Additional Language support was provided for children from minority ethnic families if they entered school before Primary 3 stage. The rationale for this was that children below this level would 'pick up' language alongside their dominant group peers in the course of normal language development. The data in this study suggests that this was not uncommon and echoes similar observations made by Swain and Lapkin (1982 cited in Ní Bhaoill and Ó Duibhir, 2004) in the context of discussion of English teaching in all-Irish schools.

Genesee and others (2004) outline the 4-stage process that primary bilinguals go through in order to acquire their additional language(s) within the environment of the dominant educational culture, that is, moving from the use of the heritage language through to a non-verbal phase which is then followed by a 'telegraphic' phase and, finally, the production of comprehensible phrases. In these circumstances, the primary bilingual experiences a situation where, not only the heritage language, but the belief and value systems that accompany these and which contribute to that sense of Ethnic Self are challenged, possibly passively rather than covertly, by the majority culture of the school. This challenge to the perception of the Ethnic Self suggests the beginnings of an awareness of another identity, the Global Self, where primary bilinguals learn to recognise the existence of a wider community in which they have to find a place. The response is to move to a state of ascendant bilingual.

7.2.1 Phenomenon of bilingualism as it relates to this study – student attitudes
The RB and RM students in this study had all been pupils in some part of the British primary and secondary schools sectors in the 1980s and 1990s. As outlined in Table 5.4.1, this means that as bilingual minority ethnic pupils they had first-hand experience of

approaches to teaching pupils for whom English was not the first language, that is, the heritage language acquired in the home.

When asked in general terms about language, the interviewees spoke positively of parity in their dual command of languages; this was similar to the perception of 20 out of the 28 questionnaire respondents who perceived that their oral heritage language was roughly equal to their command of spoken English. In this respect, they appeared to regard themselves as balanced bilinguals. Several interviewees reported a working competence in more than one minority ethnic language; these included Swahili, Khasi, Rajustani, Gujerati, Hindi and Urdu in addition to the more common Punjabi, Cantonese, Mandarin and Arabic. The acquisition of the less frequently encountered languages was attributable, in some instances, to migrations from cultural homelands to African countries with fairly high concentrations of diverse language communities and histories of British colonisation.

Although proud of their own language(s), the interviewees were pragmatic about the preservation of these languages. The general view appeared to be that English had to be the predominant language to function within UK society, although the preservation of the heritage language was acknowledged as having a place. This was voiced by one student.

> *I think it's fine* [heritage language learning] *as long as that's not eclipsing them. If it's going to get in the way of them learning English, 'cos we're in England. We need that language to survive here. As long as it's not getting in the way of it* [learning English], *I can't see a problem.*
> **Student FS, female, Pakistani heritage (brought up in England)**

This student had adopted a strong position about the perceived need for acculturation and assimilation into British society. This was not an isolated position. Interestingly, another student, born in the UK, distanced herself very definitely from other minority group members, especially more recent immigrants, when she expressed her identification with British society and her role in it.

> *Never had a problem. I think there's more of a problem, if they come from abroad – from Pakistan or Saudi Arabia. Then they tend to have those kind of problems more. Because I was brought up in Scotland anyway, I've always had English taught to me right from the beginning, whereas these children who don't come from a British country or whatnot, their first language is what they speak at home and for me it was my own language and English. I speak Punjabi.*
> **Student JJ, female, Indian heritage**

Student JJ's assertion that she speaks both English and Punjabi at home suggests that as her languages were developed simultaneously she approximates to being a balanced bilingual. For other students also, the fact that they operated in at least two language, and

therefore at least two cultural worlds, was simply accepted as a fact of life. Several comments illustrate this.

> *But for myself, the reason being that my Mum is an Urdu-speaking lady and my Dad's Punjabi-speaking, so I've had to pick up both languages because my Dad finds it very difficult to pick up Urdu and my Mum could speak both of them OK and English has just been a language that I've just been brought up with.*
> **Student SJ, female, Pakistani heritage**

> *It's* [Punjabi] *just there, because you're speaking it with your parents.*
> **Student WA, female, Pakistani heritage**

> *It's* [Punjabi] *just there.*
> **Student AS, male, Pakistani heritage**

A further comment in the same vein identified not only these two language communities, but also the perpetuation of a sense of having dual homelands.

> *Like if you're going on holiday and you're back home in Pakistan, I think you tend to speak more Punjabi there and you pick it back up and when you come back, well English is there.*
> **Student NA1, female, Pakistani heritage**

The use of the expression 'back home' indicates a mind-set, possibly generated by elder members of the family that the sense of 'home' continues to be identified with Pakistan.

However, another student made reference to what can be described as 'anomie', that is, the feelings of anxiety and questioning of standards experienced by some bilinguals in the early stages of acquiring the additional language referred to by Baetens-Beardsmore (1991). Some vestige of this was expressed by one interviewee who had found it difficult to adjust to inhabiting two language communities.

> *When I first went to school, it was a nightmare, trying to keep Punjabi as well as learn English.*
> **Student SB, female, Indian heritage**

This interviewee had entered primary school as the only Sikh pupil in the school; the only other Asians were Muslim. The early time at school had left a deep impression on her as a bilingual pupil. She indicated that her adjustment to the English-only school environment had not been easy.

Another interviewee had had a similar experience of anomie, but in the context of her heritage language.

> *There's Chinese classes somewhere in Dundee every Sunday. I used to go to them. Well, I went to one or two of them, but then I stopped because I felt that - I don't know, I just didn't feel like I fitted in. It was weird. I went in and it was all Chinese people. It was like, 'I've never been with so many Chinese people in my life.' And I was just like sitting there really worried. They were all talking in Chinese and I was, 'Oh, no.' And then they started writing it. A lot of them were actually ahead of me. Even kids that*

were younger than me. They knew so much of writing and I'm just sitting there thinking, 'I feel so stupid. I feel like I should know this but I don't.'
Student IY, female, Hong Kong Chinese heritage

The lack of biliteracy described by Student IY made her feel isolated within her heritage culture and within her family.

I think in my family, I feel left out in my family. Everybody, including my big brother because he went to school in Hong Kong for a while when I was over there, so he knows how to read and write Chinese and everything but I don't and, so, in the family I'm the only one who can't read and write Chinese. It kind of makes me feel left out...
Student IY, female, Hong Kong Chinese heritage

For this student, the sense of loss of identity marked an erosion of her Ethnic Self. It could be hypothesised that, where there is such marked separation from the heritage culture, following Hall (1996 cited in Morley and Chen, 1996), this contributes to an adjustment for the individual and perhaps, over the longer term, the evolution of 'a new ethnicity'. There are those who are simultaneously part of the minority and dominant ethnic cultures and language groups and, yet, part of neither. In this scenario, individuals may re-configure themselves as a 'new ethnicity' pursuing new norms and behaviours from the vestiges of the old ethnicities.

7.2.2 Heritage language acquisition

In terms of language acquisition, questionnaire respondents made various claims as to the ages they began to acquire their heritage language. For their heritage language, 24 respondents asserted that they had begun to learn this language at 3 years of age, with a further two extending the period to between 3 and 5 years. One gave the age of 8 in response to this question. Only six respondents claimed to have had some tuition in their heritage languages, but three of those were international students who would have had language tuition in their own language as standard in their own countries.

Some interviewees commented on the fact that their acquisition of Urdu came about through explicit teaching in the evening school in the Mosque while primary school age. Another student recalled that she had learnt Punjabi by going to a language class run by a lady from her own community. Khan (1994 cited in Gravelle, 1996) notes that minority community-initiated education projects promoting the teaching of heritage languages evidence the preservation of identity. Gravelle (1996) holds the view that:

Voluntary schools are an important part of the learner's experience and should be acknowledged as such by teachers, not least because of the time and effort that pupils devote to them.
Gravelle, 1996:68.

While the data do not contradict these views, there was a view expressed by interviewees who had participated in such a local initiative that presented other perspectives:

> *Others used to go to homework clubs after school, whereas, us, we had to go to the Mosque, Saturday and Sunday too.*
> Student AS, male, Pakistani heritage

> *And* [when we returned home] *we would be tired and the TV would be on; we didn't do much homework.*
> Student WA, female, Pakistani heritage

> *And by the time you got back from Mosque, its time to go to bed.*
> Student AS, male, Pakistani heritage

These observations suggest that, for these students, there was a conflict generated by this situation. They were complying with the cultural norms of their community by participating in the educational opportunities offered within their minority ethnic community. By contrast, in doing this they were unable to participate on an equal level with other pupils by joining the additional learning opportunities offered by the mainstream school in the form of homework clubs. As noted from the data in this study, as school pupils, these interviewees had little opportunity to complete the consolidation activities presumed to be the function of the homework exercise. How this placed them in relation to teaching staff can only be surmised.

Furthermore, as noted, there is some acknowledgement in the data that this category of bilingual, as students, expressed a preference for contextualised tasks that could be approached in group learning situations. Thus, by being unable to attend the homework clubs, these students were missing out on a prime learning opportunity in relation to their mainstream education. While concurrently they might well have been benefiting in other ways from the Mosque-based input in cultural, religious and heritage language education, their perceptions were that they had lost out.

This demonstrates a tension that potentially exists for bilingual pupils as they straddle two languages, two cultural communities with differing value systems and two differing learning cultures. Theirs is the task of attempting to prioritise within the combination of both worlds; while they may not acknowledge any sense of anomie, it appears that circumstances can evoke the tensions that anomie suggests. It seems inevitable that, at various times and in various contexts, one is subordinated to the requirements of the other. This raises queries as to the extent to which this may influence positively or negatively the

overall learning of individuals from minority ethnic communities whilst at school and also the extent to which this continues to influence their learning as university students. Returning to Gravelle's point about mainstream teachers acknowledging and valuing learning done in voluntary community-initiated education programmes, there are strong possibilities that many mainstream teachers are unaware that minority pupils spend their 'out-of-hours' time in such activities or of the language(s) that they may use routinely in the course of their lives (Smyth, 2003).

7.2.3 Heritage language usage

In this study, within the extended family culture that characterises many minority ethnic groups, the need to be able to communicate across the generations is acknowledged in the data obtained from both questionnaire respondents and interviewees.

Table 7.2.3 Language use among questionnaire respondents

Language in use	A Dominant	B Daily usage	C With mothers	D With fathers	E With grandparents	F With siblings
Arabic	2	2	2	2	2	1
Bengali		2				
Cantonese	2	4	3	3	3	2
French		3				
Hindi		1				
Mandarin	2	3	2	1	1	
Punjabi	5	18	12	5	14	1
Urdu	2	10	2	1	2	
English	14	28	1	4		17
English + heritage language			4	10		3
No reply	1		2	2	6	4

Respondents indicated that, for the present student generation, heritage language maintenance is an important factor in many respects in intra-familial communication. Table 7.2.3 shows the characteristics of language usage amongst the respondents and that exactly half of the questionnaire respondents regarded their dominant language to be

English which they used daily (Columns A and B). These students regarded themselves at least as bilingual and, in some cases, plurilingual (Column B).

In the sample of 28 student respondents, almost all reported that the medium of communication with their mothers was conducted in the heritage language (Column C), while exactly half used English or English and the heritage language to communicate with their fathers (Column D). As seen in Column E, with grandparents, the heritage language was uniformly used as the language of communication in all instances where a response was provided (22). Conversely, 17 students who gave information about communication with siblings indicated that English was used exclusively in these contexts (Column F). Thus, there appears to be some diversity of language behaviour among families as they go about their daily business. This supports the view expressed by Baker (1995) that bilinguals adjust their use of language according to context and domain.

The majority of respondents reported that, while they used their heritage language most at home, they tended to use English in the classroom, social and work situations.

These perceptions are consistent with the comments obtained from the cohort of minority ethnic group interviewees. Some interviewees identified the need to speak the heritage language at home because at least one parent was not a proficient user of English. One student explained:

> *At home, I've always used Cantonese because Mum's always talked to me in Cantonese so I'm used to it and I was able to convert that into English for myself. My Dad is bilingual. My Mum speaks Cantonese and she only knows basic – very basic English. They would definitely want to listen more, but it's the whole socialising circle they're in. I think my Mum has always been more with Chinese people and she's never really spoken to people over here, so she's never been able to develop it. She went to College to learn English but she stopped after a while.*
> **Student IY, female, Hong Kong Chinese heritage**

This student's experience suggests that there was no explicit strategy to encourage the use of the heritage language within the home to ensure culture maintenance and to keep the language 'alive' for the second generation. In this instance, the lack of English on the mother's part was the driver behind the use of the heritage language in the home.

Another student reported a similar situation where his father operated bilingually, but his mother only in the minimalist or passive sense (Appendix 7).

> *She (my Mum) is picking up English; my Dad, he speaks English clearly, but my Mum's having trouble. She speaks a little English.*
> **Student NM, male, Pakistani heritage**

Consistent with the questionnaire responses, the interview data confirmed that communication with mothers often took place in the heritage language

> *With my Mum it's more Punjabi, but with my Dad and my cousins, it's always English.*
> **Student JJ, female, Indian heritage**

This trend suggests that the use of the preferred maternal language is influential on the acquisition of the heritage language. It also suggests that the nature of this language may be heavily context-embedded in Cummins' terms (Cummins, 1981), that is, communication that relates to everyday matters rather than more abstract thinking. This will be discussed more fully in §8.

Looking to the future, one interviewee hypothesised about what he would hope for his children in terms of heritage language maintenance

> *I don't know about writing it* [heritage language], *but I think at least speak and understand it. They can read it – I suppose they'd have to be able to read it. I wouldn't enforce it. Ideally, they would be multilingual – translators for the UN! English would be great but I'd expect them to communicate in Urdu at some level with other family members. I don't think I'd be bothered if they could only speak the odd word.*
> **Student SM, male, Pakistani heritage**

This student's attitude towards his heritage culture was strong, but he was clearly fairly relaxed about maintenance of the heritage language and this marks a tendency towards some degree of heritage language attrition.

7.2.4 Heritage language attrition

It cannot be assumed that children from minority ethnic group families will routinely have command of the heritage language. One student explained how this could come about in the context of the following generation

> *Like the people that I know, the friends I know that are married, that have kids and that, they all speak to them in English. The only downfall with that is that some of them* [the children] *can't speak a word of Urdu or understand it and their parents have to learn English to speak to them* [the grandchildren]. *That means that they* [the children] *are less likely to speak to other family members like grandparents who want to speak to them and see them and they* [the grandparents] *can't speak to them except in English. And they* [the children] *wouldn't be able to speak to them, so they'd just avoid them* [the grandparents].
> **Student SM, male, Pakistani heritage**

Apart from the obvious consequences for cross-generational communication breakdown, there are ramifications for the fabric of family culture maintenance (Krashen, 2003).

Furthermore, in the classroom, it could be assumed, mistakenly, that pupils of the same minority ethnic background might be able to communicate for others as translators from heritage language to English.

Another student could identify language attrition as described by Baetens-Beardsmore (1991) and Wong Fillmore (1991 cited in MacSwan, 2000), when she talked firstly of her own levels of competence in three languages and then that of her peers

> [I speak] *all three of them* [Punjabi, Urdu and English]. *Some people are better...their English is so much better than their Punjabi and Urdu.*
> **Student SJ, female, Pakistani heritage**

There were indications that use of the heritage language amongst siblings had declined as children in the family had become more involved in school. One student noted

> *When I was younger, I used to speak Punjabi like all* [the time]. *Now* [with] *my brothers and sisters, it's just English.*
> **Student NM, male, Pakistani heritage**

This preference for the use of English amongst siblings was not uncommon and is congruent with the explanation proffered by Genesee and others (2004), noted above, concerning language shifts in the home as a factor in the attrition of the heritage language. The data suggest that this shift also extends to conversation with peers and other bilingual family members.

> *We speak Urdu or Punjabi at home, but I prefer to consider my first language English. Even at home, I'll speak sometimes to my Dad, my Mum, obviously Urdu and Punjabi, but in the house all the kids, it's English. Even if I'm on the phone to other Asians we're always speaking in English. It's not that we hate talking in our own language or think it's embarrassing. What we find is that it's a lot easier to explain in English than in our own language.*
> **Student SM, male, Pakistani heritage**

Although there was recognition that this preference for English could be detrimental to the maintenance of the heritage language, another interviewee observed

> *My English has taken over because I don't speak that much Punjabi now.*
> **Student NM, male, Pakistani heritage**

This trend was further identified by another student who stated that

> *My sisters, they don't hang out with Asian kids and they've got left behind* [in Punjabi] *a little bit.*
> **Student NA1, female, Pakistani heritage**

Another interviewee reported a similarity in her own use of language.

> *My English has overtaken my Punjabi. My words in Punjabi are more limited and with friends I usually stick to English.*
> **Student SB, female, Indian heritage**

Thus, the use of English as the dominant language comes across strongly in the study data as a pragmatic response to the reality of home, school and university communication, frequently at the expense of maintenance of the heritage language.

7.2.5 Language acquisition in English

In terms of English language acquisition, for some questionnaire respondents in this study, this depended on the circumstances that had brought them to Britain. Four students pinned their initial exposure to learning English to between 12 and 13 years of age as later entrants to the UK. Otherwise, 14 respondents claimed that they had begun to learn English at age 3, 6 at age 4, one at age 5, one at age 6 and one at age 9.

Data from interviewees reflected similar experiences of introduction to English language.

> *The household that I was brought up in, because I was living in a very large family, my aunties and uncles, they all spoke English. My Dad, they all spoke Punjabi with me. I think Nursery time* [for English].
> **Student SJ, female, Pakistani heritage**

In this instance, Student SJ had a clear recollection of how and when she had begun to learn English. This was also the case for another student.

> *I think I spoke English right from the start. We were always brought up with English, even in the house, we were reading books and that. Parents, my Dad, like read with you or whatever... even though you'd never learnt it, you'd pick it up in the house because you always spoke it in the house. Because you couldn't speak as much English with your parents or when relatives or family come round, but we used to speak it with each other in the house. It got better the more* [we used it] *and school being the main thing with English being the focal point.*
> **Student SM, male, Pakistani heritage**

This interviewee describes a situation that identifies strongly with ascendant bilingualism (Appendix 7). There appears to be an inference that English had been assimilated rather than explicitly taught. Another student reported that he had spoken English at primary school and that, in addition

> *My Dad speaks good English as well so he taught me some things.*
> **Student NM, male, Pakistani heritage**

This comment suggests that this parent regarded the acquisition of English as an essential for the education of his son.

Only four of the questionnaire respondents identified that they had received supplementary teaching in English language. Local knowledge suggests that this is not an accurate reflection of the reality, as it is known that some of the students who had returned negative responses to this question were known to ESOL/EAL services and

were thought, at some stage, in the school experience to have received EAL support. It is difficult to assess why there appears to be some discrepancy here between the respondents' answers and the perceived reality. The explanation could be governed by educational policy and/or financial constraints discussed in §5. From a pupil's viewpoint, their perception of the integrative method of teaching in the partnership teaching style simply seemed to the pupils as having an extra (often peripatetic) teacher in the room, rather than having someone present to teach only certain minority ethnic pupils. Alternatively, it could be that the students had simply forgotten the events and were unable to recall them after 10 years or so. For several interviewees this seemed to be the case because they stated that they had no recollection of explicit language teaching within the school system. This was the case for an interviewee who had been born into a family where her mother was an English-speaker.

> *I didn't get a specialist teacher* [of English]. *We had been speaking English at home because my Mum has been educated in Africa and so, because of that, she can speak fluent English. But the problem was when they got together, my Mum and Dad, they'd start talking, 'She must have the language.' So when I went to school, I did have a bit of the language* [English], *but I had more Punjabi than English, so I just picked it up more and more.*
> **Student FS, female, Pakistani heritage**

Another interviewee experienced an interruption to her schooling which involved a suspension of her learning English.

> *I was very young. I was about four or something. Because I was born in January, I went to Nursery for just a couple of months and then we went away to Pakistan – I was about four and a half...I went away and I was there for two years and I was about seven when I came back to this country. But when I was in Pakistan I went to school there as well. And there, Urdu is like the main language at school, and I think I must have went to school there for about six months and when I came back I didn't know English...I knew my Urdu. But now I don't know how to write my Urdu. I can speak it fluently, but that was that.*
> **Student SJ, female, Pakistani heritage**

This student had a double experience of recessive bilingualism – once when she 'lost' her English on going to Pakistan and the second time when she lost part of her competence in writing Urdu after her return. This particular interviewee could recollect having specialist English language tuition at school.

> *I went into Primary 2* [age] *six or seven when I came back and that's when I used to go to this teacher. I remember we had a teacher who we'd go and spend an hour with a week. Went on to Primary 5 or 6.*
> **Student SJ, female, Pakistani heritage**

As a pupil who had re-entered the country, although a resident bilingual, Student SJ was treated more like a new immigrant than a resident bilingual and this may have had an impact on her acquisition of English in that she had received discrete EAL tuition for, it

would appear, a longer period of time than had she remained in Britain throughout. Another student appeared to have received extra tuition at a later stage in his schooling.

> *We had this extra class. Can't remember what it's called. You had to! I think it was an Asian guy and also a lady from here and she used to teach us and do some exercises and reading and stuff. Spelling and all this.*
> **Student NM, male, Pakistani heritage**

Other students reported initial difficulties in their period of induction to the school system and to the learning of English as the dominant language of the school, in particular. One interviewee, who had received her school education in England recalled

> *English is more dominant. Yeh. 'Cos the teachers, I remember they wrote home to my parents, 'You're going to have to stop speaking the language at home.' Because the languages are totally different. Here it's 'cauliflower' but in Punjabi it's 'flower-cauli'. So everything is back to front. So the teachers were saying, 'It's so obvious that she speaks another language because she gets confused.' So they had to send a letter home, saying, 'You're going to have to start bringing English into your speech.' Everything was back to front.*
> **Student FS, female, Pakistani heritage**

This student was slightly older than the other students and her time at school coincided with the not uncommon practice of advising parents to use only English in the home in order to stimulate the learning of English (Baker, 1995; Gearns, 1997; Martin, 1999; Smyth, 2003). There appeared to be no recognition of the risk this posed in relation to declining competence in the heritage language. In addition, it assumes a level of competence in the use of English on the part of the parents that might not exist. As noted by Genesee and others (2004), the use of English in the home may not only hinder the development of the heritage language, but may challenge the parents' communicative abilities in English. This may have a damaging effect on the child's acquisition of English also.

A Cantonese-speaking interviewee reported the experience of straddling two different cultures and how as a small child she had dealt with this

> *'Cos when I started out, when I came back* [to Scotland] *I was two or three and I was looked after by my nana (this Scottish woman) and then I was put into nursery and I never really talked. It was always people talking to me. I could understand what they'd say but I'd be totally fine with it. But I never really talked to them. I never really made any communication until I got home with my Mum. When I got into Primary 1 my nana had to tell the teacher that I don't communicate that well and they spent more time with me on the whole language side and that's where I learnt in Primary 1 to speak English and to write it.*
> **Student IY, female, Hong Kong Chinese heritage**

This suggests that this student had been under-going the non-verbal phase identified by Genessee and others (2004). This student had been fostered by a Scottish family for a

period of time and she judged this experience to have given her a special insight into the dominant culture when she noted

> *And I've grown up mainly with white people because I was brought up, looked after, by a Scottish woman so I was able to learn everything.*
> **Student IY, female, Hong Kong Chinese heritage**

While this perception of 'insider' experience of Scottish life and values is interesting, it does not indicate that this immersion experience impacted favourably on the acquisition of English as this student consistently cited her poor English throughout the study interview.

7.2.6 Code-switching and code-mixing

Genesee and others (2004) acknowledge that it is common for bilinguals to mix two or more languages. As noted above, respondents reported that they switch languages depending on the context and participants in the dialogue. This can be referred to as 'language switching' and is a manifestation of compound bilingualism (Lambert, 1990 cited in Gravelle, 1996:52). Baetens-Beardsmore (1991) defines the term 'code-switching' (change between languages over phrases and sentences) as more apposite than 'code-mixing' (change between languages within sentences). However, interviewees reported a considerable degree of 'code-switching' and 'code-mixing'.

The data illustrates that interviewees and respondents in this study recognised the code-switching tendency in their speech; several acknowledged that they frequently jumped from one language to another in mid-sentence. Apart from the use of internationally recognised English words, they noted that English words were introduced into predominantly heritage language dialogue and heritage language words into predominantly English dialogue. One interviewee commented

> *We use modern words like TV, microwave but also ordinary words.*
> **Student SB, female, Indian heritage**

There was a generally held feeling that this was quite common and was not confined to a single language or minority ethnic grouping. One student had clearly reflected on this practice

> *Yeh, we do that ALL the time. Even like with parents and that. The majority of the time, I don't think I speak one sentence without having an English word in it...use a lot of English. I think we should have a name for this language.*
> **Student SJ, female, Pakistani heritage**

Another student explained this quite eloquently when she observed

> *I definitely find that if I can't find the Punjabi word, I'll just say it in English. Even in the house, when we're talking to my parents, I say, 'The English word is "x".' And they'll be like, 'Do you mean" y"?' And even my brother'll say, 'I can't think of a word*

either.' We know the words in English, but we just don't know them in Punjabi. We're talking just about general things. I agree with the Punjabi, but not with the English. Sometimes you can find yourself speaking Punjabi-English-Punjabi-English. Just mixing words into it. You're speaking a whole new language. We're just so used to it now; and even with somebody [a Punjabi speaker] *I was speaking to in English and suddenly started speaking in Punjabi, like three words, or full sentences, they wouldn't find that strange because we know that some things we find easier to say like that.*
Student SM, male, Pakistani heritage

This reference to 'three words' might suggest something more than missing vocabulary, for example, a structural grammatical shift. Interestingly, while the practice of code-switching seemed to be commonplace with the students involved in this study, for older members of their minority ethnic community, this seemed to be less the norm. One student explained

When I talk to uncles or that and they don't speak English to me, I'm really - more assess what I want to say and it's really hard to say it and I put some English bits into it. Sometimes they find it funny.
Student NM, male, Pakistani heritage

Student NM's comment indicates more than his observation of the reaction of his uncles to his use of code-switching strategies; it suggests that he has real difficulty in using his heritage language effectively and may be demonstrating traits of subtractive bilingualism in his requirement to rehearse his utterances mentally.

Another student described a scenario where the potential communication breakdown could occur because of linguistic gaps in their lexical repertoire

It [bilingualism] *can help you in a way and it can also be a problem at home because sometimes you can't say every word to your parents like in Punjabi, even mixed with English and they don't always understand it still, so it gets irritating.*
Student NA2, female, Pakistani heritage

The data seem to coincide with the view expressed by Haugen (1954 cited in Baetens-Beardsmore, 1991), namely, that nouns are the most commonly used 'substitute' words.

Gravelle (1996) presents the view that errors in language are more readily identifiable as reflecting the development of language in its acquisition stages rather than problems relating to cross-language interference. Certainly, the interviewees could be classified, with two exceptions, as balanced bilinguals and the examples of language mixing that they identified seemed to focus on lexical differences rather than syntactic differences. One student identified where this occurred across three languages.

My Mum, even though she's from India, she was born in Africa. Kenya. So I've been brought up speaking a mixture of Punjabi and Swahili. A combination of the two and I don't know what is which language. I was speaking to one of my cousins and her family is all from India. We were talking away and I was like, 'Yeh, my Mum's' – and I'll speak a combination – 'What was your Mum doing?'

> *'My Mum's doing the 'fungusa' that other day.' That's 'mopping the floor' but that's Swahili. And I don't know. Unless I'm speaking to my Mum's sister and her children because they are all from Africa – Kenya –they don't blink an eyelid. There's a bit of a problem there.*
> **Student FS, female, Pakistani heritage**

From the data, it can be discerned that the interviewees are aware that there are occasions where there is a 'total' language switch from one language to another for the duration of an entire exchange, for example, the use of internationally recognised words such as 'taxi'. In addition, there are 'gap-filling' switches from one language to another where one language repertoire is unequal to the task of being able to provide exactly the correct word. The data support the view that the dominant culture and language seem to permeate the minority ethnic contexts more significantly than is the case in reverse.

The transference of English across into heritage languages appears to be common, but there was less perception amongst the interviewees of the transfer in the opposite direction, that is, from heritage language to English. Interviewees perceived transfer to take place at the level of lexical items which they inserted into utterances to make up shortcomings in their own repertoire of vocabulary and they perceived this to occur more significantly (although not exclusively) where English words were interspersed into the heritage language. It follows that the practice of code-switching seemed to be confined to communication with others from the same heritage language community. What the interviewees did not comment on was the extent to which structural features transferred from one language to another; this suggests that, in general, they were less aware of these characteristics than they were with single word or phrase substitutions. In part, as already cited, this is attributable to the fact that nouns are more readily switched than functional words (Haugen, 1954 cited in Baetens-Beardsmore, 1991).

Some students gave instances of when they found that code-switching when speaking with someone from the dominant culture was inappropriate.

> *The only thing is when I'm in a shop or something and I'm trying to describe something, and I don't know the name of it, I know the word in Punjabi, but I know it's not going to help. Shut up!*
> **Student SM, male, Pakistani heritage**

This was a rare example of interviewees acknowledging linguistic dissonance in engaging with monolingual people. In addition, it coincides with Baetens-Beardsmore's observation that code-switching is rule-governed; in this instance, not only by repertoire but also by purpose, situation, context and the participants in the exchange (Baetens-Beardsmore,

1991). The data in the current study give a sense that the students code-switch only in dialogues with those from the same language community rather than in conversations with speakers of the dominant language of English. The 'hybrid' languages that bilinguals construct may do less to reinforce the sense of the Ethnic Self as to contribute to the evolution of hybrid New Ethnicities described by Hall (1992). Implicit in this is the evolution of a modified Ethnic Self.

7.2.7 Perceived advantages and disadvantages of bilingualism

Problematising bilingualism has led to the use of expressions such as 'non-English speaker', 'language-impaired' and 'limited English proficiency' in relation to minority ethnic group pupils and students, when, in practice, research has shown that bilingualism brings a number of advantages (Hakuta, 1986 cited in Krashen, 1991; Cummins, 1981). For example, Baker (1996) notes that bilinguals have the advantage of two or more worlds of experience, the advantage of two or more languages to communicate with a wider range of people and, furthermore, when languages are well-developed, greater sensitivity to those around them. Winsler and others (1999) note that compared with monoglot peers, bilingual children demonstrate

> ...numerous cognitive, metacognitive, metalinguistic and sociolinguistic advantages.
> **Winsler and others, 1991:349.**

While the questionnaire respondents indicated that they felt that being bilingual aided intercultural communication in some respects, the students who were interviewed did not see that their bilingualism brought any particular advantages, and, as with their perceptions of racism, they considered their bilingualism in a rather matter-of-fact kind of way. If they do view the world through the lens of bilingualism as Smyth (undated) suggests, they seemed to disregard this as a factor in their perception of their workaday world in terms of the Global Self, although the data empathises with the strong sense of the Ethnic Self in relation to the heritage language.

For example, when asked about advantages of being bilingual, respondents were limited in their replies. One noted

> *I can speak with my family in Arabic when I don't want people to know what I'm saying or writing.*
> **Anonymous questionnaire respondent**

Interviewees had little to say about active advantages. Only one student expressed a positive advantage.

[I'm] *able to translate for my Mum if she has any trouble understanding anything in English.*
Student SB, female, Indian heritage

Several negative aspects were raised by questionnaire respondents. One student comment made a rare reference to racism.

Being bilingual may mean that I come from a foreign country, therefore, it is a disadvantage when meeting racist people.
Anonymous questionnaire respondent

No further information was given in this response and, thus, it is impossible to do more than conjecture that perhaps this student followed the line of being a covert bilingual in situations perceived to present some tension.

Another respondent acknowledged that bilingualism had a further down-side.

The difficulty to understand what people say or mean which may lead to isolation and embarrassment.
Anonymous questionnaire respondent

There were indications in the response sheet that this student was actually an international student who had a long period of residence in the UK but did not quite fit the resident bilingual profile under examination.

Another respondent made a further interesting observation about a shortfall that had come about in language terms and which the respondent attributed to bilingualism.

No one solid language – English newspapers were never read at home. Due to this, there is a disadvantage where English vocabulary is concerned.
Anonymous questionnaire respondent

This deficit perception of operating as a bilingual in a monolingual world where ability to express ideas in diverse ways is important to achieving communicative competence resonates with an observation made by Skutnabb-Kangas (1981).

Many bilinguals testify to the fact that their second language, which they learnt later in life, feels colder, more alien, less rich in words, less subtle and on the whole poorer.
Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981:49.

The fact that the student respondents and interviewees did not express strong views about bilingualism does not mean that bilingualism does not impact on their lives. It seemed, however, that this facility in more than one language was just part of their lives.

I think that kids realise that English is going to be the main thing in school and Punjabi is like the home thing.
Student SM, male, Pakistani heritage

Two particular observations from the literature endorse this point, albeit in different ways. For example, Mercer (1981 cited in Edwards, 1983) emphasises potential for attrition of the heritage language.

> For most British Asian children today, home and school remain different language worlds and by the time they reach secondary school they may have understandably have come to the conclusion that the language of their community is of no relevance to education.
> **Mercer, 1981:152.**

However, Alladina (1995) acknowledges that there is a dichotomy between the two languages which emphasises content as much as the context of location.

> Without ever having talked about it, the child very quickly learns that the ordinary things in life can be discussed in the home language, but that the important and scientific things are discussed in the school language and very often with the men of the house!
> **Alladina, 1995:24.**

It appears, therefore, that the ability to straddle two cultures and language communities reflects a separation of identities – Ethnic Self and Global Self. In relation to language, there seemed to be little perception of tension between these identities and the contexts in which they are positioned. As bilinguals these students seemed to see their language skills as nothing particularly special, to the extent that one bilingual student indicated that she did not understand the word 'bilingual' and asked for it to be explained. Although this did not mean that she was unaware of the concept of bilingualism, she seemed to see herself as being someone who happened to speak two languages and saw nothing remarkable in this.

7.3 Summary

This section has examined the phenomenon of bilingualism in the UK and, in particular, the students' experiences of being bilingual in a country and an education system that is overwhelmingly monolingual and monocultural. This has provided an insight into key issues in relation to the acquisition of heritage and additional languages, in particular, how these young people have dealt with the realities of operating in two languages.

The data indicate that minority ethnic group students see their bilingualism in very matter-of-fact ways. There was little sense from the interviews that students in this study see this facility in two languages as an asset to be celebrated. It is simply a fact of life. They saw attempts to formalise learning of their heritage languages through mechanisms such as voluntary schools as having eroded their engagement with mainstream school learning, especially homework clubs. Thus, it seems that competing tensions arise because the demands of both language communities necessitate some prioritisation for learners where they place the needs of one before those of the other.

With regard to the acquisition of English as an additional language, the majority had little recollection of having been given any special teaching in EAL; generally, they do not see themselves as language learners although there was some limited recollection of parents being instructed to use English in the home in order to facilitate language acquisition of the dominant language. The data show that students are particularly pragmatic in their acknowledgement that English is the dominant language for the conduct of their daily public lives beyond the immediate family and cultural circle. Furthermore, they acknowledge the inevitability of tensions that contribute to language attrition within their own speech communities, particularly across generations.

It might be assumed that students from minority ethnic backgrounds, especially from second or third-generation families, are routinely competent as balanced bilinguals. Evidence from this study suggests that in their acknowledged use of the code-switching and code-mixing that the students have identified in their own and others' speech, a hybrid language is emerging. However, it also means some sense that there can be no natural balance between the two languages for, as noted by Harley and Wang (1997:44), 'monolingual-like attainment in each of a bilingual's two languages is probably a myth'.

The hybrid language represents a significant element in the evolution of the Ethnic Self and contributes to the reality of emergent New Ethnicities (Hall, 2002). This means a shift in self-image and greater self-confidence that places the individual in a stronger position within the wider community and hence enhances the sense of Global Self. Together, these strengthen the Academic Self.

The next section explores the study data further in relation to how bilingual experience of the education system engages with the acquisition of academic literacies and how this impacts on the further development of the Academic Self and the Global Self.

§8 Bilingualism, language proficiency and academic development

Discussion in §7 addressed research into the broader aspects of bilingualism and provided the context for exploration of the data in the present study where students' attitudes regarding their bilingualism in general were considered and related to the development of the Ethnic Self and the Global Self. In the present section, the impact of the students' bilingualism in educational contexts is considered and is linked to the enhancement of both the Academic Self and the Global Self with implications for the Ethnic Self.

This section extends the earlier analysis of §7 by considering bilingual education with particular reference to enrichment and deficit models. The former, most significantly applied in parts of the USA, supports first language learning as a means of aiding content learning and ultimately additional language learning; it is underpinned by a strong, if not unchallenged, theoretical base. The latter, the deficit model, is generally what is applied in the UK and involves submersion within the monolingual school environment where language support in the additional language, but rarely the heritage language, is provided according to assessed need and availability. As acknowledged by Leung (2003), the theoretical base for this deficit perspective in the UK model is much less robust. Whereas the enrichment model has been implemented in the USA as an explicit policy, subsequently heavily loaded with political overtones, the deficit model as applied in the UK has evolved in a more haphazard way as a response to increasing numbers of bilingual pupils and the declared intention of making the educational system inclusive.

In both the USA and the UK, perceptions persist that bilingualism provides an explanation for poor scholastic performance. Since the enrichment model, and its underpinning theory, has been seen as a response to counter such claims, the comparison of the two models offers an opportunity to identify from the literature whether some elements of the rationale of the enrichment model might be relevant to the realities of supporting bilingual learners in the UK where similar perceptions about low scholastic ability also prevail (Crowl and MacGinitie, 1974 cited in McSwan, 2000; OFSTED, 2004a; OFSTED, 2004b).

For the purposes of the current study, this analysis may help to elucidate the data obtained from interviewees and respondents in the study with regard to their attitudes towards bilingualism and their experiences as bilingual students within the education system. It will also help to lay the groundwork for further examination of academic development in

subsequent sections by expanding Cummins' models of Common Underlying Proficiency (CUP), Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills (BICS) and Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP), and his quadrant diagram analysing the relationships between contextual support and cognitive involvement in communicative activities (Cummins 1984; Cummins 2000; and Appendix 9, this work). To the same end, other complementary 'trans-curriculum' approaches are also examined (Leung, 2003).

8.1 Enrichment and deficit models

The focus of this study is directed towards the learning experiences of bilingual students within the UK educational system. However, initially, it is in global terms that the theoretical underpinning of bilingualism in the contexts of education must be addressed for there is an oft-cited view that bilingualism is an impediment to academic development and leads to school failure as reported by Ritchie and Bhatia (1996) and MacSwan (2000).

For the purposes of the current study, two theoretical models of approach to the education and learning of bilingual school-age children are considered – the enrichment and deficit models. The tension between these two approaches has been played out principally among researchers in the USA and Canada where the practical application of the theories has induced strenuous academic debate – some of it vitriolic. The following two sub-sections will briefly outline the approaches to provide some appreciation of how these theoretical viewpoints have translated into applications in the UK – or not.

8.1.1 The enrichment model

The debate on the merits of this method of facilitating second language acquisition has been international; adherents include Baker (1995, 1996); Collier (1987); Collier and Thomas (1996-2001); Council of Europe (1999); Crawford (1998); Cummins (1981, 1984, 2000); Hakuta (1990); Genesee and others (2004); Krashen (1981, 1997); Skutnabb-Kangas (1981); and Tosi (1984). In particular, Cummins (1981) and Krashen (1997), who have been at the forefront of the debate in the USA, advocate the enrichment model of bilingual education for resident bilingual students such as those in this current study. Other researchers have used the term 'transitional bilingualism' to describe the process (Ritchie and Bhatia, 1996).

The enrichment model endeavours to develop bilingual pupils' literacy in their heritage language by using this language as the language of instruction in subjects across the curriculum. Simultaneously, pupils receive tuition to develop their acquisition of the

language of the dominant culture, in preparation for transfer to the mainstream classroom where the dominant language is used as the medium of instruction. The rationale presented by advocates of the enrichment model is that, because children are taught in their first language, they acquire concurrently 'literacy and subject matter knowledge' (Krashen, 1997:2). Krashen (2003) further argues that the enrichment model builds on the premise that children who have a well-developed competence in their heritage language will, when introduced to the learning required for acquisition of the additional language, learn more successfully because of the ability to transfer learning from one language context to another. Krashen (2003) identifies three main elements for good bilingual programmes of this type:

1. subject matter teaching in first language without translation
2. literacy development in the first language
3. comprehensible instruction in English defined as good English as a Second Language and sheltered subject matter teaching.
Krashen, 2003:1

Thus, it is argued that learning attributes acquired when the heritage language is used as the medium of instruction transfer and contribute to the learning that follows when the child passes on into the mainstream monolingual teaching of the dominant culture. This process of bilingual education has been identified as enabling bilingual children, not only to access the curriculum and ultimately academic English on a par with monolingual children from the dominant ethnic group, but, in some cases, surpass them (Krashen, 1997). In further support of the rationale that underpins this approach, referring to bilingual education of children in the USA, Crawford (1998) contends that

If students are left to sink or swim in mainstream classrooms, with little or no help in understanding their lessons, they won't learn much English. If native-language instruction is used to make lessons meaningful, they will learn more English – and more subject matter too.
Crawford, 1998:2

For Cummins, however, positive cognitive and academic outcomes resulting from bilingual education are predicated on the condition that 'bilingual students continue to develop both languages in the school context' (Cummins, 2000:174).

Bilingualism and bilingual education have become highly-charged political issues, especially in the USA. In research terms, the debate has ranged along fault lines that have traced linguistic and pedagogical tracks including semilingualism and prescriptivism, as well as political trails highlighting the potential 'Balkanisation' of some states in the USA. These issues are beyond the scope of the current work but are noted in order to indicate the

not inconsiderable attention that has thus foregrounded the enrichment model to an extent that might not otherwise have happened.

Critics of the enrichment approach include Baker (1992, 1998); Edelsky (1990); MacSwan (2000); Porter (1990 in Cummins, 1999); and Rossell and Baker (1996). Their view is that bilingual children should be taught in a totally English language environment and that to do otherwise is an impediment to their learning. This submersion approach came to the fore in a high-profile campaign 1998-9 instigated by a Californian tycoon, Ron Unz, who argued successfully for the promotion of Proposition 227 banning enrichment teaching models on the basis that bilingual children are more expensive to educate within an enrichment programme because they do not achieve a level of competency in the majority language (English) for some five or six years.

The advocates of the enrichment approach to bilingual education mentioned above envisage situations, such as those common in parts of the USA and Canada, where the number of non-native speakers of English is significant and the systems can provide, it seems, parallel 'language universes' where it is possible to provide cross-curriculum teaching in both heritage and dominant languages. Perhaps this is possible because of the number of staff employed within the US system where it is acknowledged that many who teach bilingual children do so as untrained teachers (Shields and others, 1999) and this eliminates some resource implications.

In relation to the current study, an enrichment model such as that implemented in the USA is less feasible in the UK where initial teacher training is a pre-requisite of entry to the profession (§5). The lack of trained bilingual teaching staff, lack of resource and limited political acknowledgement of the needs of minority language groups make the enrichment approach less practical. However, there are elements within the philosophy of the enrichment model which might translate to the UK context in a minor way, for example, where more use is being made of heritage language in UK schools in the form of home-school liaison assistants (§5).

8.1.2 The deficit model

Notwithstanding such developments, by contrast to the situations in the US and Canada, as noted in §5, the British educational system has followed a deficit model approach to addressing the needs of bilingual learners. The only exceptions are the teaching of Welsh

in Wales and Gaelic in nominally Gaelic-speaking areas in Scotland. Thus, for most minority ethnic group students, learning English as an Additional Language is a submersion experience (Ritchie and Bhatia, 1996), such as that advocated by the Unz lobby in the USA. Essentially, the approach aims to be inclusive and offer equality of opportunity to all. In practice, it is assimilationist. This means that, in such a model, the pupil's language 'deficit' is problematised, as noted by Smyth (2003), often ignoring the pupil's competence in the heritage language. With limited heritage language input, even if available, the onus of adjusting to meet the demands of the dominant school language and culture is placed on the individual and the family. It is expected that bilingual pupils will integrate into a system that does not provide any mechanism for the development in the literacy of the heritage language, but operates to the needs of the majority language in a school system that remains largely geared to perpetuate the mores of the dominant culture (Lo Bianco, 2001).

Thus, learning English becomes the priority in a system that gives limited value in heritage languages and cultures (Baker 1996; Martin, 1999; MacIver, 2002; MacIver, 2004). More recently, debate on the advantages of bilingual education, based on the Cummins (2000) rationale, has emerged in the UK. The realities are that the deficit model prevails in direct contradiction to the arguments that support the North American enrichment approach to bilingual education described above. However, it is interesting to note that the influences of the enrichment school of thought on bilingual education can be seen in the Key Reading Notes 2 published in the NALDIC Quarterly 2.1: 3-10 (undated) as part of the literature supporting Initial Teacher Training Subject English as an Additional Language (ITTSEAL). This document notes 'attempts at making the curriculum accessible by actively using students' first language (other than English) as a medium of learning and wider curriculum communication' (NALDIC Quarterly 2.1: 3 (undated); Leung, 2003:2). However, it is unclear how this might be implemented and how such a move would position the learning of English as an Additional Language in the sequence of developing bilingual competence of pupils.

For the moment, the deficit model views the children's language skills in English 'as a problem to be tackled' (Renkema in Winther-Jenson, 1996:227) and as a 'disadvantage to learning and to literacy development' (Martin, 1999:67). The approach adopted to resolve this 'problem' employs 'mainstreaming' and 'partnership teaching' (Gravelle, 1996; Levine, 1999,). Mainstreaming, that is, the teaching of content language for the

mainstream classroom within that classroom, rather than by withdrawal of learners to specialist language units, places the responsibility for teaching language on all teachers (Tognini and others, 1998). For mainstreaming to work well, mainstream and language teachers need to work side by side with additional input from minority ethnic teaching assistants and others from minority communities (§5), thus producing the concept of partnership teaching (Bourne and McPake, 1991 cited in Gravelle, 1996). While this has the potential to dilute the perceptions of difference in the learning situation, this has to be done with sensitivity. During interviews for this study, potential dangers inherent in such an approach were highlighted by the student who said

> *And when they were going through things, the teacher would stand next to me and they would actually write it down in front of me and I kind of feel that I'm stupid in front of the rest of the school.*
> **Student IY, female, Hong Kong Chinese heritage**

Clearly, although probably well-intentioned in aiming to help the pupil, the kind of action recommended by Tognini and others (1998), had, in reality, eroded rather than built confidence. For the student, it seemed also to have accentuated her sense of being treated differently and, implicitly, her sense of difference (Derrida, 1973). This appeared to have had a negative effect on her sense of Ethnic Self as well as her Academic Self.

In addition, advocates of these approaches argue that 'mainstreaming recognizes the beneficial relationship that exists between additional language learning, and learning and continuing language development in the first (or more) languages' (Levine, 1999:29). Supporting bilingualism by encouraging the teaching of heritage languages in mainstream education in the UK is relatively nascent as a concept and some distance removed from the models advocates of the enrichment model (Baker, 1995; Baker, 1996; Collier, 1987; Council of Europe, 1999; Crawford, 1998; Cummins, 1981, 1984, 2000; Hakuta, 1990; Genesee and others, 2004; Krashen, 1997; Krashen, 1981; Noonan and others, 1997 cited in Ní Bhaoill and Ó Dhuibir, 2004; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981; and Tosi, 1984).

However, it is interesting to note that in a paper relating to the teaching of Irish Gaelic in Ireland, the Scottish Office Education Department are cited in the context of Gaelic teaching in Scotland as proposing in 1993 that

> The language skills which the children have already acquired in either Irish or English are built upon in the early years in school, recognising that it will be possible to transfer these skills to English at a later stage.
> **Ní Bhaoill and Ó Duibhir, 2004:3**

Thus, the enrichment or transitional model appears to have been in application, at least in recommendation form, as early as 1993 for the indigenous minority language of Scotland alongside the deficit model approach evident in relation to the heritage languages of minority ethnic groups.

It seems in practice, therefore, that in the British situation it is less appropriate to talk of bilingual education in the North American model, that is, where the medium of instruction uses both languages. Instead, in the UK it is more appropriate to regard 'bilingual learners' as learners who, in their daily lives, function bilingually but whose formal education is delivered entirely using the medium of English (MacIver, 2002).

As noted, there are fundamental differences between the enrichment model of bilingual learning and the deficit model as defined by Baker (1995). Deficit models require pupils to 'leave their culture at the schoolhouse door' (Cummins, 2000). This means that the children are submerged in the majority culture and language of the school; the heritage language is not used. The impact of this process was described by MacIver, who as a Gaelic speaker:

> ...went to school at five years of age speaking not one word of English...I left the education system some 18 years later with my Highers, my degree and my PGCE without ever having been taught for one minute in my own language. I went through the whole system and ended up still illiterate in my own language. I have taught myself to read and write my own language. In a unilingual country it is sometimes difficult to alert ourselves to the power and potential of language. Language, after all, is the vehicle of traditional values – it is the basis for self-respect and the basis of a sense of belonging. It is the tool for creative thought, of constructive question formulation and problem-solving.
> **MacIver, 2002**

MacIver's view articulates the sense of 'deficit' on the part of the bilingual as being inadequate in some respect; his remarks suggest that the experience had an impact on his perception of his Ethnic Self as something separate from his Academic Self. Without his own endeavours, he would have remained illiterate in Gaelic, for the educational system did nothing to recognise or stimulate the development of his heritage language. The dominance of English as the medium of instruction in education some fifty years ago remains a characteristic of Scottish education now in the twenty-first century. In Scotland, as discussed in §5, even now, with the exception of Gaelic as an indigenous minority language, there is no official policy relating to the promotion of heritage languages (Landon, 2001; Smyth, 2003).

However, moving on, the data in this study show that, although these students had not had the experience of becoming literate in both languages, there seemed to be an awareness that this might have been of advantage. One student responded to a question about her view on the value of attaining dual literacy:

> *It hasn't happened to me, of course, but I think it would.*
> **Student JJ, female, Indian heritage**

Another student made a reference to his lack of literacy in Urdu.

> *That's why I wanted to do Urdu classes at the cultural centre. I wanted to do Urdu because that's well known for Indian and Pakistanis. I want to use that language because many people, they look for that if I want to work over there.*
> **Student NM, male, Pakistani heritage**

Student NM regarded the fact that he had not learnt Urdu as part of his informal or formal education as detrimental to his longer term career prospects.

Enhancing the status of the heritage language by developing oral and academic literacy in that language within the relatively closed world of the school could potentially contribute to celebration of students' bilingualism and self-worth adding to the sense of Ethnic Self as well as that of the Academic Self.

8.2 The status of minority ethnic languages in mainstream education in Scotland

Although slower to respond to the needs of a more diverse community than the English education system, and despite the lack of an overt Scottish policy on minority language education, the Scottish education system has nevertheless made some tentative moves to encourage the learning of minority ethnic languages as part of mainstream education. The introduction of the Standard Grade in Urdu in 1998 promoted the concept of teaching minority languages significantly (Centre for Information on Language Teaching in Scotland [SCILT], 2003). While only one minority language examination is currently offered within the Scottish examination system, this marks the recognition of a change in perception within the education system in Scotland in relation to the relevance of heritage languages within the curriculum. Only one student in the current study had been offered the opportunity in later years of her schooling to study her own language (Urdu) – an offer she had rejected. She noted with wry humour:

> *It would have been useful if it had been considered as a Higher and then it could have been another 'A'!*
> **Student SJ, female, Pakistani heritage**

However, studying the heritage language as a discrete subject can only be a single acknowledgement of diversity within the school population as long as the remainder of the curriculum is delivered in the majority language, for, as observed by Renkema (1996)

> A recursive relationship exists between ethnic identity on the one hand and the actual place of a minority language in the school curriculum on the other.
> **Renkema, 1996:233**

Where the shift towards integrating heritage languages remains tentative, the sense of Ethnic Self must remain weak as the sense of Academic Self and the related Global Self strengthen.

In general, pupils in the UK have not had opportunities to develop their heritage languages within the formal educational setting nor to receive their education with the heritage language being used as the medium of instruction. As noted previously, tuition in heritage languages is usually undertaken from within the minority ethnic community and by members of these communities who are not necessarily professionally qualified teachers of language (Gregory, 1993). The reasons for this are partly historical in that the Swann Report (1985) made a categorical statement that heritage language teaching should be generated from within minority communities. Over the years, acceptance of this practice has become entrenched.

In operation, the deficit model denies the validity of a pupil's heritage language within the educational system and, at the first encounter with this system, plunges individuals, as it did MacIver (2002, 2004), into an English-speaking world that simply does not have the resource or ability to respond to their communicative needs using their heritage languages (Baker, 1995). One interviewee explained this:

> *I've heard of cases where kids are in school and they don't know how to say it in English. And they're saying it to the teacher in Punjabi and the teacher doesn't know. It's not the teacher's fault. The teacher doesn't know what the problem is; the kid might get frustrated. I've heard of that but nobody I know has heard of it here* [Dundee].
> **Student SM, male, Pakistani heritage**

This communication gap means that, from the outset, the pupil's Ethnic Self is denied and the Academic Self emerges as a separate identity which conforms to a model identifiable with the dominant culture. In addition, the individual's sense of Global Self is positioned some distance removed from the minority ethnic community base and, thus, the Ethnic Self. As the pupil passes through the educational system and English language becomes more dominant than the heritage language, bilingual pupils may make this gain at the expense of some attrition in the heritage language (Genesee and others, 2004). As noted in

§7, the data from this study illustrate that first language attrition as accepted as a fact of life. Several respondents and interviewees commented on the fact that there were difficulties in communicating across generations within the wider family. This has the potential, while consolidating the sense of Academic Self, to widen the distance between generations and could predict the erosion of the heritage culture. Yet, there is an element of ambivalence here because, as noted already, minority ethnic group parents were reported to encourage the acquisition of English as a pre-requisite for advancement in educational terms. Nevertheless, while the shift in emphasis between languages has the potential to enhance the Academic Self, this distances students from the community and potentially detracts from the Ethnic Self. It also widens the gap between the Global Self and the Ethnic Self even further.

Thus, for good or ill, the deficit model of educating bilingual children in the UK is one which is well-established in the mindset of educational providers and the minority groups themselves. It could be anticipated that, as long as parents see the acquisition of English as a prerequisite for success in a monolingual education system, the likelihood of enhancing the status of minority ethnic languages within the curriculum seems elusive. Nevertheless, within the European arena, the UNESCO-sponsored joint Council of Europe and European Union 'European Year of Languages 2001', encouraged more positive attitudes towards the preservation of minority languages and dialects. Thus, over the last decade, opportunities have arisen to sustain these languages in schools. However, the possibility of using minority ethnic languages as the medium of instruction remains remote in a country such as Scotland where fewer than 3% of the nominally bilingual student population, some of whom might be future teachers, come from minority ethnic groups. As noted already, the data in the current study suggest that the more bilingual students are integrated into the English dominant educational establishment, the more competence in heritage languages appears to be eroded.

Moreover, as discussed in §5, the data in the current study also show that levels of literacy in the heritage language are generally negligible or, where present, are fairly limited. Thus, it seems less possible, at present, to introduce the use of minority ethnic languages to teach pupils in mainstream education, particularly, if this were to depend on second generation minority ethnic group graduates educated in the UK whose own heritage language literacy is restricted. One solution might be to attract bilingual teachers from heritage countries to

Britain to provide educational input using minority ethnic languages; however, there would remain the requirement that such teachers met registration criteria to UK standards.

8.3 Bilingual Proficiency

Proficiency in communication is as fundamental to learning in the school classroom as it is in the university lecture theatre, but proficiency is a relative term and the nature of language proficiency is difficult to define. Much depends on the language-learning experience of the user, the context and the medium of communication, and whether language use is receptive (aural and read) or productive (oral and written). It also depends on the levels of formality and informality that these require. For bilingual students, in particular, the fine shades of proficiency in terms of their bilingualism have been defined in §7. The data in the present study demonstrate that the respondents and interviewees had differing experience in this respect, for, while some might be judged to be recessive bilinguals, others might be regarded as balanced or ascendant bilinguals (Appendix 7). The extent of bilingual proficiency is dictated by a number of factors not least of which is the efficiency of the acquisition of the additional language alongside the development and maintenance of the heritage language. For most of the students in this study, the need to develop proficiency in both areas was simply a fact of their lives; acquisition of the heritage language happened in the home and the wider minority ethnic community for functional purposes. The acquisition of English came about in a variety of ways, but, for most, throughout the early school years and included the development of literacy for academic purposes.

As noted in §5, the evolution of English as an Additional Language teaching in Scotland has been slower than in England and Wales and has been limited in policy direction, consistency in quality and in funding. This has implications for the development of bilingualism in pupils. As discussed in §7, for the students in this study at the point in time that they were pupils within the system, the provision of discrete teaching support in English language does not seem to have been commonplace; the teaching of heritage languages not at all. Regarding learning Urdu formally, one student expressed the view:

I would have liked to have done it but couldn't get any information on it.
Student SA2, female, Pakistani heritage

Another student when asked if she would have liked the opportunity to learn her heritage language more formally in school replied

No. Not at all.
Student NA3, female, Pakistani heritage

These two responses illustrate a desire to acknowledge the heritage language within the school system on the one hand, and a disinterest in doing this on the other. In the latter case, this suggests a rejection of the Ethnic Self in preference to identification with the dominance of English within the educational culture in order to enhance the Academic Self.

Interviewees did not use the term English as an Additional Language, English as a Second Language (ESL) or English as a Second or Other Language (ESOL) in their discussion, preferring to use expressions such as 'special English' or more frequently just 'English'. They seemed to associate language support with withdrawal classes and special language units, for example:

> *I never used to go but I used to see the teacher come and take some people away and they'd play games and stuff. But I never used to get asked.*
> **Student SA2, female, Pakistani heritage**

However, the reason for Student SA2 not being invited to such classes remains unclear. It begs the questions of what criteria operated in deciding which pupils needed language support and who made such decisions. The work of Constantino (1994 cited in Smyth, 2003) shows the understanding of language acquisition for bilingual children by mainstream teachers to be inadequate to meet the needs of bilingual learners in their classes. Thus, the fact that this student was not selected for language support does not necessarily mean that she did not have language learning needs and that she would not have gained from this input. It is more likely that her need simply appeared to be less than that of those who were selected. Scarcity of resource might also have been a factor.

Some respondents and interviewees in this study had memories of English language support in their earlier years, and in some instances, were able to name their EAL teacher. Generally, support had not been for a long period of time. For example, one student noted

> *I had to stay for two years at nursery. But then I had a problem with speaking as well in English, but I had something wrong with my tongue as well. That's why I had to stay there for two years. It was just a normal class.*
> **Student NA2, female, Pakistani heritage**

Although it seemed that there had been no explicit EAL support at the nursery stage, the same student subsequently reported that at primary school she had received some language support

Just for the first wee bit.
Student NA2, female, Pakistani heritage

As noted in §7, others had no recollection of having received any support at all. As surmised previously in §5, there is the possibility that, in these instances, as pupils, the interviewees may not have recognised EAL support as such, but may have experienced partnership teaching within the mainstreaming model that focused on supporting whole group language learning rather than on targeting individual bilingual pupils in withdrawal classes. This apparent lack of focus on their bilingualism does not mean that it does not feature in their learning as the fact remains that these students operate in two language worlds. These are not separated but integrated so that there is a shared foundation of language. This is identified in Cummins' work on Common Underlying Proficiency (CUP), often referred to as the 'Iceberg Metaphor' (Cummins, 1984:134).

In this model, Cummins conceives the two 'icebergs' of heritage language (L1) and additional language (L2) sitting independently above the surface. They represent the productive language elements and superficial differences that might be apparent in oral or printed expression, for example. However, Cummins argues that, below the surface, the two languages (represented by the two icebergs) are fused into a common central operating system in the brain that contributes to facility and processing in both languages, the Common Underlying Proficiency (CUP). Cummins claims that one consequence of this is that

> Linguistic and literacy-related knowledge and skills that an individual has learnt in her L1 will be brought to bear on the learning of academic knowledge and skills in L2.
> **Cummins, 2000:190**

Thus, according to Cummins, whether the students choose to acknowledge their bilingualism or not, the CUP is a factor in their cognitive experience and behaviour. Cummins later relates this to the acquisition of Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) (Cummins, 1984; Cummins, 2000).

One area where some interviewees did acknowledge that their bilingual skills related to their school experience was where several had been invited to assist with supporting younger minority ethnic pupils in their school

> *I think we were all there to help one another. Mrs X* [EAL teacher] *asked us to help others.*
> **Student SA, male, Pakistani heritage**

This not only articulated the sense of sharing the bond of the same language, but also implied that the heritage language was being used to support learning and simultaneously enhance the Ethnic Self and the Academic Self. It also shows that, although these students had not received learning support in their earlier education, they saw the need for this in others who did not speak English as fluently as they did. They did recognise that it was possible to be of second-generation minority ethnic background and still be weak in English language.

> *They were actually children that were born here, of Asian parents, and they still also had a problem.*
> **Student NA2, female, Pakistani heritage**

Furthermore, they recognised that some of their fellow pupils were confronted by problems with language that went beyond their personal facility with the language.

> *They* [the family] *were from Dundee. That's because one of her parents didn't want her to study at all, they wanted her to leave school... she was seventeen and her parents didn't want her to study.*
> **Student WA, female, Pakistani heritage**

The EAL teacher in this instance was using these co-ordinate bilingual pupils in the roles of mentors, that is, as a resource in the traditions of the enrichment model rather than in those of the deficit model. In this particular school, there was quite an extensive Learning Suite allocated to the teaching of EAL and that facilitated this kind of initiative. In addition to enhancing the sense of the Ethic Self for all, this activity also enhanced the self-esteem of both mentors and mentees where the former also fulfilled role-model functions for the latter.

Whatever the realities of individual experiences, the data in the current study suggest that the approaches described varied from region to region and even school to school. This seems consistent with the patchy provision identified by Smyth (2003) and discussed in §5. However, there is another possibility, namely, that an approach to language acquisition described by Lo Bianco (2001) may have prevailed for some students, namely, one that is

> ... based on the idea that children will 'pick up' osmotically the English required for academic work.
> **Lo Bianco, 2001:62**

This approach may be quite near the actuality for the students in this study. One student, for example, reported being taught

> *Just with everyone else.*
> **Student SA2, female, Pakistani heritage**

In local schools in the Dundee area minority ethnic group numbers were few, a fact that several interviewees noted in their replies. For example, one student noted that, after a

spell in Falkirk where she had received EAL support, she came to a Dundee Primary School in Primary 2 where this continued. She noted that there were

> ...*only two Sikh children – the rest were Muslim.*
> **Student SB, female, Indian heritage**

Within the context of the primary school, therefore, it seemed that, even within the minority groups, further sub-divisions were perceived by the children. Whether this distinction based on difference in ethnicity had any impact on their learning of language is difficult to gauge. There may also have been some sense of isolation with some negative impact on the sense of Ethnic Self.

EAL support teachers in this period were known often to be peripatetic, thus, such specialist support as might have been available would have been limited. Furthermore, as Smyth's work shows, mainstream teachers frequently feel ill-informed as to how to go about supporting the minority language children in their classes (Smyth, 2003). In the absence of the EAL specialist, classroom teachers therefore need to find their own way in meeting the learning needs of the minority ethnic pupils in their classrooms. Anecdotal information also suggests that at least one head teacher in the Dundee locale refused to acknowledge that bilingual children might need additional language support and rejected the assistance of the EAL specialist on these grounds (personal communication). This position appears consistent with the view expressed by Baetens-Beardsmore (1991) that monolingual teachers are sometimes observed to be hostile to the bilingual element in a child's learning profile. Gearns (1997) suggests that teachers may feel that this diminishes the power role within the teaching situation and this encourages a lack of recognition or suspicion of any language other than English.

These hidden hurdles and prejudices, in addition to those described by Lo Bianco (2001), present a situation of considerable complexity. The criteria of school language curricula, syllabi and methodologies are based on the premise that mother tongue and foreign language learning methodologies are designed for monolingual pupils and are broadly beyond the background and experiences of bilingual learners (Gregory, 1996). Furthermore, the nature of EAL input is considered problematic in some quarters. For example, Harper and Platt (1998) present the view that the EAL classroom does not 'stretch' pupils. They cite the example of the use of materials in the form of abridged texts, that do not relate to the textual density of materials used in the mainstream classroom.

They further suggest that writing skills are not designed to support the curriculum as there is a tendency for writing activities to be based on non-academic topics (Harper and Platt, 1998). These are significant issues in the contexts of learning to which bilingual children are exposed in the deficit model approach to the teaching of bilingual learners.

These factors are compounded by a system that, as noted in §5, does not provide systematic initial teacher training in the teaching of multilingual or bilingual pupils from minority ethnic groups. As noted above, the work of Constantino (1994 cited in Smyth, 2003) shows the limited awareness of the learning needs of bilingual learners by teachers in mainstream classes. This means that the accuracy with which the language abilities of pupils in the resident bilingual (RB) group, in particular, are assessed can be potentially flawed. For example, Edwards (1983), discussing the language proficiency of bilingual pupils, asserts that

> ... teachers *as a group* are sometimes linguistically naïve and should not therefore be expected to give unguided assessments of children's language.
> **Edwards, 1983:28**

Lo Bianco (2001) offers a specific analysis of the causes of this mis-diagnosis.

> Sometimes because basic conversational English is mastered first and with less difficulty than the learning of academic and cognitively demanding (decontextualised) English, children are mis-diagnosed as having attained the English proficiency they need and are only provided initial teaching in the language.
> **Lo Bianco, 2001:62**

This exposes a real problem for the integration of pupils from minority ethnic backgrounds in the education system; the implications of this are well-documented (Baetens-Beardsmore, 1991; Edwards, 1983; Lo Bianco, 2001). Where pupils' proficiency is mis-diagnosed as Lo Bianco (2001) suggests it can be, this could be because of their 'deceptive fluency' (Edwards 1983:28). Thus, mistaken interpretations of apparent fluency as a marker of proficiency in English reflect the inexperience of the mainstream teachers making these judgements (Smyth, 2003; NALDIC downloaded 26.3.05). Nevertheless, the expectation within the majority language educational establishment is that these pupils will cope in the mainstream (Baker, 1995) with sufficient competence to cope with the academic demands made of them (Baetens-Beardsmore, 1991).

The stage of apparent adequate oral competence is estimated by Edwards (1983) to be reached at some point between twelve and eighteen months after the start of exposure to the additional language. Research evidence suggests, however, that it takes between five and seven years for minority ethnic users of English to achieve parity with their majority

language peers (Cummins, 1984). However, in more recent research, Hakuta, Butler and Witt (2000 cited in Cruchunis and others, 2002) hold the view that it may take from four to seven years to acquire academic English proficiency. Interestingly, Collier (1995) goes further by suggesting that, where there has been no schooling in the heritage language, it could be expected that parity might take as long as ten years to achieve. This means that in the UK for that period, where minority ethnic pupils enter school at the usual starting point around their fifth birthday, they may be twelve years of age, fifteen years in the Collier (1995) model, before they are as competent in linguistic terms as their peers. In terms of this study, in Scotland, this just coincides with the time that they will be preparing for their national school examinations. It must be acknowledged, however, that Collier (1995) and Cummins (1984) relate their conclusions to the situation prevailing in North America. If translated to the UK, this may differ, for their calculations may not take into account certain behaviours particular to some minority ethnic groups. For example, in Britain, for many Asian families, in particular, prolonged visits abroad to visit family in the country of parental origin can cause significant disruption to the continuity of education. At least two interviewees referred to the interruption of UK education because of extended visits to the parental homeland. Therefore, it could be that the 'catch up' process in achieving bilingual parity could be prolonged. Even where the 'normal' educational pathway is followed, while the bilingual pupil is going through this period of language acquisition as an ascendant bilingual, dominant language peers are continuing to develop their linguistic competence (Cummins, 1984). This compounds the need to make the minority language speakers' ability to achieve parity with native speakers even more elusive, albeit that they may be entirely unaware of comparisons being made.

For the students in the current study, this linguistic delay has considerable implications. For example, Cummins (www.iteachilearn.com 1999-2003) states that

> Phonological skills in our native language and our basic fluency reach a plateau in the first six or so years.
> **Cummins, 1999-2003**

In this case, therefore, following the arithmetic outlined above, it could be expected that the bilingual learner experiences a 'plateau' type state in the early teenage years. Mackay (1995), in the descriptor for Reading Level 5 in the Secondary ESL Bandscales used by the National Languages and Literacy Institute of Australia, defines plateau learners.

> Level 5 language, particularly in academic contexts, presents difficulty for ESL learners ('plateau learners'), especially those without a solid grounding of content knowledge, or with interruptions in the L1 language and literacy development. Many learners (often from Group B [low literacy background learners]) and Group C

> learners [learners transferring from primary school] who may be unnoticed because of their apparent ease of personal, social and general school contexts, find it hard to move beyond level 5; yet further progress is essential for more sophisticated 'general' language use and for success in senior secondary study.
> **McKay, 1995:55**

If these patterns apply in the UK context, then it is possible that some students have, at some stage in their secondary schooling, been 'stranded' on such a plateau. In circumstances where higher education was not the anticipated learning route, then this plateau level might not be an issue or, indeed, be recognised. From the data, it appears that this is a real issue for some students, as noted by one interviewee

> *I don't think I've really developed my writing because I don't do as much essays. I think I'm still kind of stuck.*
> **Student IY, female, Hong Kong Chinese heritage**

The data in this current study suggest that the minority ethnic respondents and interviewees did not perceive themselves as having significant problems on a day-to-day basis as functional bilinguals. In particular, several spontaneous references were made to oral and aural competence; comments on competence in literacy in both languages were generally more conservative. This self-assessment coincides with the impression that most of the respondents and interviewees had been 'selected out' of any potential EAL support at an early stage in the educational journey. Consequently, for the most part, they had been treated on an equal footing with their dominant group peers as users of the majority language, despite the fact that the desirability of continuing to provide EAL support to develop reading and writing after initial oral fluency is attained has been acknowledged in the literature (Bullock, 1975; Cameron, 2002). A conclusion that arises is that, without such EAL support, it is less likely that the ascendant bilingualism of the resident bilingual pupil will compare well with the competence of the majority language pupils in oracy and literacy (Collier, 1995; Cummins, 1984). This is a critical issue in the present study.

Mis-diagnosis of English language competence generates further difficulties with accessing the curriculum and the learning required for progression (Rampton 1981; Bullock Report 1975). For example, several authors report the likelihood of inappropriate placing of children within the learning activities of the broader curriculum according to their linguistic ability/inability rather than because of their cognitive ability (Dwyer, 1998; Edwards, 1983; MacSwan, 1999; Rosenthal and Jacobsen, 1968). Dwyer (1998), in particular, cites the clustering of minority ethnic group pupils in lower ability groups where tasks are less cognitively challenging; often such pupils are in lower level classes than EAL teachers or their parents would have anticipated.

Another implication arises from practice within the mainstream classroom. Harklau (1998 cited in Dwyer, 1998), investigating the learning of bilinguals in mainstream classes in schools in the USA, reports that monolingual dominant group pupils are more likely to be invited by their teachers to give answers than bilingual pupils who tend to be given work to do that is less cognitively challenging. Similar classroom approaches adopted in the UK are reported by Levine (1991). There is also a greater likelihood that one-to-one discussion between pupil and teacher will focus on form rather than on content (Edwards, 1983). This practice runs counter to Krashen's view that

> Language acquisition ... requires meaningful interaction in the target language –
> natural communication – in which speakers are concerned not with the form of their
> utterances but with the messages they are conveying and understanding.
> **Krashen, 1981:1**

Krashen's theory of second language acquisition is one that advocates assimilation of language in natural communicative settings where there is no pressure to produce language or to be inhibited because of forced correction of language produced. It is difficult to surmise what the students in this study may have experienced in this respect in terms of the development of spoken English.

What emerges from this review of bilingual education using the enrichment model, commonly applied in North America, and the submersion approach of the deficit model in the UK is that these two approaches are in direct contradiction. If the rationale of the enrichment model is accepted, then it seems that there is a strong case for suggesting that the students in the study, because of their bilingualism, have not enjoyed as auspicious a learning experience within the system as it operated in the UK at the time that they were participating in it as pupils. This might not have been the case had something closer to the enrichment model been possible. In part, this could be attributable to the fact that they underwent their schooling at a time when the theoretical understanding of bilingualism, second language acquisition and minority ethnic culture was much less robust than it has become and, furthermore, when attitudes towards policy relating to the support of bilingual learners were more constrained.

To place this discussion firmly on the ground of reality, it must be noted that, while educationists and linguists are pre-occupied by these processes of language acquisition and the debates that surround them, there is a probability that neither resident majority nor resident bilingual groups necessarily see themselves as language learners of English whether as a heritage or an additional language. Certainly, the interviewees in this study

did not see themselves in this light. As those who are 'living the experience' their awareness of the progression of language acquisition and development whether of the heritage or the majority language, is less likely to be one of conscious acknowledgement and more likely to be a condition that they come by 'osmotically' (Lo Bianco, 2001:62). The following sub-section reflects the views of the respondents and interviewees on their experiences of learning as bilinguals.

8.4 The data: student views of bilingual proficiency

8.4.1 Attitudes to heritage language

Not a great deal is known within the educational system in the UK about the proficiency levels of pupils and students in their heritage languages and, as already noted in §7, heritage language attrition is well-recognised as a trait in children once they enter the school system (Genesee and others, 2004)and was acknowledged by the students in this study. For example, one student commented

> *I knew my* [written] *Urdu but now I don't know how to write my Urdu. I can speak it fluently, but that was that.*
> **Student SJ, female, Pakistani heritage**

In addition, there was evidence that some students rejected their heritage language as parochial and would have preferred to have learnt another minority language that had greater currency or social cachet, for example, one student commented

> *I think we should be taught Urdu because that's the main language from India. It's much clearer and you understand films. Punjabi is like a country language.*
> **Student NM, male, Pakistani heritage**

As noted previously, from an early age, the development of literacy in the heritage language for many pupils is generally delivered by instruction in a supplementary school, or informal neighbourhood class. One interviewee reported that her tuition was conducted

> *Just* [by] *one of the ladies from our community. They used to hold classes so we went there to learn it.*
> **Student SA2, female, Pakistani heritage**

Similarly, if the Bengali model described by Gregory (1993) is consistent with practice across other heritage language groups, then, where literacy skills are taught, it could be assumed that minority language children are learning to read and write in a script which is quite different from the one they encounter daily in school (Saxena, 1994). Gregory (1993) notes that tuition is likely to be delivered by a method based on an entirely different philosophy of learning than that experienced in the dominant language school. In Gregory's study children spent approximately 11 hours per week in literacy tuition in a

heritage language. Gregory (1993:4) reports that the children's perception is that at the mainstream school, they 'play'; in the supplementary school, they 'learn to read and write'. Martin (1999) makes an observation that is consistent with the lack of knowledge of minority cultural practices possessed by school teachers as reported by Smyth (2003).

> Many bilingual children may have experiences with literacies and books before they come to school and while they attend school, which never impinge on the school.
> **Martin, 1999:73 in Smyth, 2003**

In the enrichment model, particularly as operated in North America, it might be assumed that there is some complementarity between the teaching of the heritage language and English. However, in the UK, as the data illustrate, the delivery of heritage language teaching remains largely outside the traditions of mainstream education. This presents children with two different learning traditions. This may have implications for wider learning and attitudes to learning in both arenas. There remains a need to explore the extent to which this dual approach to learning may influence cognitive and academic development.

As reported from the data in §3 and §7, some of the Muslim interviewees in the current study reported that they had attended classes in the Mosque. The average seemed to be 10 hours per week, but it appeared that the main focus had been on Koranic education rather than explicit teaching of reading and writing in the heritage language. The students commented that they had only had to attend this supplementary school during their primary school years. The one student who had experience of a 'formal' local supplementary school was of Chinese heritage and, as reported in §7, she had given up attending these classes after a few visits. She defined her literacy skills in her heritage language.

> [I can] *write my name or some basic words.*
> **Student IY, female, Chinese heritage**

No interviewees in the present study claimed to have more than a fairly basic working knowledge of the printed word in their heritage languages with the exception of one student who felt competent in reading a newspaper in her heritage language. One or two interviewees felt that their limit is to read a headline in a newspaper or write their name and a few basic words in their heritage language. This raises the issue of whether this lack of literacy in the first language had any bearing on the identified attrition of the first language and in lowering the perceived status of the first language.

8.4.2 Self-assessed proficiency: heritage language and English language

As noted already, respondents and interviewees generally identified English as dominant in communicative terms. However, confidence in the use of English tended to vary according to the context – formal or informal – and which skills they required to use. Responses from questionnaire respondents in this study, shown in Graph 8.4.2, provided data on how they assessed their proficiency in heritage and English languages in both informal and formal situations and across three skills: speaking, reading and writing. Listening skills were not addressed in this questionnaire.

Graph 8.4.2 Bilingual respondents' perceptions of language proficiency

Legend:
- ☐ Heritage language Excellent
- ☐ Heritage language Good
- ☐ Heritage language Fair
- ▨ Heritage language Poor
- ■ English Excellent
- ▨ English Good
- ▨ English Fair
- ☐ English Poor

(Y-axis: Number of Respondents, 0–20; X-axis: Language Skills — Informal / Formal for Speaking, Reading, Writing)
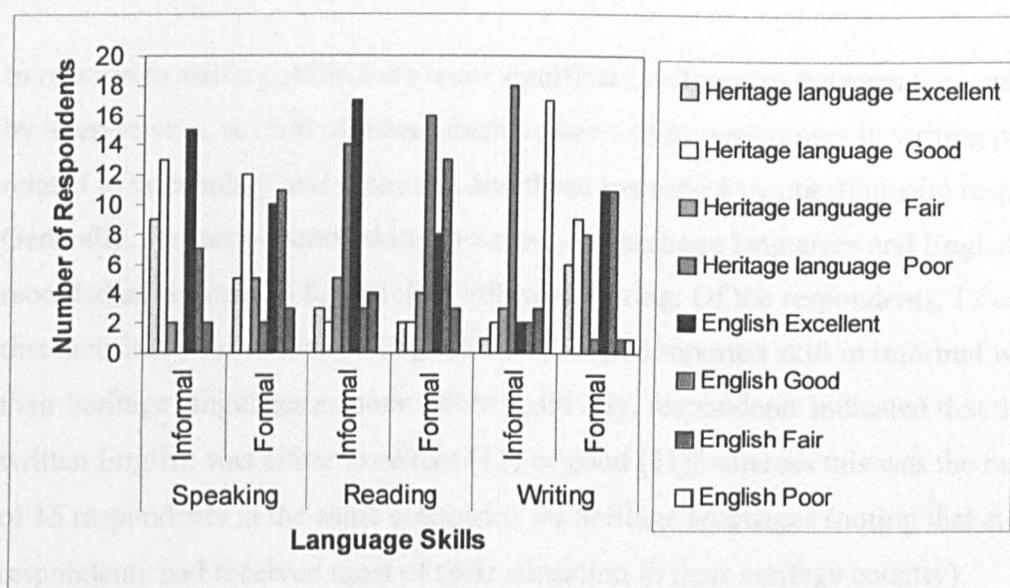
As Graph 8.4.2 demonstrates, in line with the perception of English as the dominant language, a total of 22 respondents rated their informal spoken English as excellent (15) or good (7); similarly, in total 22 rated their heritage language as excellent (9) or good (13) in this category. However, the distribution within each grouping showed that more respondents regarded their English as excellent (15) than they did excellence in their use of the heritage language (9). No respondent rated speaking in either language as poor.

In relation to formal spoken language, overall 21 respondents claimed competence in English as either excellent (10) or good (11), whereas in relation to the heritage language only 5 classed their competence in formal language as excellent and 12 as good. From these data, it appears that the respondents enjoyed greater facility in their use of spoken

English than their heritage languages. As noted in §7, this is consistent with the phenomenon of language attrition described by Genesee and others (2004).

With respect to reading in their heritage languages, Graph 8.4.2 reveals that respondents perceived their abilities to be uniformly poor in formal (16) and informal (14) reading. Reading was excellent in only 3 cases for formal, and 2 cases for informal texts. This bears some relationship to oral evidence gained from interviewees relating to literacy skills in heritage languages. Although 17 respondents perceived their reading of informal texts in English as excellent, only 8 considered their skills in reading formal English as excellent. None reported poor skills in reading either formal or informal English texts.

In relation to writing skills there were significant differences between the views expressed by interviewees, several of whom made references to weaknesses in writing particularly related to vocabulary and grammar, and those expressed by questionnaire respondents. Generally, for respondents, skills in writing for heritage languages and English were recorded as stronger in formal than informal writing. Of the respondents, 17 considered that their informal writing in English was poor; 18 reported skill in informal writing in their heritage languages as poor. More positively, respondents indicated that their formal written English was either excellent (11) or good (11), whereas this was the case for a total of 15 respondents in the same categories for heritage languages (noting that at least 4 respondents had received most of their education in their heritage country).

Whilst no attempt is made to derive generalisable conclusions from a small-scale questionnaire and dataset, the data from this study serve to reinforce some aspects of earlier consideration of language acquisition, heritage language attrition (§7) and the tendency for the majority language of the education system to overtake the discrete literacy skills of the minority language. From the responses shown in Graph 8.4.2, it appears that the perceptions of the respondents are consistent with findings elsewhere (Dorian, 1978 cited in Baetens-Beardsmore, 1991; Genesee and others, 2004).

Unsurprisingly, these data from the questionnaire respondents in this study support the view that, in practice, English is more likely to be the dominant language by the time that bilingual pupils reach the latter part of secondary schooling. It would appear that supplementary school activities, in whatever form, had not had a marked impact on maintaining the heritage language at significant levels in reading and writing.

It has already been noted in §7 that dominance of one language over the other depends on context (Baker, 1995). However, the data shown in Graph 8.4.2 appear to support the view that proficiency is neither consistent nor static across all skills (Brindley and Nunan, 1992 cited in Mackay, 1995). It appears from the data in the present study that the respondents are less confident in their facility with aspects of literacy in English than they are in spoken language. This surmise is supported by an observation made by one of the interviewees.

> *Because sometimes when I just write it all down I say, 'Could someone misunderstand that?' Whereas if I can explain it, I can see if they are not understanding it.*
> **Student IY, female, Hong Kong Chinese heritage**

In another instance, one interviewee demonstrated the kind of sensitivity regarding bilingual interactions identified by Baker (1995).

> *I sent an email and the person at the other end has taken the wrong meaning. I sent an email asking if the students were going to be finished at a certain time on a certain day or were they going to be busy? Actually, she got the impression I was actually saying, 'I want the students out by such and such a time.' And she was actually like, 'We've got - I'm doing something. I'm not just going to change my plans for you.' And then I realised and I spoke to her this time and said, 'I didn't mean that.' And she went, 'Oh, sorry.' I felt fine; problem sorted. But after that I was, 'Oh, make sure of everything in an email – or pick up the phone.' Or I'd send an email, 'Phone me!' Definitely a lot easier.*
> **Student SM, male, Pakistani heritage**

While these observations suggest that the student has less confidence in his writing abilities in English, they show that he recognises the strength of his oral abilities in face-to-face negotiation where he can more readily 'read' the impact of his meaning and rectify any misunderstanding. The fact that he narrated the episode also indicates that there is an underlying awareness that such communication breakdown may be attributable to his abilities in written English. Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that such communication breakdown in email dialogue is not peculiar to non-native speakers of English, but is experienced also by members of the dominant ethnic group.

The same interviewee had clearly recognised that oral interaction was more expedient and resulted in clear negotiated outcomes that he could not fulfil in writing.

> *Sometimes when I'm writing something/trying to explain something – even an email, saying, 'I'm trying to do...' and then you might write a page of A4 and you think, 'That does not make sense at all.' It might make sense to me but not to somebody who doesn't know anything about this. And then you're trying to re-word it so that somebody understands. Usually, it's a reply back, 'I THINK you mean this...' And then it's easier to pick up the phone – usually it's someone the next room along. You can just get out of your office and walk round! But then, I find, you know, rather than sit there typing something up, if you go, you can explain it to them perfectly there and then and it may take half the time and then if there's any uncertainty, you want to go further on this and then you talk about it. Especially, I use instant messaging things to talk to you when you're out of the office and that, but half the time, I'm just going to*

call you. I'm not sitting here typing all this. I'd just phone. You might spend more on the phone because you start talking about other things. It's a lot easier to communicate and speak rather than typing.
Student SM, male, Pakistani heritage

Student SM clearly looked upon the interaction of speaking as a communicative strategy that, in the example he cites, allowed for clarification, confirmation and consensus within a single episode. This observation reflects the view expressed by Bialystok (1991)

Language proficiency is not simply a skill or procedure which is mastered independently of other forms of knowledge and other types of abilities.
Bialystok, 1991:113

8.5 Summary

Discussion in this section has addressed the contrasting aspects of enrichment and deficit models of bilingual education in the USA and UK respectively. In describing the two approaches, the aim was to explore the two alternatives and thereby identify ways in which elements from the enrichment model, with its emphasis on the positive role of the heritage language, might have been subsumed in some small measure into the deficit model approaches employed in the UK. From this review, it seems that, while the apparently piecemeal approach to language support and development that has been a feature of the UK system since the Swann Report (1985) has not exactly been dismantled, some traces of a more proactive attitude towards the use of heritage languages within the mainstream school curriculum and learning practices has been encouraged on the basis of the enrichment rationale from the USA. The irony is that, in the US, political action has brought this approach into discredit at a time when language teaching professionals in the UK have embraced that very rationale.

The discussion in this section has also considered the kinds of experiences that bilingual pupils may have undergone as they progressed through the school system. From the data provided by the students in the current study, it has been difficult to identify any strong awareness of a history of EAL support. It can be surmised that the recorded lack of awareness amongst Scottish school teachers and other educational and political stakeholders, has meant that pupils' language abilities in their first languages have not been valued as a contribution to their learning in a system that identifies with the dominant language, cultural values and capital. It can be further surmised that, because classroom teachers experience very limited training in teaching methodologies that would support the learning of bilingual pupils in the broadest sense, there is good reason to suspect that pupils

with language and cognitive needs are marginalised once they have acquired oral fluency. This seemed to be the message implied by the data in this study.

With regard to the reality of the situation for the students in this study, the data discussed in this section show the increasing dominance of English as the medium of communication in formal and informal contexts in oral, aural and printed forms. For the minority ethnic group students in this study, this impacts on the sense of Self. If, as shown by the study data, heritage language attrition is commonplace, then the sense of Ethnic Self must undergo change. While students claimed that their identification with their heritage language was not compromised, the reality of daily student life places English in a more dominant role so that the heritage language is reserved for day-to-day domestic and social exchanges rather than for the discussion of more abstract, conceptual topics required for academic work (§7).

As the values of the academic environment and the development of the dominant language become an increasing part of the bilingual learner's life, this means that the Academic Self strengthens possibly at the expense of the Ethnic Self. By the same token, as the Academic Self develops, so, too, does the Global Self. As the students' sense of purpose in their academic learning develops, their horizons widen and their perception sharpens as to where their destinies might lie within the wider local, national and international communities.

Clearly, these are not developments that are confined to students from minority ethnic backgrounds, but apply to students of all ethnicities as they become more academically self-aware as university students. Yet, for bilingual students there are dimensions of cognition that are closely related to their language acquisition and development. Cummins (1984) opened a significant vein of investigation in terms of bilingual proficiency when he related the informal and cognitively less demanding Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills (BICS) to the more formal and cognitively demanding requirements of Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP). Along with other theoretical frameworks in this area, further reference to this will be made in the next section.

Part IV – Developing academic literacies
§9 Academic literacies I: contexts and experience

The aim of this and the following three sections is to explore the concept of academic literacy as it applies to higher education. In this section I will discuss the interplay between the acquisition of language proficiency and the development of academic literacies as these apply to bilingual students. I will then address four specific academic literacies – speaking, listening, reading and writing as these apply to the university context of this study. The interdependent skills of speaking and listening will be addressed in §10, followed by a consideration of reading at university in §11. The third element is considered in §12 examining writing as a tangible product of academic literacy. In addition, in this section the interaction between writing, speaking, listening, reading, grammar and vocabulary will be discussed.

It is not the function of this study to enter the debate about the great divide between the spoken and written word (Street, 1995). The rationale for breaking this examination into the elements listed above is based on the concept that these skills underpin the activities that students encounter chronologically in their early university learning experiences. This means that students generally move from the input phase of aural activities (lectures and lecture note-taking) and oral activities (interactive lectures and tutorial or laboratory work) through to text-based reading activities (reading and note-making) to the product of writing. Secondly, student comments indicate that, while they regard their aural and oral skills to be accomplished, they are much less confident of their reading and writing skills and, hence, by considering the dimensions of academic literacies in the order described, my aim is to move from the stronger to the weaker elements as indicated by the data collected in this study.

This input-output sequence involves some overlap since the different dimensions of other skills are essential to the different stages. For example, writing skills are required for note-taking and note-making at both aural/oral and text-based phases; knowledge and understanding of grammar and vocabulary is essential to comprehension at all stages from aural/oral, text-based to writing. While recognising this potential for overlap, in order to focus the discussion for the purposes of the current study, I have endeavoured to separate the elements under these four discrete categories to facilitate the discussion. Where there may appear to be some small degree of repetition, I judge

this to be necessary in order to consider certain aspects from different perspectives and in different contexts.

9.1 Expectations and experiences in the literacies of university learning
9.1.1 Contexts

As mentioned at the outset of this study, higher education in the UK has undergone significant changes over the past quarter of a century. Elitism has, largely, given way to massification and the response of the academy to these transformations has not always been swift or without resistance. Concurrently, technological advances and adjustments in life-style have produced marked changes in the way that knowledge is accessed and disseminated. Hence, the ways in which modern-day students conduct their learning have altered considerably from those of their predecessors and they acquire a variety of literacies that go beyond those of the traditional '3Rs'. However, there is a perception within the sector that many university students are not well-rehearsed in the traditional literacies when they enter university and it is against those literacies rather than the 'new literacies' that universities continue to judge performance. In the final analysis, the assessment benchmarks of higher education still rely heavily on the production of the written word with the difference that quill pens have given way to the keyboard. Thus, the expectation that higher education has of its students is not necessarily consistent with the literacy competences and experience these students possess. Bourdieu and others (1994) explain that there needs to be some acknowledgement of this on the basis that

> ...the supreme values in the name of which university students are judged involve a particular frame of mind which is above all a social heritage, [thus] it is hardly surprising that young people who have not received this heritage should be all the more conscious of the institutional values which sanction it, and that they should be so much more inclined to expect the education system to pass on to them what it implicitly demands of them.
> **Bourdieu and others, 1994:100**

It must be remembered that Bourdieu and others were positioning their view within the perspective of the French educational system. This is nevertheless an apposite description of the situation in British higher education where the 'hidden agenda' of traditions of the academic community remain a mystery to many undergraduates because, in practice, so little of this tends to be overt. For example, there still remains an assumption that undergraduates, regardless of background, will come equipped with the skills and practices that the academic community values and with a sense of Academic Self that is already established; if not, it seems to be assumed that these literacies and

self-awareness will be acquired by some kind of osmosis. In the current study, this was a feature specifically identified by a minority ethnic group student.

> *Here I think they assume that you've got certain knowledge or idea or studying skills or what have you. You do get some assistance, but at the same time you are left more or less to yourself to get on and do it.*
> **Student FS, female, Pakistani heritage**

This is problematic for all students, regardless of societal or ethnic origin, who are challenged in these areas.

In this section, therefore, the aim is to examine the reality of minority ethnic group student experience in language and learning against the background of the developing movement of 'new literacies' which has, among other aspects, drawn attention to the need to reconcile the tension between the literacy demands that are made of students in higher education with the literacy experience they possess.

9.1.2 Language proficiency and cognitive development

Once again, the literature in this area is not entirely appropriate to the situation of the minority ethnic group students in this study. However, since the development of a sophisticated level of skill in processing and producing language is a pre-requisite for success at university, for bilingual and monolingual students alike, the literature in this area provides a useful starting point. Bourdieu and others (1994) identify the challenges that students must meet when they note:

> ...[the] divorce between the language of the family and the language of school [which] only serves to reinforce the feeling that the education system belongs to another world ... the world of the classroom, where 'polished' language is used [and which] contrasts with the world of the family.
> **Bourdieu and others, 1994:9**

This is consonant with the data gathered in this study that show that both groups, the bilingual respondents and bilingual and monolingual interviewees, ground their new learning and the formation of their new academic identities on a developing language base within the new learning environment of the university. However, how this comes about is less clear, for the learning experiences of students are inevitably varied as are their language profiles.

The early work on bilingualism by Cummins is helpful in that it provides a model that relates the acquisition of language proficiency and cognition in the twin concepts of Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills (BICS) and Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) (Cummins 1984, 2000). This is explained in detail in Appendix 9.

Cummins' model originated as an analysis of language proficiency in bilingual children. It has been criticised on a number of counts but most significantly, for the context of the current study, because of its contextual limitations to the school environment (Martin-Jones and Romaine, 1986). Nonetheless, in that sense it is still useful for the purposes of the current study because it could apply equally well to any learner of any ethnicity regardless of whether the learner were bilingual or monolingual and regardless of level of academic study. Extending this view further, it could be argued that the Cummins' model is as relevant to students at university level as it is to school pupils. In the context of the current study, the shaded Quadrant D of Cummins' model in Appendix 9 provides the locus of the most cognitively-challenging and context-reduced elements of Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency, namely, the demands of a high level of literacy, an understanding of sophisticated language structures and an abstract lexicon as well as cultural knowledge, all of which are requisites for university learning. Although other authors, for example, Canale and Swain (1980) and Collier (1995), have constructed other conceptual models of language proficiency and cognition, it is the Cummins' model that continues to be held as a working schema.

Some ten years after Cummins first launched his Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills/ Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (BICS/CALP) constructs, Chamot and O'Malley produced their Cognitive Academic Language Learning Approach (CALLA) which built on the BICS/CALP principles (Chamot and O'Malley, 1994). They suggested that the six elements of Bloom's Taxonomy of learning objectives be mapped on to the BICS/CALP model so that the 'deeper thinking' strategies of analysis, synthesis and evaluation would coincide with the context-reduced/cognitively-demanding area. Their aim was to provide bilingual students with a tool, presented as a set of problem-solving sequences that focused on the language and cognitive needs for higher level academic learning. These authors argue that learning academic language promotes thinking and, thus, that language development and cognitive development are aligned. One of the target groups for whom the authors designed CALLA, are 'bilingual English-dominant students who have not yet developed academic language skills in either language' (Chamot and O'Malley, 1994:10).

It is possibly significant in this context, that in UK terms, Leung (2003) cites both Cummins' CALP and Chamot and O'Malley's work on CALLA as fundamental to the

theoretical base of teaching EAL, and as an exemplar of how to challenge the UK's submersion/deficit model teaching contexts. Leung (2003) posits that bringing together the higher level language and cognitive domains provides a framework that has the potential to contextualise a programme of learning for EAL teaching staff and their students, a view shared by Robson (1995 cited in Crochunis and others, 2002). Leung (2003) argues that the concepts of Cummins' quadrant model enable a content-based approach in which the language and content inputs can be integrated to promote the curriculum while also developing language. This is encapsulated in the term 'broadbanding' (Leung, 2003:7). This proposition has its attractions in an educational system where, as identified earlier, mainstream teachers tend to have a limited understanding of the learning needs of, and practices applicable to, minority ethnic group pupils.

Moreover, the CALP (and CALLA) framework suggests approaches that would not be misplaced in the general classroom for all pupils, students and teachers, because, as constructs, they 'raise the game' for the attainment of all pupils, especially those who might wish to advance to further or higher education. That said, it must still be noted that this remains a conceptual framework that has to be designed and implemented by teaching staff as part of a broader model. This is an important point, for it means that such teaching staff themselves need a broader appreciation of the implications of bilingual teaching methodology and this implies a deeper sense of language awareness. This is potentially problematic as noted by Richards (1988 cited in Murphy, 1994).

> ... the problem is ...we don't have ... a good theoretical basis for much of what we do in training in TESOL. What we think we are good at doing is teaching low-level kinds of tricks to teachers, the kinds of things that have characterised much of our teacher-training experiences in the past. What we have not been very good at ... is going beyond that, and really looking at the higher level dimensions of teaching.
> **Richards, 1988 cited in Murphy, 1994:1**

For the students in the present study, were such a focus on higher order teaching pedagogy in place, then this could make a useful contribution to the way that students think and learn about engagement with the language and learning needs of higher education. This could reflect advantageously on the further development of the Academic Self. Moreover, this could present an opportunity to extend the Global Self as a function of greater understanding and appreciation of the wider academic and world community in which any aspiring university graduate would be positioned.

The frameworks described thus far in this section provide an ideal and do not necessarily reflect the reality of student experience. It has been noted elsewhere in this work that the students in this study had quickly been absorbed into the mainstream of the school system. Thus, the probability is that they have been tutored in the same way as dominant ethnic group students with little or no concession to their bilingualism. This means that, in terms of the acquisition of the traditional literacies, their experiences are shared with those of others in their school classrooms. Yet this still does not give a 'literacy profile' common to all since variations occur, not only in approaches to the teaching and learning of the fundamentals of literacy, but also according to different pedagogical theories that are applied across time. Thus, student experience may – or may not – have included elements of some of the theoretical approaches to literacy shown in Figure 9.1.2.
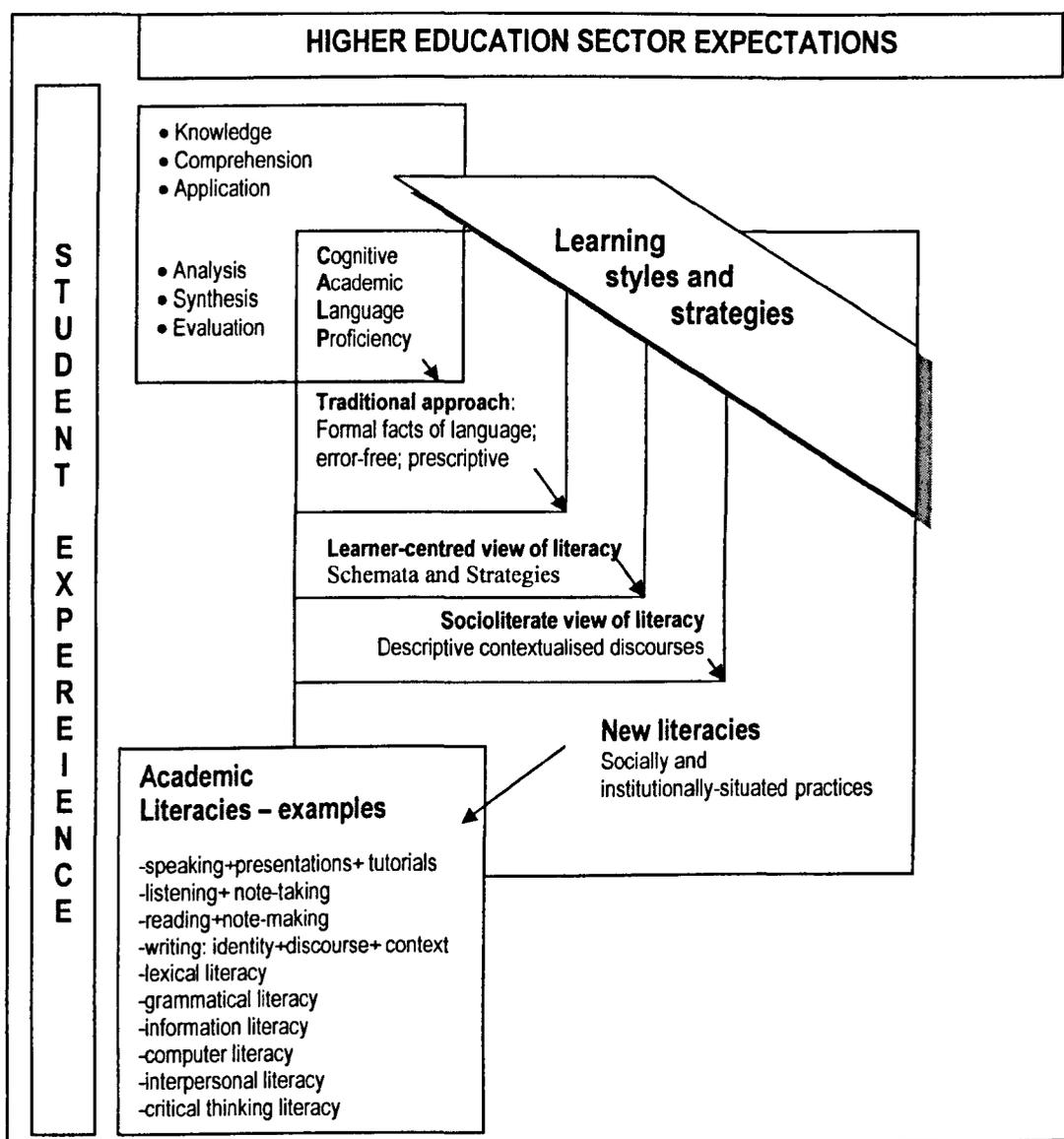

Figure 9.1.2 Student experience and higher education expectation of literacy

In the top left corner, the components of Bloom's Taxonomy (1956) are mapped alongside the Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) area of Cummins' quadrant diagram (Appendix 9). These, as described above, relate language proficiency to cognition and represent the first blocks in a construct of literacy that might underpin an individual's literacy competence. The next three overlapping blocks are exemplified in the work of Johns (1997) who has sought to show in her review of literacy theories how the concept of literacies can be back-tracked through at least three identifiable and complementary theoretical frameworks: Traditionalist, Learner-Centred and Socioliterate. In the prescription of the Traditional Approach, 'literacy' is based on technical understanding of the structure of language and is reflected in error-free text. Similarly, Learner-Centred theory based on strategies that employ schemata, socially mediated interactivity and processing makes a similar contribution – this would align in many ways with the CALLA model (Chamot and O'Malley, 1994). Socioliterate theory thus comprises a format where learners interpret or produce texts, that is, make meaning, on the basis of their roles, cultures, purposes, experience of previous texts, knowledge of language structure and context. This theoretical framework, as presented by Johns (1997), presents a package, which, as she acknowledges, is not an easy one to implement. All three approaches imply a prolonged strategy typically integrated within a learning curriculum. What is less clear is the extent to which pupils experience any permutation of these approaches, or indeed, the CALP approach, over their school careers and whether any continuity of approach can be expected.

9.2 Defining 'new literacies'

The building-block concept constructed in Figure 9.1.2 brings together the older prescriptive approaches to literacy with more recent descriptive approaches, such as the Socioliterate approaches, situated in the new literacies movement. As noted by Kist (2005:3), new literacy studies have been trying to 'catch up with the changes in media choices' that have distinguished the last quarter century.

Understandably, in this evolving field of research, definitions are constantly changing. However, Kress (2003) makes some observations that encapsulate the shifting perspectives regarding new literacies.

> It is no longer possible to think about literacy in isolation from a vast array of social, technological and economic factors ... the broad move from the now centuries-long dominance of writing to the new dominance of the image and ...

> the move from dominance of the medium of the book to the dominance of the
> medium of the screen.
> **Kress, 2003:1**

New literacies adopt a sociocultural view of literacy where to talk about literacies in the plural helps to acknowledge the diversity of vernacular dimensions that moves away from the autonomous, prescriptive traditional reading and writing model of literacy. Barton and Hamilton (1998) identify the interdependence of different communication media in these vernacular literacies, while Stephens (2000) and Street (2001) support the view that literacy cannot be taught and studied without regard to social contexts. However, more recently, Papen (2001) asserted that

> Literacy ... is not conceived as a single set of competencies, but as different
> practices 'embedded in political relations, ideological practices and symbolic
> meaning structures' (Rockhill, 1993:162) and, I would add, discourses.
> **Papen, 2001 cited in Street, 2001:40**

This is not to say that traditional literacies have no place in the new literacies concept, for many of these literacies, such as those exemplified by Lankshear and Knobel (1997), rely significantly on facility with the printed word. As noted by Gee (1998:143) 'reading, writing and meaning are always situated within specific social practices within specific Discourses'. This means that traditional literacies still have a role, for, as Stephens (2000) contends, the potential of the traditional literacies 'is most certainly absent if the relevant skills are never acquired'.

Thus, in the context of the building blocks illustrated in Figure 9.1.2, new literacies represent a relatively novel and interesting departure from the conventional understanding of literacy as a unitary concept (Lea, 2004). For this study, however, it is academic literacies as a subset of these new literacies that are of most concern.

9.3 Defining academic literacies

The changing circumstances that have given rise to the emergence of the new literacies and the research activity that has grown around them have set out different parameters for what literacy might mean in academic contexts. The traditional perception of literacy as limited to the written forms of language, that is, reading and writing (Garton and Pratt, 1998) no longer holds true, for as Lillis (2001:31) asserts, literacies are 'numerous, varied and socially/institutionally situated'. Furthermore, the changing student profile must also be acknowledged for, as Lankshear (1997:119) notes 'the

emergence of the post-modern student-subject ... and the intriguing possibility that we may have "aliens in our classrooms"".

Thus, the generality of what is meant by literacy in the broader context is reflected in the use of the term 'academic literacies', simultaneously more diverse in its plurality and yet more specific in concept, within the academic context. This latter use requires definition. For Johns (1997), the concept of academic literacy is not confined simply to the crafts of 'reading and writing' for she argues that, while these are complementary, they are also influenced by listening and speaking as well as

> ... ways of knowing particular content, languages and practices...to strategies for understanding, discussing and producing texts...to the social context in which a discourse is produced and the roles and communities of text readers and writers...[to] learning processes and as well as products, form as well as content, readers' as well as writers' roles and purposes.
> **Johns, 1997:2**

Johns (1997) argues further that, as with the term 'new literacies', it is more appropriate in the context of academic learning to adopt a plural form, literacies, because there are many literacies situated in academic settings and these are constantly changing to meet new circumstances and needs for both individuals and for institutions. It is possibly this constant re-working that defies the creation of a design frame for academic literacies (Lea, 2004).

For the students in this study, therefore, the literacies that they may now embrace in higher education extend beyond the written forms that are expected at university level education. The academic literacies exemplified in Figure 9.1.2 are diverse and reflect new approaches to assessment and the linkage with the transferable skills required to enhance employability. Competence in these necessary 'academic literacies', as outlined by Johns (1997), is expected by a university system that is only slowly adjusting to the new genres of teaching and learning activities that these new literacies, and the new academic literacies in particular, provoke. These are predicated, not only on competent understanding of language, including a broad lexical repertoire supplemented by the specialist vocabulary and discourse of the discipline of study, but also on ability to exercise critical analysis of material and to transfer this analysis to the production of written work.

Yet, the reality of new academic literacies, their contextualisation and socially embedded practices notwithstanding, the crude bottom line is that students continue to need to be able to express themselves in ways that meet the still rigid conventions of the academy, that is, by using standard forms of language, presenting work in a form that is understandable and conforms to the conventions of their disciplines. In short, autonomous prescriptivism remains a prerequisite of higher education if students are to meet the set assessment criteria. This gives rise to a tension where the new literacies that the students bring to higher education can be well-developed and often outstrip those of their university teachers. Yet, many of these literacies are generally not valued by higher education and, perversely, for many students those academic literacies that are given value remain elusive and less well-practised. If, as some scholars suggest, academic literacies are conceptualised in higher education by the inseparability of writing and learning (Lea, 2004), then it is critical to students' success that they are given opportunities to develop these academic literacies within their university experience.

This has implications for the present study and the way in which the students in this study perceive their academic literacies in the university context are considered in greater detail in §10, §11 and §12.

9.4 Learning styles and strategies

Figure 9.1.2 has been used in this section to illustrate a selection of the possible approaches to the acquisition of literacy (and implicitly the language of that literacy) that students entering higher education may have experienced over time. Where higher education could be regarded, on the whole, as reasonably well-defined in its expectations, student entrants' experiences of the acquisition of the traditional literacies will be diverse, depending on several variables such as educational policy, the prevailing pedagogical approaches adopted towards the development of literacy in school education, and personal learning history. In addition, personal learning styles and learning strategies are germane here (Biggs, 1987; Entwistle, 1981, 2000; Kolb, 1984; Ramsden, 1992). These will have some bearing on the extent to which students have, or have not, acquired competences in the fundamental literacies expected in higher education by the academics whom they will encounter. Lea (2004) sees this mismatch in tutors' expectation and student experience/competence evidenced by 'the difficulties

faced by students when they try to unpack the ground rules of writing in any particular context' (Lea, 2004:740).

9.5 Summary

In this section, the aim has been to set the scene for more detailed examination of the data in this study in relation to the academic literacies that the respondents and interviewees acknowledged were important to them as university students. Figure 9.1.2 illustrates potential building blocks that might contribute to students' understanding and application of the literacies required at university.

For bilingual students the development of the language proficiency related to cognition is conceptualised in Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) profiled by Cummins (1984). It provides a useful starting point and interface with the literacy needs of mainstream learning. It acknowledges the Academic Self and has the potential to encourage a broader perspective and contribution to the development of the Global Self.

Other possible building blocks that might assist in the construction of literacy contribute to the development of other forms of literacy, in particular, the new literacies that have developed with technological advances. These have wrought a significant change in how literacies are now perceived, acquired and applied. This has key implications for higher education. For example, students often enter higher education with high levels of competence in a range of literacies that are generally not traditionally exploited there. These include multi-media, interpersonal, entrepreneurial, and work-related literacies These are manifested in related skills but have the potential to marginalise the traditional literacies of reading and writing and subsets of these such as note-taking and note-making, paraphrasing and summarising, analysing texts and critical thinking. Paradoxically, inasmuch as many of the new literacies have a dimension that requires a reasonable degree of competence in the traditional literacies, the need for traditional literacy competence remains. Whether this need for traditional literacies in these newer contexts becomes a driver in the development of traditional literacies is open to debate.

A further factor is that, if new literacies have developed in the general sense, then so too have academic literacies as a subset of these. The expansion of academic literacies, to include speaking literacy (especially presentations), information literacy, and critical thinking skills, as shown in the examples in Figure 9.1.2, has been driven by those same

technological advances that have grounded the development of other literacies. The emergence of these diverse literacies within academia has been a function of the ways in which some sectors within higher education have acknowledged the potential that these advances may offer. Thus, embryonic changes in teaching techniques and in assessment methods, for example, group assignments, peer assessment strategies, and on-line assessment, have modified the range of literacies embraced. Therefore, by positioning students in situations where their traditional literacies become tools in the development of other academic literacies, higher education itself is altering its own perspectives.

This process is accelerating as universities respond to developments in technology and other drivers of change within the sector. For the students in this study, their position is one where they still need to identify, understand and follow the more fundamental dimensions of both the 'hidden curriculum' debated by Bourdieu and others (1994) and Gibbs and Simpson (2002) and the traditional literacies as a preliminary to the development of more diverse literacies.

The following sections will examine how the students in this study confront the need to develop new academic literacies such as note-taking from lectures and taking meaning from complex reading texts in order to mould language into note form and, ultimately, into the expository writing, all of which is underpinned by the need to develop critical thinking skills. These sections will particularly examine the ways in which students in this study identify the constructs of the 'hidden curriculum' as these apply in their diverse disciplines. This will involve some exploration of how these perceptions consequently influence their surface/strategic/deep approaches to learning as they strive to find the 'right way' to meet the demands of the university curriculum, especially in writing.

§10 Academic literacies II: speaking and listening

It has been observed earlier in this work that the students in this study did not regard themselves as language learners. However, the academic skills that all students require to develop and put into practice relate closely to the skill areas that would be addressed in the teaching of language skills in any language, namely, those of speaking, listening, reading and writing. In this section, the first two of these skills - speaking and listening - are discussed with the aim of identifying whether there are special dimensions of these skills that apply to resident bilingual students at higher education level.

10.1 Academic Literacies: speaking skills

When the students enter the world of education, the language of everyday speech, beyond all other considerations, is probably the strongest determinant of the balance between the Ethnic Self and the Academic Self. It is in this skill of switching from the heritage language to the dominant language of English that students demonstrate their bilingualism and, hence, recognition of their heritage and ethnicity.

The data show that, in several instances, English, is used as the primary language in the home. Several students commented on a perspective that is reflected in the literature (Rogers, 2001), namely, their parents' view that English is regarded as vital to educational success. The perception is that English gives access to a wider world; it opens up educational opportunity and contributes to the development of the Global as well as the Academic Self. At least three students in the present study stated that they had spoken English in the home from an early age, yet for some students this had not been the case and they had begun to learn English at nursery or the reception class in the primary school. The consequence of the domination of one language over another is noted by Baker (1996) who observed that the minority language

> ...is always under pressure of replacement from the higher status, more media-oriented, employment-led majority language...due to its higher status, greater earning power and identification with teenage status symbols such as pop stars and film stars.
> **Baker, 1996:1**

This had become the case for all the students in this study. This was evidenced in the taped interviews where the interviewees spoke with eloquence and fluency.

Language development at different levels of competence in different domains begins at school. For both the bilingual and the monolingual child, the language of the playground and the interpersonal language with peers in the classroom contribute to the development

of Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills. Cummins (2000) notes a wide disparity between the spoken informal language of the playground and the formal dimensions of classroom interaction. Furthermore, from the bilingual perspective, this is consistent with the view of Gonzalez and Maez (1995).

> English proficiency among adolescents is related to peer language use and pragmatic orientation toward language.
> **Gonzalez and Maez, 1995:5**

This disparity at school age is replicated in the disparity between university students' speech in informal settings and the conventions of speech use in the more formal setting of the lecture, laboratory or tutorial classroom, particularly when interacting with staff.

As noted in §8, although respondents and interviewees acknowledged that their proficiency in some language skills evidenced some weakness, they regarded their spoken English as good to excellent. Nevertheless, it was noticeable among the interviewees that, despite the prevalence of a strong local accent in the locales in which they live, their spoken language was not evidently vernacular in this respect. Although each used language in a way that indicated their Scottish 'roots', they generally spoke with a gentle Scottish lilt rather than the rather harsher timbre of their monolingual peers attending the same school and living in the local community. It is difficult to account for this, apart from surmising that the most consistent models of native speaker oral English they would have encountered in their formative years would most probably have been their classroom teachers who would be more likely to follow a standard variety of Scots English rather than the distinctive local accent and dialect.

It was noticeable that several of the students in this study did follow the in-group speak of the dominant group, particularly in the use of generational in-group expressions. For instance, where the interviewees wanted to insert direct speech into their discourse they tended to introduce this with a form of words using the verb 'like' rather than 'say/said'. In the dominant group the usage followed this pattern.

> *It's like, 'To hell with everybody else.'*
> **Student WW, male, Scottish heritage**

Interestingly, the bilingual interviewees in this study modified this from the usage adopted by native speakers.

> *I was like, 'Oh, no!'*
> **Student IY, female, Chinese heritage**

These traits, and this structure in particular, were evident across the entire bilingual interviewee group and may be of some significance in relation to slight differences that

occur between the speech of monolingual and bilingual speakers and manifest a small element of subconscious tension between the Ethnic and the Global Self.

Genesee and others (2004), in considering the impact of second language submersion on first language production, offer a suggestion.

> The L1 abilities of children who have no schooling in the L1 and who grow up in an L2 majority language environment may be limited. Such children often do not sound like their monolingual L1 peers. This does not mean that they cannot speak the L1, only that they have a different variety of the language, a variety that is influenced by contact with the L2.
> **Genesee and others, 2004:151**

If this perceptible difference is the case for first language (L1), then the same might be true for bilingual students' production of the second language (L2) compared with monolingual users of that language. This surmise is supported by the observation regarding students' accents noted above, in that it suggests that difference in language variety could be recognised in the production of English as their additional language by the bilingual students in this present study. In recent OFSTED publications it is noted that bilingual pupils use a 'hybrid' language which incorporates influences of 'Bollywood', local accents, texting and MSN Messenger (OFSTED, 2003 and OFSTED, 2005) and this would support the suggestion that there are differences between the spoken (and written) language of bilingual and monolingual young people. Furthermore, these developments suggest a closer link with the development of the Global Self.

The data show that for the bilingual students in this study the distinction between their use of English and that of monolingual students is more readily explained as the difference between spoken and written language.

> *...the words that we speak orally, you wouldn't write them usually. There's a lot of words that we would never write on paper. So you say, 'Uh, huh, hmm'. This and that. Getting your point across is much more easier.*
> **Student SJ, female, Pakistani heritage**

This is consistent with bilingual students' self-assessment that they feel more comfortable using spoken rather than written English, a sentiment echoed by some of the students in the dominant group. Again, this relates to the deeper learning of the Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency zone in Appendix Figure 9 (Cummins, 1984 and 2000). This facility with the spoken word is not accidental and could be attributed to a factor noted by Kearney (2002).

> Our traditions of rhetoric are learned through listening to countless narratives from which we fashion our own ways of unfolding a tale... moreover, this narrative skill

did not emerge from nowhere, it has to be learned and refined.
Kearney, 2002:16

In the case of bilingual students, it has already been noted that the modelling of language in school by the classroom teacher may have influenced accent and dialect use/non-use. Consequently, it could be supposed that greater fluency in spoken rather than written language arises from such oral models. However, it could also be expected that the development of language for academic purposes in this context would support the development of Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency. For the bilingual student, there is the added dimension of the ways that heritage language and culture exert influence in relation to rhetoric and turn-taking conventions. For example, a bilingual student attributed her style of narrative to her heritage traditions.

> *I've been told I'm the 'Jackanory story-teller', because when someone is speaking to me, I'll go all round and everywhere and digress and everything, and then I'll have a little wee point to say and ten years later, I'll come to it. But I do think I probably get it off my Mum.*
> **Student FS, female, Pakistani heritage**

In this case, the student's mother had been brought up in Kenya, had trained as a nurse and settled in Britain. Thus, within the family, code-switching and code-mixing between Punjabi, Swahili and English were noted to be common in their speech. This student's reference to the factors influencing her narrative style suggest that varied cultural and linguistic traditions from her parents' backgrounds and experience influence the narrative of her spoken discourse in her second language as well as her first language. This marks a stress between the 'pull' of her Ethnic Self and the competing 'pull' of her developing Academic Self.

Within the academic context, oral explanation of ideas and concepts in presentations is part of the assessment process. The data in this current study illustrate that minority language students held views on their experience of formal presentations that were broadly similar to those of students from the dominant language community. Student FS expressed her confidence in presenting to a group.

> *I would say I can explain things a lot better speaking, but I like one-to-one or just a small group. Like I'm doing with you, I'm just talking. A presentation is just different. Explaining to a group – it's going to be quite informal. You need a certain style.*
> **Student FS, female, Pakistani heritage**

This particular observation appears to indicate greater breadth of expression in speech over that produced in writing. Another student declared that she actually enjoyed making presentations in preference to writing.

I don't mind them. I prefer talking than writing. I don't know why – when I'm handwriting, my writing is not nice and I get bored with it. When I talk it/I'd rather express it with [spoken] words.
Student IY, female, Chinese heritage

This student was fluent, confident and eloquent in her use of colloquial English, but her self-proclaimed preference for the spoken to the written word implied a perceived weakness in the latter. Again, this was a characteristic acknowledged by one of the dominant group students.

It's a lot easier to talk verbally [orally] than to find some of the words because that's what I find hard about essays and exams. Exams, in particular. It's getting things down in words that I know I have in my mind. It's trying to get them down there. So I think it's a lot easier to tell people what you think by actually speaking.
Student MM, male, Scottish heritage

Both Student IY and Student MM had self-proclaimed difficulties with writing. Their learning histories indicated that their experience, in Krashen (1991) terms, is not 'print rich' and it seems that, as a consequence, their preferred medium for expressing themselves is speech. These students, therefore, struggle to 'find' the Academic Self because their skill base is incomplete.

Other students recognised that oral communication went beyond the words spoken. For example, one student observed

...when you're talking you can express yourself more with hand movements and all this; in writing you have to express yourself as well, but you have to have the skill. ... Just give them the paper with your design.
Student NM, male, Pakistani heritage

This student's viewpoint identified the additional factors of body language aiding the communication episode. A similar comment was made by another student of Architecture from the dominant ethnic group.

I would agree with that. I'm very passionate about architecture and I find that when I'm talking about it, I get really engaged about it. The arms are going everywhere and I make eye contact and all the rest of it. That helps so much. A piece of paper can be really cold, obeying all the rules of the English language and that. Whereas when you're standing looking at somebody, you're making that bond into a relation. It is a great feeling when someone gets as wrapped up in it with you. Maybe you have to be a show off. When you get a 'well done' that's when you get a real bolster [boost?].
Student SJM, male, Scottish heritage

The comments from Student NM and Student SJM suggest the importance of interpersonal rather than impersonal communication and that the immediacy of oral interaction is preferred to passivity of written expression.

Student NM considered oral abilities to be a skill that would be required in the professional world noting that

> ...*when it comes to becoming an architect, you have to be able to speak to the client and members of the team and the builder. You have to express why you want this and where you want this.*
> **Student NM, male, Pakistani heritage**

In this case, the student not only expressed his preference for oral interaction, but also recognised the practical professional reasons for developing his oral skills further. His strategy relied on spontaneous language as he explained:

> *Yes, I've seen that when I've prepared it word for word, I can't really actually say anything and I'm trying to remember and it takes time and they're getting bored. Just go there and express it and it works.*
> **Student NM, male, Pakistani heritage**

In this case, although this 'ad lib' strategy was perceived by the student to work well, in reality, the adjudicators expected a structured presentation following some professional ground rules which he failed to follow. Observation of his performance by his tutors indicated that he seemed to be unaware of this requirement (personal communication). Whether this was due to lack of sensitivity to the nuances of the conventions of professional presentations in his field or whether this may be related, in part, to cross-cultural differences in rhetorical conventions is difficult to gauge. In the case of the former, while it could be assumed that staff conducting the assessment would be fully aware of the communicative requirements of professional presentations, it is less certain that the student had grasped the nuances of this mode of assessment. In the case of cross-cultural inconsistencies in rhetorical conventions, it might be supposed that teaching staff conducting the assessment and, perhaps, the student himself were less aware of the potential for mismatch in understanding and the potential for communication breakdown.

Generally, because the learning environment in university differs significantly from that of school, for students, possibly for the first time, this generates an adult approach to learning. This makes a difference to feelings of confidence. One student remarked on the difference between making a presentation at school and at university.

> *I think it's mostly – me, personally, as well – I used to think as well, 'Everybody's going to be sitting there thinking, "What a twit."' Or, if you make a mess, because you're the focal point of attention in the room at any one point, people are going to be scrutinising you – even when that's not the case... I hated it in English – like in English when you had to do the talk, it was more a case of reading through it... I hated that because people were more sort of more – everybody looks at you when you're doing presentations – more they were sort of going, 'Oh, look at him... Look at his shoes.'*
> [Now] *they're more like, 'That's quite interesting.'*
> **Student SM, male, Pakistani heritage**

Reservations about giving presentations are shared with monolingual students. One of the monolingual dominant group female students explained similar lack of confidence.

> *Losing the ability to speak every time you do an oral presentation hinders that. I don't like people looking at me.*
> **Student FM, female, Scottish heritage**

This was very similar to a view articulated by a minority language student.

> *I haven't had any presentations. This year, I have three to do and I hate the idea of standing up and speaking. I hate the sound of my voice. There's going to be a group of people standing in front of you and, oh, it makes my stomach go inside out. Butterflies.*
> **Student FS, female, Pakistani heritage**

Two other students, although nervous about these experiences, took a more sanguine approach. A bilingual male student, now at Master's level, explained his pragmatic approach, reached after some negative experiences.

> *The first one is always hard – even presentations in front of the class* [at university]. *Some people didn't like/they got used to it because when you know the people as well and you're in the class, then you're more than happy to go over it because you know everybody in the class and you know what they're like. In school, I didn't like doing presentations/I don't think anybody liked doing presentations. They always used to hate it and there it was a system of, 'Who's next? OK. You're next and you're next.' Even here in Summer School when we did the presentations, I remember it was on the notice board and you were split up into groups and you were like 20 people were doing it on Monday or Tuesday. And I remember thinking, 'Please don't let me be Monday. Please don't let me be Monday.' I actually came in on Monday morning and I was, 'Please don't let it be Monday.' And mine was actually Monday and I thought, 'OK. Well, I'll have to do it anyway.' When I came in there was only about five people and I thought, 'This is going to be OK.' We actually thought it was going to be all 20 people or in front of the whole class. But I remember I got a really good mark for that – I was really chuffed. That really did get me thinking, 'I did really well. And I got a really good mark. I must not be as bad as I think I am.' With more practice, it gets better.*
> **Student SM, male, Pakistani heritage**

The second student, a female medical student from the dominant group had similarly worked out an approach in order to overcome her dislike of giving presentations.

> *It's quite daunting having to stand in front of everybody. If you say something wrong in an essay only you and the teacher know; if you say something wrong in a presentation, then everyone knows. I don't know why people find it so difficult. I hate it, but I can't think why. When I came to university I wouldn't present at all. This year I've had to do so many presentations that now, as much as I still dislike them, I don't get as panicked as before. I don't know if my performance has improved.*
> **Student FH, female, Scottish heritage**

In terms of speaking skills, the data illustrate that, regardless of ethnicity, students emphasised that while their discomfort in making oral presentations was a factor in their oral performance, in other aspects of oral activity, such as discussion in tutorials, they felt more comfortable.

In summary, these data from both dominant and minority ethnic group students suggest that, for students studying in disciplines where there is a strong creative element (Students MM, SJM and NM are all students of Architecture), this dictates a much greater emphasis on the spoken rather than the written in assessment terms. Thus, for the students, their oral abilities are perceived as more important than other academic skills such as writing. Generally, they find it easier to talk about their design concepts than to write about them. However, putting this point to one side, what emerges consistently from the data is the fact that the minority ethnic group students in this study, in many cases, consider that their ability to express their ideas and understanding orally in less formal settings outstrips their ability to evidence their knowledge and understanding in written formats. This is a critical point and will be addressed in later sections.

10.2 Academic Literacies: listening skills and lectures

10.2.1 Attitudes to lectures

At the formal level of university study, regardless of ethnicity or membership of speech community, when students enter higher education they join a new discourse community (Swales, 1990). This is very different from the models provided within the more interpersonal environment to which they had become accustomed at school. In their university classrooms and lecture theatres, lecturer-generated language provides models for students to assimilate new language based tacitly on the principles identified in Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (Cummins, 1984). From this study, it seems that where difficulty arises it relates more to their understanding of academic discourse than simply the skill of listening. Few respondents and interviewees in this study indicated that they have problems in listening to lectures. From the very small sample of minority ethnic group questionnaire respondents in this study, only two reported difficulty both in understanding lectures and in taking lecture notes. Two further respondents reported some difficulty simply with taking lecture notes but another two respondents reported difficulty in understanding lectures. From such a small scale of data, generalisations cannot be drawn, but these responses seem to suggest that, for these students, their problems may have been related to difficulties in coping with the academic discourse as well as weakness in the skill of note-taking.

Similarly, for the interviewees in this study, aural comprehension in itself seemed to be of little significance. Their preoccupations lay with attitudes towards lectures and the

lecturing style of the lecturers rather than to the skill of listening, although it is not impossible that these are inter-related. Several interviewees reported feelings of boredom and attributed this to the quality of the lecture delivery rather than to any short-comings in their own ability to follow and understand a traditional university level lecture. This apparent lack of awareness for the need to cultivate autonomy in taking ownership of the lecture content suggests that interviewees who responded negatively in the area of listening and lectures were demonstrating a degree of weakness in what is required of the Academic Self with respect to this area of academic literacies. There is also some tension here in relation to the Global Self because the attitudes described suggest a lack of awareness of the broader fields of knowledge and varied perspectives that are introduced in the lecture context.

This was not the case for all students in this study. One interviewee who had been in the UK for 6 years identified her perception of the need for autonomy in university learning with lectures as the starting point:

> *Well, I remember the word you used to use – spoon-feeding – it's more different here. They give you the lecture here and you go/you have the chance to ...you could either read the lectures or you can get more information from other sources.*
> **Student LA, female, Iraqi heritage**

This piece of data suggests that this student had a clear conception of her Academic Self and of her responsibility for developing her understanding from a breadth of sources. Consequently, she was prepared to work hard at ensuring that she fully understood what she had heard in the lecture theatre.

However, other data suggest that some interviewees who had been entirely educated in Britain attributed difficulties in understanding lectures to the lecturing styles they encountered. For some, the method of delivery seemed to engender boredom levels and lack of interest in the subject. For example, one student observed:

> *The lecturers can go on a bit. You'll get the few who'll go through things clearly. Sometimes you'll get the ones who go on and on at the same thing and they don't notice it. It just gets really boring. Sometimes they'll go through something really fast and it's like, 'What was that?'*
> **Student IY, female, Chinese heritage**

Boredom levels were a consistent complaint from the minority ethnic group students in this study. As another student explained:

> *The lecturers. They're so boring. Some of them are really good. They know how to teach; they know how to do it. But then you get some lecturers – they just hand you the notes and they just sit there and read through the notes and it just makes it really,*

really boring. It's like one hour. You'd rather they'd put more effort into it and made it more interesting.
Student SJ, female, Pakistani heritage

However, this was not an aspect of lectures that any of the dominant group students in this study referred to in any way. This raises an interesting dimension to the feelings of boredom reported by the minority group students in this study. It might, for example, be suggestive of an inability to sustain their attention over an extended period of time; it might be that the formal register and more abstract use of language of the traditional lecture delivery were too difficult for them; it might have been lack of familiarity with the academic discourse they encountered. While this is all conjecture, and could apply equally well to monolingual students, nevertheless, it appeared that for the resident bilingual students in this study, boredom impacted on motivation and this seemed to present problems. One of the study interviewees agreed that, although lectures are important, the boredom these engendered challenged students' motivation and this was a factor that discouraged attendance. She admitted

I've missed quite a few because I've not been motivated enough. There's actually been/it's weird/because in the Human Form and Function lectures I've been to most of them because most of the lecturers I had for them are really good and I can understand them and everything's clear and to the point. Whereas in another module, I've missed quite a few of them because I've had that certain lecturer and I know who is going to be teaching on that lecture. I really don't want to go because he blethers [rambles] and he goes on and on.
Student IY, female, Hong Kong Chinese heritage

While it is difficult to diagnose the cause of this student's discomfort with the second lecturing style, a possible explanation might be that, as suggested above, she simply had difficulties following a less didactic lecturing style and mistook the less structured style as unclear because it was beyond, or did not match, her rhetorical repertoire or expectation. Again, such perceptions might apply equally to dominant group students.

A Nursing student, who had transferred from Accountancy, also alluded to the issue of motivation in the context of lectures. She commented

Sometimes I don't feel like coming in to the university – listening to someone lecturing at you, but I like the lectures and you know you have to attend because they are very strict here. At the end of the year, your personal tutor calls you in and you have to explain your absences. In Accountancy you could just turn up at the exam and never attend any lectures and no-one would know.
Student JJ, female, Indian heritage

Whether the reported boredom and lack of motivation stems from poor delivery induced by the lecturer or from difficulties with comprehension on the part of the students is difficult to judge. However, the consistency of these negative comments from students about

boredom and lack of motivation resonates with the practice of 'hiding out' coined by Brozo (1990 cited in Harper and Platt, 1998). This term describes the failure of 'limited English proficiency' students to engage with teaching, even to the extent of being disruptive, because the tuition is delivered beyond their language level. Harklau (1994) suggests that such students are often passive because in interactive teaching episodes, minority ethnic students are less likely to be addressed directly by teaching staff and, thus, they become unreceptive observers rather than involved participants. Again, there appears to be a tension between the Ethnic (bilingual) Self and the requirements that identify with the Academic Self.

Only one interviewee hinted that lack of comprehension of individual words or of expression might be a problem.

> *I can understand them* [lecturers] *but sometimes they would say some words and I would like* [shrugs] *...you can't go back. You can't put your hand up.*
> **Student NM, male, Pakistani heritage**

When pressed on this point, this student remarked that there were others in the class who did not know these words, but he pinpointed international students as his example.

> *Some people are from China and other places.*
> **Student NM, male, Pakistani heritage**

For this student, there seemed to be some acknowledgement on his part that the lack of vocabulary identified him with non-native speakers of English rather than with the dominant group, despite the fact that there is a strong possibility that there would have been others from among both dominant and minority groups who would be similarly challenged over items of vocabulary. Yet it could be argued that this is a natural phase in induction into the academic discourse of the discipline. Further discussion on vocabulary limitations follows in a later section.

The data show that some bilingual students in this study found, not the language itself, but the lecturer delivery too fast to allow them to take adequate notes. One bilingual interviewee reported that while she might be able to cope with language and speed, others might not be able to do so. For example, she asserted

> *Someone from abroad wouldn't* [be able to keep up]. *Our foreign friends have to ask* [for meanings].
> **Student WA, female, Pakistani heritage**

If minority ethnic students were disengaged from the process of learning through the traditional lecture system for whatever reason, this was something that exercised the

dominant ethnic group students in this study less. Despite the fact that lectures are perceived as a significant factor in the alienation and non-engagement among present-day students, none of the responses from monolingual interviewees were critical of lecturing as a method; the only comment came from a student who found lectures tiring and who preferred the intimacy of the seminar.

> *It's harder actually getting taught in the lecture theatre because it's hard to stay focused on what they're actually talking about because of the heat and the lights. It's tiring. It's not a big bit of the learning. I prefer practical hands on. You learn a lot more doing that than actually the theory. I think it's a lot easier being taught in seminars.* ·
> **Student MM, male, Scottish heritage**

Yet, non-attendance at lectures is a fact of life among many undergraduates. For example, Student NM, by his own admission, reported that he frequently missed lectures – a fact also noted by his tutors. His strategy if he missed a lecture was to

> *...look at the PowerPoints that I have and I try to look in books that I try to get from the library and look through them and if I don't understand them, then I can ask a friend.*
> **Student NM, male, Pakistani heritage**

While this compensation strategy might have provided some of the information required, there was an additional shortfall in terms of Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency input because the printed resources could not compensate for the explanations given in the appropriate academic language that lecturers model in their teaching. To some extent this student recognised this deficit in input.

> *...in lectures, I seem to get bored. I just wait until the notes are on the computer. But now I'm going to set up some points I have to do, so lectures I'm going to attend and take down everything that I know in my words. When it comes to a lecturer's notes, it's very difficult to understand it.*
> **Student NM, male, Pakistani heritage**

Nevertheless, this particular interviewee seemed unconvinced that failing to attend lectures had a negative effect on his work in relation to the development of deeper skills. He remarked

> *Just that sometimes I don't attend. So I thought, 'I'll do this and come in next time.' He [the lecturer] was busy with other things – people who are struggling. Sometimes I thought, 'He knows what I'm doing.' But when it came to the crit, he was still saying, 'Why have you done this?'*
> **Student NM, male, Pakistani heritage**

Interestingly, this student excluded himself from the category of 'people who are struggling'. In fact, his assessments showed that he was not compensating successfully for his absence from lectures and architectural studio tuition. Staff commented that after absences he seemed to expect individual attention to cover content delivered in formal teaching (personal communication). This set of circumstances and reactions bear the

hallmarks of cross-cultural breakdown in communication (Hofstede, 2001; Hofstede, 2004). Whether this is the case or not, the net effect was that the student's development of Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency was badly affected. The point of view articulated by staff coincides with the view expressed by Baetens-Beardsmore (1986):

> The individual, as he progresses in the second language, becomes potentially more aware of his linguistic inadequacies and more conscious of their cultural implications. The 'new' community, on the other hand, raises its expectations for the individual to conform as he progresses towards greater proficiency in the second language.
> **Baetens-Beardsmore, 1986:155**

In this instance, although the student conceded some linguistic short-comings, it seemed that teaching staff complied entirely with the expectations that Baetens-Beardsmore (1991) describes and made no concession to a difference in ethnic identity, the student's Ethnic Self, but ascribed to this individual all the attributes of the dominant language group and culture.

One interviewee proposed an alternative to the traditional lecture.

> *I'd rather that, in the lectures, the person wasn't talking all throughout it.* [If] *they just made a little task for the whole lecture group, make it more of a learning experience. Like, for example, they could talk for about twenty minutes, half an hour and then say, 'OK. Whatever I've just talked about' and give us a mini-question to discuss in groups.*
> **Student SJ, female, Pakistani origin**

The same student, who felt that tutorials were more productive as a means of learning, proposed yet another alternative to the lecture.

> *I'd just have tutorial groups. You learn so much more in them. That's why people don't go to lectures and yet they pass their exams. Why? Because they go to the tutorial groups and they learn so much more from them. Or they should make lectures so much more interesting where people would feel the need of coming back. The majority of the time you go to lectures, people are just decreasing in numbers. They don't increase.*
> **Student SJ, female, Pakistani heritage**

These remarks by Student SJ seem to support the evidence already cited that, for some minority ethnic group students in this study, the opportunity to engage in interactive learning offered in less formal tutorials and group scenarios provided a learning environment more attuned to their preferred learning styles.

Although some students were particularly negative about lectures, others remarked on how vital they are to learning. One bilingual student identified both lectures and tutorials as keys to learning.

> *You'll find that the lectures will give you the general overall picture of the topic and then you'll get into it in depth in the tutorial. So, if you miss either of the two, then you'll find yourself in trouble.*
> **Student FS, female, Pakistani heritage**

Another bilingual student took a more pragmatic approach towards lectures.

> *Lectures are very important because, in some ways, it is like giving you the ingredients for the recipe. You know that these are the ingredients that are going to form the core of my knowledge. Lectures aren't the be-all and the end-all. I remember in the first lectures, I'd copy each and every slide and I looked at my pretty notes and thought, 'What use is this to me?' And then I'd be a bit more tactful [tactical?] and be listening more and writing in key words and only copying diagrams that I thought'd be really useful. And then going back to the books.*
> **Student BR, female, Indian heritage**

It may be of relevance that both Student FS and Student BR were following vocational courses where practical applications were demonstrated in lectures, whereas minority ethnic students studying other subjects that were more abstract would have been less likely to see their lectures as critical to their understanding.

It is also worthy of note that this student, perhaps the most fluent of all the bilingual students interviewed, apparently confused 'tactfully' for 'tactically', but such confusion is not particular to bilingual students alone. However, it may be indicative of an instance where highly developed aural skills are not matched with the corresponding 'match' in the words that bilingual students attempt to produce.

As noted, for interviewees from the dominant group, no student indicated lack of motivation, alienation or absenteeism as factors in their attitudes towards lectures. In general, they placed much greater stress on the importance and value of lectures as one 'high-flying' dominant group interviewee observed.

> *I like a good lecture. I think a good lecture is a good introductory point in the start of a subject area and it can guide you in further work you want to do. A bad lecture is really bad and can probably cause more problems. I think it would be just as important, even more important in Arts subjects in that, for example, my sister, she's got a lot of background reading to do on Art History. If the boundaries and the basic principles are not pointed out in the lecture then it makes her background reading where does she go from here/does she go into...*
> **Student FH, female, Scottish heritage**

For dominant language students who found university level study more challenging, the lecture represented a guide to the course.

> *I think the lectures are beneficial. They aren't just going through the assessments and the exam. In the lectures, they're actually trying to teach you...I'm not quite sure; it's easier in some ways to learn.*
> **Student MM, male, Scottish heritage**

Unlike most of the minority group interviewees, Student MM had not received any training in lecture note-taking.

10.2. 2 Note-taking skills

Several minority group interviewees commented on the value of training in note-taking in lectures, especially when they compared their skill in this activity with that of peers.

> *I've got a couple of close friends that did not go to Summer School but they went straight in there and they'd found that I'd listen, I'd be able to take notes. They liked the way that I took it and they said, 'How did you learn to take notes?' I said, 'Through Summer School, because you had different techniques and that.'*
> **Student JJ, female, Indian heritage**

> *Like some people mention taking notes. They would copy me and I didn't mind. And they were like, 'Did you go to college or something?' I was saying, 'I went to Summer School and we got taught that.' And they went, 'Is that like a course you can go on?' And I went, 'They just teach you that to get you prepared for university.' I know a lot of people have said that they think it would be ideal. I've actually given that in feedback.*
> **Student SM, male, Pakistani heritage**

This suggests that being able to follow the lectures and pick out the salient features did not present a problem for these students, although it appeared to present difficulties for some of their dominant group peers. One judged effective note-taking in lectures to be

> *Very important. However, no-one actually has ever taught me how to get the most out of a lecture. I thought, 'What do I want to get out of a lecture?'*
> **Student SJM, male, Scottish heritage**

Another bilingual student reported that she had developed good lecture note-taking.

> *I'm the one that everyone comes to if they're off. 'Can I have your notes, please?'*
> **Student FS, female, Pakistani heritage**

However, other minority group students reported difficulties with different strategies that lecturers adopted with regard to handouts. For example, one bilingual interviewee identified difficulty because

> *... sometimes they put so many points. Sometimes they put bullet points without explanation. So that kind of makes it difficult.*
> **Student LA, female, Iraqi heritage**

Other bilingual students found it more helpful to have printed handouts because they realised that

> *... he emphasises more* [from parts of the handout] *so that you know that you have to study that.*
> **Student NM, male, Pakistani heritage**

For other minority ethnic group students, lectures delivered using PowerPoint were helpful if the handouts were provided beforehand. One student expressed her view.

> *See, this is really annoying. What I like is when they give you the slides beforehand and, as they're explaining, you can take your notes down. Some of my lecturers are putting slides up, and we're trying to write the slides down, and while we're doing that, they're explaining it, and all I'm getting is the slide written down. And I'm not getting their explanation of it. Remember LS and AF* [lecturers]. *They'd have the slides and as they were explaining it, I'd be scribbling at the sides and when it came to revision of*

the actual lecture, I've got the added bit of explaining it in their own words at the side.
But some of them aren't doing that.
Student FS, female, Pakistani heritage

For some interviewees in this study, note-taking activity was not even a consideration.

Where no handouts were given, then students adopted other strategies.

I don't like the lecturers that don't give us handouts. In my History lecture I don't get
handouts. I'd rather read a book than go to the lecture. You have more time to read it.
You don't always have time to pick everything up in a lecture.
Student NA2, female, Pakistani heritage

This implied that where there was difficulty in absorbing the large amount of information
represented by a lecture, this student resorted to skill areas where her competence could
compensate for the difficulties she encountered in understanding some lecture courses, in
this case, using reading skills to extrapolate the necessary information as she perceived it
to be. Nonetheless, her strategy still meant that she missed out on the lecturer's analysis
and critique of the subject, points which might not be covered in a textbook. Furthermore,
there is a strong likelihood that she was also missing out on hearing the discourse of her
subject and more general academic language. This might have been of advantage to her
later when producing written work.

10.3 Summary

The minority ethnic group students in this study demonstrated their oral fluency in their
interviews. Their speech patterns were similar to those of the dominant ethnic group
students although the slight modifications that they introduced suggest the evolution of
hybrid languages which contribute to the creation of new hybrid ethnicities among such
groups of resident bilingual students. This suggests a modification to the Ethnic Self and
some development of the Global Self as students participate in an intra-ethnic
communication that goes beyond the bounds of their immediate community.

Both bilingual and monolingual students identified giving formal presentations as
something that they disliked and in which their performance tended to be weak. However,
in relation to less formal academic situations, a powerful theme that emerged from the data
in this study was the extent to which the students felt that their oral skills were stronger
than their other skills and that, furthermore, their oral ability to express their knowledge
and understanding outstrips their abilities to demonstrate this in written forms. While it is
noted that both minority and dominant group students perceive this to be the case, the

commentary in this and subsequent sections shows that, in the case of the bilingual students, this imbalance is amplified.

It is acknowledged that listening as a skill presents few problems for the minority ethnic group students in this study. However, in relation to lectures, lecturers and lecturing they pinpoint boredom, lack of motivation and poor attendance as factors. Their preoccupation with these issues may arise because this taps into a theme that is one of commonplace discussion with their peers and, thus, is one on which they have well-rehearsed views. Nevertheless, the lecture context potentially provides considerable exposure to cognitive academic language as modelled by lecturers and yet, as the data shows, for the minority ethnic group students perceptions of boredom and lack of motivation appear to inhibit their engagement with the lecture process, although they regarded the lectures notes as a source of information that would contribute to their learning. Students did not refer to their understanding of lecture content or how this contributed to their learning. This may reflect an inability to process the discourse of the discipline, to understand (or engage with) the didactic style of the traditional lecture or may simply reflect a short attention span. Whatever the underlying reasons, difficulties with engaging with the lecture process may affect note-taking and assimilation of the lecture content. In turn, this can only impact on each individual's engagement with the subject, its language and its concepts. The data suggest there is a tension in this area between the Ethnic Self and the Academic Self.

In sum, therefore, it appears that the strengths in speaking identified by the study respondents and noted in Graph 8.4.2 are reflected in the data obtained from the interviewees in this study. If the skill of listening is not an issue for the students in this study, their attitudes to the lecture system indicate that this is an area where they feel that they do not engage with the subject or its content. Rather, the preference is for interactive learning and collaboration with others. From such a small sample, it is not possible to draw a general conclusion. However, this approach to learning may go beyond individual learning style and relate to the cultural value dimensions of group identity espoused by Hofstede (2001) and Hofstede (2004). In this instance, the Ethnic Self seems to emerge as a factor and to create a tension for the Academic Self.

The following section continues this appraisal of the development of academic literacies by considering the literacy of reading.

§11 Academic literacies III: reading

There is a considerable body of research literature that explores the acquisition of literacy by bilingual pupils with regard to the interrelationship between reading and writing in the school context, the acquisition of vocabulary, and an understanding of the application of grammar (Cameron, 2002; Cline and Cozens, 1999; Gregory, 1996; Hutchinson and others, 2003; Krashen, 1991; Thomas and Collier, 1997). However, the literature is not always clear in reporting whether the subjects in their studies are formally **learning** English as an Additional Language (EAL) or whether they are acknowledged as bilingual and, thus, are **users** of English, as an additional language, who receive no language support (the resident bilinguals of this study). Gregory (1996) chooses to clarify her focus when she makes a finer distinction by considering the situation of the 'emergent bilingual' which she defines as the child born and brought up in the UK in a home where English is not the first language and who starts school with a limited competence in the use of English. She notes that, with regard to children in this category, there is only limited literature that relates to how they learn to read. The focus of the present study is directed towards people who at one time could have been classified under Gregory's defined group, but, because of the limitations of literature on this specific group, the discussion that follows will encompass literature from the wider studies of bilingualism and the process of learning to read.

The present section considers the acquisition of reading by bilingual pupils in school and university contexts and the implications for understanding and the skills of paraphrasing and summarising required for note-making.

11.1 The skill of reading

As Hutchinson and others (2003) assert, learning to read at school is

> ...the most important skill learnt within the educational environment, as it is the key to access the school curriculum.
> **Hutchinson and others, 2003:20**

If this is the key at the stage of school education, it is certainly also the key for higher education where much of the learning, whether on screen or on paper, is delivered through the medium of the printed word. Furthermore, if the business of decoding text is complex at the initial stages, there is a similar process as university students begin to encounter the complexities of academic prose. Reading opens up a global source of information and knowledge that would otherwise be denied. In addition to the direct development of Academic Self through reading, students can potentially develop the

Global Self where the skill of literacy generates a greater understanding how they, as individuals, fit within the wider frameworks of society and the world at large.

Ben-Zeev (1977 cited in Gregory, 1996) suggests that greater analytical awareness of language is found where learning a second language has taken place. By contrast, Gregory (1996) asserts that, while grammatical clues are probably the most useful and reliable for native speakers of the language who are also learning to read, amongst minority language readers these clues are weakest in the early stages of learning the additional language. She contends, furthermore, that learner readers rely on clues that relate to the sounds of the words and the morphemes they contain, the meaning of words and their collocations, and the language that typifies books rather than speech. She argues that, because pupils using English as an Additional Language are simultaneously learning the language and learning to read, they may have a lesser ability to identify these clues than those pupils for whom English is their only language. It seems, therefore, that level of language acquisition is a key factor in learning to read – and vice versa.

Krashen (1991) places considerable emphasis on the concept of the role of reading as part of the process of language acquisition with vocabulary acquisition performing an integral part of this process (Nation, 2001; Nagy, 2005). Krashen bases this assertion on his Monitor Theory (Krashen, 1988) in which he contends that there are two dimensions to the acquisition of a second language: subconscious language acquisition and conscious language learning. He argues that the acquisition of literacy follows the same principles as acquisition of a second language. Thus, he argues that reading is developed by reading

> ...making sense of what is on the page. In turn, reading is the major source of our competence in vocabulary, spelling, writing style, and grammar.
> **Krashen, 1991:1**

This relates to later work where he has argued that the best way to enhance the development of the second language is through bilingual education programmes on condition that these are conducted in a 'print rich' environment (Krashen, 1991). By contrast, Biemiller (1999) holds the view that it is a rich oral language that is essential for young readers.

However, Sharples (1999) contends that reading is more than just as an access tool to other worlds of knowledge. He sees reading as performing another literacy function when he observes

> It is only by understanding how other people write that we can learn to control and extend our own writing abilities.
> **Sharples, 1999:12**

However, as Martin (1999) notes, the acquisition of reading and writing requires some intervention:

> ... most people develop effortlessly and without teaching, skills in speaking and expressing themselves verbally, while we all need to be taught literacy as a separate set of skills.
> **Martin, 1999:71**

Thus, learning to read is a fundamental block in building literacy skills. How this is achieved is critical to language awareness.

Cunningham (1995 cited in Garcia and Beltrán, 2003) suggests that the development of good reading is achieved by pursuing four instructional elements: guided reading, independent reading, 'word work' (vocabulary development) and writing. This would be regarded as good teaching practice for all pupils regardless of their linguistic or cultural heritages. Moreover, it has also been argued that this kind of support for reading should extend into all subject classrooms and not be regarded as the province only of English departments (De Beaugrande, 1980; Gravelle, 1996: Allan and Bruton, 1997; Garcia and Beltrán, 2003). In addition, Wallace (1986) suggests that

> Becoming an effective reader is a continuing and open-ended process.
> **Wallace, 1996:116**

In the round, therefore, it could be argued that, although this debate relates primarily to earlier stages of learning to read for emergent bilinguals, the data in the present study suggest that, for some bilingual students, the need to continue supporting reading and language development in general persists into, at least, the early stages of higher education. Again, this could apply equally for both monolingual and bilingual learners.

As noted in §8, respondents and interviewees perceived that, while they regarded their reading skill in English as excellent, they regarded their heritage language reading skills as poor. Data discussed in previous sections noted that, although the interviewees had some experience of Koranic or some other kind of supplementary school, the achievement of literacy in the heritage language appears to have been minimal because the students all acknowledged that their proficiency in this area was poor. Comments from students suggested that the experience of attending supplementary schools had not extended beyond their primary school years: this could explain the perceived lower levels of literacy they had attained in their heritage languages.

At a more technical level, Gregory (1996) reports that emergent bilingual EAL pupils in her study transferred the reading strategies that they applied when learning to read in one language to the same process in the other language. This is supported by the work of Mumtaz and Humphreys (2001) who produced similar findings. There is very little evidence in the data in this current study which supports these conclusions, in part, because the interviewees had very little recollection of their early school days. However, one student did recall with some feeling that

> ...when I first went to school – it was a nightmare at school. I was trying to maintain Punjabi as well as develop English and reading at school was really hard because I couldn't do it. And I used to end up crying.
> **Student SB, female, Indian heritage**

For this student, who reported that she can read and write Punjabi, it seemed that there had been some tension between the simultaneous acquisition of the two languages and that, for her, this tension had been most memorable in the area of reading.

Genesee and others (2004) noted that children from minority language communities with literacy skills in the heritage language acquired before they go to school are more likely to make faster progress in second language literacy than children who lack such pre-literacy skills. However, this does not seem to have been the case for Student SB, who, it would appear, had been confused by the dual-language process. For the other interviewees, the data suggest that the conscious language learning component of Krashen's Monitor Theory was limited in relation to their language acquisition in the heritage language, particularly with regard to literacy. Following Genesee and others (2004), who linked first and second language acquisition, this limitation of input suggests that pupils were consequently further disadvantaged in the initial acquisition of literacy in English as their second or additional language.

In some cases, however, it seemed that steps towards literacy in English rather than in the heritage language had been the abiding memory of learning to read. Comments about learning to read English in the home contradict commonly held assumptions that, because of linguistic barriers, many Asian parents do not participate in this aspect of learning (Smyth, 2003).

> I remember my Dad always enjoyed reading books to us. Even though he wasn't expert at English, he always wanted us to read when we were younger.
> **Student NA2, female, Pakistani heritage**

In this case, it was noted that this was quite unusual and another student from the same family reported that the task of helping with school reading at home often fell to older siblings.

> *It's different for us for we are the oldest ones. There's no one above us so we have to offer a hand.*
> **Student NA1, female, Pakistani heritage**

Another student from a different family accepted parental help with reading as the norm.

> *We were always brought up with English, even in the house we were reading books and that. Parents/ my Dad/ like read with you or whatever... school being the main thing with English being the focal point.*
> **Student SM, male, Pakistani heritage**

For the children in this latter family at least, this attitude endorses the perception of English as the higher status language which would provide entrée to wider educational opportunities and, therefore, its acquisition was something to be actively encouraged and nurtured. Although it is suggested earlier in this section that the acquisition of reading skills has positive influence on the perception of the Ethnic Self, by contrast, probably without realising it, the pragmatism implied by encouraging the attainment of literacy in English has the potential to erode the sense of Ethnic Self. This is particularly the case in a society and education system that do not value heritage languages and where communities see education as the route to socio-economic advancement (Marks, 2005). The separation of the value systems that this encourages creates the potential for schism between the Ethnic Self and the Academic Self.

Nonetheless, there is also some acknowledgement in the literature that parents make an active contribution towards language growth (Stanovich and others, 1984 cited in Hutchison and others, 2003). As one student noted

> *My Mum told stories to me in Punjabi at home. She only understands English.*
> **Student SB, female, Indian heritage**

This seems to indicate the maintenance of the oral traditions of story-telling in the heritage language and reinforces the sense of the Ethnic Self but also of Global Self, since this story-telling in the first language implies a world beyond the confines of the immediate community. However, Student SB had reported that her mother's lack of spoken English meant that there was no similar story-telling or story-reading in English. While this is perfectly understandable, it brings some disadvantage as noted by Gregory (1996).

> Emergent bilinguals are likely to have three weaknesses in learning to read:

unfamiliarity with traditional and well-known European stories; language used in many books is more complex than spoken language and, therefore, more difficult to understand; the use of storybooks for beginning reading may not correspond to their families' interpretation of what 'counts' as valid material for learning to read.
Gregory, 1996: 83

Student SB reported very negative experiences when learning to read. She does not appear to have been exposed to the narrative language of traditional European stories (which Gregory (1996) argues is potentially complex and makes a contribution to reading skills), although she might have been able to recognise similar versions in her heritage language. It is also possible that, as a pupil from a home where the cultural value norms differed from pupils from dominant group homes, Student SB also missed out on 'cultural cues' in text.

For example, as Gregory (1996) in citing the work of Ashton-Warner (1963) in New Zealand notes, minority ethnic Maori children were exposed to reading schemes such as 'Janet and John' which bore no relation to the home contexts of the children who were expected to learn using such a programme. In the 1990s, similar reading schemes might also have been culturally exclusive to a non-native speaker of English in much the same way that 'Janet and John' reading scheme bore little relationship to the everyday experiences of many dominant group children in Britain in the 1950s who had no points of reference with the 'lives of middle-class British children portrayed' (Gregory, 1996:98). This kind of scenario with puzzling cultural cues that they cannot comprehend adds to the difficulties that bilingual pupils experience when learning to read. This might be prejudicial to the development of the Academic Self at an early stage.

Thus, following the progression of Krashen's thinking described above, the situation for some students in this study does appear to have been 'print poor' in the context of the heritage language. This does not mean that there was little printed material in the homes of these students, but simply that they lacked the skills to be able to read any such heritage language material that was available. For example, one Chinese student noted her discomfiture in relation to the heritage language and the literacy abilities of older family members:

It kind of makes me feel left out when they are reading newspapers or magazines, they all understand it and I'm just looking at it and it's just scribbles to me.
Student IY, female, Hong Kong Chinese heritage

In the interview, Student IY expressed this point in a way that clearly demonstrated her sense of exclusion from this activity as something which denied her access to a key identifier with her heritage culture and eroded her sense of Ethnic Self. Another student cited the limitations of her reading ability in her heritage language.

Just a little [Urdu]. *A tiny little bit* (in a newspaper].
Student SJ, female, Pakistani heritage

At a practical level, therefore, it appears that these students, by their own assessment, had not had a great breadth of opportunity to develop the first language literacy strategies that Krashen (1991) counts as developmental in the acquisition of their second language.

Krashen (1991) is of the view that the process of learning to read in both heritage and dominant languages, in turn, has a positive influence on competence in tackling academic content in the heritage language and in the acquisition of knowledge. He further argues that dual language learning contributes to Cummins' Common Underlying Proficiency (CUP) as an aid to English language development, and, importantly, that the reading habits of the first language transfer to the second language (Cummins, 1984, 2000). While it might be assumed here that Krashen meant that 'good' reading habits would transfer to another language, it could be argued that where no reading habit develops in the heritage language, then this 'non-habit' regarding reading might also transfer to the second language. If accepted, then it would seem less likely for reading to be seen as an activity pursued for pleasure but one which was associated with study in the second language and, this implies, difficulty.

Despite the assertion that their reading skills in English were excellent, in responses to supplementary questions both minority ethnic group and dominant group interviewees expressed concerns about these abilities, although this seemed to be more of a preoccupation for the former than the latter. The bilingual interviewees expressed concern about their prowess in using their reading skills for academic purposes. One interviewee described her approach.

There is the initial fear if it's a really big book. It's amazing how easy it is to read a magazine cover to cover without any hesitance and you can stay up and do. But as soon as you open a textbook and say, 'This is a section and I'm sure I'm going to get to the end of it.' It's more heavy-duty information.
Student BR, female, Indian heritage

This suggests that semantic understanding may be compromised not only because of unfamiliarity with the language content of the text, but also by the fact that academic prose is often context-reduced as well as cognitively demanding (Cummins, 1984;

Cummins, 2000; Nagy, 2005). This all contributes to readers experiencing difficulty in grasping meaning from text (Gregory, 1996; Brisk and Harrington, 2000 cited in Hutchinson and others, 2003).

Another student recognised the flaws in simply extracting relevant chunks of text and recommended striving to achieve a better understanding of meaning from the text in order to access the information it contained.

> *I think they* [other students] *find it hard to put it into their own words. It's better, I think, for them to keep reading it. Some people just go and get the book, find what they need and when they're reading it, when they take out, read it, they don't understand. I think it's better if you read at the start the introduction – what's the book all about? – and then get that stuff. I think it's much better.*
> **Student NM, male, Pakistani heritage**

It is possibly relevant that Student NM had received some EAL teaching in his secondary school years.

> *She* [the EAL teacher] *used to teach us and do some exercises and reading and stuff. Spelling and all this.*
> **Student NM, male, Pakistani heritage**

This suggests that Student NM had received some direct input later in his education that helped him to develop his reading skills to meet the challenges of more complex text and this possibly introduced him to strategies that developed his bibliographic knowledge as well as the other 'knowledges' that Gregory (1996) identifies, namely, graphophonic (letters and sounds), semantic (meaning of text), syntactic (structure of the language) and lexical (word knowledge) (Wallace, 1986; Gregory, 1996).

Other students had evolved different strategies over time. One minority ethnic group interviewee had evolved a habit of distilling the information into key points.

> *I totally, totally narrow it down. I take down less now.*
> **Student SJ, female, Pakistani heritage**

Another student had found that a way that suited her was to identify syntactic and semantic meaning in order to summarise information from texts.

> *'Cos, it's absorbing the words in my head. I'm a bit slow on that side. When I read things, I'll read over something and I have to read it over again. Sometimes take notes from books* [but] *I don't actually write notes from texts; if I'm able to, I just highlight the entire text and then I make a summary of it rather than writing notes. I found that a much better way to do it.*
> **Student BR, female, Indian heritage**

In this realm of note-making, the reading strategies that these students use lead to some interesting conclusions. Student SJ's statement could indicate that she was adept at

eliciting understanding from the text; conversely, it could mean that she only notes down the points she understands which would imply that she has limited ability to penetrate the lexical, syntactical and semantic clues presented in academic text. This may reflect the difficulty recognised by Gregory (1996) who reported that, in her study, the young pupils learning to read found it difficult to 'chunk' information. In addition, it is possible that, as surmised by Cline and Cozens (1999), where the learning base for reading is weak, students may

> ...develop compensatory habits that will inhibit later progress. Those habits may perhaps remain in place even after the initial need for them has been outgrown.
> **Cline and Cozens, 1999:26**

In the case of Student SJ, this can only be a matter of conjecture. By contrast, Student BR seems to be more aware of the difficulty that complex academic print presents and chooses to opt for a more holistic understanding which she translates into her own words. This would suggest that her comprehension skills for interpreting text are more practised.

The volume of reading required at university presents problems where time management, the skill of reading quickly, of extracting, and recording germane information were recognised as difficulties. For some students their preferred strategy for obtaining source material is to seek hard copy as a first option and then electronic resources; for others, this process is reversed.

> *I read books and website. There are a lot of things like 'New Scientist' there.*
> **Student LA, female, Iraqi heritage**

> *... I tend to use IT journals. I'd read the paper or the magazine. If I need to, I just grab a book and copy what I need. I've never felt the need to go down to the Library.*
> **Student JJ, female, Indian heritage**

The requirement for contrasting approaches to reading strategies between school and university is noted by two students. The first recollected that

> *In school, you just rely on the book actually all the time. You don't need to get more information.*
> **Student LA, female, Iraqi heritage**

Student SB gave the contrasting situation at university where, not only does she recognise the need for a degree of autonomy in identifying, selecting and reading material, but also that there is some sense of stress and imperative to complete the task.

> *At school they give you a book. At university there is a vast amount of knowledge to sift through. You are rushing to get finished but you keep on reading.*
> **Student SB, female, Indian heritage**

This student was studying psychology and had a moderate amount of supplementary reading to do. For another interviewee, a student of Accountancy, there was a greater quantity of intensive reading to be done.

> *Hmm. I do think that they do give you too much to do half of the time. I feel that I'm struggling just getting through all the reading and everything, that I haven't got time to do the added extra revision weekly where you can say, 'I've done that, I've done the readings now let's have a look at...' I haven't got time to do the extra.*
> **Student FS, female, Pakistani heritage**

Student FS had experienced considerable problems that she attributed to the poor quality of education she had experienced at school. The journey along the higher education path had introduced her to the need to develop several skills of which reading critically was one.

> *I wouldn't have had a clue about like/you know when you're reading journals and stuff/I'd be sitting/remember in second year – 'I have not got a clue how to read it. What is this person on about?' Obviously, when you first start doing something it's new, but the more and more that you do it, the more you get into the way of doing it/how to read it/what to look out for/stuff like that. I've gone on to evaluating and analysing and now when I read a journal, I can analyse it. I'm not sitting there thinking, 'I've not got a clue.' That's a strong thing because I've never been a one to think and analyse.*
> **Student FS, female, Pakistani heritage**

Clearly, as a third year student, Student FS had had a greater length of time and experience to develop cognitive academic language in the area of reading and evaluating the content of texts she encountered, whereas students at earlier stages in their studies had yet to acquire these attributes.

As noted already, bilingual students were not alone in their difficulties in accessing the content of text. Two monolingual dominant group interviewees reported similar aspects that affected their reading and note-making.

> *I've got to read things over twice before I understand it. Yes, it's difficult to take notes from texts. Once I read it I've got to go over it again, and go over even slower and take points off it.*
> **Student WW, male, Scottish heritage**

> *It very much depends what the text is/some books are really easy to make notes from. Others are really difficult and you get lost and you fall into the trap of passively reading and you think, 'I've read three pages and what have I actually taken in?' I think it very much depends on what the book is, what the subject is and how alert you are.*
> **Student KT, female, Scottish heritage**

Unlike the bilingual interviewees, the concern of the dominant group interviewees seemed to relate to their ability to focus on the content and meaning of their reading, whereas the bilingual students were more concerned about the volume of reading required of them. Bialystock (1991) observes that

> Reading requires an intricate balance of attention divided between forms and meanings. As these attentional strategies are learned, they allow the learner to engage in language uses that are more demanding in this way...learners' relative progress with the mastery of such attentional strategies can be indicated by a position on a continuum.
> **Bialystok, 1991:121**

The data from both groups were derived by asking exactly the same questions about reading and note-taking (Appendix 5) and the consistently different emphases identified by members of the two groups suggest that the bilingual students are some distance behind the dominant language students on Bialystock's notional continuum. One possible explanation is that, as non-habitual readers, some of the bilingual interviewees found the quantity of required reading fundamentally more daunting and this overshadowed the subtleties of language that would assist them to construct meaning from the text.

However, there are other potential explanations. Landon (1999 cited in South, 1999) reports a study of reading 'literacy lag' among Primary One and Primary Two EAL pupils in two Edinburgh schools in which it is acknowledged that lexical development is less of an issue for learners and more one where the need of support with comprehension strategies is required. In support of this view, Cline and Cozens (1999) suggest that children may simply decode the text without understanding.

> After struggling to read culturally unfamiliar material with a limited English vocabulary in the early stages, some of the children may become habitual users of the surface and syntactic cues in print and, in effect, learn not to read for meaning.
> **Cline and Cozens, 1999:26**

This is a key point because it looks as though children from bilingual backgrounds who have had some introduction to literacy in their heritage language may have an enhanced facility in English for decoding the morphemes they are asked to read and may read aloud with some fluency (Mumtaz and Humphreys, 2001). This can be misleading because it is not certain that the levels of reading comprehension match the apparent fluency achieved in oral reading. This relates to students' ability to recycle words from the text so that an answer appears, at a surface level, to imply comprehension.

Several commentators cite the teaching methods of first language literacy to explain EAL pupils' apparent reading competence when reading aloud but diminished competence when required to demonstrate comprehension (Johns, 1997; Landon, 1999). Cline and Cozens (1999) take this further when they contend that superficial reading strategies are perpetuated long after an EAL pupil has become a competent decoder of reading text. If this is the case for these interviewees, then it is possible that these resident bilingual

students when at university rely on the same surface approaches to reading as they exercised in their formative years. Hutchinson and others (2003) contribute to this theme by noting the heavy reliance that EAL learners place on the source material when required to answer comprehension questions. Hutchison and others (2003) suggest that this means that answers based on the language of the text provide no clear confirmation that the material has been understood although on the surface, the answer is 'correct'.

Research in this area in relation to the reading and comprehension levels of bilingual students in higher education requires further attention. However, some insight into the realms of academic work that students need to undertake both in receptive and productive modes is provided by Cummins (1984, 2000). As seen in Cummins' quadrant diagram in Appendix 9, it could be inferred from Quadrant D that academic texts simultaneously represent context-reduced and cognitively demanding material. Material of this type challenges all readers but possibly bilingual readers, the more so because their Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency and Common Underlying Proficiency may be restricted for the reasons already described in this section. Two students, Student SJ and Student IY, verged on acknowledging this point. For Student SJ, as previously noted, there seems to be a need to seek some degree of contextualisation within the confines of the topic of a text. She sought to verify understanding and the making of meaning by consulting others on their interpretation, in this instance, of a piece of text.

> *English was my best subject...* [in exams] *you can't ask someone and you have to go by your own interpretation of it. The main problem in English was that my interpretation was not their* [the teachers'] *version of it.*
> **Student SJ, female, Pakistani heritage**

However, this approach may have another dimension, namely, that this practice of seeking confirmation may, in part, be attributable to uncertainty-avoidance features that have been claimed to characterise some cultures (Hofstede, 1984), simply, a fear of being 'wrong'. Whatever the explanations, the fundamental observation was that the student's understanding of meaning differed from that of the (monolingual) teacher.

In addition, for some students perceived as competent users of English as an additional language, their language learning may not be developing at the same rate or to the same degree of complexity as the texts that they are required to use in other areas of the curriculum (Hutchinson and others, 2003). However, it has to be noted that this study by Hutchinson and others (2003) examined the performance of new language learners rather than students at later stages within the education system. The idea that students might be

outpaced by the material they have to read is consistent with a comment from a Psychology student.

> *There's one lecturer who basically - he had this book and I bought the book - and he basically just read what he'd wrote in the book. And it was big words and the book was exactly the same and I was thinking, 'OK. I'm reading it.' And then I'd totally doze off.*
> **Student SB, female, Indian heritage**

Explanations for Student SB's reaction to reading this level of textbook can only be surmised. Lack of understanding of the meaning may have been a contributory factor.

It could be argued that the extent of the gap between the reading of monolingual and bilingual pupils would lessen with time as EAL pupils developed greater competence in English. However, there is no evidence that this is, in fact, the case. On the contrary, given that authors, including Cummins (2000) and Collier (1992), have shown that there can be a prolonged period of mismatch between the competence of bilingual learners and their monolingual peers in terms of general language competence, the perpetuation of the gap in the area of reading and comprehension (as opposed to reading recognition and de-coding) could be longer-term than the 2-year gap suggested by Hutchinson and others (2003).

Student IY explained something of this when she explained her internalised debate about the contexts and embedded meaning in her interpretation of text.

> *I always used to think when we had a passage to read and then we were asked questions, 'What do you think the author or the writer is trying to portray?' People would say something and we'd write it down and we were completely wrong. Sometimes I would think, 'That could be' but we won't know unless we ask the author. He might have been thinking that, but we're going on the basis of someone telling us this is the right answer. It was like, 'Here is the wrong answer. Here is the right answer.' Here at university when you are discussing things there is no wrong answer... That was the thing about English. I used to find different answers to things* [but] *they weren't right... It depends on your thinking and how you see things.*
> **Student IY, female, Hong Kong Chinese heritage**

Student IY's comment shows her to have a relatively sophisticated ability in reading in English and yet the substance of her comment suggests that, while comprehension is present at one level, there is an absence of a shared meaning at another. This could be explained by different cross-cultural perceptions as to the content and underlying significance of the material as she implies, but it might also relate to a deficit in critical thinking skills. Reading at this level shifts the reader from the role of 'language mechanic' using decoding tools to identify morphemes that make up vocabulary items that assist in making make sense of text (Harris and Hatano, 1999), to one where the academic language presented demands a higher order of thinking; it is to this challenge of undertaking critical

thinking in higher education that all students need to rise. However, for minority ethnic group students this may create conflicting tensions, for, as noted by Davies and others (1994)

> ...when you are reading, you have to hold on to your identity hard and make sure you don't necessarily give in to the ideas that you are reading just because they are written down.
> **Davies and others, 1994:161**

It is a challenge that represents a questioning of the values of the heritage community where, in some cases, unquestioning acceptance of the views of more learned or more authoritative figures is culturally assumed (Hofstede, 1984). The sharpening of critical skills may mark ways of looking at problems that can challenge this and only lead to some change in the Academic Self because, in this identity, independence of thought is expected. This, in turn, brings a shift in the sense of Global Self as individuals are exposed to ideas from a world that is much wider than the limited world inhabited by both the Ethnic and Academic Self.

11.2 Summary

This section shows that the kind of reading that people are required to do at school does not necessarily equip them for the type of reading that is required at university, that is, context-reduced and cognitively demanding material as defined by Cummins (1984). The experience of the students in the present study indicates that learning to read English had taken place primarily in mainstream school, while learning to read in their heritage languages, consistent with the spirit of the Swann Report (1985), took place in the Mosque or their own homes. Nevertheless, only a few students had been able to maintain any competence in reading in the heritage language. The data indicate that English was privileged over the heritage language in some homes and parents actively encouraged reading in English as the language of learning within the British education system. However, in one case the lack of literacy in the heritage language caused feelings of exclusion from the family circle. Conversely, for another student, dual language literacy acquisition had caused distress at an early stage in learning to read.

While the bilingual students in this study initially indicated that they considered themselves to have excellent reading skills in English, it emerged that they experienced difficulties with eliciting meaning from text. The literature suggests that facility in decoding text may not necessarily be an indication of reader comprehension. In this study, although these students described strategies for making notes from text, the data suggest

that their interpretations of meaning were not always those shared by native speakers. Moreover, while the monolingual students were concerned with content of the reading texts, the bilingual students in this study seemed more preoccupied by the volume of reading material they were expected to read in pursuit of their studies. This may be a reflection of poor comprehension abilities. Further research into reading comprehension of bilingual university students could be instructive.

The skill of reading is fundamental to the development of academic literacies. For the bilingual students in this study, their professed confidence in their own reading abilities seemed to be at variance with their later responses. Nevertheless, in facing the challenges of the reading required at university, these students are evolving strategies to develop this aspect of their academic literacies. In doing this, the Academic Self is further enhanced. By contrast, if the Ethnic Self is potentially diminished as the use of English continues to dominate the daily communicative patterns these interviewees experience at the expense of the heritage language, the development of reading as an academic literacy at university level widens the horizons of learning and world knowledge thereby developing the Global Self.

The following section examines writing in higher education where students enter new discourse communities where they are required to demonstrate their knowledge and understanding through writing in genres that are often very different from those of their earlier school experience.

§12 Academic literacies IV: writing, grammar and vocabulary

The development of literacy in writing is predicated on the literacy of reading, for, while it is possible for a person to read but not write (as opposed to copying), it is essential to be able to read in order to write. The reader becomes an author and can no longer be the passive recipient of the narratives, concepts and arguments within reading material, but has to become the architect of thought. This is encapsulated by Bartholomae (1985).

> Every time a student sits down to write for us, he has to invent the university for the occasion – invent the university, that is, or a branch of it, like History or Economics or Anthropology or English. He has to learn to speak our language, to speak as we do, to try on the particular ways of knowing, selecting, evaluating, reporting, concluding and arguing that define the discourse of our community. Or perhaps I should say the various discourses of our community, since…a student…must work within fields where the rules governing the presentation of examples or the development of an argument are both distinct, and even to the professional, mysterious
> **Bartholomae, 1985:134 quoted in Johns, 1997:20**

This points to the complexity and mystique of 'academic writing' in this case and presents the nub of the issue for the bilingual student respondents and interviewees in this study as they strive to comply with the conventions, functions and genres they encounter at university. Although the data show that writing literacy in English was identified by twenty-two respondents in this study as 'good' or 'excellent', interviewees, as already observed, acknowledged a weakness in their competence in written language. The interviewees attributed this weakness to several factors that included a perceived inability to formulate more complex language structures, lack of understanding of grammar, and limited vocabulary. In these respects, there did seem to be some recognition that, in relative terms, there was some discrepancy between their performance and that of their monolingual peers.

In order to address these issues, this section considers writing as an element within the broader gamut of academic literacies. The express purpose is to review how the experience of writing for the students in this study developed between school and university and with particular reference to the relationship between writing and grammar and writing and lexical development. This section also provides the basis for consideration of wider issues in the development of writing literacy in higher education as these relate to the construction of the Academic Self while highlighting the tensions that emerge between that and the Ethnic Self.

12.1.1 The skill of writing

Writing is not a 'stand-alone' skill and 'is regarded as the most difficult of the academic-related skills' (Whitehead, 2002:503). It is also the skill that exposes the uniqueness of a writer's Academic Self in a way that is not the case for any of the other academic literacies. As suggested by Heath and Branscombe (1985: 29), in order to be 'skilful in communicating' writers have to be able share their own thoughts and experiences with those for whom they write. This means creating meaning and requires a number of skills.

Alamargot and Chanquoy (2001 cited in Myhill and Fisher, 2005) suggest that this involves four knowledges: knowledge of the topic; linguistic knowledge; pragmatic knowledge (how to adapt texts to fit audience and appropriacy of register); and procedural knowledge (how to coordinate the other three knowledges). They contend that interaction between all four knowledges that must take place in order that writers can combine content and rhetoric. In the context of the present study, this means that regardless of the knowledge base of their study, all students need to achieve a level of communication that enables them to convey their understanding in a manner that explains their ideas effectively. Therefore, the linguistic and pragmatic knowledges are key to the attainment of effective academic writing as components within the wider framework of academic literacies. How student writers acquire these knowledges has been the subject of debate, but, as noted, Johns (1997) has characterised this process of developing writing as a composite of three views of literacies (as shown in Figure 9.1.2): the Traditional, Learner-Centred and Socioliterate. In this section, the tensions that Johns (1997) has acknowledged as present across this model are explicated in the experiences of students as they contrast school and university writing.

12.1.2 School and university writing: learning about structure

Ivanič and Hamilton (1990) note the brevity of the school experience but suggest that the long-term influence of school education and the skills acquired in that setting cannot be underestimated in relation to writing in later life (Cameron, 1995). Smith (1988) explains the complex interaction of literacy skills.

> But nothing a child learns about reading – whether about letter identification, word identification, or the comprehension of print – will make any sense unless the child has an understanding of what written language does. ...the first insight every learner must have in order to become a reader (or a writer) is that written language itself makes sense – an insight not always easy to achieve in educational settings.
> Smith, 1988:198

Thus, when students enter university, they rely on the legacy of writing experience derived from their years as school pupils, however this may have been achieved, whether by teacher input, or by way of strategies that students have evolved for themselves (Wignell, 1987 cited in Christie, 1990). Whether these students feel that their writing experience has proven to be equal to the demands of higher education is discussed below.

The students in this study had differing views about how their writing skills had been acquired. One monolingual dominant ethnic group interviewee in this study seemed to have an intuitive awareness of what influenced the development of his writing skills.

> *You can only go by what you see, what you ape, what you see subconsciously, what you read and how you read them and the way you do it. I find that no-one taught me to read or write in that particular way; it's been a process of evolution and it will continue to do that.*
> **Student SJM, male, Scottish heritage**

This view suggests that, for this monolingual student, effective literacy in reading and writing skills had been subliminally developed.

However, bilingual interviewees in this study seemed to be less conscious of the processes in attaining writing literacy at this level, although several students had reflected on the differences between the genres and mechanics of structure and form at school compared with those they encountered at university. One put it succinctly.

> *There's a difference in the style of writing you have to do at university...for high school, if you got ten points down, you didn't have to write anything more. Specific, to the point* [at school].
> **Student SB, female, Indian heritage**

The data show that, for the interviewees, in general their perceptions of English language and writing, in particular, as they recollected it from school, tended to focus on the subject of English with its strong literary content as taught within the general curriculum with its primary focus on the examination syllabus. For example, this was noted by one student.

> *We got business things and poems and so on and so on.*
> **Student NA2, female, Pakistani heritage**

Views were mixed as to the extent that school tuition had made a positive contribution to improving writing ability. One student had particularly negative views.

> *I don't think that school gives you that much help with your English – not with your writing.*
> **Student JJ, female, Indian heritage**

She did not seem to see the development of academic literacy as something discrete. Instead, the view seemed to focus on the written product more as meeting the criteria of the examination syllabus than of achieving the accuracy of form that might be expected in

academic writing. It appeared that she had reached a view that the skill of writing was nothing other than a means to completing a task rather than a developing attribute that could be fashioned into a finely-honed tool.

> *When you come to your fifth year, it's like you read a book and then you write about it. It's not really grammar. They might do grammar checks when they're reading it, but it's not really grammar.*
> **Student JJ, female, Indian heritage**

Such a view may, in part, be attributable to students' experience of literacy acquisition through the Learner-Centred view of writing and thereby to the more contextualised discourses of Socioliterate approaches as identified in the responses of some interviewees (Figure 9.1.2).

While other interviewees acknowledged that they had received some guidance on academic writing at school, they perceived this to be limited in value. For example, there was consensus among a group of five students, all from the same school, that they had received overt guidance in writing for academic purposes at English Higher Grade level in the production of their Review of Personal Reading (RPR), but noting that they had a year and several iterations in which to produce the final version. One of this group had a perception that this input had been ongoing throughout secondary school.

> *Essay structure, introduction and things like that, it helped – and punctuation; but that was English throughout high school, not just Higher English.*
> **Student NA1, female, Pakistani heritage**

A student from another school outlined a comparable experience, similarly associating learning about the structure of academic writing as a function of the English classroom, but, once again, expressing a need for guidance on form and structure.

> *At school we were taught how to structure the essays and oral presentations....At school it wasn't that clear because I did Standard Grade English. They didn't really teach you that much; they just told you to write the essay. They didn't tell you that you had to do an introduction, what to put in it. They said introduction, main thing and conclusion.*
> **Student NM, male, Pakistani heritage**

This data reflects the observations made by Wignell (1987 cited in Christie, 1990:131).

> Apart from some instruction on 'essays' [introduction/guts/conclusion] ...at school they learn what they did wrong. It's more or less up to them to get it right.
> **Wignell, 1987:12**

The more common attitude within the university teaching establishment seems to be that the more astute students will learn how to write by picking up the 'cerebral vibrations' from their lecturers (Whitehead, 2002:503). Students with less acuity may be less successful in recognising the models (Whitehead, 2002) that are being, often, subliminally presented to them.

In a similar vein, although it relates to school-children, the following comment by Wignell could apply just as readily to young adults in higher education. He notes that learners are

> ...taught a lot of 'what', but they aren't taught a great deal of 'how'. They tend to be explicitly given the 'facts' but left to their own devices as to how to organise those 'facts' into an acceptable text, which is a large part of what they are assessed on and it is this invisible curriculum which they learn by their own resources that can mean the difference between success and failure.
> **Wignell, 1987:18**

This is a powerful observation and one that is reflected in the data that indicate that, at school, learners have little training in how to mould their understanding into text.

> *School was never like that. There was never a structure. You just had to go and do it.*
> **Student SM, male, Pakistani heritage**

Even where students had the concept of structure, what the elements should contain seemed less clear, as noted by a student who had passed her work to a dominant group friend for feedback.

> *I was doing the introduction, the history and she* [my friend] *was saying, 'You can mention that but not to the extent that you've done.'*
> **Student FS, female, Pakistani heritage**

Another student commented on her perception of the school's contribution to learning how to perform the writing process.

> *They took in essays of what you wrote and then they just mark, mark, marked. They never gave you that structure.*
> **Student IY, female, Hong Kong Chinese heritage**

In the case of Study IY, her perception seemed to be that the school's over-riding preoccupation was perhaps based on an assumption that repeated assessment and corrective feedback would help students to learn to shape their written assignments. The corollary of this is that when these school pupils arrive at university, it is probable that they still lack this processing dimension of academic literacy and that, moreover, the same omission identified by Wignell (1987) in terms of teaching the 'how' of academic writing might hold for universities.

12.1.3 School and university: writing discourse and genre

Swales (1990) presents a definitive analysis of what constitutes a discourse community: an agreed set of common goals; intercommunication among its members; participatory mechanism for feedback; shared genre(s) and lexis; and expert membership. This definition is not so very different from the criteria that might be used to identify the elements of any organisation (Gray and Starke, 1984 cited in Huczynski and Buchanan,

1991). Chandler (1995) emphasises this strong relationship between genre and discourse community, for, in some of these, the genre is what sets the discourse community apart. In the context of their experiences of the education system, the data show that these bilingual students in this study do possess some awareness of genre at a basic level. One student described this.

> [At school] *it was just like imaginative stories, especially for English, but for Biology you had like the essay questions, but that was like facts and figures.*
> **Student NM, male, Pakistani heritage**

This observation demonstrates an awareness of different genres of writing required for school learning implicit in which are the foundations in Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP), identified by Cummins (1984). However, students, regardless of discipline or ethnicity, sometimes find it difficult to conform to these norms of genre, and therefore, the writing within the discipline area. Another interviewee felt that the writing genres she had experienced within the school curriculum had not related well to what was required of her at university.

> *We only did essays in History and English and when it came to essays in Anatomy,* [at university] *I didn't know what they were asking for. I didn't know what to write. I didn't know what to put in.*
> **Student IY, female, Hong Kong English heritage**

Comparisons were drawn by another student between the different genres required in different disciplines at university level.

> *I think that law people have to write more. If you need to write about law, it's more kind of right things. For biology – it's facts. You don't have to imagine things, well you need to imagine things, but you don't need to use more words.*
> **Student LA, female, Iraqi heritage**

This disparity identified by Student LA identifies a further dimension of learning for bilingual students, namely, that limited abilities to construct more complex text framed around abstract content may discourage bilingual people from entering in study disciplines where the ability to articulate abstract thought in writing is a requirement. This supports the statistical analysis of minority ethnic group participation in higher education by discipline reported in §4 where a trend toward the more practical, numerical vocational subjects is visible in many cases.

It might be conceded that the influence of school experiences in learning to write affects bilingual and monolingual students alike because the aspects described by the minority ethnic group students in this study are observable in the transition processes between school or college and university for many new students. The content of school teaching in

relation to academic writing, with its emphasis on the examination syllabus, did not seem well-aligned with what might be required in academic writing at university. It was only in the context of the school English classroom that the interviewees could judge their abilities in the use of English language and academic literacy. Thus, it appeared, writing events at school were not comparable in terms of the length of text that students have to produce at university as one student commented.

> *Lengthwise there isn't anything* [as long at school]. *When you come to university, it's fifteen hundred words.*
> **Student SA, male, Pakistani heritage**

Whatever the school experience, in practice, the reality is that by the time that most students enter higher education they have been exposed to as much formal instruction in language awareness and skills of writing as they are likely to receive. Much of this will not have been directed towards the creation of academic texts such as those expected at university level but at 'imaginative stories' as cited by Student NM above. In UK higher education in this area, there is unlikely to be an 'academic literacies class' where students reflect on their academic writing skills such as in the model Johns (1997) envisages. Thus far, discrete mainstream input on developing academic literacies has tended to be the function of study skill support departments in universities. Less frequently Writing Centres, often promoting Writing across the Curriculum (WAC) programmes have been set up (www.learndev.qmul.ac.uk/elss).

There is a further aspect that potentially complicates the development of these skills for bilingual learners because, for them, there is possibly an additional language factor, for, as noted by Cameron and Bygate (1997 cited in Leung and Cable 1997:41)

> A second language pupil – of whatever background – will almost inevitably develop an English language proficiency profile different from the language proficiency profile of a first language speaker (although some pupils can by the end of their studies come close to this).
> **Cameron and Bygate, 1997:41.**

For minority ethnic students, it seems plausible that there could be a linguistic as well as a cognitive difficulty in evolving strategies for creating text that meets the requirements of genre and content in their academic writing.

In order to fulfil the requirements as novices in academic authorship, students need to have what Canale (1983) calls 'discourse competence'. Following Canale (1983) and Smith (1988), this has been interpreted by Borg and Humphries (2000) to mean that students must be aware of the function of the texts they read before they can produce text for

themselves as they shift from the role of reader to that of author. This suggests an aspect that is often ignored, namely, that students use their reading skills to evaluate their own writing. If there is a weakness in their reading skills, in their understanding of the structure of printed texts, in the awareness of genre, in the associated literacies of grammatical and lexical competence, or in the ability to derive meaning from text whether from textbooks or a piece of personal writing, then students may have only limited critical capacity to improve the quality of the writing they produce. There is a further dimension to this because, in the absence of other guidance, students need to become their own critics.

12.1.4 Writing and critical thinking

As intellectual development is integral to the concept of university education, it is not unrealistic to expect that students are required to develop the attributes of critical thinking within the parameters of Cummins' quadrant concept that identifies the higher order thinking required to deal with context-reduced, cognitively-demanding material (Appendix 9). This relates to Vygotsky's assertion that

> Writing, in its turn, enhances the intellectuality of the child's actions.
> **Vygotsky, 1986:183**

Thus, as a child grows from pupil to student, it follows that writing has the potential to demonstrate that intellectual maturity which, in the university context, tends to mean the ability to think critically and to demonstrate that criticality. For some minority ethnic group students, the data show some evidence of this maturity of thought. One third-year student compared the way she thought at school with the thought processes she had developed at university.

> *It's helped me to think by myself. In school, you got quite a lot of spoon-feeding. Here, like, you're given the tools and you're left to get on with it. So, I've developed skills like I didn't have before – thinking for myself. It's given me a lot more confidence, socially as well.*
> **Student FS, female, Pakistani heritage**

For another student, this shift in thinking was something that she recognised had to be demonstrated in her written work.

> *Sometimes there's essays that you have to research from books and maybe the internet and stuff, but, some essays that we'll have to do this year, they're more like your opinion.*
> **Student JJ, female, Indian heritage**

Student FS described an approach that demonstrates her engagement with a topic, its related resource material and the analysis she conducts in order to reach her own conclusion.

> *I do all my research, all my reading and everything. First of all, before I do any of that, I look at the question and ask myself, 'What are they asking for?' and then I do*

my research. As I'm doing my research, I start jotting notes down and as I've got my notes jotted down, and go through the different sources, magazines, journals, books and whatever, then I tend to start off with – after doing all my research – 'What's the conclusion? Is it agreeing with it? Is it disagreeing?' I tend to do my introduction and conclusion and then do the meat of the essay.
Student FS, female, Pakistani heritage

Here, Student FS describes a more holistic conception of a piece of expository writing that illustrates her developing critical thinking skills.

Another interviewee who had been introduced to the concept of deconstructing questions in order to work out how to respond to them appropriately, nevertheless continued to adopt an approach that focused only on a keyword in the text.

But sometimes what I find, if that keyword is in it, and even if the question is asking something totally different, I still write everything relating to that keyword, even if it's right or wrong as long as I write it in.
Student NA2, female, Pakistani heritage

This student maintained this strategy despite the fact that it had been one that had been shown to fail her; she continued to ignore the particular requirements of the task. Why she did this can only be surmised. In the light of other responses that she volunteered in the interview, her determination to continue with this failing strategy seemed to stem from her basic insecurity in use of English. She had made comments about substituting words with synonyms, with reorganising material from original sources but without interpreting it, and, generally, with her struggle to write in the 'right way'.

Student SM, who, as a postgraduate, had undertaken some marking of undergraduate written assignments, offered a perspective on this.

I think we've all got a different style. That's actually encouraged. There's not one way of doing it. But it's got to have such and such references and you cannot talk about 'I' – talk about a third person. You're sort of pretty much open. I know some people prefer to go one argument 'for'/'against' or all 'for' and all 'against'. People definitely have their own styles; I've definitely found that, when you're reading essays and when you're marking, that they are all different. I suppose that's a good thing for the marker or you'd fall asleep.
Student SM, male, Pakistani heritage

Since Student SM was marking papers for students across the year, he was being exposed to a variety of styles of writing from students of many ethnicities and linguistic profiles. His appreciation of the merits of different approaches suggests enhanced awareness of writing and some further development in his own sense of Academic Self.

12.1.5 Writing development at university

While acknowledging that their writing at university had presented some problems, some interviewees felt that they had been able to develop their writing since entering university. One Architecture student had begun to see his writing as a tool for study.

> *I don't like English* [as a school curriculum subject], *but I see myself improving from school.*
> **Student NM, male, Pakistani heritage**

For other students, although the orthographic and structural features of the writing process had originally presented difficulty, these problems had now been reduced. One second-year student remarked that her work had improved.

> *Less spelling mistakes and my sentences and paragraphs are much better now.*
> **Student JJ, female, Indian heritage**

In other cases, style was an issue that some students had consciously striven to improve. For example, one student referred to

> *...writing 'I' rather than writing in the academic style.*
> **Student BR, female, Indian heritage**

and implied that she had learnt to modify her use of the first person in order to follow the academic convention of impersonal writing required in her subject. These observations would appear to indicate that in some measure, at the stage of these interviews, some students were beginning to evolve some kind of self-generated writing development along the lines of 'getting it right' identified by Wignell (1987 cited in Christie, 1990:12).

In a joint interview with Student IY, Student SB reflected on the way that, because they are bilingual, the structures of writing in their first language might impinge on the way that they structure their written English.

> *I have come on in my writing from first year. But it is still not as good as I'd want it to be. Is it the structure? The way we* [bilingual people] *talk?*
> **Student SB, female, Indian heritage**

While the influence of spoken language on written language is a common phenomenon in undergraduate writing, Student SB's perceptive question indicates her sense that first language interference may be a factor in her production of her second language. In addition, this comment foregrounds the different linguistic profiles that bilingual students possess and highlights the difficulty of having reached a plateau in relation to general use of English (Cummins, 1999-2003; McKay, 1995).

Student IY ascribed this plateau position to her bilingualism and implicitly to her different language profile. She saw this as most evident in the standard of her writing compared with that of her peers.

> *I know my friends have* [progressed] *because they let me have a look at their essays and stuff and I look at what they've done and I know that they've grown from that. I don't feel I've grown from that. I think it is just English. The writing point of view. I've never been able to do more into it. I get to a certain stage and then I just stop there.*
> **Student IY, female, Hong Kong Chinese heritage**

In the interview, Student IY's wistful tone seemed to imply that the developmental aspect of writing achieved by her peers was related to their monolingual status because she attributed their success to their (native-speaker) abilities in English.

> *I have a couple of friends who, because they were good at English and writing and stuff, they kind of knew and they kind of just did it and they did well.*
> **Student IY, female, Hong Kong Chinese heritage**

She considered that her own performance related to her bilingualism which she seemed to perceive as a factor in her inability to shift from the plateau she had reached. This marks a tension, at least for this student, between her Academic and her Ethnic Self. She attributes weakness in the former to her linguistic shortcomings and there is a sense that her sense of inadequacy engenders a negative attitude towards her sense of Ethnic Self.

Sharples (1999:31) provides a further possible insight into this sense of being marooned on a language plateau when he notes that 'immature writing strategies can survive well beyond childhood' and this seemed to be the view of several students here. One student talked of comparing her work with that of monolingual dominant group students.

> *Sometimes they might write in a style that's like totally, 'How did you learn to write like that?' Mines'll be more basic to read, whereas hers'll be more intellectual.*
> **Student JJ, female, Indian heritage**

The reasons for this are more difficult to gauge but may be related in some way to the tension between written and spoken English, for as noted already in §10, students expressed a preference for speaking to writing for reasons that are unclear. This tension also appears in relation to the influence of speech on writing.

As Kearney (2002) observes, the role of speaking in language development is an integral part of the process of communication, and, ultimately, in the development of academic literacies. Latham (2002) suggests that

> ... spoken language forms a constraint, a ceiling not only on the ability to comprehend, but also on the ability to write, beyond which literacy cannot progress; speech supports and propels writing ability forward.
> **Latham, 2002:40**

While this oral dimension to the development of writing is particularly important in the earlier stages of learning to write, the continuation of the tendency to emulate the spoken word in writing is less appropriate at university level. Yet, writing in an everyday conversational style is not uncommon in university students' writing, and Student IY identified this as a partial explanation for her lack of progress when she commented

> *It* [writing the way I speak] *shouldn't be but it is a fact.*
> **Student IY, female, Hong Kong Chinese heritage**

This trait of 'writing-as-speaking' is one that is not exclusive to bilingual students, for it is seen also in the writing of monolingual students. It may be explained by a lack of awareness of register, that is, an understanding of how academic writing differs from spoken language in format and, often, in degree of formality. In the case of monolingual students it is perhaps more likely that they might have a greater perception of the nuances of register than bilingual students. In the case of bilingual students, this lack of perception of difference may be critical to failure to shift off the plateau position.

This is an area that requires further investigation. For the moment, it raises an important and even intriguing issue in relation to the writing of bilingual students. It seems that students from minority ethnic backgrounds may be constrained in what they write. This may be because they have difficulty with knowledge transformation concept outlined by Sharples (1999:23) in discussing the work of Bereiter and Scardamalia (1987) who saw this as 'a mental dialogue between content and rhetoric'. In other words, the writer is simultaneously seeking to find expression for the content of ideas and the linguistic means incorporating style, lexis and structure while also taking into consideration audience and purpose. Thus, writing for any individual is a complex and multi-faceted activity. For bilingual student writers working in genres with which they are not entirely comfortable, this presents some considerable problems as noted by Student IY.

> *You know it, but sometimes people can't put it down on paper as well as they would be able to tell you.*
> **Student IY, female, Hong Kong Chinese heritage**

This may also reflect a lack of facility in spontaneously summarising ideas without the cues that are found in text. Student IY was not alone in expressing this difficulty. Not unsurprisingly, one of the students who had entered Britain in her teenage years and had only experience of high school education in the UK reported a similar point.

> *Maybe like we need more practice in writing because we talk like with friends so the talking is much easier* [than writing].
> **Student FA, female, Iraqi heritage**

In the case of Student FA, it could be argued that this is a function of her lower level language in all skill areas, but difficulties with written expression were described by another resident bilingual.

> *Now, if someone had said to you, 'Now you've done all your research, I'll ask you the question. Now explain that to me orally', they would be able to do it without any difficulty. But if you told them* [to do] *the same thing on a piece of paper, it would be very, very difficult.*
> **Student SJ, female, Pakistani heritage**

This same student returned to the point at a later stage in the interview.

> *Now, say for example, all those questions you were asking me and you said write them* [the responses] *all on a piece of paper, half the things I am saying to you, I wouldn't even include them on a piece of paper.*
> **Student SJ, female, Pakistani heritage**

Again, this is a difficulty that could be observed among monolingual students, but it seems to be accentuated in the case of bilingual students. Explanations are elusive for it is less easy to identify what the inhibiting factors are – lack of topic, linguistic or pragmatic knowledge (Alamargot and Chanquoy, 2001 cited in Myhill and Fisher, 2005). There is a hint that this difficulty arises because of difficulty in manipulating language, finding the appropriate structures and vocabulary, structuring ideas or even the perception of writing as a chore.

12.1.6 Writing techniques at university

The data from the current study further illustrate that other factors, including linguistic and pragmatic knowledge, were similarly impeding students' ability to express themselves in writing. This was noted by a third year student.

> *I think I've always had the content there, but I need to watch my structure and my English and everything.*
> **Student FS, female, Pakistani heritage**

Sharples (1999) attributes this to the idea that emergent writers acquire their craft in a piecemeal fashion rather than in a coherent package. As noted above, they draw on the four sets of knowledges identified by Alamargot and Chanquoy (2001 cited in Myhill and Fisher, 2005) and are influenced by combinations of Traditional, Learner-Centred, Socioliterate views of literacy acquisition described by Johns (1997). As noted already, the data suggest that the students in the present study had not been significantly exposed to the Traditional Approach. However, a history of Learner-Centred and Socioliterate influences on writing seemed to be discernible in the narrated writing experiences of the student interviewees.

For some students, this was exemplified in awareness of the basic structures of academic writing which a student described as

> ...*the way you structure your essay – start, middle, end.*
> **Student SJ, female, Pakistani heritage**

Where students did evidence some knowledge of structure, achieving this tended to follow the rhetorical traditions that Sharples (1999) traces back to Greek oratory, that is, *inventio* (generating ideas), *dispositio* (arranging ideas), *elecutio* (expressing ideas in an appropriate manner). He argues that *inventio* and *dispositio* conflate into what students would recognise as planning.

The minority ethnic group interviewees in this study were asked to describe their approach to tackling an academic writing assignment – the *inventio* and *dispositio* phases (Appendix 5). The length of time allocated to researching material seemed to be a pre-occupation. One student reported

> *To do research, I think that takes a week; to look up journals, that takes a whole day.*
> **Student WA, female, Pakistani heritage**

In terms of the mechanics of producing text, some preferred writing out first drafts by hand, while others preferred to type straight on to the computer. The initial planning process of writing (Myhill and Fisher, 2005) was conducted by some of the interviewees with varying degrees of success. For example, one student described an approach that worked from the general to the specific.

> *I do a big plan. I write it out and then, under each section, I'll write what I'm going to write about and then expand each section when I'm typing it.*
> **Student IY, female, Hong Kong Chinese heritage**

Another adopted a different approach which seemed to demonstrate some linearity of processing but which seemed to be less rigid in its application at the planning stage.

> *I try to plan. It doesn't ever work. If gathering the information, having it in a sequence order, if that means planning, then I do that [but] I would never write it on a piece of paper: first things/in the start/I've got to have this, this and that and that's where I got that from. I never have that. I wish I did actually, but I don't.*
> **Student SJ, female, Pakistani heritage**

Another student preferred to conduct research and write up her text as she went along. In this way she was conflating the *dispositio* and *elecutio* phases.

> *It's better because you're still doing your research at the same time. It's more easy when you make your own notes and add bits in. It's like writing them in your own words. You might find a better way than the book has written it and you can add your own words in your own way and your opinions and that.*
> **Student JJ, female, Indian heritage**

While Student JJ, a Nursing student, indicated some element of reformulating the content of what she had derived from source material by including her own ideas and words into her text, another student seemed to indicate that the source text provided her with much of what she used in the final piece of writing. .

> *What I do now is, I just choose one text and write everything down and then shuffle it up.*
> **Student BR, female, Indian heritage**

These strategies are not peculiar to minority ethnic group students but could apply equally to all students.

The bilingual students in this study also identified that certain mechanical aspects were required within their writing as a contribution to the construction of the *dispositio* and *elecutio* phases, in particular, the practice of citing and referencing sources as essential features of a good essay.

> *Just put more facts in relating to the question. More quotes. What people said. Evidence.*
> **Student WA, female, Pakistani heritage**

Failure to conform to this practice is perceived to affect marks.

> [You lose marks] *if you don't use any of these things, if, for example, you wrote an entire essay without having any references or any quotations. University expects that from you a lot, school doesn't.*
> **Student SJ, female, Pakistani heritage**

Potential for difficulty arises because, as a writer is exposed to increasing input, the more difficult it becomes to separate out what has been gleaned from the work of others and has subsequently become embedded in an individual's understanding. Student writers subsume ideas into their own texts using language and structures they have 'picked up' along the way. It is this embedding of discourse type that is defined by Ivanič (1998) as 'interdiscursivity'. However, in order to conform to the conventions of academic writing, students also need to decide on the extent to which they cite authorities to validate their arguments, termed as 'actual intertextuality' (Ivanič, 1998).

However, the distinction between interdiscursivity and intertextuality is sometimes unclear in student writing and this can give rise to accusations of plagiarism (Ivanič, 1998; Cutting, 2000). While there did seem to be an awareness of the pitfalls of plagiarism, in at least one case, the approach demonstrated a surface, or at best strategic, approach to the learning rather than a deep approach where the student internalised and processed the meaning of the text being cited. Revealingly, this process was described.

When NA1 [her sister] *does her essay, she sits with the text book, types it all up, then highlights it all and then undoes it.*
Student WA, female, Pakistani heritage

Student NA1 was a student of Law and found the language level of the required reading complex and, at times, impenetrable to the extent that the focus on linguistic and pragmatic knowledge dominated and hindered her ability to concentrate on the topic knowledge (Alamargot and Chanquoy, 2001 cited in Myhill and Fisher, 2005).

The data in this study clearly indicate that the interviewees were theoretically aware of the tension between accurate citation and plagiarism because this had been addressed at an early stage in the university experience.

In Summer School I was aware of plagiarism, so kept a watch out for it and the lecturers told us about it, but I already knew.
Student SA, male, Pakistani heritage

There was also awareness that committing plagiarism would have repercussions.

You don't want to get done for plagiarism. That's important.
Student NA1, female, Pakistani heritage

Only one student alluded to interdiscursivity with reference to assimilating the ideas from text and reformulating them using her own language.

You'd read essays from people and you'd see the plagiarism there. For me, when I had an assessment I'd enjoy being able to read at my own leisure being able to read about various things and then be able in my own summary to bring them into an essay or whatever I had to do. In my way, that is a much better way. I remember going to one of my tutors and saying, 'That's what so-and-so says, but I don't quite understand it.' That way I'd read it and I knew what I was talking about. I went and gained confirmation instead of just learning it and churning it out at the end.
Student BR, female, Indian heritage

The need to process the ideas, as suggested by Student BR, requires more than employing the intertextual strategies of simply quoting from source material. It requires that interdiscursivity that Ivanič (1998) recognises and some induction into the language norms of the specialist discourse community that characterise academic writing (Cutting, 2002).

However, some bilingual students, by their own acknowledgement, struggle to manipulate the text rather than try to seek understanding and apply the knowledge transformation process suggested by Sharples (1999). For example, Student NA2 seems to expend a great deal of effort in reformulating the text by one strategy or another. This appears to backfire, as she identified.

I start swapping it [the text] *around. That's when they start putting all this grammar stuff into it and, 'You're not doing your grammar right.' 'cause I just want to make it look different.*
Student NA2, female, Pakistani heritage

It transpired that this student was not unaware of an alternative to the strategies of word substitution or sentence re-structuring.

> *Perhaps if you didn't look at the sentence, you just thought of it in your own head, you can maybe make it make more sense instead of looking at the sentence closely and then, 'Well, how can I change it about?'. Because that's when you start making mistakes.*
> **Student NA2, female, Pakistani heritage**

The fact that this strategy was not Student NA2's first approach to knowledge transformation suggests that her earlier education had not adequately equipped her with the skills of paraphrasing and summarising content nor with the skills of manipulating language at sentence level. Although paraphrasing and summarising skills are taught as part of the SQA Higher English syllabus, it appeared that, for Student NA2, they had not become soundly embedded in her writing skills or seen by her as a process that had relevance beyond the school English classroom. Reasons for this are unclear; perhaps she just found word substitution using the electronic thesaurus to be a faster stratagem. It is worthy of note that the OFSTED report 'More Advanced Learners of English as an Additional Language in Secondary Schools and Colleges' (2003) reported students at sixth form colleges experiencing a similar difficulty.

12.2 Literacies and grammar

The data indicate that, for the bilingual students in this study, their abilities in the use of English language were important to the way that they went about producing academic work. They perceived grammar to be a productive aspect of their academic literacy, that is, a factor that impinged on their own writing rather than to what they read or speak. However, their understanding of what constitutes grammar tended to be imprecise and the term seemed to be a 'catch-all' for anything to do with the use of English language, its structures and its presentation. However, the assimilation of grammar is part of language acquisition and, according to Wallace (1986)

> ... attention to grammatical signals such as apostrophe 's' and past tense '–ed' is best given during reading itself ...[and] the teaching of grammar is thus put in a meaningful context.
> **Wallace, 1986:94-95**

It is worth noting that there is a 'middle way' in this contentious area of how, when and where grammar should be taught and this is debated by De Beaugrande (1980) who argues for a cross-curriculum approach that involves some dimensions of traditional grammar aided by contributions from applied linguistics. The debate has been updated by Johns (1997) as noted in §9.

For these monolingual and bilingual students whose entire learning had taken place within the mainstream, theirs is a generation that seems, in general, to have experienced very little formal teaching of grammar as Learner-centred or Socioliterate approaches to the acquisition of literacy, and implicitly, grammar have predominated. This may be indicative of the time that it takes for academic debate on broader philosophical issues of educational practice to filter through to practitioners in the classroom. For example, the debate inspired by De Beaugrande's writing and recommendations in the 1980s mentioned above either does not seem to have found acceptance, or does not appear to have filtered into the teaching experienced by the students in this study who would have been school pupils ten or so years later. Some might suggest that such debate is purely academic and that, for teachers at the chalk-face, their practice is often more immediately influenced by local exigencies than by what they might acknowledge to be pedagogically sound, if unrealistic, in their classrooms.

For the moment, it is important to note that several students in this study, monolingual and bilingual, reported that they had received little explicit teaching in grammar at any stage in their earlier education and that they had some awareness of grammar as a missing element in their learning, even if, in Menoian Paradox fashion, they were not quite sure what it was. Reflecting the ideas of Ong (1982), these students, in their daily use of language, demonstrated an implicit ability to apply rules that govern the language of text and that of speech by self-correction of errors, for example, without understanding the formal basis of these rules.

Nevertheless, their concerns about their perceived deficit regarding formal knowledge of grammar remain.

> *I really feel that I missed out. I ended up buying a book on 'Teach Yourself Grammar', but I didn't have time to work my way through all of it.*
> **Student SJM, male, British heritage**

This monolingual dominant group student's initiative in attempting to make up for this shortfall is a measure of his sense of insecurity about his standard of English and may have been related to the fact that he had failed to get into university when younger because of poor examination results in English. Whatever his reasoning, his action demonstrates a need to acquire a working knowledge of grammar and its metalanguage.

Lack of formal knowledge of grammar and its metalanguage, seemed more acute in the case of the bilingual students. Although there seemed to be a recognition that there was something 'not quite right' about their use of language, but they do not have the understanding to explore what this might be and therefore rectify the problem. For example, Student FS claimed that she had never been taught any rules of grammar, while another student suggested that his knowledge had been limited by incomplete instruction.

> *I don't think I know much grammar. Just punctuation. There wasn't that much English stuff. My English was not that good at school.*
> **Student NM, male, Pakistani heritage**

Since this student had received some EAL support at school, this suggests that he had not gained a more formal understanding of the structure of English and its grammar in that situation or in the mainstream English classroom. Nor did he seem to have acquired any metalanguage that might have helped him to discuss aspects of his writing.

However, a sense of having missed out in the acquisition of an essential tool in the form of grammar was not uniformly the case for monolingual interviewees. For example, another student, who had attended an all-girls grant-maintained school as a day pupil, reported an assumption that this kind of knowledge would be acquired routinely at school.

> *Learning grammar at school helped my formal English at university. By the time you get to university you should have such firm grasp of grammar that you shouldn't really need to be taught any more. I think taking a foreign language helps you.*
> **Student FH, female, Scottish heritage**

The influence of learning a modern foreign language in secondary school was noted by both monolingual and bilingual students as a factor in developing some language awareness. The uniform view was that they had learnt more about English grammar in these modern foreign language classes than in any class covering the English curriculum. Only two dominant group students identified experience of learning grammar in the course of studying for Higher or Sixth Year Studies English classes.

Several bilingual interviewees in this study indicated that they would have favoured an approach along the lines of the Traditional view of literacy theory (Johns, 1997; Alamargot and Chanquoy, 2001 cited in Myhill and Fisher, 2005). One of the bilingual students, who had received the earlier part of her education in Africa, noted her experience of more traditional grammar teaching as different to that offered in the British school system.

> *It's very difficult because in Africa we followed a very old GCE system and we had specific English grammar lessons and English literature lessons. I still remember the book 'First Aid in English' which has been going for years and years and years and we went through the entire book. In Kenya, because it's been a British Commonwealth*

> *colony, they do emphasise the Queen's English. Grammar was a big part of our education. I think a lot of the English learning that goes on here is very much learning through fun, whereas we were actually MADE to learn the proper gender and all that stuff – whereas a lot of them here say, 'We'd like to learn that. It's quite good to be able to know all that.'*
> **Student BR, female, Indian heritage**

Student BR justified her positive view of this Traditional Approach to learning grammar by pointing out the ramifications of not having this foundation.

> *It's that bit extra. If you read an essay – if you read two essays – if you've read one from someone who know more of their grammar, it does sound better. It really does.*
> **Student BR, female, Indian heritage**

Another bilingual student identified the impact of her lack of grammar as placing an added burden on her ability to produce written work.

> *I'm quite shocked and a bit angry I – I'm having - it's like I'm writing away and then I'm having to think and get my grammar book out and learn it later on. It's hard because you're doing double the amount of work.*
> **Student FS, female, Pakistani heritage**

Student FS perceived herself to have been disadvantaged in this respect and attributed her difficulties with writing to

> *... a weak foundation because of the English. Definitely, because I think I'm putting in three or four times the amount of work that somebody who's got the proper foundation because once you've learnt something well and you come back to doing it later, you can pick it up. You don't have to think about it [grammar] because you have learnt to do it the correct way.*
> **Student FS, female, Pakistani heritage**

This was a recurring theme in the interview with Student FS whose perception was that she had been badly let down by the educational system rather than by individual teachers.

> *I remember it [grammar] more at my secondary school. But when it came to marking they should have been a lot harsher. If I wasn't picking up on it, then they should have noticed. It should have been in my report. They did teach us – I'm not going to deny that – but to the extent that they weren't following it up. When I was sitting exams or when I was handing pieces in, they should have picked up on it. If you keep getting 'that's wrong' circles, as a child you're going to improve on it. But I don't think they were following it through.*
> **Student FS, female, Pakistani heritage**

Another minority ethnic group student had some recollection of being taught some of the elements of grammar at some stage and was able to use some of the metalanguage to describe this (although this may be terminology he had since acquired at university as explained below).

> *We were taught things like verbs, adjectives and that, but it wasn't early on. I didn't know about adverbs. But I'd say in fourth year they did [teach grammar] and in Higher English.*
> **Student SM, male, Pakistani heritage**

Student SM also had a strong view about the place of grammar teaching in school.

> *I think if it was at school, you'd be more prepared for it now and you would know about it. I think it should be at school level. Maybe you might get people more prepared for anything that they do* [here] *because I know there's been a lot of criticism about people coming to universities some of them with very poor reading and writing skills as well. I would honestly imagine you would struggle, especially at university level, without being able to do good reading or writing. Especially with all the amount of reading and writing you are expected to do. And I think it* [formal grammar teaching] *could be changed to school level anyway or in the process before you come to university* [Summer School].
>
> **Student SM, male, Pakistani heritage**

The reason for this opinion related to a later comment from the same student who reported his experience of being confronted by direct teaching about English grammar as part of his computing course. For him, this had proved to be a revelation.

> *A couple of things that came up in the computing classes. We did in fourth year a module called 'natural language processing' where you're actually learning how computers put together their sentences and how it's hard because it's so many English options. And that was brilliant – I really liked that – if that was an intro session at the university or even at school, because you're taking sentences apart. Taking a sentence and saying, 'What is that?' Labelling every word. I think that is amazing. I didn't know as much about language as I learnt in those five weeks. Most of it was about how computers/ how you have to understand the language/and the computers have to understand it so they can put sentences together for themselves. Because at the moment, ask it a question, it uses key words and tries to answer as best it can. It doesn't make it up on the fly*. It's like a system when you're phoning for a booking for a cinema or whatever. And it was examining that. And although a couple of weeks of it was just about English grammar, breaking it down, it was totally amazing. They actually work with that with the elderly. Research for the systems the elderly use and even for those automated systems. Not so much the voice where you can tell it's a robot or a computer, but the way that they put a sentence together. You can tell they don't make sense. And when you're trying to communicate at an international level as well something might make more sense. In my opinion as well, if they had this specific way of learning the English structural sentences and naming them, then learning about that was brilliant.*
>
> **Student SM, male, Pakistani heritage**   * spontaneously

It is interesting to note that Student SM was quite happy at the idea of parsing individual words, analysing sentence structure and language use in this particular way because of its clear relevance to his vocational studies. He had clearly been impressed by the way that an understanding of the structure of language could have an application on his professional studies and thus his motivation for learning about grammar might be considered to be higher than might otherwise have been the case.

The delivery of language training in the manner experienced by Student SM was uniform for all students undertaking his course and he did not see himself as a 'special case' because of his bilingualism. Indeed, the bilingual students in this study had little

perception of themselves as language learners in relation to English any more so than their peers from the dominant language group. Even for those who had experienced some teaching in English as an Additional Language (EAL), it is evident that their exposure to conscious language learning in terms of EAL was short-lived and their later engagement with English was as a curriculum subject. In the latter, their comments indicated that no concession was made to their bilingualism and the advantages that this might bring to their learning about and use of English language. Moreover, because the Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA) English examination syllabus at Higher Grade focuses on Analysis and Appreciation (Drama, Prose, Poetry and Mass Media) and Close Reading, there is less emphasis on the teaching of English language in its own right.

Thus, these bilingual students, beyond the initial stages of their acquisition of English, perceived that there had been very little attempt to develop their control of language. They cited no evidence that showed any formal steps within their educational experience to capitalise on linguistic skills derived from their heritage and other languages. This implied that, for the greater part, the happenchance of subconscious acquisition provided the input to their language development in much the same way as appeared to have been the case for their monolingual dominant ethnic group peers. This lack of language awareness was noted, for example, by one such student.

> *I think it was more down to 'How do I structure these sentences?' – even punctuation.*
> **Student SJM, male, Scottish heritage**

However, it might be surmised that this process was less straightforward for bilingual pupils for reasons that would not have applied to monolingual students. This was described by Student FS whose experiences in this area had clearly had a profound effect on her learning and writing.

> *I've had a lot of problems. My schooling was very, very poor indeed. The thing was with my parents being from abroad, they obviously brought the language so the first language I knew was a foreign language. So when I hit primary school, I had problems. I learnt English very quick but I didn't learn it to the degree* [needed] *so that my grammar, punctuation and all that was totally all back to front and when I got upset at school, I'd change from English to the foreign language and then my Mum would get called into school. Stuff like that.*
> **Student FS, female, Pakistani heritage**

This lends some strength to the perception that the quality of the writing of minority ethnic groups students may impact negatively on the work they produce and consequently influence their marks. One student felt that this had been the case for her.

> *Even then* [at school] *I got bad* [marks] *for grammar and punctuation; it's not that I get great marks for that.*
> **Student NA1, female, Pakistani heritage**

Even for Student FS who acknowledged her weakness in relation to grammar and language in general, the unequal struggle seemed to present too much of a challenge.

> *I'd say my English stops me gaining marks. But I think because I know sometimes my*
> *English is poor, I can't be bothered and I carry on with my number-crunching which*
> *I'm best at, so I can be my own worst enemy.*
> **Student FS, female, Pakistani heritage**

By contrast, while the need to have some detailed understanding of English grammar remained a preoccupation for all the bilingual interviewees in this study, they seemed to have little concern about their lack of grammatical awareness in their heritage languages where there was general acknowledgment of very limited literacy and, implicitly, therefore, a restricted understanding of its formal grammar. In this respect, there appeared to be tacit acceptance of the view articulated by Ong (1982).

> Grammar rules live in the unconscious in the sense that you can know how to use the
> rules and even how to set up new rules without being able to state what they are.
> **Ong, 1982:81**

This suggests that, for the students in this study, grammar and the productive literacy of writing were perceived to be closely aligned but, as few had any competence in generating written text in their heritage language, written grammar knowledge was not seen as an issue for that language identity.

12.3 Literacies and vocabulary

There is a 'cross-over' in relation to vocabulary acquisition for reading and for writing. Vocabulary development in one area complements the other. This sub-section firstly · examines vocabulary acquisition and reading and then writing.

There is an inherent difficulty in exploring the field of vocabulary acquisition in relation to bilingual learners such as the students in this present study because this is an area in which research work has been limited. There exists a considerable body of literature on lexical development in the area of the teaching of English as a Foreign Language as a subset of second language acquisition theory (Ellis, 1994; Kroll, 2003; Lewis, 1993; Nation, 1990). There is also a body of work which relates to the teaching of vocabulary for students of English as an Additional or Second Language (Hinkel, 2003; Laufer, 1997 in Coady and Huckin, 1997). There is, in addition, material that examines the development of vocabulary and spelling in relation to early reading programmes for native speaker children (Marzano, 2004; Nagy, 2005 in Hiebert, 2005). However, discussion in relation to individuals with learning histories such as those of the student respondents and interviewees in this study is limited (Cameron, 2002; McKay, 1999). The following sub-section will draw on material

from all these areas of literature relevant to the current study whilst acknowledging the gaps in this particular field.

Whatever the language learning stage of the learner, it is clear that the acquisition of vocabulary is fundamental in developing understanding and the ability to make meaning both orally and in writing. Tschirner (2004:27) claims that 'vocabulary has been identified as one of the most important indicators of reading proficiency and of academic language skills more generally'. In a similar vein, Laufer and Sim (1985 cited in Tschirner, 2004) and Vermeer (1992 cited in Hutchinson and others, 2003) relate efficient reading and academic success to vocabulary size. However, Bourdieu (1994) highlights a potential difficulty in this respect in reporting that

> Most students are unable to define terms which appear with high frequency in the language of lectures and essays.
> **Bourdieu, 1994:15**

Although Bourdieu's observation relates to French university students, experience suggests that a similar trend would also be apparent amongst UK university students.

Yet, views vary about the reservoir of language items necessary to enable students to function within academic contexts. Laufer (1997) identifies a lexical threshold for adults using English as a Foreign Language (EFL) of 3,000 word families representing approximately 5,000 lexical items. Below this level she suggests that reading comprehension will be compromised. In a study by Hazenberg and Hulstijn (1996 cited in Tschirner, 2004), this figure leaps significantly to a word threshold of 10,000 words required for reading university texts, while Schmitt and others (2001 cited in Cameron, 2002) suggest a vocabulary of 15-20 thousand word families for a university graduate.

Data from the current study relating to the acquisition of vocabulary in the academic context do not always apply exclusively to those students for whom English is an Additional Language. This point is noted by Cameron (2002).

> Both groups of students need support to develop knowledge of less frequent words....the gap between the groups is largest at 5,000 level. [This] mean[s] that in situations where low frequency vocabulary is needed, both groups will display difficulties...
> **Cameron, 2002: 168**

What is difficult to gauge is the extent to which students of minority and dominant ethnicities enter higher education with command of the levels of vocabulary considered essential for this stage. As one lecturer observed referring to monolingual university level

students, 'The word-box is pathetically empty' (personal communication), a comment that resonates with the view of Nation (1990) who, commenting on the lexical competence of bilingual students, claims that

> ... a vocabulary of at least 3,000 head-words is needed to read unsimplified texts with any ease ... however, many learners, especially those wanting to study at the university or technical institute level, may have less than this.
> **Nation, 1990:116-119**

Opinions differ as to the best way of developing vocabulary. It is suggested that the paucity of vocabulary identified by Bourdieu (1994) can best be expanded by further reading (Krashen, 1997; Wallace, 1986). In one example relating to EFL students, Tschirner (2004) suggests that, where students undertake discrete study of vocabulary, this results in the acquisition of broader receptive and productive vocabularies where learners focus on reading (enhancing receptive vocabulary) or speaking (enhancing productive vocabulary).

By contrast, (Nagy and Herman, 1987 cited in Coady and Huckin, 1997) argue that expanding vocabulary is achieved subconsciously by the promotion of reading across the curriculum. Their view is that this can lead to greater vocabulary growth than would be possibly by any program of explicit instruction alone. One bilingual interviewee described this incidental expansion of vocabulary.

> *Listening to lecturers or just reading through books. 'Cos there's a lot of reading involved at Uni. You pick up loads of words that way. I don't use a dictionary. Just reading. You just pick up words right – not what does it mean but you just read through it, what fits in. How it's used. I usually do know what words mean the majority of the time. To this point, I've not had any difficulty yet.*
> **Student SJ, female, Pakistani heritage**

By contrast, one student gave some idea of the extent to which she felt that her lexical limitations impeded her ability to access the content of text.

> *What I find stressful is, say, when I'm reading a book and all these big words come up, the reading list, the list of all the books, and then most of the time I've got to look up the dictionary to find out what a word means and that takes a lot of time.*
> **Student NA2, female, Pakistani heritage**

It is the view of Nation (2001) that, in order to achieve comprehension of text, at least 97% of the vocabulary has to be known to the reader. This means that, if students cannot achieve this percentage, there is the likelihood that they will be dependent on guessing and contextualising strategies. One possible effect of this is that comprehension of the text may be incomplete or may diverge from the intended meaning because of inappropriate unauthorised contextual interpretation. As Nagy (2005) suggests, apart from guessing

meanings of words from the context, there are different strategies that students reading unfamiliar words in texts employ to guess meaning, for example, from hazarding a guess based on prefixes, suffixes, similarity to another word, or some other cue within the word. However, none of the bilingual students in this study reported using any such strategies. From the data it appears that if they could not guess a word from the context, they referred to a dictionary.

> *When you do the research you use the big words. You have the dictionary beside you and you're looking for the big words that could go down in the essay.*
> **Student SA, male, Pakistani heritage**

There is a trace of desperation in Student SA's comment that randomly selecting words will contribute to a better standard of written work regardless of their appropriacy to the task or context and possibly his level of understanding of meaning or usage.

Cameron (2002:155) contends that 'learning EAL is a more random experience lexically' because it is dependent on exposure to classroom materials rather than explicit vocabulary learning such as that experienced by EFL learners. It may, therefore, be a slower process than when a direct method of teaching vocabulary is used and this may be a factor in the bilingual students' perceptions of their poor vocabulary. One possible explanation for this may be related to the fact that, for some time, it has been argued that bilingual pupils such as those described in the present study take between 5-7 years to reach age-appropriate levels of academic English literacy (Cummins, 1984; Collier, 1997). More recent studies in the UK (Cameron, 2002; Hutchinson and others, 2003), in the USA (Genessee, 2004) and in Australia (McKay, 1999) have endorsed the figures in this early work by considering differentials between native speaker and bilingual acquisition of vocabulary. Looking at a more mature group of students, Cameron (2002) reports

> EAL students, who have had on average 10.5 years in English medium education, show gaps in their knowledge of the most frequent words and more serious problems with less frequent words, with important implications for educational achievement.
> **Cameron 2002: 145**

This research has significant ramifications for this present study.

In her study based on written scripts, Cameron (2002) notes that the thirteen- to fifteen-year-old students demonstrated this vocabulary shortfall one to two years prior to public examinations when a level of ten to fifteen thousand words would be expected. However, her data show the gap between native and bilingual speakers to be largest at five to ten

thousand word levels. This suggests that some of the subjects in her study did not attain high scores at the upper word levels and this signifies weaknesses in academic vocabulary. With the 'randomness' of vocabulary acquisition continuing into the post-16 period of education, it would not be unreasonable to assume that vocabulary shortfall for bilingual students such as those in this study may continue into higher education and this influences productive as well as receptive vocabulary.

If vocabulary acquisition is important to the development of reading competence, it is also, of course, critical for the development of writing. Coady and Huckin (1997), referring to the literature, reach the conclusion that written English contains twice as many word types as spoken English. It would not be unreasonable to surmise that this ratio would be enhanced for those having to produce the specialised genres of academic writing. This viewpoint is consistent with the bilingual interviewees' perception that, when creating their own text, they were presented with challenges because the demands in respect of lexical variety are particularly high at university. One student expressed the need to

> *... use better words*
> **Student AS, male, Pakistani heritage**

Another bilingual student recognised the different expectations of higher education.

> *When we came here, they preferred you to write big words.*
> **Student IY, female, Hong Kong Chinese heritage**

This awareness was indicated by Student NA1.

> *Over the years at university they don't tend to use simple words.*
> **Student NA1, female, Pakistani heritage**

However, as students enhanced their vocabulary, it seemed more likely that they would venture to use the less common term in their writing. This was recognised by a student in her second year at university.

> *You do* [use more sophisticated words] *and you would never speak those words.*
> **Student SJ, female, Pakistani heritage**

This propensity to develop a broader range of vocabulary in writing was identified also by dominant ethnic group students.

> *I find that a lot of the times when I'm writing something, my vocabulary is an awful lot better than when I'm speaking. For some reason, it's something about image – I'm stuck being the welder. I try too hard to get away from that and end up sounding silly. When I'm writing, I can write fine.*
> **Student WW, male, Scottish heritage**

Overall, the ability to use a broader range of vocabulary was seen to be something that distinguished the writing of monolingual students in the eyes of bilingual students, one of whom commented in relation to her monolingual peers.

> *Sometimes they might use bigger words than you might write.*
> **Student JJ, female, Indian heritage**

Another student referring to the researcher (in her advisory role) made a similar comparison.

> *It's OK for you. You know all the big words. When it comes to exams, I don't want to remember the big words. I want to remember the small words. That way I remember it easier.*
> **Student NA2, female, Scottish heritage**

Several references to 'big words' have been made in this section, but the bilingual interviewees did not define what they understood by this term. Experience suggests that the unknown words are not, in fact, 'big words' in the polysyllabic sense, but more likely to be low frequency words such as those identified by Nation and Newton (1997 in Coady and Huckin, 1997) and thus 'big words' might more likely be interpreted to mean 'unfamiliar' or 'unguessable'. This may also be attributed to the fact that, as noted by Wallace (1986), it is more difficult for learners to identify structures and words which are 'largely absent from their own speech' (Wallace, 1986:87). This was noted by one student.

> *I don't know how to say it in a more formal way.*
> **Student SJ, female, Pakistani heritage**

It seemed therefore that issues of register, as well as vocabulary breadth, were problematic for some students.

Bilingual students in this study reported that as they become more confident of their lexical base, they venture into experimenting with more explicit vocabulary. This was noted by Student NM, a second year student of Architecture.

> *Some of the words you use, bigger words, you make your point clearer. At school, it wasn't that formal.*
> **Student NM, male, Pakistani heritage**

Another student also demonstrated that she would be discerning in her use of an unfamiliar word.

> *I wouldn't just use a word because it looks nice or that; I'd have to know what the purpose of that word is.*
> **Student SJ, female, Pakistani heritage**

Again, students reported having ideas in their heads that they found they were unable to frame in writing, in this instance, because they were unable to find the right word or expression to use.

It takes a long time to choose words. Sometimes you know you've got something in your head but you still can't write it because you can't find the word, especially if you have limited words.
Student LA, female, Iraqi heritage

Overall, it seemed that students recognised that there were short-comings in their lexical reserves. However, progression through the university experience seemed to indicate that vocabulary expanded, a development that would be anticipated to be the case for students of all heritage backgrounds.

A further enhancement of students' working vocabulary relates to subject-specific language which they acknowledge as being essential to developing their understanding within their fields. This could mean technical vocabulary or specialist usage of particular mainstream words. For another student the introduction of different interpretations of non-specialist words had been enlightening.

Such as they used 'concept' and I didn't know what that was. The idea – 'concept' is the architectural term for your idea. Concepts, precedents – that's the example of other buildings. I used to say 'example' but now I say 'precedent' and many other words. It is much better when you come to your crit. Starting to use architectural terms is much better.
Student NM, male, Pakistani heritage

Student NM also identified that a limited lexical reservoir restricted the ability to express ideas without plagiarising.

I found all these old books. I think that the Byzantium period isn't covered and doesn't have many new books. They're really old books and hard to understand and put in your own words. I think that's why my last essay was very close to that kind of language because I didn't know how to change it.
Student NM, male, Pakistani heritage

For Student NM this marks not only the limitations of his receptive, but also his productive lexicon. His recognition of this as a problem with regard to the quality of his work has a certain pathos as he has no apparent strategy to circumvent this problem in the future.

12.4 Summary

This section has identified the characteristics that distinguish the kind of writing experienced at school and contrasted these with the writing experienced at university. The difficulties noted in adjusting to the style and standard of university level writing are also related to adjusting to writing within new or different discourse communities. Students' approaches to the technical aspects of writing reflect their awareness of what needs to be

done in order to produce written assignments, but they are less clear on how this could be achieved.

Study at higher education level requires a degree of autonomy that is new to many students. In academic respects, this is reflected in the need to develop the analytical skills in order to achieve critical thinking. However, this sense of autonomy in relation to writing in higher education does not appear to be strong in the responses of the minority ethnic group students. It has already been noted that these students' difficulties in their writing, by their own assessment, occurred because the 'voice' in which they write is much influenced by their speech. In addition, as seen in this section, they struggle with expression and relate this to their bilingualism, to poor grounding in grammar and to their limited vocabulary. Some students, at the time of this study, expressed a feeling that they had reached a language (and perhaps a cognitive) plateau. This means that they were frequently constrained by difficulties in expressing their ideas in their writing and that what they wrote did not necessarily reflect the extent of their understanding, that is, they write what they can write rather than what they know and understand. In discussing these issues with students a subtle theme that kept appearing was that in multiple ways they perceive themselves to be underperforming in writing. This negative perspective seems to accentuate a widening distance between the Academic Self and the Ethnic Self and between the current and desired Academic Self.

The minority ethnic students in this study also acknowledged that they have difficulty with knowledge transformation and resort to strategies that attempt to avoid plagiarism – not always successfully. It seems that several place a strong reliance on texts and lecture notes which they attempt to reframe by substituting synonyms or by rearranging sentence structures. Thus, for them, creating meaning reliant on topic, linguistic, pragmatic and procedural knowledge presents challenges that, by their own accounts, mean that their writing lacks authority.

Grammar and vocabulary shortcomings remain a concern in relation to writing. Discussion revealed that, while the bilingual students are less likely to relate their knowledge of grammar to the texts that they are required to read, they recognise the shortfall in their understanding of how English language 'works' when they write. There is a perception that this shortcoming is a real impediment in their writing and inhibits their attainment. Similarly, they perceive the narrowness of their vocabulary as an impediment to their

understanding where the use of low-frequency words – 'big words' – appears to be a consistent obstacle. This lexical deficit is considered to have a negative impact also on writing.

For the bilingual students in this study, the aspects that they consider weaken their writing and their autonomy as learners could equally well be identified amongst dominant ethnic group students. However, again, it is their different language profile that may set them apart from the mainstream student body.

In several respects, the Academic Self is less secure in relation to the writing, grammatical and lexical attributes described in this section, for it is in these areas that the bilingual students are at their most vulnerable. However, there are further aspects relating to writing that significantly shape the Academic Self and these are examined in the following section where the relationship between writing and identity is considered.

Part V - Identity

§13 Identity through writing

The identities of Ethnic Self, Academic Self and Global Self have been intertwined as consistent themes throughout this work in considering the learning experiences of the students in this study. However, it is with regard to the literacy of writing that the significance of the Self is brought into particularly sharp relief because it is in writing that students are potentially at their most vulnerable. In writing assignments, whether coursework or examination, students expose their strengths and weaknesses in their command of content and their organisation of ideas for the consumption of the assessor.

In this section, I examine the process by which identities of the students in this study are shaped by their engagement with academic writing. Firstly, I consider the cycle creating Writing Identity as represented in the linkages between the written assignment as product, the evaluation and feedback from the marker. I then examine other identity-shaping influences that structure students' writing and learning in relation to student learning styles, the 'hidden curriculum', and the impact of assignment feedback and examination assessment. This will involve probing the extent to which students look to peers and teaching staff to support their learning prior to submission and through feedback. It will track the evolution of their sense of Academic Self, relating, in particular, to the Writing Identity that they form within their university learning experience. This will support an examination of the correlation between the concepts of Writing Identity and those of Ethnic, Academic and Global Self as discussed thematically throughout this thesis.

13.1 The writing cycle

Although Bhatia (2004) asserts that writing is both a process and a product, for the purposes of the present discussion, I am confining my interest to the completed student text. Thus, in the context of the university teaching and learning environment, the development of the product of academic writing is a cycle in which a student's text is both a starting and a finishing point in learning. This occurs because, in producing and submitting the academic text, the student presents ideas and understandings for assessment and critique. In this context, the student demonstrates not only command of content, but also the ability to produce, for example, expository or discursive prose in a style that is consistent with the traditions of academic writing and with particular reference to the discourse community of their study. Summative assessment translates

into a mark or grade that, in many contexts, would be accompanied by written and/or oral feedback from the marker. Assuming that the student reads and acts on this staff feedback, which is not always the case (Ding, 1998 cited in Gibbs and Simpson, 2002), it could influence the student's subsequent writing as well as make some contribution to the evolution of their Writer Identity and, thereby, other identities to which an individual may lay claim.

13.2 Shaping identity through writing

Identities are not fixed. As Schick (1999:19 cited in Wolfreys, 2004) suggests '... identity is never "complete"; rather it is always under construction'. Bagley and Verma (1983) perceive that the sense of identity, as encapsulated in the sense of Self, begins in childhood with the development of communication when a child first recognises its own individuality. With maturity comes wider experience, and Gergen (1992 cited in Kearney, 2002) suggests that self-awareness of identity is moulded from the fact that culture influences our forms of expression through listening and narrative. It is argued by Ong (1982) that, in addition, writing, although an artificial creation, is another means that helps to form individual identity, for

> Writing is utterly invaluable and indeed essential for the realisation of fuller, interior, human potentials.
> **Ong, 1982:81**

Other authors have explored the origins of Writing Identity specifically in the context of higher education. Fan Shen (1988 cited in Hyland 2002) is of the view that, as a novice writer learning to write in the university context, the student creates a new identity. From a slightly different perspective, Davies and others (1994) see this as a developmental process leading to a shift in self-awareness.

> When people grow up only reading and writing a certain amount, their strengths create their identity. When you start to read and write more, or different, sorts of things, this changes [your] identity...when you read and write at university,
> you can become, through choice or a sense of compulsion, a different person from who you are outside university.
> **Davies and others, 1994:157**

For Hyland (2002:352) this is manifested in the voice of the author in the text working 'to create a plausible academic identity'. Ivanič (1998) distils this concept of academic identity even further by choosing to take Writer Identity as her starting point.

Ivanič argues that the writer self is socially constructed as a result of experiences and contexts that writers encounter. This resonates with the model already described in Figure 1.5.4.3 by showing potential development and sources of identities for the minority ethnic students in this study. This model has been further developed in Figure 13.2 to exemplify the social construction of the multiple identities of minority ethnic group students in this study. This shows the various contexts that contribute to each of the sample identities that radiate from the nodal Self, in this case, the Ethnic, the Academic and the Global. Writing Identity is represented as part of the broader compass of Academic Identity because in the context of the current study, the development of the literacy of writing is closely interwoven with the development of the Academic Self.
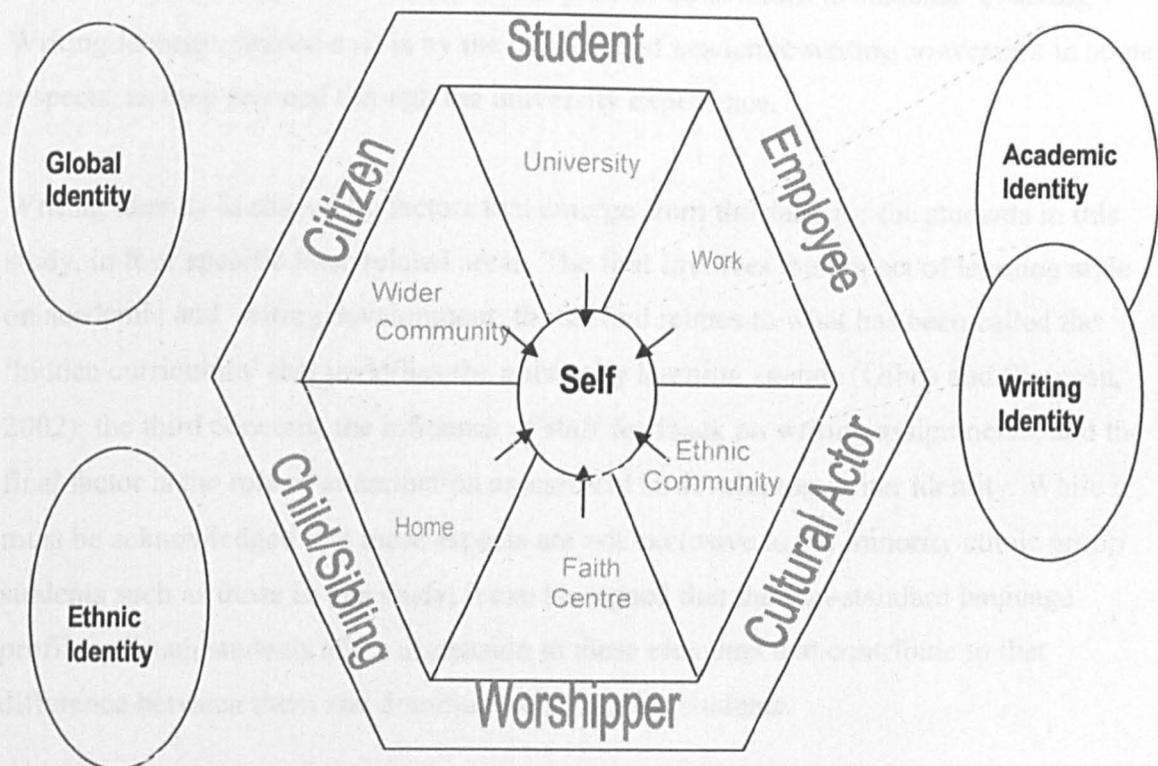

Figure 13.2 Social construction of identity

While Ivanič recognises that writers perpetuate abstract conventions in the discourse of their specialist communities (Goffman, 1969 in Ivanič, 1998), she argues for challenging these conventions as part of the process of encouraging the evolution of Writing Identity. However, this is not a real option for the students such as those in this study. As relative new-comers to higher education as well as to the art of academic writing, it seems that their position is not one where they are in any position of power such that they would seek to challenge or flout the conventions of academic discourse. This would be true of most students, but this would possibly be exaggerated for bilingual students whose

educational experience up to this point has been one where conforming to the local norms has been their, possibly subconscious, strategy.

As noted in §12, the data show students' perceptions of the difference between the writing that had been required of them at school and at university and how they feel that school had prepared them for this transition. These data also show that, for some, there was a perception that they had reached a plateau in their written self-expression to the extent that they indicated that they write what they can write, rather than what they know and understand. Therefore, their efforts are directed at seeking routes to developing their writing in order to conform to the writing and other academic conventions they encounter within the university. This developmental process contributes to students' evolving Writing Identity, shaped as it is by the influence of academic writing conversion in some respects, as they proceed through the university experience.

Writing identity is shaped by factors that emerge from the data, for the students in this study, in four specific inter-related areas. The first involves the impact of learning style on academic and writing development; the second relates to what has been called the 'hidden curriculum' that underlies the university learning agenda (Gibbs and Simpson, 2002); the third concerns the influence of staff feedback on writing assignments; and the final factor is the role of examination assessment in developing writer identity. While it must be acknowledged that these aspects are not exclusive to the minority ethnic group students such as those in this study, it can be argued that the non-standard language profiles of such students add a dimension to these elements that contribute to that difference between them and dominant ethnic group students.

13.3 Learning Style

Writing Identity is affected by how students apply their learning style to the new learning environments of higher education. I had decided to introduce the interviews by asking students about their learning styles as a means of gently encouraging them to speak about themselves and where they felt their learning preferences lie. I selected the profile of learning styles derived by Honey and Mumford (1982) because it is a concise and easily explained set of styles. This was important when time was limited. The minority ethnic group interviewees showed a tendency to favour Activist and Pragmatist modes, whereas dominant group interviewees tended towards Reflector and Theorist styles (Appendix 5).

However, each individual has a unique learning style and, thus, drawing general conclusions from the qualitative data, especially in such a small sample, risks the danger of stereotyping. Nevertheless, these tendencies are interesting because, not only do they reflect the social construction of the learners' identities, but they are manifested in the students' oral responses concerning their approaches to the writing tasks they were required to tackle.

For example, when comparing the minority ethnic group and the dominant ethnic group students it seems that the minority ethnic group students adopt a more interactive approach to learning. For several minority ethnic group interviewees, dialogue with friends, either in a group or in one-to-one situations, seems to be a step in the process of learning that helps them to internalise ideas. This characteristic seems to be a function of the Ethnic Self as described by a Social Work student.

> *I work in a group with friends – a mass work session in the library with mature*
> *students as well. You can compare notes and sort out what you're thinking.*
> **Student SJ, female, Pakistani heritage**

The apparent social dimension of this process was based, for several students, on the perception that their peers are good sources of information. In this case, the friends Student SJ refers to were from the dominant ethnic group and this appeared to reflect a belief that the views of these people are more likely to be 'right'. An Arts student, already noted to have struggled with lectures, the volume of reading and the processing of ideas in texts, expressed a preference for

> *... getting help from a friend because you get better information.*
> **Student NA2, female, Pakistani heritage**

Other students valued this consultation with friends for related reasons. For example, another student observed that he gathers alternative views on a topic because

> *... friends can give you their views as well.*
> **Student AS, male, Pakistani heritage**

In addition, a further dimension of peer explanations was that

> *...friends make it sound easier.*
> **Student WA, female, Pakistani heritage**

In relation to the process of writing assignments, the minority group students follow a similar strategy of consultation. Knain (2005) likens this to an activity where

> ... students play with identities in their texts, they try them on, like new (or perhaps
> someone else's) clothes, and see if they fit, if they are useful and comfortable.
> **Knain, 2005:610**

The minority ethnic students in this study reported such a strategy when they explained how they drew on the approach and structure of the writing of dominant ethnic group friends.

> *I've noticed one good style that my friend's got. First of all, she looks at the question or whatever the topic is and she starts off with defining it. If you're stuck with starting an introduction, that is a good way of starting. She splits her arguments up or, if there's too many points, she'll pick two or three and concentrate on those. Just different things.*
> **Student FS, female, Pakistani heritage**

Thus, the usefulness of having sight of the work of others and noting how they might model their own writing or content on such examples is seen as a useful exercise.

> *Even when you're reading your fellow students' [work]. 'Oh, I'm stuck. What have you got?' It doesn't throw you off or anything. It even makes you think, 'Oh, I might consider doing it that way for my next hand-in.'*
> **Student SM, male, Pakistani heritage**

This is not always seen as a one-way experience and can be mutually beneficial as noted by Student NA1.

> *We do sometimes read one another's and see what you think. It can give you more ideas and they can pick up ideas from yours.*
> **Student NA1, female, Pakistani heritage**

For Student IY, this consultation process is an important part of self-improvement because, in addition to having to explain her own writing, she recognises that she can learn from the discourse style of others.

> *They did essays and we swapped just to – like – have a look at each other's and theirs was like, 'Whoosh'. It was really, really good and the structure and everything and the content. And I was like, 'Maybe if I done some sort of similar structure it could have been better.' I'd take that into account for my next essay, but sometimes I would not necessarily use it. It depends on my style.*
> **Student IY, female, Hong Kong Chinese heritage**

The minority ethnic students continue this process of consultation with peers once their writing is completed. This seems to be considered an important part of the process of experimenting with the creation of text as well as of structuring ideas. However, it also seems to indicate that several students lack confidence in their own writing ability.

> *Sometimes when we do our essays, we might just want to let somebody look at it and they might ask you, 'What do you mean by that?' So, you're going to have to explain what you mean by that so it's better to know what you've written yourself. There's not much point in writing something if you don't have a clue what you're talking about.*
> **Student IY, female, Hong Kong Chinese heritage**

Other students enlist the assistance of siblings or peers studying within the same subject domain. This seems to be a strategy that applies to both male and female students.

I usually show my brothers or my friends and they say 'Yeh, that looks OK'.
Student NM, male, Pakistani heritage

I just get friends to read through it.
Student SJ, female, Pakistani heritage

Another student gave a more detailed account of how this works for her.

What I do is I get my friends to check my essays. I'll be writing away on this topic and suddenly, I switch [to another topic]. *I'm alright to the extent* [that] *as long as somebody's sitting – like – looks over my work and then, because I won't automatically know what's wrong, my friends will. I think it's not so much my ideas. I know what is meant to go on the page, but it's expressing it that's my problem. And most of it is to do with language. We swap our work.*

To begin [with] *I noticed I did a lot of waffling and I wouldn't answer the question. Halfway through last year my friend, she read it and she went 'Wheek' right through it with a pen. (I've told everybody from day one, 'I've got problems with writing essays.') She went, 'Your first one-and-a-half pages of your essay is the biggest load of waffle I've ever seen because the rest of it is fantastic.' She went, 'Get rid of that.'*
Student FS, female, Pakistani heritage

Here, this interviewee's self-assessment of her writing is that, not only does she not write well and on task, but that she does not have the skill to recognise what is wrong without recourse to the help of her peers.

Thus, it seems that the minority ethnic group students in this study, in cultivating approaches to learning, especially in writing activities, that involve consultation with their peers are developing the Academic Self. This process of consultation was not evident in the contributions from the dominant ethnic group students.

While several minority ethnic students indicated that in tackling assignments they sought peer dialogue as a first resort, some also indicated that seeking staff assistance might be an alternative in certain circumstances. This was explained by one student:

If a friend cannot help me, then I'd ask a lecturer.
Student IY, female, Hong Kong Chinese heritage

Conversely, her friend, one of the other interviewees, indicated that she would be reluctant to seek help from academic staff, preferring to rely on her peers.

I'd rather get help for friends rather than lecturers.
Student SB, female, Indian heritage

This attitude might be explained by the perception that some lecturers are unapproachable.

Sometimes it's scary. Sometimes I feel that I'm in their way. Or sometimes they look like they don't want to help, so you kind of back away.
Student IY, female, Hong Kong Chinese heritage

We don't like going to lecturers to ask [about] *exams, for hints.*
Student NA1, female, Pakistani heritage

Thus, another student, demonstrating a reluctance to expose her lack of competence, explained that the approachability of staff would influence her decision to seek help.

> *I'd only ask lecturers who look easy-going. I think they'd think you can't cope with the course.*
> **Student SB, female, Indian heritage**

Another student acknowledged that staff are approachable and helpful but he bemoaned the fact that that opportunities to interact with them are limited.

> *You get a lot of help for projects from the tutors. I would say that it would be much better if you got to talk to them* [the lecturers] *more – tell you what they want in the essays or in the exams. For the exams, I didn't know what to look for. Just at the end they had a lecture saying – look for this. But if you had a private conversation/interaction like we're having now, then it's much better.*
> **Student NM, male, Pakistani heritage**

This student's expectations about levels of staff interaction are clearly not being met. This indicates that he has not come to terms with that aspect of the 'hidden curriculum' that assumes students' ability to operate with greater autonomy at university than they might have done at school.

In some instances, students showed some evidence of recognising the need for greater autonomy and so sought a less formal compromise by approaching a tutor for guidance rather than seeking out a lecturer.

> *I always ask my tutor ...whoever is taking the tutorial groups.*
> **Student SJ, female, Pakistani heritage**

This preference for the interface of one-to-one communication as a more satisfactory means of establishing or confirming understanding of what is required of a task is used instead of the more impersonal email because:

> *... there is only so much you can write in an email to explain. It's easier to say it face to face, to show them something.*
> **Student NA2, female, Pakistani heritage**

Whether students' self-assessed perception of weakness in their literacy skills, and thus in writing emails, was a factor in seeking a face-to-face dialogue with tutors or lecturers is not clear from the data. However, as already mentioned earlier in this work, another student described a similar scenario expressing a preference for making phone calls rather than writing an email (see §8). These strategies place an unexpected load on teaching staff since each such oral exchange is time-consuming and may have a 'multiplier effect' as students learn that certain tutors will engage in such dialogues.

This is seen in the data for some minority ethnic interviewees particularly sought guidance from teaching staff prior to producing written assignments. A student of Accountancy whose earlier experiences of education had been largely negative expressed her astonishment that she had been helped

> ...*very well by teaching staff in the department. I'm amazed.*
> **Student FS, female, Pakistani heritage**

Ironically, another student, who had spent one year in the same department and had then transferred to Nursing, found that she received more support from her new department:

> *In nursing they're more supportive; they've all been nurses and have been through what we are going through so they can speak from experience. It wasn't like that in Accountancy. Here you don't even have to see your personal tutor – there's so many people you can ask – even at the end of a lecture you can ask if they'll [lecturers] read something and they're willing to do it for you.*
> **Student JJ, female, Indian heritage**

This may not have been indicative of lack of support from the Accountancy department, but more of an indication of the more intensive level of support that this particular student felt that she required as a facet of her personal learning style.

The extent to which the minority ethnic group students in this study variously sought verification, encouragement and guidance from staff came over strongly in the data. It has been suggested by Gravelle (1996), that such behaviour demonstrates a dependency on the Vygotskian concept of the Zone of Proximal Development where children are influenced by the thinking and behaviours of those closest to them. This means that the 'tracking' and 'scaffolding' (terms promoted by Bruner, 1977) provided by a more experienced 'other' supports learning and enables the learner (in any sphere, not just in language) to achieve an outcome that is better than could be produced without this influential support.

The support the minority ethnic students reported related both to guidance on content and to the development of academic literacy skills which, as acknowledged in §12, were not well-embedded. The dominant group students in this study did not demonstrate these needs. It seemed that the minority students, in seeking such help, are attempting to reconstruct the levels of support that are often experienced at school and college. The assumptions of learner autonomy that characterise university teaching environments (Tait and Entwistle, 1996 cited in Haggis, 2003) do not provide opportunities for preliminary linguistic and conceptual exploration of tasks. Thus, the type of scaffolding strategies often encountered in school learning situations where cognitive academic language required in writing tasks might be modelled, and guidance on how to approach such tasks provided,

simply are not available unless the students approach teaching staff individually. The data suggest that students felt the need to operate such support strategies as part of the further construction of the Academic Self.

By adopting these strategies the minority ethnic students in this study are exploiting learning styles that seem more consistent with the Activist/Pragmatist styles described by Honey and Mumford (1982). In addition, since each learner is unique, the case for recognising an individual's Multiple Intelligences is also a strong factor in understanding their learning styles (Gardner, 1983, 1999). However, as Ivanič (1998) claims, identity is socially constructed. This means that over and above an individual's learning style traits and diverse Multiple Intelligences the influences shown in Figure 13.2 also impact on the way that people go about tackling the realities they experience in daily life.

Furthermore, it has already been acknowledged in this work that the minority ethnic group students in this study manifest elements of difference (Derrida, 1973) and, as Guild (2001) suggests, it is the cultural values and norms that influence the processes of learning and contribute to that individual identity and difference. In writing, as De Vita (2000) notes, the influence of the narrative culture of the first language may affect students' writing in their additional language

> ...what may appear to be an unstructured, disorganized, off the point or repetitive
> piece of work, may in fact be written in accordance to the discourse style and logical
> patterns of the home language.
> **De Vita, 2000:172**

For students this suggests that constructing written text involves not only an understanding of what is erroneous, but also recognition that discourse patterns may differ from one of their languages to another. Once more, the same might be said of monolingual dominant group students who use a variation of standard English outside the learning environment, but, again, it is more remarkable in the case of minority ethnic group students because of their different language and cultural profiles.

There are many ways to learn and analysing these has been a focus for many researchers. In suggesting that students adopt deep, surface (Marton, 1975 cited in Richardson, 2000) or strategic (Entwistle, 1980; Ramsden, 1984) approaches to learning according to context (Biggs, 1987), these researchers are looking at the process in a generic way. However, for the purposes of this study, these three approaches provide a means of categorizing the behaviour evident in the data of this study. It appears from the data given above that by

consulting with peers, family members and teaching staff, the students were, at one level, adopting strategic approaches to their learning in order to pass, but at another level by seeking to verify their understanding through such channels they were utilising a deeper strategy to consolidate their learning.

However, there may be an additional strong cultural influence acting as an undercurrent that pulls the minority students in this study towards certain behaviours in their approach to learning. As Guild (2001:8) asserts 'learning patterns are a function of both nature and nurture'. For the particular group of minority ethnic students in this study, it appears that approaches to decision-making operate on the basis of group consultation and, thus, are consistent with the values that identify with the Ethnic Self. This has been interpreted by Hofstede (1984, 2001) as marking a low sense of Individualism and a corresponding strong sense of Collectivism in terms of cultural value dimensions. According to Hofstede (1984), Uncertainty Avoidance is a further characteristic which aligns some cultures with a propensity for seeking consensus more so than others. The seeking of assistance from teaching staff, Hofstede would align with the Power Distance Index which invests respect for authority figures as part of the hierarchy of societies. Hofstede's theories are widely accepted, but have been subjected to criticism in some quarters (McSweeney, 2002) later refuted by Hofstede (2002). Casting the vitriol of debate to one side, it seems that, although Hofstede's views derive originally from a multinational sample of people, these were drawn from a specific socio-economic profile and could hardly be said to be representative of the entire national or ethnic group of which they were members. That said, the characteristics identified in Hofstede's 'Cultural Value Dimensions' seem to be interestingly apposite to the characteristics displayed by the minority ethnic heritages present in the groups studied in this present work.

For the present study, the trends evident in the data suggest that, for several of the minority students in this study, particularly at the earlier stages of their studies, there is some affinity with these cultural value dimensions described by Hofstede and this is reinforcement of the Ethnic Self. However, for other students, this seems to be less of an issue. For example, Student SM, more than any of the other bilingual interviewees, was a self-proclaimed traditionalist in the preservation of his cultural values, but had demonstrated a more pragmatic and broadly assimilationist position as a British-Asian.

I suppose the main thing is not expecting everything to happen, having to do it yourself. At school everything is done for you or you're spoon-fed. It took a bit of getting used to and thinking about how you'd go about doing it…I mean before, when

I was at school, I never used to go to any of the school events. At school it was always me, T and Z [Asian friends]. *When I came to university, I was more open to going to a class event, to a departmental event. I go to pretty much every single one.*
Student SM, male, Pakistani heritage

Student SM had chosen to integrate into the mores of the university learning scenery and had perceptibly made a 'voluntary identity shift' (Clyne, 1994:208) on his own perspectives with regard to learning and challenging received wisdom.

13.4 The 'hidden curriculum'

Passing mention has already made to the idea of the 'hidden curriculum' as defined by Mayer (1996 cited in Nist and Simpson, 2000) and Gibbs and Simpson (2002). When students enter higher education they are joining a community that presents its processes as highly structured with, increasingly, a series of documentation that outlines course content, objectives and outcomes. However, these formal statements tend to ignore the substrata of conventions, traditions and in-built assumptions about studying at university. This 'hidden curriculum' has been described as 'the shadowy, ill-defined and amorphous nature of that which is implicit and embedded' (Sambell and McDowell, 1998:391). However shadowy it might be students need to engage with this 'hidden curriculum' and how effectively they do this has a direct impact on the developing Academic Self.

For all students, coming to terms with this 'hidden curriculum' is a challenge. By definition, it is an unknown and, thus, its parameters are not definable. In their attempts to come to terms with this 'hidden curriculum', the minority ethnic students in this study assumed that written assignments had a 'right answer' (Perry, 1970 cited in Gibbs and Simpson, 2002; Marton, 1975 cited in Richardson, 2000). However, one of the characteristics of study in higher education is that in many areas, there is often no 'right answer' and acknowledging this is another dimension of critical thinking considered in §12. Nevertheless, the notion that there might be a 'right answer' seemed sometimes, in the perception of some of the bilingual students in this study, to be intertwined with the idea of there being a 'right way' to write. This complementarity between the 'right answer' and the 'right way' of writing, while a consistent thread throughout the interviews with the bilingual students, was not reflected in the comments of interviewees from the dominant ethnic group, although this is an acknowledged characteristic for all students, particularly in the initial stages of studying at university (Perry, 1970 cited in Gibbs and Simpson, 2002).

The minority ethnic group students in this study were at different stages in their academic careers and differed developmentally. Perry (1970 cited in Gibbs and Simpson, 2002) suggests that this 'holy grail' approach towards the 'right answer' gradually gives way to a realisation that there may be many 'right answers' or no 'answer' at all. However, several students in this study remained at this early stage even when more than half-way through their university studies. For some there seemed to be a retrospective reliance on strategies they had gleaned at school.

> I would say that school did help you prepare for some of it – essay questions, structures and things like that. But in a way, they didn't give us enough. I don't know if this was because I didn't go to sixth year or what, but they didn't really give us enough information like the big essays and what they actually want.
> **Student IY, female, Chinese heritage**

For this student, it seemed that Learner-Centred/Socioliterate approaches of developing schema and learning to write through writing had not served her well. In this instance, it appeared that she felt that more direction from teaching staff would have helped her to develop her writing more systematically; it seemed as if she had some expectation of an approach more sympathetic to the Traditional view defined by Johns (1997), that is, formal instruction in the discourse and mechanics of English. There is, however, no sense that critical thinking is part of the process. This may be because the trend seems to be that these students, like many, did not enter higher education with firmly embedded authorial critical thinking skills.

The underlying thread remains with the idea that teaching staff had an 'ideal answer' that students had to find and regurgitate in their written assignments from what they had been told or had read, a perception identified by Perry (1970 cited in Gibbs and Simpson, 2002). Student IY described how she had applied this process in school.

> In high school we kind of, when we did essays, we blethered* and we just said what was there [in the textbook] and that was just it.
> **Student IY, female, Chinese heritage**   * Standard Scots: rambled in speech.

Such a strategy may have been developed to produce what this student saw as material that was reliably correct and presented in a style that was acceptable. In an educational system that, especially in the earlier stages, rewards repetition of material produced directly from sources, accusations of plagiarism are less robust than in the university context. For this student, hers had been a pragmatic, and, as noted from experience, not uncommon response to the difficulty of writing in the required genre and discourse of the subject. In such cases, development of the Academic Self and Writing Identity is necessarily hindered.

Moving from the discourse community of school to that of university marks a significant change. In §10, it was noted that the minority ethnic students in this study could individually identify with membership of a speech community and that they collectively belong to the discourse community of the school. Gregory (1996) notes that, in addition to seeing the teacher's use of the special language of the classroom as the role model, pupils 'may well take "book" or academic language on board simply as the new "school language"' (Gregory, 1996:82). Therefore, the concept of membership of a discourse community is assumed in the writing practice of children in school; at university level, the idea of discourse community becomes much more complex. For students new to higher education, this discourse community of the university may, at least initially, be part of the 'hidden curriculum'.

The definition of discourse community provided by Swales (1990), noted in §12, has, latterly, been found by others, for example, Barton (1994 cited in Corbett, 2003) to be too prescriptive and rigid, preferring to see such a community as encompassing target audience, casual readers and those who read and write within a particular subject area. In the context of the current study, Swales' definition has greater harmony with the more prescriptive nature of many academic discourse communities. Chandler (1995), for example, explains some of the tight parameters of such communities.

> Students learn what is considered appropriate in the disciplinary tradition with which they wish to be affiliated in terms of subjects, forms and genres, syntax and diction: broadly, they learn the preferred styles of their discourse communities. It is aspects of these distinctive patterns of language use which are sometimes ridiculed by 'outsiders' as 'jargon'.
> **Chandler, 1995:199**

Ivanič (1998) and Jacobs (2005) suggest that admission to the discourse community and its specialised norms of communication means that students align their Writing Identity in some measure to that of others from their discourse community. Following a social constructionist view, Lillis (2001) moves the debate even further by separating out skills and practice when she suggests that

> ... in the UK context ... student academic writing, like all writing is a social act. That is, student writing takes place in a particular institution, which has a particular history, culture, values and practices. It involves a shift away from thinking of language or writing skills as individual possession, towards the notion of an individual engaged in socially situated action; from an individual student having writing skills, to a student doing writing in specific contexts.
> **Lillis, 2001:31**

This means that Lillis, like Perry (1970 cited in Gibbs and Simpson, 2002), sees this as a developmental process in which the student writer (and thus, writer identity) shifts to new levels of writing autonomy. This enhancement of Writing Identity through identification with a discourse community contributes further to the development of the Academic Self. However, for the majority of the bilingual students in the present study, this was a process that they were still experiencing. For example, some, by their own assessment, were marooned on a plateau of language competence that did not compare well with their dominant group peers. This represents an impediment to the development of Writing Identity.

13.5 Assignment feedback as a factor in Writing Identity

As noted, where minority ethnic cultural values and perceptions of how to ensure success do not coincide with the traditional expectations of independent learning at university, this means that there is greater dependence on interaction with teaching staff than might be the case for dominant group students whose cultural values may be more closely aligned to the cultural dimensions, if not the mores, of higher education. Working things out in relation to the 'hidden curriculum' presented the minority ethnic students with some difficulties.

From the data, as already acknowledged, it seems that the minority ethnic interviewees frequently resorted to 'ask the teacher' type strategies. For this reason, the written tutor feedback received on assignments was valued on at least two levels: as confirmation of having achieved the 'right answer', and, where students had failed to achieve this, as a means of guidance to the right answer next time. Hence, feedback assumes an importance for these students not reflected in responses from the dominant ethnic group students. For the minority students, feedback is a useful addition to solving the puzzle of what higher education is, and what its values and standards are. In receiving and absorbing written feedback, the students in this study re-shape their Writing Identity, and thus, their Academic Selves. In some measure they also apparently re-cast their Ethnic Selves.

At one level, feedback provided guidance on the use of language. Minority ethnic students reported that, at school, errors had been identified and corrections given but without reason.

> *If you did essays and that at school, they'd tell you, 'This isn't done.' And they just tell you, 'That's it. That's what you write in it.' They wouldn't tell you. They'd probably sometimes end up giving you the answer. And you'd feel like, 'How did you get that?'*
> **Student SJ, female, Pakistani heritage.**

For the bilingual students in this study, this related directly to the correction of points of language and expression.

> *All my Financial Management staff will pick up on it. And I'm not angry. You'd think I'd be angry but I'm not. I'm happy, but I'm angry at the teaching I should have got when I was younger.*
> **Student FS, female, Pakistani heritage**

Throughout her interview, Student FS frequently attributed her difficulties with writing to her earlier education which she clearly felt had impacted on her competence as a writer and her observations reflect her insecurity in terms of her Writing Identity (Ivanič, 1998). Another student also viewed correction positively.

> *They do it in a nice way...they put it on the front page. They tell you. It makes it much more easier.*
> **Student SJ, female, Pakistani heritage**

Student SM saw correction of grammar as something that made him think more closely about what he had written.

> *They write GR on your work (for grammar) but they put a line. It actively makes you think about it. It makes you think about it actively.*
> **Student SM, male, Pakistani heritage**

Interestingly, within his comment on this aspect of his writing, Student SM reformulated his second sentence by repositioning the adverb; possibly indicating that he reformulates oral language to conform to recognised word patterns.

For Student BR, the importance of feedback had long-term implications:

> *I find it helpful because I use it. I'm not going to learn if I just say I've got a mark, but, if I want to progress professionally as well, I'm going to have to pay attention to stuff like that.*
> **Student BR, female, Indian heritage**

Similarly, another student commented on the usefulness of feedback and correction given by the researcher in her dual academic and learning support roles.

> *I definitely found it helpful when you marked my work. Such as I was using quotes and stuff and I never referred to them and I know that. When you come to university you have to refer to everything. Should be clear and simple. Everything has to be written down and backed up. So your comments and some spelling mistakes and the way I wrote it wasn't good, so I improve in the essay I've just did now. You can see that when you look back at yours* [his own corrected work] *and you look at the change, it is much clearer.*
> **Student NM, male, Pakistani heritage**

It seems that Student NM considers that this kind of feedback on summative tasks contributes to his learning and could be applied in subsequent work. This directly influenced his developing Writing Identity.

In another instance, Student SM explained his pragmatic approach to solving problems related to expressing his ideas when errors had been highlighted in his work.

> *I get it* ['grammar' marked on work] *in the places where I least expect it. If I don't know myself, I'll ask someone. It's not necessarily finding the lecturer. I'll just go to someone next to me, 'That doesn't make sense' and then, 'What do you think it should be?' and he'll suggest something to me. And then I'll think, 'That makes more sense' and go and do it. If I can't find someone, I'll go to the lecturer and say, 'This is what I was trying to say. What do you suggest?'*
> **Student SM, male, Pakistani heritage**

In seeking advice in order to correct his mistakes, Student SM was demonstrating a degree of autonomy by integrating the feedback corrections into his language repertoire and hence developing his Writing Identity and thus his Academic Self.

However, this was not always the case, for the provision of feedback was perceived to be inconsistent.

> *Certain staff do, certain don't.*
> **Student FS, female, Pakistani heritage**

Some of the minority ethnic students wanted more direction in the feedback they received. For example, there was a sense that they were often second-guessing the lecturer's views about their work as a Law student observed.

> *We just want to know if we've answered the question properly.*
> **Student NA1, female, Pakistani heritage**

A student of Accountancy aired a similar view.

> *Is it up to standard? I don't want to be just a 40% pass.*
> **Student WA, female, Pakistani heritage**

These views are consistent with the findings of Ding (1998 cited in Higgins and others, 2002). Some students noted other dimensions of the limitation of feedback from teaching staff as frustrating. For example:

> *Not explaining the red lines under words. Some people say they write comments; but we ask, 'How else could I have done it then?'*
> **Student JJ, female, Indian heritage**

In this case the fact that no explicit correction of errors was given, pushed the student into conjectures about what was wrong with no certainty as to the form the correction should take. Student JJ regarded orthographical or spelling errors as unimportant and seemed to imply that content, no matter how presented, should be the factor governing assessment and feedback.

> *Some of them mark harshly – like tiny little things that don't make a difference to your essay – for example a single mis-spelling.*
> **Student JJ, female, Indian heritage**

However, later in the interview, Student JJ noted that her loss of marks might be attributed to the fact that

> *... sometimes I think it's the way you've probably worded it.*
> **Student JJ, female, Indian heritage**

These comments suggest that students do not immediately discriminate between typographical, orthographical and grammatical errors. Student JJ's responses appear to indicate that she regards these issues as being of lesser significance than content.

This seems to reflect a trait where some students see the content as the primary issue with language and points of expression being of lesser significance. Yet, in the Ivanič model of Writing Identity, these elements relate directly to the construction of language at sentence level and thus contribute to the development of Academic Self and Writing Identity.

The data also show that the socialisation into the chosen discipline was not achieved on the initiative of the student writers alone. As stated by Hyland (2002:352), 'essentially, academic writing is not a single undifferentiated mass, but a variety of subject-specific literacies' and, thus, the written feedback that students received on their work served to consolidate the writing traditions of the specialism. This was noted by a Nursing student.

> *It was usually just a wee comment. And, then, maybe go and see your personal advisor and she'd sit with you and go over it.*
> **Student JJ, female, Indian heritage**

Students appeared to hunger for this kind of information and, in one case, the interviewee indicated that generic feedback forms did not give her the personal feedback detail that she felt that she needed in order to improve her academic writing.

> *We do get feedback sheets and that. You know how you have the last steps, evaluate and synthesise and all that. Well, they tell you that if you're in the 80% band, you must have done this and so on. But you don't get detailed stuff like somebody saying,, 'This is what I liked about your essay and this is what I didn't like.' I think that would help.*
> **Student FS, female, Pakistani heritage**

Where no feedback was given at all, students reported their sense of disappointment:

> *...sometimes it's weird because some examiners [markers] don't actually mark it down. I mean I did an essay and there was NOTHING written down on paper and they give you a mark. I get totally confused by it and I'm like, 'What have I done wrong? What have I done right?' I want to know that.*
> **Student IY, female, Hong Kong Chinese heritage**

This indicates the extent to which these students felt the need for direction, not just for success, but also for admission to the academy. They seemed to perceive the development of Writing Identity to be the factor that would give them this entrée which, in broader terms, means the development of the Academic Self.

Several students reflected on the form of feedback given at school. This suggested that teaching staff provided models of writing for them as part of the correction, but in doing this, they may have denied those pupils the opportunity to develop writing that

> ...comes from expressing and resolving [the] mental problems, with ideas being fashioned for meaning and for textual form by the interplay between mental spaces.
> **Sharples, 1999:23**

This implies two things: firstly, by giving a correct example, school practice has left some university students poorly equipped for experimenting with text for expressing their ideas accurately; and, secondly, and more contentiously, that teachers themselves do not have the knowledge, metalanguage or understanding to explain to their pupils what is wrong in text and can, therefore, only pass on a modification as a pragmatic response to error. This is an important point because this potentially presents a similar problem for university teachers who also may not have the knowledge, metalanguage or skills to provide explanation of errors in writing for students. In this case, university teachers may inadvertently be failing to contribute to the development of students' Writing Identity and, thus, the development of the Academic Self. This is unfortunate for, as Gibbs and Simpson (2002) argue, the diversity of students with varied learning histories now requires a greater need for feedback, rather than less and, to be useful to students, feedback has to be specific.

However, where feedback is given, there is a potential pitfall that may apply more to bilingual students than to monolingual students, particularly where use of language and expression may make meaning unclear. This pitfall can occur when the marker provides feedback in such a way that the marker's intention 'takes over' the text and loses the meaning intended by the student writer (Ferris, 2003). In such a scenario, feedback can be more harmful than helpful and may result in students losing interest in the correction and, hence, in developing their writing.

One student was puzzled by this interest in accuracy and hinted that her work had been annotated in a way that detracted from the messages she thought were important and reflected her meaning.

> *I've had essays where it's like they've actually corrected me for my grammar and did little things to it and it's like, 'I thought we were supposed to answer specific things.'*
> *They do put a lot on the structure.*
> **Student IY, female, Hong Kong Chinese heritage**

In general, however, research on the correction of the writing of second language users has shown that error correction does have a long-term impact on accuracy (Ferris, 2003) and

the majority of the bilingual students in this study indicated that they found feedback correction to be a positive thing that contributed to the development of their writing. The Academic Self is potentially further developed through this process, although for some students their preoccupation was with whether feedback was provided rather than what form it takes.

13.6 Examination Assessment

Latham (2002) states that writing, together with reading, is a second-order skill. She contends that, until writing is well-embedded, it carries a heavy cognitive load, more so than reading, and it has the added dimension of requiring dextrous secretarial skills. In the modern context, this means keyboarding as well as handwriting skills. Since students routinely produce their 'written' work using personal computers, they are less practised in producing hand-written text as required in traditional examination settings. Thus, an examination as an exercise in assessment is also an act of autonomous writing that is constrained by hand-writing, by exam-taking technique, by time, by topic knowledge and by talent. As seen in this study, the written coursework assignment can be produced after consultation, drafting and re-drafting, whereas writing that is completed under examination conditions probably provides the best reflection of autonomous discoursal competence that can be achieved independent of referral to peers and teaching staff. It is here that students draw on their own competences to present their own abilities, understanding and representation of their Writing Identity alongside the Ethnic Self, Academic Self and Global Self.

In the context of the present study, grades for exams and coursework for many of the minority ethnic group students remained unremarkable; most interviewees had operated at 2:2 level in assessment. The data derived in this study could not, on its own, explain the reasons for this. Factors that are not exclusive to minority ethnic group students could be germane. For example, some students are simply not good at coping with the stress of exams, as noted by two students.

> *'Cos you're under a lot of stress when you're there, a lot of tension, you're very nervous. You've got all this other stuff and you're stressed.*
> **Student SJ, female, Pakistani heritage**

> *Sometimes I do think that is a bit unfair because sometimes exams, the stress of it, does get to someone and they won't be able to write.*
> **Student IY, female, Hong Kong Chinese heritage**

However, a view presented by Bourdieu (1994) might offer some further insight, for he claims that

> Obvious in the literary disciplines, but more subtle in the sciences, the ability to manipulate academic language remains the principal factor in success at examinations.
> **Bourdieu, 1994:21**

Data presented thus far appear to indicate that, for the bilingual interviewees, the perceived limitations in their writing abilities could well be a factor in examination performance. A student of Accountancy explained the challenge succinctly.

> *I'd say it's a combination of getting the ideas on paper and lack of confidence about how to say it.*
> **Student FS, female, Pakistani heritage**

The same student made an insightful comment that supports the view that some minority ethnic group students opt for numerically-loaded subjects, in this instance, possibly to offset writing weaknesses.

> *Writing exams, I don't do well at all. Calculations I've always done better in. So writing – I don't think I do very well. I've got the content there but my English holds me back.*
> **Student FS, female, Pakistani heritage**

This is not a situation confined to the 'softer' Arts and Humanities subjects, for students in science subjects made similar observations. One anatomy student asserted

> *I've never really been an exam person because of the essays. And when they [lecturers] are expecting you to write essays and expect you to know it, you know it, but sometimes people can't put it down on paper as well as they [students] would be able to tell you. I mean my brother's exactly the same as me. He's not an exam person; he doesn't like the essays either.*
> **Student IY, female, Hong Kong Chinese heritage**

Another student expressed a similar dislike for examinations, but favoured the alternative of project work.

> *I'm not an exam person. This is why research is good. At school, I remember, a science project – I was happy. A-level project, I was happy. When it came to exams, I didn't see the logic of giving this information – there are other ways of giving this information.*
> **Student BR, female, Indian heritage**

At least two students expressed the view that learning and understanding were not necessarily reflected in exam performance. In one instance, there seemed to be an element of self-justification underpinning the observation.

> *I think that exams aren't that good because it doesn't reflect on someone's actual ability to understand what they are doing. Someone can write and write and write, but what does that mean? Does it mean that they actually understand it?*
> **Student IY, female, Hong Kong Chinese heritage**

This student had acknowledged that she has difficulty with writing essay-style answers and, implicit in her comments, is the idea that her own weakness in writing performance masks her true comprehension, learning and abilities. The second student who had touched on the efficacy of examinations was critical of those who could write well on the day but whose retention of knowledge and understanding was short-lived. Again, the implication was that the interviewee regarded herself as a deep learner (Entwistle, 1984) whose abilities were not well profiled in examination performance.

> *At times, there were some students who were competing with one another – they'd get the A-star – they'd learn this information and the minute the exam is gone they would forget the information. That isn't really learning.*
> **Student BR, female, Indian heritage**

In some respects, while these comments endorse Bourdieu's viewpoint, cited above, about the manipulation of academic language being the route to examination success, they also suggest a more pejorative interpretation, that is, that, in exams, some students who are more linguistically able can use language in a way that veils their own lack of understanding. Thus, it could be surmised that, while some hide their lack of knowledge behind the smokescreen of linguistic dexterity, those who do not have such skills cannot hide their deficiencies so adeptly, but neither can they express their ideas well enough to present the true level of their knowledge and understanding. One student described a strategy that helps to avoid this.

> *We've been told that writing bullet points will gain marks if you can't do it in an essay style.*
> **Student JJ, female, Indian heritage**

For similar reasons, as noted particularly by a student who had received only secondary education in the UK, there was a preference for multiple choice questions (MCQs).

> *I think multiple choice is better than long answers.*
> **Student LA, female, Iraqi heritage**

In this case, the MCQ-style removed the need for extensive writing. Although as a measure of testing knowledge and understanding MCQs have limitations, they allow students to accrue marks in spite of their difficulties in the production of written language.

All these elements had some bearing on how students responded to the tasks set in examinations, but at another level, these factors demonstrate the lack of confidence and, thus, the limitations to the autonomy of these students when they tackled examinations. This was explained by Student SJ.

English was my best subject ... in the classes I used to get high marks doing discussions in the class and that, but when it came to the exams, you can't ask someone and you have to go by your own interpretation of it.
Student SJ, female, Pakistani heritage

For example, in the case of Student SJ, there appeared to be a strong need to confirm topic knowledge (Alamargot and Chanquoy, 2001 cited in Myhill and Fisher, 2005). The data show Student SJ's dependence on assessing whether her viewpoint was consistent with that of her peers and, presumably, on that basis, correct. Her remarks relating to the difficulties she encountered in this respect in exams illustrate her dilemma, but also raise several contradictions. In this instance, English was perceived to be 'best subject', thus, technical writing ability did not seem to be a factor. However, there is an evident need to verify 'topic knowledge' as the priority. In this instance, it appeared to be uncertainty derived from not knowing if she had the 'right answer' or if she was conforming to the views of her peers that was the stumbling block in preventing her from framing an acceptable response. However, it seems that memory may be a further factor, for the same student identified that, as is the case for all students, the reality of exams forces students back into writing down their ideas while under time constraints.

But with the exams, you've got to write it all out and you're just thinking of all these ideas at the same time you're writing.
Student SJ, female, Pakistani heritage

This perceptive comment is consistent with the view of Myhill and Fisher (2005) who, following the work of Kellogg (1999), note that

All recent models of the writing process signal the importance of working memory: working memory has a limited capacity and writing is a highly demanding activity. Therefore writers who, for example, have to think about how to spell words, or what ideas to use have less working memory available to shape writing.
Myhill and Fisher, 2005:4.

Such a scenario is not confined only to bilingual students and could apply to students from the dominant ethnic group. However, in the case of bilingual students, their different language profile may impose a greater cognitive load on them. If accepted, this notion of limited working/short-term memory could also go some way to account for the cases of those students who claimed that they had the topic knowledge in their heads but found it difficult to express these content ideas on paper. This means that where students concentrate on expressing themselves in writing, the quality of the topic knowledge in their submissions could be compromised to the extent that they write what they can write, rather than what they know.

This lack of confidence and apparent reliance on confirmation from others suggests that Student SJ's sense of Academic Self may be less robust than that of her monolingual peers

although the reasons for this are less clear. This may be redolent of the reassurance derived from Vygotskyan 'scaffolding' and direction from some 'other'. Interestingly, by contrast, Student SJ's acknowledged ability to engage in oral discussion, in which she performed well, shows her understanding of topic knowledge, but highlights the disparity between her ability to express ideas orally and expressing those views in writing under pressure and without the reassurance that her stance was the 'right answer'. In the area of oral performance, the sense of Academic Self is reasserted. This is consistent with the view that topic knowledge may be inadequately represented by what some students write. This was not a problem that was reported by dominant group students in this study.

For essay-style questions, some students explained that they sometimes found it difficult to understand what was being asked. Such difficulties arose because of the way that questions were framed. This could be because of the construction of the questions, the topic covered or lexical issues related to the terms used to ask the question. With regard to the construction of the question, for example, a student of Nursing made reference to the perennial dilemma of deducing what was required by the question.

> *That's a problem. When it comes to exams, I read the question so many times – spend 10 – 15 minutes and look at the time and I haven't answered yet. What are they looking for? I think if you – like – read the question more than one time it gets easier.*
> **Student JJ, female, Indian heritage**

This was not simply an issue of not understanding the format of the question but, again, the concern with finding the 'right answer' which is related to the 'cue consciousness' or 'cue deafness' identified by Miller and Parlett (1974 cited in Gibbs and Simpson, 2002) where students either do or do not pick up the hints that staff dispense before the examination.

Closely allied to evincing meaning of the question was the difficulty of knowing what aspect of the topic needed to be covered in the answer. A student of Accountancy described difficulties she had experienced with the breadth of a question set by one of her lecturers.

> *Some of them frame the question – I can't think of an example off-hand – it's like 'airy fairy'. They give you an essay question like the auditing one we've been given by DC, 'Pick a newspaper article to do with any aspect of auditing and try and apply the principles' and I don't know what else, but it's such a broad assessment.*
> **Student FS, female, Pakistani heritage**

She explained further that her interpretation of questions was at variance with that of her monolingual colleagues.

I've had problems. I do go off at tangents. I've sat down with my friend and we look at past exam papers and I'll say, 'I think it means this' and she'll say, 'Where on earth do you get that?'
Student FS, female, Pakistani heritage

Several bilingual students commented on lexical difficulties with examination questions. Gaps in question comprehension generated by lack of understanding of single words or limited awareness of different word forms were acknowledged to have posed difficulty. Some students took a common-sense approach to 'decoding' what they did not know.

I can't remember any exact thing. But I know that there's been the case of when I didn't understand a word, but either I'd just read on and figure out what I think it is or put my hand up and ask, 'What does this word mean?' It's not like it's a programming term you're meant to know.
Student SM, male, Pakistani heritage

Student SM was unusual in seeking assistance to confirm an unknown word in an exam. He also was aware that this problem was not one that is exclusive to bilingual students, for he noted

I'm not the only case – I've heard of other people – not just Asians – who haven't known a word.
Student SM, male, Pakistani heritage

Where bilingual students encountered this problem, they adopted a variety of strategies to cope with the situation. For example, one student omitted a question because she could not make a reliable guess at the meaning.

I remember it was one of our pathology questions. It was a question about the kidneys. I actually tried to use my language skills, 'Is there a word that matches with what I can recognise?' It didn't really help because it turned out it was in Latin ... It was one of those anomaly questions – no-one had ever heard of it and it carried 20 marks in that paper which was quite a lot and I still remember sitting there working very hard at it. Asking, 'What does this mean?' And I couldn't get it. I just left that entire question.
Student BR, female, Indian heritage

In an MCQ paper, a Life Sciences student reported that she had experienced difficulty with working out a word in its adjectival form because she was unaware of its relationship to the noun form that she did know.

I remember in school there was a word pancreatic and I didn't know that it belonged to that word [pancreas], so I just ticked the wrong answer. I didn't have time to read it again. If I'd read it again, I am sure that would have understood it. I think sometimes we don't concentrate and if you don't – then I just thought – this word, I don't know it. So I'll just leave that question.
Student LA, female, Iraqi heritage

For another student, recourse to the strategy of omitting questions arose because of perceived ambiguity in the question that was probably related to lexical misunderstanding.

Sometimes it's the wording. It could mean two things. You're thinking, 'Should I answer this or should I answer that. I know about the whole topic, but they want

> *something that is more specific.' I either go to another question or I sit there and think and think. If it still doesn't come, then I leave it.*
> **Student IY, female, Hong Kong Chinese heritage**

Other students dealt with questions that they could not fully understand by resorting to the not uncommon tactic of writing as much as they knew about the general topic in the hope that they would 'hit the target' by chance in covering the aspect relating to the unknown word.

> *In one of the Structures exams I just did [not understand]. I can't remember, it was just some big word about masonry and I didn't know what it meant so I just wrote what I knew about masonry.*
> **Student NM, male, Pakistani heritage**

Lexical difficulties were not the only difficulties experienced by students in examination contexts. For example, as noted above, Myhill and Fisher (2005) suggest that where students are pre-occupied with what ideas to select and how to organise them, they have less memory available for producing elegant writing. This was exemplified by one student who drew out the contrast between writing an essay and writing under examination conditions.

> *In an essay you can take a lot more time, obviously time is a factor there. You've got things in front of yourself and then you write it on an essay and everything. But with an exam, you've got the question there and you've got everything in your head and you just need to put it down on the piece of paper and that's very, very hard.*
> **Student SJ, female, Pakistani heritage**

Another difficulty for the students in this study was that, without recourse to hard-copy dictionaries or the electronic devices of spell- and grammar-checkers, they could not verify the technical aspects of writing. The desire to write 'the right way' might, therefore, dominate and distract students from demonstrating content knowledge adequately. As suggested above, the inability to consult with others presented challenges of selecting relevant material confidently. For some students this presents a difficulty and they admitted that they do not rise to such challenges.

> *...but sometimes, what I find is, if that key word is in it [the exam question] and even if the question is asking something totally different, I still write everything relating to that key word, even if it's right or wrong, as long as I write it.*
> **Student NM, male, Pakistani heritage**

These aspects are not unique to minority ethnic group students, but it is of interest that the bilingual students in this study explicitly acknowledged them. For example, they alluded to the difficulty of extrapolating relevant information for responses to examination questions.

> *I think what makes it hard for myself is that you've got all this information gathered in your head, 'cos you've learnt so much and you don't know which area to pick out,*

> *just what you want to do is pick out everything that you know, but the question is not asking you for that. That's the bit I find very hard to do. But once I've done that I'm OK.*
> **Student SJ, female, Pakistani heritage**

Although Student SJ seemed confident that, once she isolates the relevant ideas she can write appropriately, but there still remains some sense that her approach is initially one that follows the surface learner path, although she seems to use this as a step in her progression to adopting a deeper approach to the task. Other students were less sure of their ability to identify what was relevant, with the result that they became too verbose.

> *A lot of the time, I found that one of my main challenges was that, because I wasn't succinct enough, I would lose marks because of all the blethers – as they say in Dundee. This is my impression. Did they get fed up and write 'That's what it's going to get' before they got to the juicy bit? At times, I was quite disappointed with my exam marks, but I'd make up for it in other ways.*
> **Student BR, female, Indian heritage**

The need to write with greater autonomy becomes even more significant in examination contexts. The mechanisms of examination marking, at least in the University of Dundee, mean that, generally, students have no opportunity to see their examination scripts after these have been marked. This means that the only indicator that they have of how their writing may have been a positive or negative factor in their assessment is impossible to gauge. Thus, their perceptions as to their performance were entirely speculative. Several commented on the anticipated outcome as being poor, although some found that their pessimism had been unjustified.

> *I'd say I've always come out of an exam thinking, 'Oh, God, I've just failed.' But I've always passed.*
> **Student SJ, female, Pakistani heritage**

Another student recognised that examination performance might be influenced by the approach of the marker, when she observed

> *Sometimes you think you've done worse, and then sometimes you do well. I think sometimes it depends on who marks it.*
> **Student LA, female, Iraqi heritage**

However, as noted by an Accountancy student, it was also acknowledged that performance reflected the preparatory effort made on the part of the student.

> *It's been very rare that I've gone, 'That's not fair' because it's been very obvious when I've put the work in, I've got the marks. And when I haven't put the work in and I haven't done my revision properly, stuff like that, I'm not going to get the marks.*
> **Student FS, female, Pakistani heritage**

Interestingly, in reporting her experience of taking re-sits, one bilingual student commented

I've had re-sits, I must admit but because you get the whole summer to prepare as well, that would be OK. And then you'd say, 'I think I've just scraped it' and then you get a good mark. You feel good. I think when it comes to exams, people ALWAYS underestimate themselves.
Student SJ, female, Pakistani heritage

Student SJ's observations suggest that this might be a factor in achieving exam passes. This 'second chance' may provide an opportunity for students to consult on a one-to-one basis with teaching staff for reassurance and direction in what they need to learn. The summer period is free of lectures and, work commitments notwithstanding, students can take advantage of the period of time without classes to concentrate on the subjects they need to re-sit. Although this is not specified in the data, it would seem to be a probable scenario, and the opportunity to take things at a slower pace may be a factor for students of all ethnicities who have re-sit examinations.

Yet, there remains a fundamental difficulty with writer identity in examinations. In writing about students' problems in learning to write essays, Lillis (2001) asserts

> ... the conventions that students are expected to write within are difficult to learn because they remain implicit in pedagogic practice, rather than being explicitly taught.
> **Lillis, 2001:55**

The same could be said of examinations. Students' experiences of examinations prior to university may be restricted to taking national school or college examinations that are based on reasonably predictable content with responses that are usually well-rehearsed. University examinations are something of a mystery. They are unique to institutions; students learn the craft of university examination-taking through the experience of this form of assessment over their undergraduate years, usually without any insight of what is expected or indication of strategy they should adopt. Even less are they likely to receive detailed feedback on their performance. Thus, the approach can only be one of trial and error, which, for some students, may be highly successful, but for others may be disastrous. Furthermore, in modular systems, 'short' modules lasting only a single semester do not give students an opportunity to 'grow into' the writing roles expected of them in genre or in discourse community, and possibly also deny them sufficient opportunities to find their Writing Identity (Ivanič, 1998).

The students in this study did not, in general, have a long experience of examination-taking at university level, nor did they have adequate feedback information that would enable them to relate their performance, in terms of marks, to the content and writing

styles they had demonstrated in their examination scripts. Without clear direction on the conventions of writing extended examination answers, students can only rely on the experience of writing coursework assignments. This is the experience from which their Writing Identity is being formed, but emulating this genre is not only unrealistic in the time-frame of an exam, it is also unreliable as an indicator of what is expected of an examination script. It seems that the student's Writing Identity must adapt for different genres because the writing skills at a student's disposal may be inadequate or inappropriate as a response to the task of the examination. Examination scripts may be little more than a spontaneous response to the examination questions/tasks as set rather than a well-considered piece of writing for time limitations may compromise technical precision as well as depth of content and factual accuracy. At a discourse level, it may be deficient as a well-planned and crafted piece of text that uses an appropriate degree of reference to source material while providing evidence of the authorial 'voice' (Ivanič, 1998).

13.7 Summary

This section has focused principally on the development of the Academic Self and the concomitant development of Writing Identity. The data indicate that these minority ethnic group students themselves regarded their writing as socially constructed in the senses identified by Ivanič (1998) and Lillis (2001). For example, cultural influences can be seen to affect the shaping of Writing Identity as students adopt strategies that are influenced by cultural background as well as by their personal learning styles. Up to the time of the interviews, it seemed that the minority ethnic group students were heavily dependent on consultation with and support from others in tackling their written assignments and this helped to shape their writing identities.

Students indicated an awareness of the need to develop their writing to meet the demands of the university system. However, lack of confidence in framing writing has characterised these bilingual students' perceptions of their writing abilities and, thus, their writing identities. This lack of confidence may stem from their apparently strong dependence on original texts when writing at school and this may be a factor when they arrive at university and learn what the implications of this type of plagiarism are. This surmise seems to reflect the lack of skill in writing as perceived by this group of minority ethnic group students. In the interviews they also frequently alluded to their uncertainty in terms of content, structure and language. Restrictions on the development of writing skills have

emerged as students labour to deal with the genres of essay-style extensive writing within their relatively new discourse communities. The fact that some were studying concurrently in more than one discipline may have been a factor since some tension could be expected to arise between the discourses of different academic areas.

The lack of experience in writing at this level has been revealed particularly in university examinations. In this authentic context the students' lack of autonomy as writers is seen to have presented them with difficulties of interpretation, synthesis of information, selection of material and production of writing appropriate to the required task. This is accentuated by constraints of time and the inability to seek verification of interpretation and strategy with others as would be the favoured strategy for students such as the bilingual students in this study. In this respect, the Academic Self is challenged by the need for greater self-reliance, but, as students become more experienced in coping with the nature of university examination situations, it could be anticipated that the Academic Self would become strengthened.

In summary, therefore, Ivanič's concept of socially constructed Writing Identity (Ivanič 1998) is helpful in marking the convergence of the Ethnic, the Academic and the Global Self. As students seek selfhood in writing by identifying with the genres, voices and conventions of their academic discipline and by developing the productive aspects of authorship, they strengthen the Academic Self as a celebration of the Ethnic Self, and at the same time identify with the global academic community thus realising the Global Self.

§14 Conclusion

This is a scoping study that charts an area of Scottish higher education that has not hitherto had attention in research or policy terms (Powney and others, 1998). The study traces the experiences of a small group of minority ethnic students in the University of Dundee as they engage with the Scottish Higher Education sector, thereby making a contribution to understanding issues related to educational opportunity and minority ethnic group learners.

Qualitative enquiry, such as that used in this study, identifies snapshots of experience from which causal explanations can be suggested (Holloway and Todres, 2003) and Lindseth and Norberg, 2004). While no 'knowledge claims' are made, the study can offer 'insights that others can relate to in a way that deepens readers' understanding and that can be of use for application' (Holloway and Todres, 2003:351). A number of such insights have emerged from the data, notably, the evolving sense of 'Self' – Ethnic, Academic, Global - that I have suggested becomes a significant factor in the relationships between culture, ethnicity, biculturalism, bilingualism and the development of academic literacies as learning tools within Scottish Higher Education. Analysis of these themes has identified a number of features that bring some new understanding from the learning experiences of this group of bilingual minority ethnic group students as they participate in the monolingual social and academic practices they encounter in higher education.

The data in the present study, drawn from statistical resources within the HE sector, as well as from survey questionnaires, a focus group meeting and individual or paired interviews all with students of the University of Dundee, represent a rich, if tangled, skein of material that provides a written and oral record of the thoughts and attitudes of those students.

Simply allowing the narrative of the journey from school to university to unwind would not have fully exploited the deeper value which I feel can be detected within the data. Thus, in separating the complexity of strands in this skein, it has been possible to take a phenomenological approach that allows some understanding of their interrelationships and relative significance. This has allowed data to be examined both descriptively and hermeneutically.

The following sub-sections draw together the diverse elements by outlining key themes that have emerged, providing an overview of implications of the study which involve

demographic trends in society and in the higher education sector, the language and learning contexts for resident bilinguals and the emergence of New Identities and New Ethnicities.

14.1 Implications of this study

This work has addressed a complex array of issues. In broad terms, these are rooted in the sociological and educational dimensions of the experiences of the bilingual student participants in this study. Between these two dimensions the data show the interplay that contributes to the development of Self, or individual identity.

This sense of Self is fundamental to the study. However, the concept of Self is not necessarily one that individuals acknowledge in the multiple roles and subsequent identities that they assume in the course of their daily lives. In this sense, the concept of Self, as used in this study, is an artificial contrivance. For each individual, with unique multiple identities that emerge from societal roles (Figure 1.5.4.3), the notion of Self is a reality that individuals, organisations and systems, consciously or unconsciously, subsume in new experiences and new contexts. Individuals have multiple identities, but for the purposes of this study, only three forms of Self have been selected as relevant to the students' context within higher education - the Ethnic, Academic and Global. Tracing the ways in which these develop and interact is surely critical to achieving an understanding of the educational experiences of the students in this study. These experiences play out in their engagement with the educational system where conventions are both challenged and challenging and where value systems, behaviours and actions are exposed to other influences and are, on occasions, drawn into question or compromised. Thus, it is within the eddy of events that each Self alters as it becomes strengthened, consolidated, remains static or diminishes over time.

This process is not without tension, or 'pull', exerted simultaneously from different directions, because, for learners, this occurs at different points as they negotiate routes through the educational pathways that they confront. These tensions are not necessarily constant nor are they are exclusive to students from minority ethnic groups for they can be present for students from the dominant group also. However, whilst there is commonality between dominant and minority groups, as the data show, the issues appear to be amplified for the minority group. For example, the realities of simultaneously inhabiting two divergent cultures, that of the home and that of the school, apply to all, regardless of ethnicity. However, for minority ethnic group learners, as soon as they access the

educational system, a further tension exists between the heritage culture and the host culture. Therefore, for minority ethnic learners the Ethnic Self is immediately paralleled, or even subordinated, as they learn very quickly to accommodate the requirements of the dominant culture while ignoring that of the heritage culture within the monolingual school environment. Within that learning environment of the school, the data in this study show, the Ethnic Self yields and the Academic Self gains ascendancy. As suggested at the outset of this work and subsequently acknowledged in the data, this crucial juncture places a marker of difference between the minority and dominant ethnic groups that sets the minority group learner slightly apart from the dominant group.

The three formats of Self are, therefore, directly influenced and affected by the tensions that are reconciled (or not) by minority ethnic learners as they encounter them. For every reconciliation of tension, a new equilibrium is reached and so the Self alters as events unfold. The following sub-sections identify some of the tensions evident in the data and demonstrate, where possible, potential impact on each Self.

14.2 Resident bilingual learners, demographics and Self

Tracking the demographic developments and researching the official reports relating to the education of minority ethnic group learners retrospectively, made two important points about context. The first showed where learners were positioned within the wider community, their heritage communities, and the higher education community. The second identified how the demographics contributed to legislation and other policy measures that may have, directly or indirectly, had an impact on their experience of learning in the UK school system and, thus, on their subsequent university learning experiences.

Analysis of demographic data identified that 2% of the Scottish population are from minority ethnic groups, for the most part, clustering in or around the four largest cities in Scotland – Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen and Dundee. Yet, these communities are not homogeneous, but comprise a rich variety of cultures, expanded further by the arrival of groups of asylum seekers and refugees. However, census data (Census, 2001) show that it is the longer-established Pakistani community that is the largest of the minority ethnic communities, followed by those of Chinese and Indian heritages. The clustering of these groups in the major urban areas immediately gives a sense of ethnic identity to members of these communities.

However, while I have noted that the sense of ethnic heritage within the host culture remains strong and the data from this study show that strong familial cultures exist, this may be becoming compromised. For example, in the case of the Pakistani community, fifty per cent were born in the United Kingdom (Census, 2001) and this means that younger generations of Pakistani heritage brought up in UK/Scotland, may have a diminishing sense of identification with the heritage 'home' country and a strengthening sense of affinity with the host country. This is evidenced in the data. Nevertheless, as the data also suggest, there is a sense that the evolving Ethnic Self is one that is mutating from identification with the heritage culture to a 'hybrid' identity that finds itself somewhere between the heritage and the host cultures.

14.3 Resident bilingual learners, educational demographics and policy

The demographic data relating to minority ethnic group participation in higher education presented in this thesis are significant because this collation and analysis of data has not been profiled previously in the public domain. The analysis helps to contextualise the study in a wider sense and challenges some perceptions on certain aspects of minority ethnic group participation in post-compulsory education. For example, perceptions that students from minority ethnic groups are under-represented in higher education in Scotland are shown to be unfounded since the demographic data show that these students comprise 4% of the total Scottish HE population (HESA, 2003) at a time when the total minority population in Scotland is 2%.

The data show that in Scotland a 'typical' minority ethnic group student is just as likely to be female as male, is more likely to live at home and attend a 'local' university full-time and may have entered university through some kind of access programme or having taken an HND qualification as a stepping-stone to higher education entry. Such students are more likely to be found in vocational courses for the specific professions in law, accountancy or broader medical fields and are less likely to be found in courses in the 'caring' professions of nursing and education, although there is a visible trend in selecting courses in some of the 'softer' subjects in the Arts and Social Sciences. In general, there remains a lack of detailed knowledge regarding progression and graduate employment rates specifically in relation to such students.

While minority ethnic group students may not be under-represented in proportional terms, their demographic profile is numerically small when spread across the sector. This factor

may account for the apparently low priority status and attention given to policy issues relating to minority ethnic group students in Scotland. Furthermore, the heterogeneity of minority ethnic communities in Scotland may go some way to explaining why they lack a cohesive voice or sufficient numerical presence to focus the attention of the dominant ethnic group decision-makers on their needs. This suggests that more outreach work could be done to empower such minority ethnic groups and give them a 'voice' in the decisions that directly affect their particular groups in relation to education policy.

By contrast, in England and Wales, such groups have been given higher priority although measures relating to educational provision and related issues have come about in piecemeal fashion as reactive rather than proactive measures. The haphazard raft of measures produced by a series of reports (Bullock, 1975; Rampton, 1981; Swann, 1985; OFSTED, 2000) were heavily criticised for their inappropriacy to the circumstances and needs of minority ethnic group pupils. The emphasis on the deficit model derived from such measures and critical events such as the Stephen Lawrence Enquiry meant that reactions tended to address racial inequality issues rather than any discrete learning needs or bilingual issues. More recent reports (OFSTED, 20003a; OFSTED, 2003b; OFSTED 3c; OFSTED, 2004a; OFSTED 4b) have effected a redirection of attention towards issues relating to language and attainment for pupils from minority ethnic groups. The work of the EAL teachers' professional interest group, National Association of Language Development in the Curriculum (NALDIC), has brought pressure to bear on the format of Initial Teacher Training Subject English as an Additional Language (ITTSEAL) to ensure that issues of bilingualism and English as an Additional Language are addressed more thoroughly to meet the needs of minority ethnic group pupils. It is noteworthy that this step has been initiated by a recognised charity rather than by Government Departments. Nevertheless, it marks a move to bring some coherence to minority ethnic policies in education in England and Wales (OFSTED 2004a).

In Scotland, there is little detailed information relating to resident bilinguals. This may account for the very limited reference to such groups in educational policies. Yet, this is a circular argument since, if this sector of society is not prominently addressed within the policy documents, then this implies that there is no need for supporting statistical or qualitative data. Further, fine-grained demographic research could enhance the level of detail relating to minority ethnic group pupils and students and go some way to facilitating analysis of their needs and to informing policy across a variety of functions.

Although ethnic tracking is conducted in Scottish schools via the Scottish Executive Education Department and in universities by HESA, numbers are small relative to the majority group and this may explain the fact that there seems to be no forum in which data such as that explored in this study is reviewed. Landon (2001) sees such data-gathering processes as 'rhetorical', and this is supported by the fact that there appears to be little or no impact in action or policy within the education sectors on issues relating to minority ethnic group learning experience or needs. Rather, local response across the sector to legislation such as the Race Relations Amendment Act 2000 has focused on anti-racist measures (John, 2003). However, this may be skewing attention away from learning needs. It stimulates a culture of compliance with the legislation rather than encouraging a proactive, more holistic assessment and approach to minority ethnic educational needs. In vernacular terms, there is an evident lack of 'joined up thinking' on these matters at Scottish Executive level that, I suggest, feeds down through the educational sectors.

For example, apart from issues relating to the teaching of Gaelic derived from models of Gaelic-medium teaching from Eire and Welsh-medium in Welsh schools, there is little to encourage the idea that recognition be given to bilingual needs in mainstream Scottish schools. This is consistent with the experiences reported in the current data. Yet, as noted elsewhere in this thesis, research from North America suggests that supporting the learning of the first language (enrichment model) has a positive bearing on learning and ultimately development of additional languages (Cummins, 1984; Collier, 1987; Chamot and O'Malley, 1994; Baker, 1996; Cummins, 2000). In Scotland, therefore, it seems that language maintenance of indigenous minority languages has merit while that of immigrant languages does not have that recognition. Further research into the levels of first language usage would be instructive as would investigation into the pedagogy of bilingualism and the integration of first and second language acquisition within mainstream educational frameworks.

More recently, influxes of non-English-speaking asylum seekers have diverted attention and action from the needs of second-generation resident bilinguals. Simple prioritisation of need places new immigrant children before indigenous minority ethnic group learners and, in the longer term, this may mean that resident bilinguals such as the students in this study will continue to be disadvantaged as they proceed through the educational sectors. A discrete strand of further research into the language and other learning needs of resident bilingual learners would help redress the balance.

In a very simplistic way, this gets to the heart of this study, for there is a strong sense that these resident bilinguals, particularly further up the school ladder, will somehow 'manage' in the educational system without any additional support because they are perceived to be well-assimilated into school, communities and UK culture, thus, sharing the same educational experience as dominant group pupils and students. Yet, as this study shows, for resident minority ethnic group pupils (and students) with whatever level of bilingualism they have achieved, the situation is both the same and different. Heritage differences and language differences converge to create learning profiles that vary, sometimes quite significantly, from those of dominant group peers. As reflected in many educational policies, in Scotland there appears to be a reluctance to acknowledge how these different profiles manifest different learning needs across the curriculum and over a learner's school and university career.

Possibly due to small minority ethnic numbers, there have been few attempts to engage with teaching professionals and interest groups who could potentially identify the core educational needs that differing learning profiles suggest. For example, the professional interest group, the Scottish Association of Teachers of English as an Additional Language (SATEAL), brings together EAL teachers to further Continuing Professional Development within their field. As with NALDIC, SATEAL is run as a charity and training initiatives are driven by members rather than by any local education authority or central educational agencies. Members have the potential to act as 'expert witnesses' and advisors on minority ethnic education policy, but there is little evidence that consultations on the issues that concern them and their pupils are being conducted at policy-making level. Thus, in terms of influencing any consideration of bilingual issues and EAL teaching in Scotland, this remains a marginalised group.

In Scotland, over the years, at school level, therefore, it is local government funding and mechanisms that have provided additional services to support learning for pupils from minority ethnic groups. Such 'policies' that might exist are driven by budgetary considerations at a relatively localised level and pedagogical approaches are driven by a system where, for a time, EAL was variously regarded as a subset of Special Educational Needs (SEN) teaching or of generic learning support. As acknowledged, there is no substantial formalised initial teacher-training on cultural and educational needs of minority ethnic children (Smyth, 2000). Hence, it is fair to suppose that those senior educationalists

who make policy-decisions about the format of support for EAL learning not only have to respond to competing demands for budgetary support under these broader remits, but must do so without necessarily having specialist knowledge of the pedagogical research into teaching and learning in the fields of bilingualism or relevant cognitive psychology that would inform these decisions. This means that the operational strategies such educationalists select may lack pedagogical underpinning for the preferred approach to support provision. Further academic research into such theoretical foundations of EAL teaching could positively influence EAL teaching provision and practice.

As a measure of how policy has directed the learning of the resident bilingual students in this present study, the data show that where there had been some element of language support in their early school experience, this had been relatively short-lived. Moreover, the students' recollections were that they received no further language-learning support at later stages in their educational development. This is consistent with the practice in many local authorities in Scotland of placing the minority ethnic learners in the mainstream classroom as soon as they achieve a reasonable degree of oral fluency – a practice that ignores the research evidence that suggests that it takes 4-7 years for a bilingual learner to achieve parity in language terms with a native speaker (Cummins, 1984; Collier, 1995). This approach is not uncommon outside Scotland and there may be an element of setting up 'copy-cat' systems used elsewhere rather than exploring pedagogical options.

For the students in this study, therefore, their experience of learning as bilinguals in a monolingual school environment coincided with a period of some development in the policy and practice of teaching English as an Additional Language to minority ethnic learners within the wider curriculum (Table 5.4.1). While this was not driven by any explicit policy in Scotland, it seems that the influence of developments in the teaching and learning of bilingual pupils in England and Wales filtered into Scottish classrooms through professional channels. Oral data from the students in this study show that individual teachers and schools took initiatives within their own practice to support bilingual learners that reflected some of the more progressive approaches to supporting EAL pupils seen in England and Wales. However, the policy provisions generally still did not recognise or address the particular needs of resident bilinguals. Thus, for the students in this study their inclusion in mainstream classroom teaching did not seem to have taken their bilingualism into consideration. The data suggest that mainstream teaching staff in general did not

display much acuity in relation to the cultural, linguistic or learning needs of the resident bilingual learners in this study.

Furthermore, it seems that, beyond the period of statutory education, resident bilingual learners are assumed, within the system, to fit into the profile of the typical home student. General legislation to prevent discrimination and promote equality of opportunity and inclusiveness has been translated into the higher education sector in strategies for widening participation for all, regardless of any differentiating factor (Woodrow 1996). To ensure that all students are treated in the same way, applications, acceptances and admissions on the basis of ethnicity are tracked statistically but, by the same token, anonymising applicants' forms in some discipline areas may occur where there may be historical claims of preferential treatment that disadvantages minority ethnic group applicants. Paradoxically, therefore, the very measures designed to ensure inclusion and equality without discrimination may have given rise to situations in higher education where some differentiated groups, such as some resident bilingual students, may find that their distinctive needs remain unacknowledged, while others, such as international students, may be considered eligible for special provision including language support.

While drawing on the available quantitative data available in the public domain, the qualitative data in this study has been focused on a small group of students from the University of Dundee. Further research encompassing minority ethnic group populations in other Scottish higher education institutions would provide a broader assessment of the issues that may be germane to such groups as distinct from students from the dominant ethnic group.

14.4 Resident bilingual learners and language

The minority ethnic group students in this study were all at least bilingual, some multilingual, and although language diversity might be anticipated to be a tension point, by the time the students had reached higher education they did not see this as a difficulty. However, some students reported that this had been problematic initially.

The students in this study referred to early difficulties with learning English and to teachers' suggestions that families should discontinue using the heritage language in the home in preference for English - this, despite the Bullock Report of 1975 which drew

attention to the desirability of valuing a child's heritage language and its contribution to learning.

> No child should be expected to cast off the language and culture of the home as he crosses the school threshold, nor to live and act as though school and home represent two totally separate and different cultures which have to be kept formally apart. The curriculum should reflect many elements that are part of his life which a child lives outside school.
> **Bullock, 1975:paragraph 20.5**

The fact that students who had attended schools in the mid-eighties as new learners (Table 5.4.1) had encountered teachers who discouraged first language use is instructive, for it exemplifies how policy recommendations do not necessarily trickle down to the classroom. The attitudes reported in the data serve to perpetuate the deficit model view of minority ethnic pupils' language abilities in English but ignore their prowess in their heritage language(s). The implied lack of status of the heritage language as a learning tool contradicts the enrichment model of learning English as a second or other language supported by Cummins (1984), Chamot and O'Malley (1987) and Collier (1995).

The data in this study revealed that the heritage language seemed to be reserved for cross-generational social exchanges and some resident bilinguals acknowledged attrition of their heritage language as English overtook it. Such shifts in language dominance have implications for the social fabric of the family. For example, with diminished communicative ability in the heritage language on the part of the younger generation, it becomes more difficult for older family members to inculcate their heritage values in the younger family members. By contrast, since these students straddle two cultures, the data indicate that some become translators (and interpreters) of the practices of the dominant culture for older family members. While this helps the older generation, at the same time the data suggest that this places their parents or grandparents in dependent roles. This has the potential to upset and erode the hierarchical structure and traditions of the family. All the minority ethnic group students in the current study continued to hold their elders in high regard. This is reinforced in a concordance analysis of the oral data in this study that shows the use of family-related vocabulary as significantly higher in the responses of the resident bilinguals than for the data derived from the same number of dominant group students. This focus on the family is central to many minority ethnic cultures and enhances the sense of Ethnic Self.

Bilingualism, however, was a feature where the sense of Ethnic Self was potentially diminished. A very strong theme that emerged from the data was that these students

perceived their bilingualism to be a fact of life and not really worthy of note. This serves to reflect the lack of status of their first languages outside their own heritage communities. This is an area in which some tension might be expected. Several students in this study reported attempts to maintain their heritage language through supplementary schooling. In one instance a student mentioned active attempts at first language maintenance in the home.

> [We] *speak English at home –a mix. Some English, but my Mum tries to get me to speak Punjabi so that I don't forget it.*
> **Student NA3, female, Pakistani heritage**

Nevertheless, all were adamant that English had superseded their first language once they entered the school system..

> *The kids realise that English is going to be the main thing in school and Punjabi is like the home thing.*
> **Student SM, male, Pakistani heritage**

Several of the interviewees indicated that the family view was that English was the language of education and was privileged before the heritage language in some homes as a result and certainly once all the children entered schooling. It would be interesting to investigate whether this is a throwback to suggestions that families should not use the first language in the home as described above or whether this is a spontaneous perception of the world view that sees English as the language of education and, implicitly, academic success. In this sense, those with high level competence in English are developing the Global Self alongside the Academic Self.

At the time of the research study, tension between the two languages was not an issue for the bilingual students in the study, although they acknowledged some attrition of the first language. However, the issue of language presents a serious tension since a language that is not used for 'high status' activities such as education, is one that is potentially in decline. This contributes to the erosion of the Ethnic Self. Furthermore, as noted by Baker (1996:1), bilinguals from minority cultures may be excluded from 'power and prestige' without competence in the dominant language. This can also be the case for members of the dominant culture with poor command of formal English. The need for competence in the language of the monolingual power-base assumes its own imperative for all such groups.

It has to be acknowledged that individual pupils and students will generally be unaware of debates about policy (or non-policy) or the pedagogy of teaching additional languages. They simply get on with their daily lives and contrive their own communicative strategies. The oral data from the students in this study showed a certain level of language awareness

and illustrated how they reconciled any tension between their two (or more) language domains in practical terms.

> *Because I can speak Hindi, Punjabi, Gujerati, it's rather like scrambled eggs. Start off in one but end up in the other but I'm sure other people wouldn't understand.*
> **Student BR, female, Indian heritage**

Several spoke of such code-mixing and code-switching, and one identified the 'special language' that bilingual people from the same language heritages develop in informal situations. It has been suggested that this hybrid language is a mix of in-group speech from both language contexts, that is, a mixture of 'Bollywood', local dialect and popular culture (OFSTED 2005:1).

The students in this study seemed to be developing a similarly based hybridity in their oral discourse. This spontaneous development of a mix of the two languages seems to represent a pragmatic response to solving the problem of communicating when an individual does not have the required lexical item to express an idea in one language, but does in the other language. Students who spoke about this reported their observation that the code-switching/mixing, although not uni-directional, seemed to go more from English to their heritage language than vice versa which possibly emphasises the dominance of English at most levels in their lives. In basic terms it suggests that the 'lexical bank' of the heritage language is weaker than that of their English lexicon.

> *My words in Punjabi are more limited and with friends I usually stick to English.*
> **Student SB, female, Indian heritage**

However, in terms of the perception of Self, perhaps the most significant aspect of these language developments is that they represent a marker of independence within the heritage culture, signify some adjustment to the perception of the Ethnic Self and make some contribution to the development of the Global Self by the shift towards the creation of a new hybrid identity.

Thus, in the overall context of the current study, the dimension of language that is a key aspect of difference is that resident bilinguals construct a language profile that is significantly different from that of students from the dominant group. Further research could be conducted to evaluate areas of commonality and difference in the learning profiles of minority and dominant ethnic groups. This presents a strong case for further research into the specific language-learning needs of bilingual pupils and students at all stages of their learning and in all sectors of the educational system. Potentially this could

provide further insight into language awareness training needs within the broader curriculum for all learners.

14.5 Resident bilingual learners and learning

Difference also emerged as a factor in relation to learning from the early years of schooling. The data show that in addition to the statutory mainstream education, minority ethnic group children frequently participate in voluntary supplementary schooling provided from within their communities. Dependent on the heritage, supplementary schooling may include religious education, tuition in heritage language literacy and reinforcement of cultural values and traditions. This activity represents a strong input to the development and maintenance of the Ethnic Self. However, as noted by Gregory (1996), the contrasting styles of teaching encountered consign state school learning to that of a recreational activity, but supplementary school is seen as serious learning using traditional didactic delivery. Commentators criticise such methodology and identify the failure to teach pupils according to need or level as possible shortcomings of such supplementary schools (Winsler and others, 1999). This could have serious implications for longer-term learning by conditioning pupils to a learning style different from that of their mainstream school.

Thus, a tension is created for learners, because, as the data in the current study suggest, students reported these learning experiences as two very separate activities. However, in terms of learning, there appears to be a missed opportunity for the two systems to integrate pupils' learning. Yet, Smyth (2000) suggests that mainstream school teachers may even have been unaware that resident bilingual children attend a supplementary school or that they were developing some literacy skills while there. Since both systems operate independently of the other, there are no formal mechanisms to integrate the development of basic skills such as reading or writing, areas where advantages of complementarity have been acknowledged in the research literature (Krashen, 1991; Latham, 2002; Sharples, 1999; Smith, 1988). This could be of assistance to the pupils. As long as this clear separation persists, pupils need to make the connections between heritage and additional languages for themselves. This may mean that the enhanced sense of language awareness claimed as a spin-off of bilingualism may remain dormant and, furthermore, these different un-coordinated learning approaches cause divergence in the learner's concept of learning and, by implication, the evolution of the Ethnic Self and the Academic Self.

As noted in section 14.1.2, the students in this study reported that any language support in English they had received had stopped once they had achieved oral fluency. Given the oft-repeated assertions in the literature that full competency takes between 4 and 7 years (Collier, 1995; Cummins, 1984), that the students in this study did not receive support beyond the acquisition of a degree of oral fluency suggests that their later education may have been impeded because of limitations in understanding, particularly in extracting meaning from what they read. There is a body of literature that suggests that EAL learners are proficient in 'bluffing' their way through reading texts simply by recycling the words in text without understanding underlying meaning (Harklau, 1994). It must also be acknowledged that this is not something that is exclusive to minority ethnic group students, for it is demonstrated by dominant group students also. However, the data from this study suggest that this might be a continuing problem at university because it is manifested in students' difficulties in paraphrasing what they have read, thus risking accusations of plagiarism.

Moreover, there is a further dimension to this. The impression given by Harklau (1994) is that 'bluffing' involves some sense of deceit. The question needs to be asked as to whether learners may believe that re-processing the key words is what is wanted because at earlier stages in their school careers, this kind of response, redolent of surface approaches to learning, would have been rewarded. Unless there is overt instruction to learners explaining that a more analytical reply that shows understanding is going to be required, then they are likely to provide 'more of the same'. The 'hidden curriculum' of learning identified earlier in this work notes that education systems are better at showing the 'what' of a learning task rather than the 'how' (Wignell, 1987 cited in Christie, 1990). This is the perception indicated in the data.

Research has indicated that bilingual pupils, in the later stages of school education, may achieve a plateau level in their learning of the additional language (Cummins, 1984; McKay, 1995) and data from this present study have suggested that this has been the experience for some students. There are two possible explanations. One is that this is a phenomenon of language acquisition and that moving to the next plateau is dependent on circumstances, aptitude for language learning and motivation (McKay, 1995). As discussed in §8, the other is that, without the expectation on the part of pupil or teacher that entry to higher education is a possibility, there is no particular incentive to develop language beyond the levels attained at plateau level. Since the acquisition of a more sophisticated

register and further development of academic language would seem irrelevant in these circumstances, the plateau position would not be challenged. This latter instance is endorsed by the data in this study. This has ramifications for the Academic Self that is, in effect, 'stunted' by the lack of development in learning that the plateau position implies.

In the context of university level education, this raises further questions. For, if resident bilinguals do find themselves marooned on this linguistic/learning plateau at school level (also later at university as the data suggest), and, if there is some learning gap between the learning of minority and dominant ethnic group learners in the upper reaches of school education as some commentators have suggested, then there could be a concomitant shortfall in performance that continues into the university learning context. This conjecture raises serious issues concerning the extent to which there might be a case for additional language learning input for resident bilinguals later in their schooling. Further, this begs another question because, as acknowledged above, resident bilingual and dominant group monolingual students frequently share similar difficulties. Thus, the scenario described here might apply equally to dominant ethnic group students. Further examination of this plateau concept in the Scottish educational contexts allied with an appraisal of the value of enhanced EAL-style language awareness teaching in the upper school would provide some insight into potential learning impediments minority and dominant ethnic group students carry into higher education.

14.6 Resident bilingual learners and teaching

In the context of the current study with its focus on the learning of resident bilinguals, it would be easy to slip into ways of problematising the discrete language learning needs of a particular group within the learning community in a way that isolates and restricts learning. Therefore, as suggested by Leung, Harris and Rampton (1997) and the students in this study, it may be more useful to see resident bilingual students as learners who happen to have command of another language, their heritage language, alongside the English that they use in their daily lives and perceive to be their dominant language. However, this does not deny that such resident bilingual students may have particular language learning needs, but dominant ethnic group students also have problems with language. In some instances these problems are the same as for resident bilinguals, in others they are different.

Thus, instead of working from the premise that resident bilinguals are EAL learners, and should be taught in a different way, it may possibly be more constructive, particularly in

the later stages of schooling, to develop discrete methodologies for teaching language and learning skills to all learners. It has already been acknowledged in this work that dominant and minority ethnic group students demonstrate similar difficulties in areas of language and approaches to learning. Thus, encouraging the development of enabling methodologies, based on EAL pedagogy, that offer all learners the means of expressing themselves by learning how language works and how to use it in different circumstances and genres need not be confined only to minority ethnic group learners (Christie, 1990). Nor need it be confined to the primary school 'literacy hour' activities. Such activities could extend throughout the school experience. This suggests that more involvement of well-qualified EAL teachers in the activities of the mainstream classroom throughout the school would be of benefit to all. For example, the Ethnic Minority Achievement (EMA) projects in schools in England and Wales based on profiling and monitoring students' learning needs seem to present a model that brings this much closer to realisation.

A distinction has to be made between English as it is taught as a subject for study in the areas of literature and the teaching of English as a language, that is, as a means of communication – how it works in oral situations, in text and writing. To this situation the appropriately trained EAL teacher can bring expertise in a range of academic literacies that provide the preparation for advancing to higher levels of education, for example, writing about abstract concepts or 'non-fiction' scenarios. In fulfilment of a holistic process, this means that the responsibility for the delivery of academic literacies extends across the curriculum so that every teacher has a role to play in the construction of the writing and other academic skills of learners (Martin, 1999). However, teaching the principles should remain with the language experts. The role of teachers of other subjects is to reinforce that learning and incorporate the language of their own subject-specific discourse community into the fabric of the students' academic literacies (Allan and Bruton, 1997). For the students in the present study, such an approach might have been of significance in their later development and would emphasise the transferability of these skills to all subjects.

This kind of approach would nullify the criticisms that the EAL classroom does not 'stretch' learners. This is based on the perception that materials used are in the form of abridged texts that do not relate to the textual density of materials used in the mainstream classroom and that writing activities tend to be based on non-academic topics (Harper and Platt, 1998). Moreover, this approach moves EAL teaching from the perceived emphasis of

cultural adjustment and social skills to a focus on the language and learning skills that learners need for the curriculum (Harper and Platt, 1998).

This does not entirely address the enrichment-deficit debate. It is accepted that, in order to learn and to achieve, pupils need to be exposed to learning challenges in the mainstream alongside their peers. This is important for their social as well as their language development, and, as noted above, certainly reflects the views of the students in this study. Yet, a balance between learning in the heritage language and learning in the additional language is desirable. There is no easy answer to this vexed issue and probably the best that can be achieved is a compromise somewhere between the two, that is, a situation where heritage language learning has a place alongside additional language learning and that the learning curriculum recognises the special language needs of the ascendant bilingual learner. More research work could usefully be conducted into the pedagogical dimensions as well as the practicalities of making provision for heritage language teaching within the curriculum. If resident bilinguals were to have opportunities to develop their language learning in heritage and additional languages, this could potentially complement their learning across the curriculum.

Ways of achieving these conditions within the mainstream classroom have to be conceived and this is currently problematic for it is predicated on the availability of a cadre of fully-trained EAL specialists. However, as Landon (2001) has noted, in Scotland, levels of expertise are variable. This suggests the need for a properly structured teacher-training programme in EAL that raises this branch of teaching to the status of a subject within the curriculum along lines already formulated by the ITTSEAL initiative for England and Wales. Such training would go beyond the fundamentals of teaching to include in-depth study of applied languages and linguistics, language and cultural awareness, cognition, and genres in academic literacies (Leung 2003). If accompanied by a credible career structure, this would do much to enhance the professional status of EAL practitioners within the education system and would potentially attract high grade teachers. It would also elevate the status of English language learning within the wider curriculum. This would contribute a significant component to mainstream teacher training that would focus strategies for supporting the learning needs of resident bilinguals as well as new migrants in mainstream classes with particular emphasis on language acquisition, language and cultural awareness as these relate to learning.

14.7 Resident bilingual learners and higher education

The students in this study were adamant that their experience at university had been positive although at least three of the students had repeated years and another had changed subjects after a year. This suggests a tension in the time it takes to shape the Academic Self as bilingual students, in common with monolingual dominant group students, make the adjustment to the new learning environment, or modify their subject choices once they have sampled learning and teaching in their initial subject area of choice.

The general view held by the resident bilingual students in this study is that they feel comfortable in the environment and draw benefit from the liminal culture of the campus where they did not feel threatened by racial discrimination or racist incidents. At a personal level, some acknowledged that there had been a period of 'growing up' and that this, and broadening views arising from the learning culture of university, had been liberating experiences that had altered their perspective and, implicitly, contributed to the development of the Academic Self as well as the Global Self. This is consonant with the view of Kearney (2002) that there is a critical point of self-awareness that occurs about the age of twenty (the average age of the participants), again not exclusive to resident bilingual students. In the case of the interviewees, in particular, their growing self-assurance and enhanced self-esteem was apparent. Success in examinations and progression to the next year augmented this self-confidence. This clearly enhanced their perception of the Academic Self.

In relation to entry or transition to higher education, for the minority ethnic group students in this study, they were the first generation to seek and successfully be admitted to university. In this respect they share this situation with some but not all of the dominant ethnic group students in this study. The environment for both such groups was unfamiliar and expectations of the learning contexts were largely untested. For some, this meant entering what they perceived as an 'upper-class' system where they had little understanding of the customs or organisational structures that might underpin this (Moss, 2001) . For the minority ethnic group students, a perception was acknowledged that being a university student brought a degree of social cachet. However, in some instances, this brought its own pressures, especially from family, particularly with regard to the possibility of failure. In general, however, for both minority and dominant groups, parents were distant observers of the university experience and this created a tension because parental unfamiliarity with the rhythms and practices of higher education meant that they

did not always understand the learning requirements or practices of their children. In the case of resident bilinguals, this has the potential for a tension between the Ethnic and the Academic Self.

The potential Global Self emerges as students from both groups set considerable store on the extent to which they integrated with their peers. The data show that making new friends was a major preoccupation. This was consistent with the view that being at university would broaden their horizons. In a process where all students need to adjust to a new environment, it is difficult to gauge the extent to which voluntary identity shifts such as those characterised by Clyne (1994) were undergone by the resident bilingual students as they integrate into university. The sense of difference reported in the data in some cases seems less acute than Derrida's coined word 'différance' and its rationale suggests (Derrida, 1973). In others it is marked because, for some students, the sense of operating simultaneously within two identities – Ethnic and Academic - is stronger than for others.

In terms of tackling university learning, the data show that minority ethnic group respondents and interviewees in this study followed paths that were broadly similar to students from the dominant ethnic group. Both groups had problems with didactic teaching approaches, but for the minority ethnic group students, this was most marked in their attitudes towards lectures and lecturing styles, whereas for dominant group students this was less of a problem. The boredom and lack of motivation cited by the bilingual students seem to be consistent with the results yielded in the work of Brozo (1990 cited in Harper and Platt, 1998) that attributed this to weakness in language and comprehension. Harklau (1994) explained this disengagement as a function of the fact that minority ethnic group learners were less likely to be required to participate in classroom dialogue than native speaker dominant group learners and this accounted for their passive approach in learning situations.

In terms of learning approaches, all students interviewed remarked on the need for greater learner autonomy in higher education than had been necessary in school. The data suggest that students from the dominant group employed strategic approaches by adjusting from surface to deep approaches according to context. By contrast, the minority ethnic group students were more consistent in describing surface approaches to learning (Entwistle, 1984; Entwistle and Ramsden, 1993). As noted in §12, there was a strong indication across the group that reiterating what they had been told in lectures or had found in their reading

was their general tactic. They talked frequently of 'information' that they seemed to piece together. Several indicated that they had difficulties finding their own way of expressing ideas. This seemed to relate to a more fundamental issue, namely, that they did not understand the concepts of critical thinking and marshalling an argument and were more dependent on memorising facts rather than applying them appropriately to a problem.

The minority ethnic group students interviewed in this study, while recognising the autonomous style of learning dictated by the university system, frequently referred to seeking the advice or opinions of others, often from teaching staff. This raises an interesting professional issue for it suggests that at higher education level more cogniscance may need to be taken of this factor at a period where the time of teaching staff is more than ever at a premium. Contractually, staff are present (among other things) to teach students. The characteristic identified in this work suggests that more may be required of staff in terms of time to teach bilingual students and others whose learning style requires a stronger interpersonal input in the form of one-to-one consultation. The advent of new technologies and learning formats suggests that further research work on approaches to learning is required in general, but, in addition, the discussion in this study suggests that an exploration of learning styles and strategies with particular reference to bilingual learners would be advantageous especially to direct those teaching in higher education.

14.8 Resident bilinguals and academic literacies

The data derived from the students in this study indicated that their general perception was that they considered their skills to be strong in speaking in their heritage and additional languages. Several students alluded to their preference for oral discussion of academic topics in the tutorial system. While there is general antipathy towards making oral presentations, bilingual students perceive their ability to present their ideas orally in other informal contexts as a strength. This, they declared, outweighs their ability to express themselves in writing and is, moreover, a better indicator of their ability. The resident bilingual students in this study do not perceive the skill of listening to be one that they consciously acknowledge as relevant to their learning. However, as discussed above, their attitudes towards lectures and lecture note-taking are generally negative. This may be a function of other academic literacy weaknesses or simply a standard student 'gripe'.

It is acknowledged that reading abilities give access to the curriculum at all levels of study. Since the ability to read opens up wider sources of knowledge and learning, it potentially contributes to the development of the Academic Self and the Global Self. The data show that reading skills in the heritage language were severely restricted and, from the literature, it is suggested that this may be a factor in acquisition of this skill by minority ethnic group learners in the initial stages of learning to read in an additional language. Inability to read in the heritage language diminishes the Ethnic Self because it closes off access to discussion of contemporary issues in print as well as to the body of heritage culture literature.

Some of the students in this study recognise the need for greater autonomy in their learning at university, particularly in relation to reading. Others were less perceptive and their contributions reveal that, although their reading skills are mechanically sound in their ability to read the morphemes they see, their skills are weak in extracting meaning from texts. This seems consistent with the view that gaps between resident bilinguals and dominant group learners in comprehension skills at the early stages of learning to read may persist until much later in the learning cycle, even beyond the point at which the resident bilingual's reading is considered proficient. This suggests an area for further research.

This raises significant issues about another tension: writing competence at university level. Several of the minority ethnic group students in this study acknowledge that their modus operandi is to isolate keywords and write everything that they know around that theme, regardless of relevance. This scattergun approach to writing about a topic once more suggests both a difficulty with analytical thinking and possibly also with deriving meaning from text. From the data these weaknesses are evidenced by resident bilingual students' declared inability to reformulate text in their own words. Again, while this is also often a problem for dominant group students, in the case of resident bilingual students, this seems to be accentuated, possibly a reflection of differentiation in language profile from monolingual dominant group students.

The data show that the resident bilinguals appear preoccupied with finding the 'right answer' and this preoccupation adds strength to the argument that they lack confidence in the skill of critical assessment and the ability to marshal evidence in support of an argument. This trait of seeking affirmation could be explained as a developmental issue for all students, regardless of ethnicity, as they adjust to the more sophisticated thought

processes of higher education. There may also be a link with previous school writing contexts where novice writers are told the 'what' of academic writing but not necessarily the 'how' and were left to work this out for themselves (Wignell, 1987 cited in Christie, 1990). In this case, from the data, it seems that, in school, these students found that repetition from sources was rewarded.

Furthermore, for the resident bilingual students, this search for 'right answers' may have a cultural dimension for, in some cultures, this kind of behaviour is consistent with the cultural value dimensions classified by Hofstede (1984). In this theory, this search for 'right answers' is consistent with a mindset that links uncertainty avoidance (I need to have the right answer) and conforming to group norms (What do you think the right answer is?). In pursuit of the search for the 'right' answer, the resident bilingual students in this study demonstrated a strong reliance, not only on the opinions of their peers, but also on guidance from staff, who, it appeared, they sought out much more regularly than dominant group students. This fear of uncertainty left the minority ethnic group students particularly weakened in examinations where there was no opportunity to consult with others and where what they wrote was entirely their own and, thus, possibly a more accurate demonstration of their own understanding than work done alongside others. By contrast, however, while some students, as noted, resort to writing down all that they knew on a topic regardless of relevance, interestingly, others admitted that they write down what they can express in written form and this is not necessarily the totality of their knowledge or understanding on a subject. This is consistent with claims that resident bilinguals feel more able to explain issues orally than to write about them. Thus, establishing the real level of a student's understanding from their writing is difficult to achieve.

Resident bilingual students perceive their writing to be weaker than that of the dominant ethnic group students. Several commented on the fact that feedback at school had generally not been useful and that they often did not understand what was wrong with their writing. They do not see themselves as language learners, but attributed their weakness in writing to poor vocabulary or to poor grammar. A recurring theme was the idea that they had 'missed out' in some way for they had none of the metalanguage of grammar and did not understand how English 'works'. The general view reported was that they would have preferred a Traditional Approach to learning grammar in the style defined by Johns (1997). However, it was with regard to deficiencies in vocabulary that the students in this study were preoccupied. They recognised that their lexical repertoires were smaller than those of

monolingual peers and that, in some cases, they had 'stalled' on a vocabulary plateau in much the same way as described by Cameron (2002). It seems from the students' account that theirs was a lack of general as well as academic vocabulary in the broader sense ('big words') rather than the language of their subject discourse communities. This suggests that their general cognitive academic language proficiency was weak. While this is not a problem exclusive to bilingual learners, it is once again amplified as a difficulty for these students and accentuates their different language profile. The area of vocabulary acquisition by bilingual students at university level would be a useful one for further research as it impinges both on the taking and making of meaning in broader literacy contexts as well within academic discourse. However, the broader field of Academic Literacies is an important and broad field for further research, especially in the context of higher education.

As noted at the beginning of this section, the interrelationship between the Ethnic, Academic and Global Self and the various tension points that are encountered suggest that, as the resident bilinguals in this study sought to resolve these, this influenced changes in the Self. It has been argued from the data that Writing Identity evolves as students make the transition from school pupil to university undergraduate. The development of learning style, identification of the demands of the hidden curriculum, assimilation of feedback from assignments and participation in the examination process present a number of tensions that are key to the shaping of Writing Identity. As students engage with the tensions in each of these areas, this results in further changes in the Academic Self which finds yet another new equilibrium. Thus, these resident bilinguals, similar in many ways to their dominant group peers but very different in language profile, reach a new dimension of each Self with every resolution of tension. The data show that such change does not come about in rapid or sizeable shifts but by incremental stages as students adjust their understanding of course content and their ability to explain this in the written discourse of the subject. The strengthening Academic Self engenders greater confidence and this, in turn, suggests further development of the Global Self as students discover more about the worlds they study and those which they might potentially inhabit. However, the essence of this study is that the notion of Self has shifted into new territory as new identities and new ethnicities become apparent.

14.9 New Identities and New Ethnicities

Whilst all individuals have unique multiple identities, three particular identities emerged from the data as significant in the context of the university experience for the students in this study (Figure 13.1). Thus, the consistent thread of Self that has intertwined the other themes and the growth and development of the Ethnic Self is complemented by the establishment of a strong sense of Academic Self and the emergence of an embryonic world identity in the Global Self.

The journey of this study begins with the locus that minority ethnic groups occupy within Scottish society. This sets the scene for an 'outsider' view of minority ethnic group communities in Scotland. As noted, the heterogeneity of these communities signifies a breadth of need that is generally not recognised administratively in Scotland. Significant influxes of asylum seekers and refugees have pushed the needs of these predominantly bilingual communities further to the margins of policy-makers' attention and is possibly explained, in part, by perceptions of assimilation of these significant minority groups into Scottish society.

In such circumstances, the system makes it difficult to sustain a sense of Ethnic Self because it does not support language or culture or acknowledge disparity of need within the learner populations it serves. Learners are conditioned by the academic environment they inhabit and data from this study show that learners prefer to identify with their peers of all heritages. However, despite their oral assertions, actions are often seen to contradict this, as noted in the data, because friendship groupings are often perceived to be mono-cultural rather than inter-cultural. This implies some tension. For the students in this study, while they seem to embrace the uniform Academic Identity the educational system stimulates, their social interactions within that system suggest something a little different. Although the Ethnic Self remains as a cornerstone in their multiple identities, it is not a fixed state but continues to undergo change.

Although school experiences had enabled these students to straddle the two cultures they inhabit, stereotypical behaviours of rites of passage such as marriage and parenthood or incorporation into family businesses could be anticipated to follow from the point of leaving school. However, the opportunity to enter higher education marked a watershed, not just for the individuals themselves, but for their extended families and wider community. These students are treading a different path. It is one that challenges these

traditional milestones for these students and is done with overt approval of parents who, as the data show, see education as a route to self-improvement. This shifts the emphasis of ethnicity and the Ethnic Self within minority communities because it is these second-generation members of these minority ethnic communities and not their parents who are creating these new paths into higher education as first-generation resident bilingual students. In making the transition from school or college into university these resident bilinguals have 'found their feet', in ways not too dissimilar to those followed by their monolingual dominant group peers. Yet there are differences. These emanate from the different language profile and different heritage culture that supports this, but, in addition, the key Ethnic Self is no longer what it might have traditionally been assumed to be and it is in this uncharted new learning environment that these resident bilinguals create their own routes. This means that new identities are formed. This is not simply a matter of modifying the Ethnic Self by juggling dual language and cultural worlds within the new learning environment but is change brought about by more fundamental developments within these communities.

While older generations may identify with the diaspora, there are grounds for suggesting that younger generations do not share this sense of shared heritage, in part, because the signifiers of heritage are becoming eroded. The data show students' awareness of language attrition and less rigorous observance of religious duties and responsibilities. While the minority ethnic students in this study reported their experience of culture maintenance in attendance at supplementary schools for religious and language tuition, interestingly, the majority declared that they would not follow this practice with their own children. This was explained by one student who regards himself as fairly traditional.

> *I'd never send my kids to a single sex school or an Islamic school. If they've been at school all day, then they have to go to Islamic school [in the evening], then they don't have time for anything else. I've been through all that myself and I just hated it at times. I think segregation just makes matters worse. I think they should be in a school, for example, like School X and getting to meet a whole range of other people. They'll get a proper/more prepared for the wider variety of people.*
> **Student SM, male, Pakistani heritage**

This comment encapsulates a more liberal and pragmatic perspective on the realities of heritage group membership where the younger generations appear to be more comfortable with some of the more liberal practices. Hence, a tension within that minority ethnic community is possible.

As noted, minority ethnic groups in Scotland are placed in a fairly confined context where communities are smaller than in concentrations of minority ethnic populations in England and Wales. This may mean that pressures to conform to the cultural norms in Scottish minority ethnic group communities may differ from those elsewhere in the UK. Whatever that reality, I would contend that the resident bilingual students in this study are forging a new path in their own way. In reaching their lifestyle decisions, they have reached pragmatic compromises with both the dominant and minority cultures.

This represents an aspect of what I have elected to call a 'quiet revolution' for it seems that many students, as trail-blazers, are quietly forging a new path that contributes to their individual Ethnic Self by action rather than by rhetoric. This is a compromise of acknowledging the cultural heritage and values out of respect for their parents and grandparents, whilst also embracing the behaviour patterns and values of their dominant group peers within a system that is fundamentally mono-cultural. In these circumstances, until recently equality of opportunity in ethnic terms in higher education has been more of an aspiration rather than a general reality (Woodrow, 1996). This is the New Identity.

Kearney (2000) suggests that different concepts of Self emerge as a result. In the same way that students explained the emergence of a hybrid language, so too, new evolving hybrid Ethnic identities appear to be emerging (Rosaldo, 1995: Foreword ppxi – xvii). This new Ethnic Self is one where these second-generation resident bilingual students are creating their own social models (Appendix 10). In these, the old social models are fragmenting (Hall, 1996 cited in Morley and Chen, 1996). It seems that, in practical terms, these resident bilinguals no longer identify with the cultural models of their parents and, similarly, they seem to distance themselves from new immigrants from similar heritages.

In practice, the Ethnic Self is as much in a state of 'continuous process of translation' (Anthias 2001) as are the Academic Self and Global Self. There is a sense in the data that the students in this study have found a new position within the liminal culture of the university and, having experienced this, they regard the future with optimism and in ways that place them alongside their peers. It seems that, for all, being at university, whether they had succeeded or not, had been a life-changing experience. As Student FS put it, 'It's broadened my mind, my thinking and everything. And I'm just thinking, "WOW!"'

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Appendix 1: European perspectives on minority ethnic groups

Definitions in relation to ethnicity are problematic in some respects in wider international contexts. For example, the United Nations (UN), and in Europe, the Council of Europe, are the guardians respectively of the International and European Declarations of Human Rights, which brings a more political perspective to the subject. Minority rights are enshrined in Article 27 of the UN's International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, namely, the right of any minority ethnic group to be free to follow religious, cultural and linguistic practices.

The contexts in which people of religious, ethnic or linguistic minorities live within European states are diverse. For example, there are those who have suffered subjugation on the basis of ethnic heritage in countries emerging from long periods of authoritarian regime, those whose status reflects the colonial legacies of the states to which they or their forebears have migrated, those displaced by war, famine or disease, and those who have sought asylum after political or religious persecution. This diversity is reflected in the range of documents, protocols and conventions relating to minority issues adopted by the UN, the Council of Europe and the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe. However, the main thrust of the Council of Europe documentation derived from the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) appears to be directed towards the rights of national minorities within states rather than to the particular local issues experienced by minority ethnic groups who are more disparate in their demographic distribution and whose kin relationship with a particular nation-state is more tenuous. Although Recommendation 1201 of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe presented a definition of 'national minority' in 1993, this was later rejected. Thus, the EHCR and related protocols assume a definition that they fail to clarify.

This makes the distinction that, while the fundamentals of human rights in respect of protection of national minority groups hold good in the UK, in practical terms, issues relating to the rights of minority ethnic groups are less directly related to these international conventions and, instead are, addressed through domestic legislation.

Appendix 2

Cameo portraits of minority ethnic group informants

Pakistani heritage

Student AS – male, Pakistani heritage. Bilingual. Muslim. Student of Nursing. Cousin of NA1, NA2, WA and SA and member of the Focus Group. He, too, entered the University via Summer School. He had started out doing Accountancy but had failed his first year. Had spent a year in Pakistan and had returned to transfer to Nursing. He has since dropped out. Quieter in discussion but it seemed that the female students deferred to him. Seemed to have a leadership role within the family grouping.

Student FS – female, Pakistani heritage. Trilingual. Muslim. Student of Accountancy. Mature student, mid-twenties. Her mother was brought up in Africa so FS has some limited use of an African dialect (which she uses with cousins), in addition to Punjabi and English. She was brought up in the Black Country where her experience of education in school had been negative. After a spell in a number of retail jobs, she moved to Scotland to take up a place on a College Accountancy course from which she obtained a Higher National Diploma in Accounting. On completion of that course, she entered the University via a summer bridging course. Hers was a solo interview.

Student NA1 – female, Pakistani heritage. Bilingual. Muslim. Student of Law. She is the eldest of four sisters from the same family who, along with at least two cousins, all attend the University. She was a member of the Focus Group. She entered University via Summer Access School and has consistently sought support with her academic writing in her subject field. She works part-time in a bank. She is articulate and a leader among the females of her ethnic grouping, especially so within the wider family circle. In her writing she finds it difficult to assume the correct 'voice' for Law. She tends to be more socially active among students from her own ethnic grouping.

Student NA2 – female, Pakistani heritage. Bilingual. Muslim. Student of History and Geography. She is younger sister of Student NA1 and Student WA; a member of the Focus Group. She had entered the University via Summer School. Highly fashion conscious, she holds down a job in a clothing retail outlet. She has sought assistance with academic writing for most of her university course. Very clear enunciation and almost no trace of the local 'dialect'. Tends to be socially more allied to her own family/ethnic grouping. She tends to take what she reads very literally and rarely questions content. Often limits her reading to teaching notes and basic textbook.

Student NA3 – female Pakistani heritage. Bilingual. Muslim. Student of Anatomy. She entered University through Summer School. At the time of interview had only been in the University for eight weeks. Her views, as a result, were very much those of a novice university student. She is more traditional than many of the other female Pakistani students in that she wears the hijab. She has been a close friend of SA2 since childhood although they had attended different schools, in her case, a Roman Catholic school in the city of Dundee. She came for interview with Student SA2.

Student NM – male, Pakistani heritage. Bilingual. Muslim. Student of Architecture. Had entered the Summer School after a year doing an introduction to Architecture course at the local FE college. He had been educated in primary school in the centre of

the city but his secondary education had been in a school in a more suburban part of Dundee where there were few minority ethnic group families. His stance on Islamic matters was quite fundamentalist and he had become a leader within the on-campus branch of the Islamic student community comprising Muslim minority ethnic students from the locale as opposed to those visiting international students. His participation in his academic course seemed to be subordinated to his activities as a leader among this grouping. He had not integrated as well into the ethos of studio work required for the course in Architecture as would have been expected. Not unexpectedly, he has firm views about issues related to minority ethnic participation in the education system. This was a solo interview.

Student SA1 – male, Pakistani heritage. Bilingual. Muslim. Student of Accountancy. Cousin of NA1, NA2, WA and AS, member of the Focus Group. He had also entered the University via Summer School. Quieter in discussion, acknowledged that he preferred the focus group situation rather than simply filling in a questionnaire or answering questions. More serious than the others. Had failed second year of his Accountancy course and was carrying forward his Duly Performed Certificate to take exams at the end of the year in which the interviews were conducted. His tutors were sending him examples to do to maintain his practical skills in Accountancy. He has since dropped out.

Student SA2 – female Pakistani heritage. Bilingual, Muslim. Student of Anatomy. She entered University through Summer School on the grounds that she was not expected to achieve entry qualifications. In the course of the interview, it transpired that she had not had a Chemistry teacher throughout her final year and had taken the Chemistry Higher Grade exam on the basis of independent learning. She had found the Summer School teaching of Chemistry had put her on track again and had, therefore, been able to gain entry to her chosen course. At the time of interview had only been in the University for eight weeks. Her views were very much those of a novice university student. More traditional than many of the other female Pakistani students in that she wears the hijab. She came for interview with Student NA3.

Student SM – male, Pakistani heritage. Bilingual. Muslim. Student of Computing Science. Had entered the University via the Summer Access School in which he had been successful. His primary subject was Computing Science with Accountancy as his secondary subject. After the second year, he dropped Accountancy which he had not enjoyed and devoted his attention fully to Computing Science. He then undertook an MSc in Computing and subsequently gained employment as a computing specialist in the University. Although a shy student on Summer School who was one of a trio of close Asian friends from secondary school, he had found university to be a liberating experience and he had become quite a personality within the department where he had been taken on as a tutorial assistant and had also given lectures. He has very liberal views about the Asian way of life within the Scottish community, although traditionalist in relation to his family life. He was articulate and volunteered a great deal of information. His was the longest interview in the whole project. This was a solo interview.

Student SJ – female, Pakistani heritage. Bilingual. Muslim. Student of Social Work Brought up in Dundee. She entered the University via the Summer Access School. She had a year out for personal reasons and, at the time of the interviews, was about to embark on her second full year of Social Work training. She was a particularly interesting interviewee because she had had time to reflect on both the Summer School

experience and on the experience of being a full-time university student while on her gap year. Her comments demonstrated that the learning undertaken in Summer School had been invaluable to her in her subsequent course. This was a solo interview.

Student WA – female, Pakistani heritage. Bilingual. Muslim. Student of Accountancy. She is younger sister of NA1, older sister of NA2 and a member of the Focus Group. She entered University via the ASPIRE pre-sessional course. She is articulate and seems to be more successful academically than her sisters. She is alert and strategic about what is needed to succeed on her course. She seems more integrated than her sisters with the dominant white group students. She holds strong views but finds it difficult to conduct analysis necessary to find evidence to support her position.

• *Iraqi heritage*

Student FA – female, Iraqi heritage. Bilingual. Muslim. Student of Biochemistry. Born in Iraq and had come to UK as political/economic migrants. Part of a large extended family settled in the urban area of Angus. A considerable amount of her secondary schooling had taken place in the local Scottish secondary school. She had received EAL support from a peripatetic EAL teacher. Her language is quite heavily accented and is marked by engrained errors, for example, tense misuse, wrong forms of words and syntax errors. She was possibly the least forthcoming of the interviewees; her linguistic weakness may have been a factor in this respect. She appeared to be less at ease within UK society and, not unsurprisingly, demonstrated strong traits of culture maintenance and continued identification with her own country. She came for interview with Student LA.

Student LA – female, Iraqi heritage. Bilingual. Muslim. Student of Biochemistry. Born in Iraq, she came to UK with her family as political/economic migrants. Her secondary education had been interrupted by the decision to leave Iraq. She had spent most of her time in school in Scotland trying to catch up with her education in the Sciences and with improving her command of English. At school, she had EAL tuition from a peripatetic EAL teacher. She attended the University Summer Access School, although she deferred entry for a year to go to the local FE College in order to continue working on her English and her education in Science subjects. She declared no intention of returning to Iraq and appeared to have a desire to maintain a less fundamental attitude to her ethnicity than Student FA with whom she had attended the interview. Her more liberal attitudes were evident in the interview when a debate arose about the wearing of the hijab. She did not work except when required to act as an interpreter for others in her community. She came for interview with Student FA.

• *Indian heritage*

Student BR – female, Indian heritage. Plurilingual. Hindu. Postgraduate student of Podiatry. Entered the University as a postgraduate having completed first degree in England. From a 'liberal' Hindu family, she has been brought up in Africa, India and England. She has a wide experience of multicultural education and had attended a multi-faith school. An only child, she had enjoyed a more privileged background than most of the other interviewees. She was an eager and articulate informant who volunteered to participate in the research study. This was a solo interview.

Student JJ – female, Indian heritage. Bilingual. Hindu. Student of Nursing. Entered Summer School and performed successfully. Was awarded a place on Accountancy course which she had chosen because others in her family had done the same course. Although she passed, she transferred in her second year to Nursing which she finds more satisfying and in tune with her strengths than Accountancy. Noticed as a shy, marginalised student on Summer School, she seems to have found a subject that engages her and, with the added years, has become confident and outgoing. This was a solo interview.

Student SB – female, Indian heritage. Bilingual. Sikh. Student of Psychology. As a Sikh she follows her faith in her daily life, and notes that this is not nearly so rigorous as the pursuit of Islam. She has integrated with white dominant group students and students of other ethnicities. She entered University via Summer School although in the final analysis she met the admission criteria on exam scores. She is a pleasant student with a bubbly personality. She works part-time in a call centre. She came to this interview with Student IY.

- ## Chinese heritage

Student IY – female, Chinese heritage. Bilingual. Student of Anatomy and Physiology. She was born in Hong Kong and had been brought up mainly in Scotland whereas her brother had received some of his education in Hong Kong. She had been fostered out to a Scottish person whom she referred to as her 'nana'. She had attended Primary School in Arbroath where she was the only non-white child and had then gone to the local independent school for her secondary education. She had entered the University with the requisite entry qualifications after her fifth year in secondary school. She came along for the interview with Student SB because the project interested her. She was an eloquent contributor who has strong views about her education and the experience of being a minority ethnic pupil in all three educational contexts in which she has participated.

- ## *Dominant Group informants cited in the text*

Student FH – female, Scottish heritage. Monolingual. Student of Medicine in her third year. She had taken a year out of her main course to do an elective BSc. Course in Orthopaedics. She had entered university after a private education and the acquisition of a top-grade portfolio of A-levels. She was the youngest student in her year and had attained the highest marks over the entire syllabus. She has well-developed analytical skills and her responses to all questions were well-considered even where her experience might be limited. She has a determination to succeed by her own efforts and demands a lot of herself. She is never satisfied by anything less than her best. However, by her own assessment, she finds social interaction difficult.

Student FM – female, Scottish heritage. Monolingual but with Classical Latin. Fourth year student of Chemistry who aims to do a PhD. She has a comprehensive understanding of her subject but panics under examination conditions and is physically sick prior to and after examinations. She is self-disciplined and demands a lot of herself.

Student KT – female, Scottish heritage. Monolingual. Student of Law. A third year student heavily involved in student politics. Her home is in rural Angus and she has very limited experience of other ethnic groups; she did not see any distinction between

minority ethnic group students and international students. She had been head girl in her school and entered university via Summer School because illness had affected her performance. Sees the Students' Association as her focal point where she has a position on the Executive.

Student MM – male, Scottish heritage. Monolingual. Student of Architecture. Mature student in his early twenties. Someone who missed out on early education and had a significant problem with written and oral self-expression. He took a preparation for architecture course at the local FE college after a series of manual jobs. He has a determined ambition to become an architect and is particularly self-disciplined in working to deadlines. He is an active member of the Territorial Army; this enables him to fund his studies. The first person in his family ever to enter university, he receives considerable moral support from his family who are immensely proud of his achievement in gaining entry to higher education.

Student SJM – male, Scottish heritage. Monolingual. Student of Architecture. Mature student, self-funding through part-time work as under manager in a large electrical discount warehouse. A bit of a loner because of his age, this was his second attempt at higher education. At the time of the interviews he had an Eastern European girlfriend and was trying to learn her language. He is more aware of communication problems that non-native speakers might encounter as a result. In his part-time work, he had to deal with staff of many ethnic backgrounds.

Student WW – male, Scottish heritage. Monolingual. Student of Law. Mature student who had entered the University as a Summer School student. He has taken on the role of Student Leader over four Summer School/ASPIRE programmes. His own academic background has been erratic and he has experience in a number of trades including welding and interior decoration. He has a very good rapport with all students and, as a result, his comments were particularly perceptive. He has attained high marks within his class. He has reservations about how his route into Law via the Access route will count against him in the final degree classification.

Appendix 3: Questionnaire

Dear

I am currently working on a research project which is looking at the relation between university study and language.

I am approaching you because I was involved with your learning when you entered the Access Summer School and so I know you personally. I hope that you will assist me, and future students, by answering the following questions. The information you are invited to give is intended to help form a more complete picture of where bilingual students, in particular, have strengths and difficulties in producing university level work.

You can return the form to me in the attached envelope. Any information you give is CONFIDENTIAL. You can choose to give your name at the end of the form, but this is not essential.

I am very grateful for your help in contributing to this project.

Thank you for your time and assistance.

Kathleen McMillan
Personal Skills Lecturer,
University of Dundee
Dundee DD1 4HN

Telephone : 01382 34 45 32
Fax: 01382 22 78 58

Questionnaire

Part 1: You and university life

Please tick the boxes ☑ or complete as appropriate.

1. 1.1 Part-time student ☐   1.2 Full-time student ☐   1.3 Faculty _____

2. 2.1 Male ☐   2.2 Female ☐   2.3 Nationality: _____

3. **Age:**

    3.1: 18yrs or less ☐   3.2: 19-21yrs ☐   3.3: 22-24yrs ☐   3.4: 25 yrs or more ☐

4. Marital Status:

    4.1 Married ☐   4.2 Divorced ☐   4.3 Separated ☐   4.4 Single ☐

5. In my family, I am the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th child. (Please circle the number that applies to you)

6. 6.1 Number of brothers _____   6.2 Number of sisters _____

7. **Support:**

    7.1 Financially, I am entirely supported by my family. ☐   7.2 I have taken out a student loan ☐

    7.3 I am financed by my local authority ☐   7.4 I am entirely self-financed ☐

    7.5 I receive a bursary to supplement my income ☐   7.6 I am financed by other means ☐

8. **Employment:**

    8.1 In term-time, I do not have any employment. ☐

    8.2 In term-time, I have a part-time job. ☐

    8.3 In term-time, I have a full-time job. ☐

    8.4 Please state the average number of hours per week that you spend doing your job: _____ hours

9. The course I am now studying was

    9.1 My first choice ☐   9.2 My second choice ☐   9.3 Not my choice ☐

    9.4 If this course was not your choice, whose choice was it? _____

10. **Self-assessment**

    As a university student in this academic year, I feel I have coped with the work for my course:

    10.1 Easily ☐   10.3 Quite easily ☐   10.2 With some difficulty ☐   10.4 With great difficulty ☐

11. What I have **most** enjoyed about **studying** at university (tick as many boxes as you wish):

    11.1 Studying new subjects ☐   11.2 Learning for myself ☐   11.3 Challenging myself ☐

    11.4 Meeting new people ☐   11.5 Forming new opinions ☐   11.6 Learning new skills ☐

    11.7 New teaching techniques ☐   11.8 New learning strategies ☐   11.9 Getting good marks ☐

    11.10 Other (please add any other learning activities that apply to your experience):

Please turn over the page

12. **Performance:**

Tick any of the following which have caused you difficulty in your studies:

12.1 Understanding lectures ☐ 12.2 Researching information ☐ 12.3 Making friends in class ☐
12.4 Taking notes in lectures ☐ 12.5 Reading texts quickly ☐ 12.6 Working in a team/group ☐
12.7 Taking part in tutorials ☐ 12.8 Taking notes from texts ☐ 12.9 Managing my time ☐
12.10 Taking part in labs ☐ 12.11 Knowing what to study ☐ 12.12 Keeping up with the work ☐
12.13 Asking questions ☐ 12.14 Working in the library ☐ 12.15 Writing assignments ☐
12.16 Making presentations ☐ 12.17 Working at home ☐ 12.18 Revising for exams ☐
12.19 Stress/pressure of work ☐ 12.20 Comments on my work ☐ 12.21 Improving my marks ☐
12.22 Learning IT skills ☐ 12.23 Numeracy skills ☐ 12.24 Language skills ☐

12.25 Other (please add any other activities that apply to your experience):

_____

13. So far, I feel that being a university student has taught me:

_____

14. My main career goal beyond achieving a university degree is to:

_____

Part 2: You and language

1   Language use

1.1 Apart from English, what languages can you use in your daily life?

1.1.1._____ 1.1.2. _____ 1.1.3. _____ 1.1.4._____ 1.1.5. _____

1.2 Which of these do you consider to be your dominant language? _____

1.3 Which of these languages do you speak at home?

1.3.1 With your mother _____ 1.3.2 With your father _____

1.3.3 With your grandparents _____ 1.3.4 With brothers/sisters _____

1.4 Which of these languages do you speak in the following situations outside your home?

1.4.1 In classes _____ 1.4.2 At work _____ 1.4.3 Social Situations _____

1.4.4 Other (please specify) _____

1.5 Where do you use English most?

_____

1.6 With whom do you use English most?

1.6.1 People your age ☐ 1.6.2 Family members ☐ 1.6.3 Your lecturers ☐

1.7 Where do you use your home language most?

('home language' means the language other than English you speak at home)

_____

1.8 With whom do you use your home language most?

1.8.1 People your age ☐ 1.8.2 Family members ☐ 1.8.3 Your lecturers ☐

X

2 Language Learning (In this section, 'home language' means the language other than English spoken in your home)

2.1 When did you begin to learn English? (circle as appropriate)

From age: before 3 yrs; 4yrs; 5 yrs; 6yrs; 7yrs; 8yrs; 9yrs; 10yrs; 11yrs; 12yrs; 13yrs; 14yrs; 15yrs; 16yrs; 17yrs

2.2 Did you have special teaching to help you develop your English?　　　　Yes ☐ No ☐

If 'yes', please give details (When, where, by whom?) _____

2.3 When did you begin to learn your home language ? (circle as appropriate)

From age: before 3 yrs; 4yrs; 5 yrs; 6yrs; 7yrs; 8yrs; 9yrs; 10yrs; 11yrs; 12yrs; 13yrs; 14yrs; 15yrs; 16yrs; 17yrs

2.4 Did you have special teaching to help you develop your home language?　　　　Yes ☐ No ☐

2.5 If 'yes', please give details (When, where, by whom?) _____

3 Language ability
Speaking
3.1 How would you rate your ability to **speak English informally?**

3.1.1 Excellent　☐　　3.1.2 Good　☐　　3.1.3 Fair ☐　　3.1.4 Poor　　☐

3.2 How would you rate your ability to **speak English formally?**

3.2.1 Excellent　☐　　3.2.2 Good　☐　　3.2.3 Fair ☐　　3.2.4 Poor ☐

3.3 How would you rate your ability to **speak your home language informally?**

3.3.1 Excellent　☐　　3.3.2 Good　☐　　3.3.3 Fair ☐　　3.3.4 Poor ☐

3.4 How would you rate your ability to **speak your home language formally?**

3.4.1 Excellent　☐　　3.4.2 Good　☐　　3.4.3 Fair ☐　　3.4.4 Poor ☐

Reading
3.5 How would you rate your ability to **read informal text in English? (e.g. magazines, newspapers)**

3.5.1 Excellent　☐　　3.5.2 Good　☐　　3.5.3 Fair ☐　　3.5.4 Poor ☐

3.6 How would you rate your ability to **read formal academic English?**

3.6.1 Excellent　☐　　3.6.2 Good　☐　　3.6.3 Fair ☐　　3.6.4 Poor ☐

3.7 How would you rate your ability to **read informal text in your home language? (e.g. magazines, newspapers)**

3.7.1 Excellent　☐　　3.7.2 Good　☐　　3.7.3 Fair ☐　　3.7.4 Poor ☐

3.8 How would you rate your ability to **read formal text in your home language?**

3.8.1 Excellent　☐　　3.8.2 Good　☐　　3.8.3 Fair ☐　　3.8.4 Poor ☐

Writing
3.8 How would you rate your ability to **write informal English?**

3.8.1 Excellent　☐　　3.8.2 Good　☐　　3.8.3 Fair ☐　　3.8.4 Poor ☐

3.9 How would you rate your ability to **write formal academic English?**

3.9.1 Excellent　☐　　3.9.2 Good　☐　　3.9.3 Fair ☐　　3.9.4 Poor ☐

3.10 How would you rate your ability to **write informally in your home language?**

3.10.1 Excellent　☐　　3.10.2 Good　☐　　3.10.3 Fair ☐　　3.10.4 Poor ☐

3.11 How would you rate your ability to **write formally in your home language?**

3.11.1 Excellent　☐　　3.11.2 Good　☐　　3.11.3 Fair ☐　　3.11.4 Poor ☐

Please turn over the page

4. Attitudes towards Language

Read questions 4.1 – 4.3 and then answer as appropriate to you.

In the context of university study:

4.1 Do you feel that you have done as well as monolingual students?   Yes ☐ No ☐

4.2 In what respects, if any, has being bilingual been an advantage to you?

_____

_____

4.3 In what respects, if any, has being bilingual been a disadvantage to you?

_____

_____

Part 3: You and the wider community
1. Attitudes to language in the wider community

1.1 In what ways, if any, has being bilingual been an advantage to you?

_____

_____

1.2 In what ways, if any, has being bilingual been a disadvantage to you?

_____

_____

2. Internal and external pressures

2.1 How important is it **to your family** that you graduate successfully from university

2.1.1 Very important ☐   2.1.2 Quite important ☐   2.1.3 Not very important ☐   2.1.4 Not important ☐

2.2 How important is it **to you** not to fail?

2.2.1 Very important ☐   2.5.2 Quite important ☐   2.2.3 Not very important ☐ 2.2.4 Not important ☐

2.3 How much does the prospect of failing make you feel worried?

2.3.1 Considerably   ☐   2.3.2 A fair bit   ☐   2.3.3 Very little   ☐ 2.3.4 Not at all   ☐

2.4 How confident are you about completing your course successfully?

2.4.1 Very confident ☐ 2.4.2 Quietly confident ☐ 2.4.3 Not very confident ☐ 2.4.4 Not confident ☐

3. Living across cultures

Which of the following apply to you (tick as many as appropriate):

3.1 Most of my friends are Scottish.	☐	3.2 Most of my friends are from Asian families.	☐
3.3 Some of my friends are Scottish.	☐	3.4 Some of my friends are from Asian families.	☐
3.5 Very few of my friends are Scottish.	☐	3.6 Very few of my friends are from Asian families.	☐
3.7 I never spend time in DUSA.	☐	3.8 I spend a lot of time in DUSA.	☐
3.9 I regularly read a newspaper in English.	☐	3.10 I regularly read a newspaper in my home language.	☐
3.11 I regularly watch TV/videos in English.	☐	3.12 I regularly watch TV/Videos in my home language.	☐

You do not have to give your name if you do not wish to do so.

Name: _____   email address: _____

Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire.   Kathleen McMillan.   June 2001.

Appendix 4: Case studies for focus group discussion

Case study	Profile	Scenario
1.	**Robeena** • 20 years old Accountancy student. • Lives at home with 3 younger brothers and one sister, parents and grandmother. • Works in call centre 4 nights a week (Fri, Sat, Sun, Mon). • Bilingual: (English/Punjabi) - considers English as dominant language	"I think that working in the Call Centre has been really good for my confidence. I think it's helped me speak out in tutorials in my subject, but the down side is that it takes a lot out of my evenings and social life. When I'm in Uni I try to work in the library because my brothers don't give me much peace at home. My Mum thinks I should be doing work to help her in the house. It's difficult when I've got to meet a deadline for essays."
2.	**Saria** • 20 years old • Psychology student • Lives with relatives, her home is in Glasgow • Works in the family restaurant at weekends • Bilingual – regards her home language as her first language	"I go home at the weekends to see my family and to work in the restaurant my family run. That means I've got to get all my studying done during the week. It means being organised but I can only spend about 3 nights writing the essays and reports. In Psychology we do a lot about learning and how people like to learn in different ways. Mostly you just need to describe what you did and what the results were. I usually get about 45% but my tutor says I lose marks on the conclusion. He says I don't give enough explanation. I think I do but he never gives me more than 45%. Most of my friends get about the same but there are a few who get marks in the high fifties. In the essays, my marks are not so good. I get about 42%. They say I write narrative essays but I don't really know what they want."
3.	**Albert** • 42 years old • Law student • Lives at home with wife and two sons • Works shelf-filling and check-out operator in local cash-and-carry • Monolingual	"Most of the time I like what I'm doing at university but in the exams I don't get as good marks as I do in the coursework when I've got time to study for it and take time to write it on the computer. In the exams the lecturers say that I know the facts but I don't apply them properly to the cases. I find difficult interpreting the problems they give us in the way they want. I think they should give us more help. I don't like group work when I'm the only mature student in the group because I find it difficult to make my writing sound as 'posh' as the others. They seem to be able to put the ideas down quicker and they use big words. I really struggle to get to the word limit for the bit I have to write. I don't understand this as I got my Higher English no bother."

Case study	Profile	Scenario
4.	**Mehtab** • 21 years old • Business Finance student • Works at weekends in the library re-stacking books • Bilingual (English/Punjabi)	"We seem to get more coursework than some of my friends who are studying other subjects. I usually have to ask for extensions. The tutors are OK about this usually because I try to ask for just an extra day. Some tutors give really good feedback and help you with things like writing your sentences better and using different words. But other tutors only put a tick and then say that you should show more independent thinking – we don't know what they mean by that but you can never get hold of them to ask them to explain. I think they should make it clearer what you're doing wrong so that you can do it better next time."
5.	**Asma** • 19 years old • Anatomy student • Lives at home with parents, 2 older brothers and 2 younger sisters • Came to UK as refugee 5 years ago • Bilingual (Arabic/English) - considers Arabic as dominant language	"English is a problem in some of the lectures but I find that I can manage because I get some help from another girl friend from my country. I don't like asking the lecturers if I can help it because I don't want them to think that I cannot do the work of the course. Anyway it helps to be able to talk about it in Arabic. I like most of the subjects I need to do because I did them at school. It's not so difficult if we get good handouts but some lecturers don't give us anything at all. In the exams I find it difficult to find the right words for my answers and sometimes I don't understand all the words so I just go for the questions which I know I understand correctly. It's really annoying because, when I look the words up later, I could have answered the questions I left out because I didn't understand all of the words. Generally, my marks are OK on the science side, but I get really low marks (less then 30%). When it comes to long written answers, I think it's because English my English lets me down."
6.	**Hanif** • 20 years old • Civil Engineering student • Works in filling station 3 evenings a week where his boss does not speak English • Trilingual (English/Punjabi/Arabic)	Except when I'm at Uni, I speak Punjabi most of the time at home and at my work with my boss because he doesn't understand English. It's not difficult for me to switch back and forward between the two languages. My boss is always asking what I'm studying and what it's about but it's difficult to explain in Punjabi because I'm not sure of the words to explain for a lot of the things I have to learn about. He wants his son to go to University and he asks me all these questions about it. It's a bit like that with my family too, because they don't really understand what I have to do either and it's difficult to explain. My Dad tries to discuss politics and that kind of thing with me but I don't read Urdu so it's difficult for me. Maybe if I could read his newspapers we could have a good discussion – as long as his opinion was always right!"

Appendix 5: Interview questions

1. What kind of learner are you:

   Activist?

   Theorist?

   Reflector?

   Pragmatist?

   Some/all of these?

2. Which of the four learning styles is likely, in your opinion, to be most successful at University:

   Activist?

   Theorist?

   Reflector?

   Pragmatist?

3. At University, what makes you interested in learning?

4. At University, what makes you disinterested in learning?

5. What do you think about research reports that say that boys do less well than girls at school?

6. What do you think about research reports that say that boys do less well than girls at university?

7. In what ways do you think that learning differs for different disciplines?

8. What do you think that you have learned so far from your university experience?

9. What do you think that you have learned so far intellectually from your university experience?

10. What differences do you perceive between school and university in terms of learning environment?

11. What differences do you perceive between school and university in terms of learning curriculum?

12. If applicable, what differences do you perceive between college and university in terms of learning environment?

13. If applicable, what differences do you perceive between college and university in terms of learning curriculum?

14. To what extent has university come up to your expectations?

15. To what extent has university not come up to your expectations?

16. What do you understand by the term "multicultural education"?

17. How did this apply in your school or college?

18. How might this be important at university?

19. How did it impact on you, your friends or others in your year?

20. Some parents of bilingual children prefer to send them to single-sex schools. What do you think about this?

21. Some bilingual pupils attend monolingual schools/supplementary schools. What do you think about this?

22. How did school prepare you to do the kind of writing you have to do at university?

23. In what way, if at all, do you think your writing style has changed since school?

24. Some people feel that there is a difference in writing between one subject and another. What do you think about this?

25. People create their own style of writing for academic purposes. How does your writing differ from that of your friends?

26. What sort of things did you learn about English grammar at school?

27. Would you have liked to learn more about the formal grammar of English at school?

28. To what extent would learning more about the formal grammar of English at school have helped you with your university work?

29. What do you like about writing on a computer?

30. What do you dislike about writing on a computer?

31. What do you like about writing by hand?

32. What do you dislike about writing by hand?

33. Some people dislike making presentations in the class. What do you think about this?

34. Some people feel that they can show what they know about a subject better when they have to speak about it than when they have to write about it. What do you think about this?

35. Do you ever consider learning your first language as a Higher/A-level subject at school?

36. Can you remember whether you received language support teaching in English at school? If so, when?

37. If you received English language support teaching at school, who taught you in primary school?

38. If you received English language support teaching at school, who taught you in secondary school?

39. Did you ever work in a language group with a visiting teacher?

40. Were you ever taught school subjects in your first language?

41. Do you think that this would have helped you? If so, in what respects?

42. What do you think is better for bilingual pupils?

43. Some people say that students have difficulty expressing their ideas on paper. How about you?

44. How would you have gained from specific help with writing for academic purposes at secondary school i.e. beyond your school subjects?

45. It has been suggested that all university students should get help with academic writing. What do you think about this?

46. If you agree with this, when would this help be most effective?

47. Some research suggests that bilingual students seem to take longer to complete their writing. What do you think about this?

48. To what extent do you think your bilingualism affects your assignment writing in English words you use, in the sentences you construct and in the ways you organise your ideas?

49. How would you feel personally about getting some help with your own academic writing?

50. Would you like this help to come from

    a) your subject lecturer?

    b) an expert in academic writing?

    c) a combination of both?

51. What sequence do you follow in producing a piece of extensive writing for submission?

52. Have you had any opportunity to compare your answers/texts with those of other people?

53. From your experience so far, who do you think most easily succeeds at university?

54. How easy is for you to produce good answers in exams?

55. Do you find you have difficulty in writing down your ideas in exam answers?

56. In exams, you need to understand the question. Has this ever been a problem for you? If so, what was the problem?

57. Writing in exams is different from writing an essay or report. Apart from the obvious difference in time available, what does this mean for you?

58. To what extent do you find that the marks in exams reflect how you think you have done in them?

59. What differences do you observe in the assessment procedure at university and those used at school or college?

60. In what ways, if any, do you think assignments assist your learning?

61. What sorts of things do you think cause you to gain or lose marks in assessments?

62. Have you ever approached a tutor or lecturer successfully to go over your work?

63. How helpful would it be for someone to go over your work with you orally after it has been marked?

64. Staff sometimes feel that they are wasting time writing comments on students' writing. Do you refer to corrections in earlier papers when completing subsequent assignments?

65. What kind of feedback on your work do you find most helpful?

66. Generally, do you understand corrections on your work?

67. Have markers ever provided correction of your grammar?

68. Have markers ever corrected your spelling?

69. Have markers ever suggested using different words or expressions from those you have used?

70. Have markers ever corrected your punctuation?

71. To what extent do markers comment on the content of your work?

72. To what extent do markers comment on the structure of your work?

73. Markers who correct/comment on grammar, spelling, punctuation, content and structure are providing 'close marking'. How useful is this kind of marking to you?

74. Compared to others in your year, how do you think you do academically?

75. Do you think your marks are generally better or poorer than others in the class? e.g. mature students/same age/same first language.

76. To what extent do you think your marks should be higher?

77. In written work, where do you gain marks?

78. In written work, where do you not gain marks?

79. How important are lectures for you in the learning process?

80. In what ways have you ever found lectures difficult to understand?

81. For you, how important is note-taking in lectures?

82. How good are you at taking notes in lectures?

83. What would help you to improve your note-taking skills?

84. What would you feel about having to do tasks in lectures e.g. work out a problem with a partner?

85. What is your opinion about handouts from lectures?

86. Do you consider yourself to be

    a fast reader?

    an average reader?

    a slow reader?

87. Some people find it difficult to take notes from texts. How do you do this?

88. Some people, including lecturers, dislike tutorials. How would you explain this might be the case?

89. Staff think that tutorials are good ways of helping your learning. How do you regard this viewpoint?

90. Some people think that there should be more tutorials than lectures. What is your view on this?

91. Some people prefer labs to tutorials. Why do you think this is the case?

92. Labs are provided to help you learn by doing. How do you feel that these are helpful?

93. In university, do you mix with people from other cultures, for example,

    from other countries?

    from communities other than your own?

    from places outside Scotland?

94. In the library, do you use any of the following for researching assignments:

    the reference section in the library?

    journal articles?

    world wide web?

    recommended textbooks?

    European Documentation Centre in the Law Library?

95. Which resources do you use most and why?

96. Some people feel that there is too much work to be done at university. What do you think?

97. In percentages, what is your time allocation to paid work, study, social life?

98. Under what kinds of circumstances would you ask for an extension to a deadline?

99. How often do you ask for extensions to deadlines for work to be submitted?

100. How would you describe your approach to deadlines?

101. How do you think you are helped at University by teaching staff in the departments?

102. How do you think you are helped at University by administrative staff in the faculties?

103. How do you think you are helped at University by staff in the Library?

104. How do you think you are helped at University by other support staff?

105. As a university student, have you had more freedom than if you had gone straight into employment after school?

106. As a university student, have you had more freedom than if you had been unemployed?

107. Have you made new friends at university?

108. Now do you socialise with friends from school?

109. Now do you socialise with friends at university?

110. Miscellaneous comments.

Appendix 6: Demographic data - continuing debate

Appraisal of the presence of minority ethnic groups within Scottish society requires an awareness of the development of the processes of collection of the relevant data. This has not been without its problems. Since 1991 there have been significant changes in the ways that data relating to ethnicity should be sought in terms of the forms of words and classifications used. Prolonged debate among interested parties, governmental and non-governmental agencies, has resulted in a set of categories that have become uniformly used to record these data. This facilitates comparison of data from multiple sources. Nevertheless, there has been a period of transition and this presents some short-term problems in attempting retrospective longitudinal analyses from certain data sources. This is particularly the case in relation to analysing the participation of minority ethnic group students in higher education. Many of the problems relate to debate on the format and content of questions in the 1991 Census, especially with regard to ethnicity and related issues.

The 1991 Census invited responses to the 'ethnic question' presented as 35 categories, subsequently reported under 10 headings; the categories were subsequently expanded and modified in the 2001 Census and conflated into fourteen categories (Appendix Table 6.1).

The decision to include the 'White Irish' option led to the logical consequence of adding 'White Scots' and 'Other White British' as further categories; other categories were re-named. There still remains debate over the descriptors used for categories; for example, some categories continue to relate to notional geographical origin while others relate to skin tone.

The initial aim of the Census 'ethnic question' had been to compare the experience of socio-economic conditions between Irish and other minority ethnic groups in order to inform anti-discrimination policies across the United Kingdom (GRO, 2001). What seemed less clear was how these data might impact on socio-economic planning, including health or education issues, insofar as these might relate to the diversity of minority ethnic group needs or address multicultural issues in a more proactive and holistic way.

Appendix Table 6.1 Census 2001 categories by ethnic group - Scotland

1. White Scottish
2. Other White British
3. White Irish
4. Any other White background
5. Indian
6. Pakistani
7. Bangladeshi
8. Chinese
9. Other South Asian
10. Caribbean
11. African
12. Black Scottish or any other Black background
13. Any Mixed Background
14. Any other background

Scottish Executive 2004

Two further key aspects were addressed in the 1991 Census review, namely, religion and language. The use of what became known as the 'religious question' in the Census related religion indirectly to ethnicity by acknowledging that, in Scotland, some people from minority ethnic groups practise other world religions. However, any concomitant linguistic diversity this might imply was not examined. The data gathering sought only to identify Gaelic speakers. This omission not only discounts the language heritages of all other minority language groups in Scotland, but also demonstrates a failure to recognise a fundamental of the different cultural communities represented in Scottish society. There appears to be a failure to consider the implications of hosting a multiplicity of bilingual communities within a society that operates in an English language medium with dialect Scots used significantly in daily communication and business.

Appendix Table 6.2 shows that non-white minority ethnic groups represent approximately 8% of the total UK population, whereas these groups represent approximately 2% of the total Scottish population.

Appendix Table 6.2 UK Census 2001 – total population UK and Scotland

	All people	White	Total non-white population
Total persons UK	58 791 194	54 153 898	4 635 296
Percentage of total UK population	100.0	92.1	7.9
Total persons Scotland	5 062 011	4 960 334	101 677
Percentage of total Scottish population	100.0	98.0	2.0

This difference between percentage population/numbers of population for the UK as opposed to Scotland suggests there will be a singularly different context and set of issues for minority ethnic group communities in Scotland than might be encountered elsewhere in the UK. This supports a view similarly suggested by the CRE in 1999 (CRE Fact Sheet, 1999).

The minority ethnic group population in the UK is not homogeneous and distributions of the most significant minority ethnic groups in relation to the host community in the UK are shown in Appendix Table 6.3.

Appendix Table 6.3 UK Census 2001 – principal minority ethnic groups - UK and Scotland

	Total of all people including white	All minority ethnic groups	Indian	Pakistani and other South Asians	Chinese	Black and Other	Mixed
Total UK populations	58 791 194	4 635 296	1 053 411	1 278 012	247 403	1 379 353	677 117
Percentage of total UK population	100	7.9	1.8	2.2	0.4	2.3	1.2
Percentage of UK non-white population	n/a	100	22.7	27.6	5.3	29.8	14.6
Total Scottish populations	5 062 011	101 677	15 037	39 970	16 310	30 360	Not available
Percentage of total Scottish population	100.0	2.0	0.3	0.8	0.3	0.6	n/a
Percentage of Scottish non-white population	n/a	100	14.8	39.3	16.0	29.9	n/a

The contrast between numbers of people of the minority ethnic group heritages in the UK and Scotland is evident in Appendix Table 6.3 which shows that, while people in the Pakistani/South Asian category comprise 27.6% of the UK non-white population, in Scotland, this group stands at 39.3% of the non-white population. Similarly, Chinese communities represent only 5.3% of the UK non-white population, but comprise 16% of the Scottish non-white population. Yet, statistically, Chinese are ignored as 'not being statistically significant' in schools in Scotland, for example. Chinese supersede people of Indian origin living in Scotland who comprise only 14.8% of the non-white population, whereas, in the UK, this entire group represents 22.7% of the non-white population. Although these groups have a significant representation within the totality of Scottish minority ethnic group population, they still only represent a tiny element (2% overall) of total Scottish society. This does not place them in a strong position numerically either as single groups or even as a composite of all minority ethnic groupings.

It can be seen, therefore, that, until recently, accurate demographic information relating to the numbers of people from minority ethnic groups was seriously limited. Since under-enumeration was an acknowledged factor in the 1991 Census (Bulmer, 1995), accurate figures were more difficult to establish for the interim period between the decennial censuses (1991-2001). For example, one Scottish Office department adopted ad hoc strategies for conducting research activities on the basis of identifying minority ethnic group subjects by selecting 'ethnic sounding names' from the electoral register (The 2000 Scottish Crime Survey: Analysis of the Ethnic Minority Booster Sample; Ian Clark, Scottish Office, personal communication 1.6.02). This was not a problem exclusive to Scotland; for example, in a survey on fertility rates in Britain by the Office for National Statistics (ONS) (Berthoud, 2001), it was found to be impossible to ascertain ethnic origins of mothers in the target group because ethnic information was not recorded by the ONS. Instead, data had to be derived from the appropriate Labour Force Survey. These two examples serve to demonstrate not only that data relating to ethnicity has not been gathered routinely by data collection agencies, but also that such data has not traditionally been perceived to be worthy of collection because the figures were not regarded as significant (John, 2003).

Hence, availability of reliable minority ethnic group data remains limited. Where data exists, figures tend to focus on the more negative aspects of Scotland's multicultural society (Wong and Butler, 2001). For example, issues relating to asylum seekers and other types of political refugees have attracted public, political and media attention, whereas those of minority ethnic groups have attracted less prominence. For example, it is a matter of record that acts of racial violence against minority ethnic groups remain frequently unreported because of the perception that this makes no difference to the general situation (The 2000 Scottish Crime Survey: Analysis of the Ethnic Minority Booster Sample, 2002).

This means that wider issues relating to communities with a longer history of settlement in Scotland have figured less significantly in commentaries on demographic and socio-economic trends within the country. The result is that, not only is there limited awareness of the issues and interests which might be of relevance to the lives of indigenous minority ethnic groups, but a positive and coherent policy or responsibility for addressing these issues at Scottish national level has been slow to emerge.

This concern is noted in a UK report entitled 'Minority Ethnic Issues in Social Exclusion and Neighbourhood Renewal' which articulated the need to collect data regularly on the basis of ethnicity (Scott, Pearce and Goldblatt, 2001). Similar observations were expressed in a meeting convened by a triumverate comprising the Scottish Executive, Scottish Enterprise and the Commission for Racial Equality Scotland with the aim of reviewing the Strategy Unit Report entitled Scottish Perspectives on 'Ethnic Minorities and the Labour Market' from the Scottish perspective (Scottish Executive, 2004). The recommendations of this report anticipate a more proactive approach to addressing ethnicity issues and needs at policy-making level. It reinforces the view that, while issues arising from a population profile collectively representing only 2% of the total Scottish population may be presumed to have limited priority, there remain implications for planning and services required to meet specific socio-politico-economic needs for members of non-white minority ethnic groups (John, 2003).

Appendix 7: Glossary of bilingual terminology

DYSFUNCTIONAL BILINGUALISM: LIMITED/RECEPTIVE

Category	Definition	Source
• Covert	⇒ where ability to function in a second language may be concealed because of political, social, promotional reasons, particularly where there is a perceived or real stigma attached to the ability to use the second language.	• Sawyer 1978
• Dormant/ receptive	⇒ Where there is ability to read, listen and comprehend but no ability to produce language in the other skill areas	• Grosjean 1982
• Incipient	⇒ Describes a 'pre-lingual' state where the learning may never be given an opportunity to develop into authentic competence because of lack of opportunity/desire to use the language cf. semilingual	• Diebold 1967
• Low-proficiency semi-lingual	⇒ where there is some ability to connect words into utterances.	• Dorian 1982
• Near passive	⇒ where there is limited ability to communicate in the second language beyond some formulaic phrases	• Dorian 1982
• Non-fluent	⇒ Where the competence in one language is much less than the competence in additional language(s)	• Beardsmore 1991
• Recessive	⇒ where there is a decline in ability to use one of the languages	• Beardsmore 1991
• Semi-lingual/ Semi-bilingual	⇒ where there is never any functional competence in L2, but because of lack of contact with L1 language community, the user becomes dysfunctional also in the first language. cf. Incipient	• Beardsmore 1991; Hockett 1968
• Subtractive	⇒ when the acquisition of the second language has negatively affected 'cognitive and social abilities' already acquired in the first language	• Lambert 1974

'CONSTRUCTIVE' BILINGUALISM

Category	Definition	Source
• Achieved	⇒ where the competence in the first language is achieved prior to the eleventh year and subsequent languages are introduced thereafter.	• Adler 1977
• Biliterate	⇒ Where there is an ability to read and write in first and additional languages	• In general use
• Compound	⇒ Both languages are learnt from an early age in a bilingual home	• Ervin and Osgood 1954

FUNCTIONAL BILINGUALISM: EXTENSIVE/PRODUCTIVE

Category	Definition	Source
• Additive	⇒ where the acquisition of a second language does not detract from the abilities acquired in the first and positively affects these.	• Lambert 1974
• Ambilinguistic	⇒ where there is complete parity in competence between the two languages	• Halliday, McKintosh and Strevens 1970
• Ascendant	⇒ where the ability and competence to use the second language continues as opportunity to develop it increases	• Beardsmore 1991
• Asymmetrical	⇒ where there is ability to communicate but where the ability to understanding native speakers using non-standard varieties of the target language might be limited.	• Abudarham 1987
• Balanced	⇒ where there is rough equivalence with broad similarity to monoglot	• Fishman and others 1971
• Co-ordinate	⇒ where the learning of the two languages has happened in two different environments e.g. home and school	• Jakobovits 1968
• Equilingual	⇒ where there is equity between the two languages but where there is still evidence that one is not the first language.	• Dorian 1978, 1979
• Infant/ascribed	⇒ where the second language is acquired before adolescence	• Adler 1977
• Maximalist	⇒ where there is competence to operate equally well in both languages	• Beardsmore 1991
• Minimalist	⇒ where there is *limited* ability to function in a second language where the limitation lies in confining development of prowess to control of language in a particular area e.g. air flight language transactions; *haute cuisine* 'kitchen' language.	• Beardsmore, 1991
• Primary	⇒ where two languages are picked up by force of circumstance, for example, in the home or community and where no systematic instruction in either language is provided.	• Houston 1992
• Secondary	⇒ Where first language is picked up and the second language is achieved by instruction.	• Houston 1992
• Simultaneous	⇒ where the second language is acquired alongside the first language in the early years, possibly before the third year of life.	• McLaughlin 1984

Derived from H. Beardsmore, 1991. *Bilingualism: basic principles.* Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Appendix 8: Typologies of bilingualism

The dichotomy of dysfunctional/functional bilingualism described by Beardsmore (1991), conceived dysfunctional bilingualism as a condition where language activity is largely confined to limited, receptive modes, while functional bilingualism as one where the productive, extensive **use** of language is demonstrated. In Appendix Figure 8.1 below, the category of 'constructive bilingualism' has been added. This addition takes into account the means by which bilingualism can be constructed by a deliberately engineered pattern of learning.

Appendix Figure 8.1 below represents modes of bilingualism as being 'contained' in large tubes/tubs, a visual metaphor to illustrate the position in which many nominally bilingual people find themselves. Their communication world confines them on all sides, however, implicit in this diagram is the idea that the status of an individual as one particular type of bilingual can change over time as personal circumstances and wider events take place. For individuals, the movement into other language status is achievable only by 'transfer' or 'fall out' of the container in which they find themselves confined. For example, greater opportunities to develop language could mean a transfer from a dysfunctional state to constructive and ultimately functional bilingualism. However, in certain circumstances another kind of change may occur; there is the chance of 'falling out' of the present container into another, differently rated, possibly lower-status container. For example, it would be possible, under some circumstances for bilinguals to regress from constructive or functional bilingualism to a state of dysfunctional bilingualism. The containers do not stand in isolation. They are positioned within the wider context of underlying cultural, social, economic, and political factors in the society in which the bilingual lives (Baker 1995; Hoffmann 1991). Collier (1995) suggests further academic and cognitive factors.

It is also possible that a person is one kind of bilingual in one context and another kind of bilingual in another, for example, within the language domains of speaking, listening, reading and writing.

The glossary given in Appendix 7 defines each of the categories of bilingualism identified in the containers in Appendix Figure 8.1. Where there is an overlap in terminology because a concept has been defined by more than one author using different terms, the alternative terms have also been included.
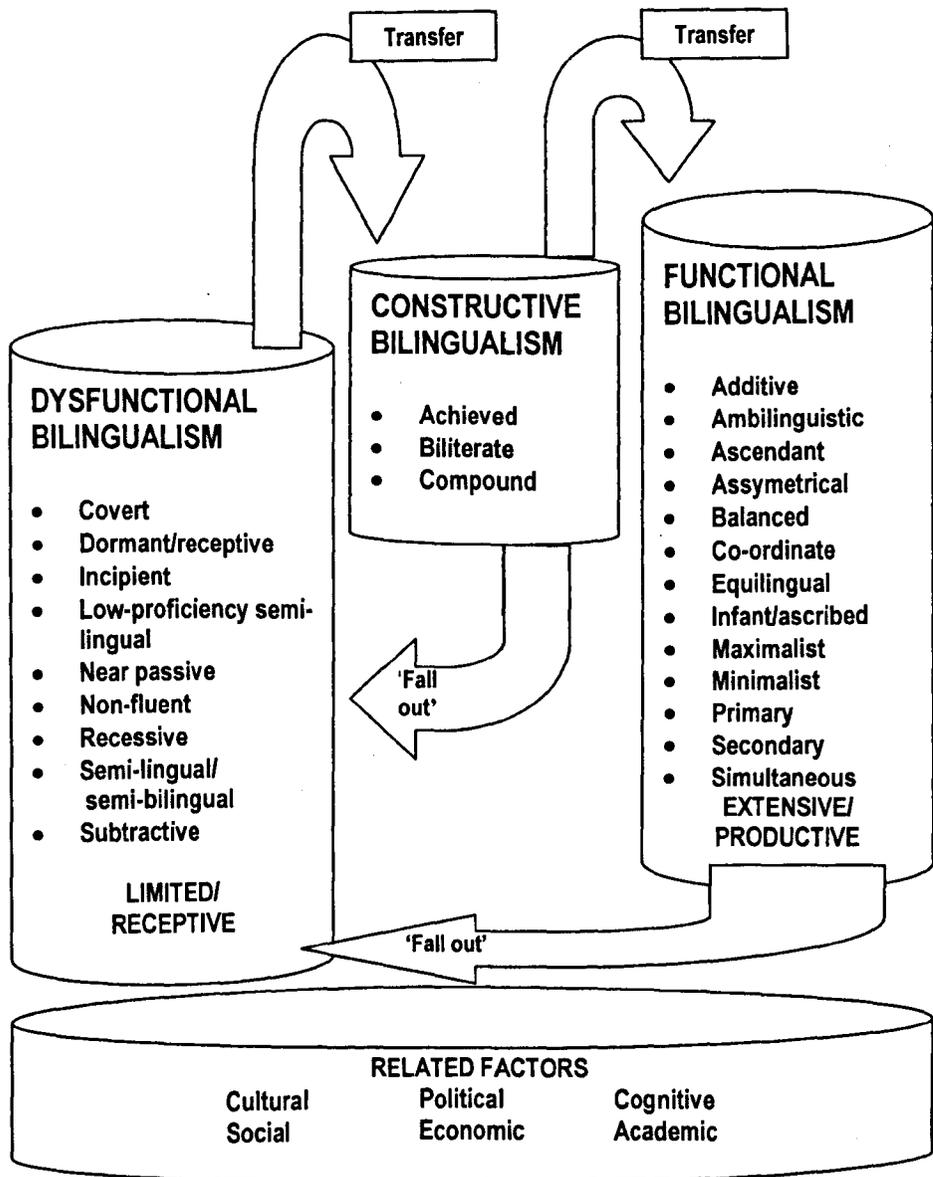
Appendix Figure 8.1. Typologies of bilingualism

Appendix 9: Cummins' 'quadrant' of skills and proficiency

Cummins first produced a construct of Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills (BICS) and Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) in 1984 and developed this further in 2000. (Cummins, 1984; Cummins, 2000). This dichotomy is modelled on a simple schema depicted by a cross where the two intersecting lines create quadrants. The horizontal shows, at one extreme, context-embedded communication and, at the other, context-reduced communication, the former demanding the less challenging daily social language use that Cummins related to BICS while the latter is more linguistically challenging in that language needs to be more sophisticated in order to convey understanding that is independent of visual or other cues (CALP). The vertical line places less cognitively demanding activities of the BICS type at one extreme and cognitively demanding activities of the CALP type at the other.

In his 2000 work, Cummins asserts that his model is 'not synonymous with literacy' (Cummins, 2000:70). However, because communication is multifaceted, it seems not inconsistent to map the four language skills of listening, speaking, reading and writing on to his model. Thus, a modified representation of Cummins' diagram (2000:68) is shown in Appendix Figure 9. Each quadrant is further divided into four areas covering the four fundamental language skills – listening, speaking, reading and writing. The receptive or input zones are in the top two zones in each sub-divided quadrant, and the productive or output zones in the bottom zones of each of the original quadrants. The addition of suggested activities provides examples that involve the cognitive and linguistic requirements appropriate to each of the original quadrants and illustrates the less formal nature of activities above the horizontal axis and the more 'formal' aspects of those below it. This provides a deeper appraisal of the potential of the model in tracking communicative proficiency in a number of genres and contexts.

In the absence of other alternatives Cummins' model continues to be used as a point of reference for the development of bilingual learners. This diagram presents a framework that continues to be used by authors and teacher trainers to underpin language learning programmes (Chamot and O'Malley, 1994; Leung, 2003). In the UK, it has been used as a foundation on which to build the ITTSEAL training programme for EAL teachers in England and Wales (Leung, 2003).

Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills

Cognitively Undemanding

A

C

LISTENING	READING	LISTENING	READING
Listen to TV 'soap opera'	Read a magazine	Listen to TV news	Read a novel
SPEAKING	WRITING	SPEAKING	WRITING
Conduct casual conversation	Write a shopping list	Chair a club meeting	Fill in a worksheet
LISTENING	READING	LISTENING	READING
Listen to instructions	Read an instruction manual	Listen to an academic lecture	Read books/ journal article critically
SPEAKING	WRITING	SPEAKING	WRITING
Argue a point of view	Write a c.v. or letter of application	Present a seminar paper	Write an essay, report, exam

Context Embedded

Context Reduced

B

D

Cognitively Demanding

Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency

Appendix Figure 9. Modified quadrant model of contextual support and degree of cognitive involvement in communicative activities (following Cummins, 1984: 139 and 2000: 68)

In the new conceptualisation of literacies discussed in §9, it would be possible to develop Cummins' quadrant further. The context-embedded/context-reduced axis still has validity; the cognitively undemanding/cognitively demanding axis also still provides a useful parameter. The four 'language' skills that were added to the original Cummins' model still are relevant but these could be developed further to include a sector for 'Seeing' and another for 'Doing'. Activities, and therefore literacies, could be envisioned for each of the quadrants under these headings. Thus, the idea of the Cummins' quadrant model as a template for planning the development of academic literacies would move this schema, from simply being a model for developing language proficiency to one that would stimulate the development and formalisation of other academic literacies across the curriculum and for all students.

Appendix 10: Where are they now?

Minority Ethnic Group interviewees

Student AS	Now married, has dropped out of university and is working in retailing.
Student FA	Continues her studies although she had some resit exams which she successfully passed.
Student BR	Continues her postgraduate studies doing a PhD in Podiatry.
Student FS	Graduated with a 2:2 degree. Her current activities are not known.
Student IY	Left the university with a diploma in Higher Education and moved to the South of England.
Student JJ	Continues her Nursing studies.
Student LA	Continues her studies in Biochemistry.
Student NA1	Graduated with a 2:2 Honours degree in Law and Accountancy is now working as a financial advisor in a Glasgow Advice Centre for minority ethnic communities.
Student NA2	Graduated with a 2:2 Honours M.A. in History and Politics and is now working in banking.
Student NA3	Continues her studies in Life Sciences.
Student NM	Continues his Architectural studies.
Student SA1	Continued his studies in Accountancy for a deferred year, but then left.
Student SA2	Continues her studies in Life Sciences.
Student SB	Graduated with a 2:2 degree. She continues to seek employment in the local area in the field of psychology, and acted as a part-time tutor in the University of Dundee. Subsequently married and living in Glasgow.
Student SJ	Continued her studies in Social Work after a gap year, but then left.
Student SM	Continues his MSc studies in Computing and is currently working locally as a Computing Support Officer.
Student WA	Graduated with a 2:1 B.Acc., is now married and living in Glasgow but is continuing her career in Accountancy.

Dominant Ethnic Group interviewees cited in the text

Student FH	Continues her medical studies.
Student FM	Now undertaking PhD. postgraduate study.
Student KT	Continues in her legal studies and aims to continue into politics.
Student MM	Continues his studies in Architecture.
Student SJM	Continues his studies in Architecture.
Student WW	Continues his studies in Law and has ambitions to obtain 2:1 LLB. degree after which he aims to specialise in Criminal Law.

Key: Dropped out