AN ECOLOGICAL APPROACH TO RESEARCHING BILITERACY DEVELOPMENT OF INDONESIAN BILINGUAL CHILDREN IN AUSTRALIAN SOCIAL CONTEXTS

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation reports a study of how literacy in English language impacts on the process and experience of acquiring literacy in an Indonesian language within an ecological approach to language development in the three intersecting of Australian social context: schools, homes, and community. The philosophical base of this study is the concept of language ecology utilising Honberger's proposal 'the continua of biliteracy (1989, 2002, 2003 & 2004) and Cummins' hypothesis of simultaneously bilingual child learning both languages (1984a, 1996).

As no longitudinal study of biliteracy development in English and Indonesian has been conducted to date, this particular research is the first investigation of this process and provides an opportunity, specifically, to explore individual differences related to relative timing of biliteracy acquisition as well as age, personality, gender and experiences. Not only does this study provide insights that can challenge current educational policy in Indonesia, which discourages childhood bilingualism in the formal educational system, but also provide invaluable understandings of the learning processes in biliteracy for classroom teachers, parents and community members.

Ethnographical approach representing the epistemological tenet of this study influenced the whole process of data collection, which employed interview techniques, participant observation, field notes, portfolio, video-recording, documents, reflective journal and photographs. These materials were analyzed through domain analysis and compleat lexical analysis tool.

The study in school setting shows that the mainstream classroom teachers perceive biliteracy and bilingualism into three categories: strongly supportive of biliteracy and bilingualism (SSBB), transitionally supportive of biliteracy and bilingualism (TSBB) and English Literacy Oriented (ELO). Each mainstream teacher category has different impact on the children biliteracy development and bilingualism in school context.
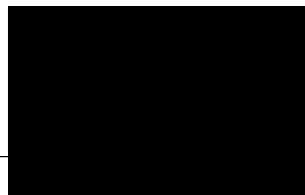
While at home context reveals that Parent Directed Family (PDF) and Child Focused Family (CFF) are seemed quite effective in the process of supporting biliteracy development and bilingualism at home, and providing opportunities for children biliteracy engagement and learning. The research in the community demonstrates that the community centre is seen as centre a site for translanguaging (CST) and centre for religious transmission (CRT) which seems promoting mostly the development of L2 literacy.

Overall, all five Indonesian children participating in the study shows some marked individual differences in biliteracy development and bilingualism. These differences appear to relate to the types of support and encouragement the children have at school, home and in the community and the attitude of their teachers, parents, and community members toward the use of both L1 and L2 in each context.

Doctor of Philosophy Declaration

I, [Muhammad Basri], declare that the PhD thesis entitled [An Ecological Approach to Researching Biliteracy Development of Indonesian Bilingual Children in Australian Social Contexts] is no more than 100,000 words in length including quotes and exclusive of tables, figures, appendices, bibliography, references and footnotes. This thesis contains no material that has been submitted previously, in whole or in part, for the award of any other academic degree or diploma. Except where otherwise indicated, this thesis is my own work.

Signature _____**Date:** <u>December 2010</u>

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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Introduction

Multiculturalism and Multilingualism in a Globalising World

Bilingualism and multilingualism are by far the most frequent sociocultural linguistic formations for peoples and societies around the world. As Li Wei's estimates:

> "… one in three of the world's population routinely uses two or more languages for work, family life and leisure. There are even more people who make irregular use of languages other than their native one; … If we count these people as bilinguals then monolingual speakers would be a tiny minority in the world today" (Wei, 2000:5).

The needs of people of different cultural and linguistic backgrounds to interact with each other extend right back through the history of time, but colonialism, and more recently, the formation of new nations from previously separate states, together with ongoing technological innovations have very much increased such interactions. Such changes have led to increased and relatively accessible international travel, and a fast global telecommunications infrastructure. They have generated vastly increased global 'people flows' (Papastergiadis, 2000: 7) resulting from migration and settlement and frequent short term sojourneying for business, education and tourism, very much enhancing the need for intercultural communication and placing even greater value on bilingualism and multilingualism.

Both languages that are the focus of this study, Indonesian and English, and both countries, Indonesia and Australia, that they are associated with have been subject to the sort of changes that I have outlined above. Modern Indonesia is the product of a neo-colonial project in the 20th century in which an 'imagined community' (Anderson, 1991) was built from a multiplicity of ethnic and tribal groups living in different parts of an extended island region in South East Asia that had been under colonial rule (mainly Dutch) for an extended period of time until after the second world war. The language of modern Indonesia, called locally, Bahasa Indonesia, was

introduced and widely promulgated as the national lingua franca and main language of education, specifically to meld the multicultural and multiethnic groups of the region into a unified nation state. The ideology that has been promulgated in making this nation state, Pancasila, emphasises 5 core values: '(1) Belief in the one and only God; (2) Just and civilised humanity; (3) The unity of Indonesia; (4) Democracy guided by the inner wisdom in the unanimity arising out of deliberations amongst representatives; and (5) Social justice for the all of the people of Indonesian' (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pancasila_(politics).

Seventeen years before Indonesia became independent, the Youth Oath (below) was declared. This declaration promoted the idea of 'unity in diversity' as the Indonesian national motto and was the result of a growing national consciousness among the youth from all around the Indonesian archipelago, well-known as the 1928 youth pledge as follows:

In Indonesian, with the original spelling, the pledge reads: "Pertama Kami poetera dan poeteri Indonesia, mengakoe bertoempah darah jang satoe, tanah air Indonesia. Kedoea Kami poetera dan poeteri Indonesia, mengakoe berbangsa jang satoe, bangsa Indonesia. Ketiga Kami poetera dan poeteri Indonesia, mendjoendjoeng bahasa persatoean, bahasa Indonesia" (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sumpah_Pemuda).	In English: "Firstly We the sons and daughters of Indonesia, acknowledge one motherland, Indonesia. Secondly We the sons and daughters of Indonesia, acknowledge one nation, the nation of Indonesia. Thirdly We the sons and daughters of Indonesia, respect the language of unity, Indonesian" (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sumpah_Pemuda).

The success of Indonesian language planning and the 'linguistic project' of nation building is evident in the fact that Indonesian is the uncontested dominant national language today and is increasingly spoken as the first language by children

nationwide, especially those growing up in urban areas and whose parents are comparatively well educated.

Whilst the Australian context when all the children and their families in this study were living at the time of the research is not directly comparable to that of Indonesia in terms of its linguistic formation, it does share certain characteristics. Modern Australia is a multicultural and multilingual society, with its linguistic diversity having arisen from both indigenous language diversity and from more than two centuries of colonisation and immigration of peoples from all over the world. The language of colonisation, English, is the dominant language of the society and its knowledge and use is essential for those aspiring to educational and economic success. However, at the same time, there is acceptance and tolerance of the cultural diversity of the society in terms of people's heritages and a large number of different 'community languages' are spoken at home. Most speakers of these community languages are migrant families living permanently in Australia, some whose settlement can be traced back through several generations, but there are also many shorter-term residents of culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds, such as sojourning students and business people.

One of the issues confronting families in Australia today is that of the community language knowledge and language development of their children. Specifically, will children be able to grow up bilingual, and if so, to what extent? We know from research that language maintenance and transmission is not guaranteed in Australia (see Clyne 2003; Kipp and Clyne, 2003); also that the success of families in language maintenance and transmission is variable (Clyne and Kipp, 2006). There are a number of well-documented factors that impact on the success of various communities in Australia in maintaining and transmitting their languages. These include macro-level factors of language status, community concentration, and attitudes within the context of broader trends in settlement and marriage. As the language situation has been increasingly investigated in Australia, the impact of

micro level factors related to individual differences in family dynamics and values, family-school interactions and the interrelationship of family, school and broader community, including religious practice in relation to language, have become increasingly evident with several recent studies (egs. Borland, 2006; Bradshaw, 2006) highlighting how different family practices and attitudes can result in different language transmission outcomes.

It is within this broader context that this study of Indonesian families and their children in an Australian multicultural setting is located. However, the experiences and outcomes being researched have much broader significance as such social and cultural formations are now commonplace in the developed world. Research in many parts of the world, including the United States (eg. Hornberger, 2004), Canada (eg. Heller, 2005), Europe (eg. Hélot, 2005) and Britain (eg. Martin, 2005), as well as Australia, is exploring issues of bilingualism and language development and maintenance in a range of settings, each with some parallels with, but also distinctive differences from, the situation of the Indonesian children and their families being studied in this research in Australia.

The intersection of bilingualism and its manifestation in biliteracy is something of even broader concern as a result of the growing desire among parents in the developed world to support their children's bilingualism and biliteracy in English as well as their first (and other) languages. This reflects the acceptance of English as a lingua franca for international communication, particularly in the globalising business world (Hornberger, 2004; Baker, 2006). Currently, it is a high priority in Indonesia for the learning of English to a proficient level to be improved. For example, the teaching of English has become a favourite subject matter in the primary school mostly in the city areas and a compulsory subject in secondary school. In addition, several schools have started experimenting with introducing bilingual education using English as the medium of instruction in teaching other subjects, such as Math, Science, Social Studies, Language Arts etc. Middle class parents place a high value

on their children learning English well and view opportunities to spend time in English dominant countries, such as Australia, as valuable in contributing to their children's English language development.

Introducing the Children and Their Families

Five Indonesian children from four families participated in this study. They included two girls (Nanda and Wendy) and three boys (Fasya, Haris and Lukman), who ranged in grade level and age from the early to the upper years of primary school. All the children were students in the same primary school in Melbourne's South East and they and their families were selected based on their willingness to participate voluntarily in this study as minority language background children in Australian social contexts (see further details in Chapter 3). The children's and their family's context reflected as well my own experience as a parent working through issues of adjustment to living and schooling in Australia with my own children who were also studying in primary school at Grades Prep, 3 and 5 in a different primary school in Western Melbourne. Initially, I had proposed to have my three children as participants in my research, however, this proved not to be feasible because of research ethics guidelines, so I decided to search for some Indonesian families and children going through similar experiences to me and my family, but with also some differences in the children's ages and their families' longer term plans. By taking this approach and choosing this focus I could draw on my own background knowledge of Indonesian culture and approaches to schooling and the experience of relocation and adjustment to a new country and language to inform my research into the children's and their families' experiences of bilingualism and biliteracy in Australia.

Language Ecology: an Overarching Framework

An important underlying philosophical tenet of the approach to this research is the concept of language ecology, as proposed by Hornberger (2002, 2003, 2004) to be applied to examining the potential for educational policies and practices that preserve

and develop language diversity, rather than suppressing it. Hornberger (2003) believes that "Multilingual language policies are essentially about opening up ideological and implementational space in the environment for as many languages as possible, and in particular endangered languages, to evolve and flourish rather than dwindle and disappear" (p. 318).

Despite the growing quantity of research on language ecology, and its connection to language planning and policy, Creese and Martin (2003) have highlighted that "there are few studies which focus on the inter-relationships between languages and their speakers in the educational context" (p.3). The present study is planned to make a contribution in filling this gap as it adopts an ecological approach to researching biliteracy development of Indonesian bilingual children in their interactions and activities in three intersecting contexts in Australia; those of school, home and community.

A Focus on Biliteracy as an Aspect of Bilingualism

Biliteracy is valuable at the individual and societal levels. From an individual perspective, biliteracy supports and builds upon a bilingual's oral language competence thereby enhancing vocabulary, automatic decoding, fluency and positive language attitudes (Bialystok, 1998, 2001). From a societal perspective, Baker (2006, p.328) argues that biliteracy is essential for language revitalisation, and also promotes the prospect of intergenerational language transmission. Despite this, the nature of biliteracy and its developmental process has not been nearly as widely researched as bilingualism as manifested in spoken language production and use.

Much applied research in bilingualism and biliteracy is interested in the relevance of such mechanisms to structured educational processes. From a practical perspective, this research has been motivated by educational equity concerns recognising the need for and value of students from minority language background being able to

effectively interact in both their minority language and the society's majority language (Baker, 2006). Specifically, Lapkin and Swain (1991) have emphasised the critical role of first language literacy and then biliteracy in providing a strong source of cognitive and curriculum advantage for bilinguals.

Krashen (2002, p. 143) claims that the extensive research on the acquisition of literacy by monolingual children has provided an important framework for bilingual children. However, as Bialystok (2001: p. 152) emphasises, little research has been expressly dedicated to this bilingual population. Hornberger (1989, 1990, 2002) has argued that what is needed is to bring understanding from related areas together in a more holistic approach to the study of biliteracy.

As no longitudinal study of biliteracy development in English and Indonesian has been conducted to date, this particular research is the first investigation of this process and provides an opportunity, specifically, to explore individual differences related to relative timing of biliteracy acquisition as well as age, personality, gender and experiences in the three intersecting contexts of school, home and community. Not only does this study provide insights that can challenge current educational policy in Indonesia, which discourages childhood bilingualism in the formal educational system, but also provide invaluable understandings of the learning processes in biliteracy for classroom teachers, parents and community members.

Significance of this Research

Biliteracy development has had relatively little attention in existing literature. Much literature deals with monolingual literacy development in a school setting, and even children who are or have the potential to be bilingual but who have traditionally been educated to be monolingual in terms of their literacy. Taylor (1993, p. 551) calls for a deeper understanding of the lives of families in order to build connections between learning in the home and community and learning in the mainstream school. This

study attempts to achieve such deeper understanding by exploring the biliteracy development of five Indonesian children with English as a second language and Indonesian as their mother tongue. Its underlying assumption is that of a language ecology approach which seeks to support and develop existing linguistic diversity.

A distinctive feature of this study is its longitudinal/ethnographic approach with a focus on experiences and interrelationships between the three most important contexts in children's lives: home, school and community. The five children shared the same school and community setting, but came from four different homes and families. Across the families there are some contrasts in the ages of children and in parental plans for their family's future residence as well as in their expectations and attitudes to their children's bilingualism and biliteracy

The context of this research is one that is potentially conducive to biliteracy from the perspective of families. Both languages have high status and 'power', although how this is manifested in the Australian context is different to the Indonesian context that some of the families plan to return to. In Australia, English is the dominant language and is strongly supported through the school system and broader media, whereas Indonesian has the status of a minority language in the mainstream school context whilst for the children it is the language of home and family, and of interaction in community settings associated with religion. In the Indonesian context, which all the families have come from no more than 3 years prior to the beginning of the research, Indonesian is the national language and lingua franca and is highly valued as the dominant language in all official settings, such as school, government, religious practice and is the main language for informal interaction in urban contexts as well. However, knowledge of English has a high value to the extent that the government has declared its desire for English to become Indonesia's second language and is supporting initiatives such as the introduction of bilingual education as part of this desire to develop competence in English to a high level.

Aims of the study

This study aims to explore how literacy in one language impacts on the process and experience of acquiring literacy in a second language within an ecological approach to language development. It will particularly explore:

(1) how mainstream classroom teachers perceive biliteracy and bilingualism and how these perceptions translate into their classroom practices; and the extent to which the approaches they adopt in relation to the children's bilingualism and emerging literacy impact on their biliteracy development and bilingualism in a public primary school in which English is the only official medium of instruction;

(2) the role of the parents in supporting their children's biliteracy development and bilingualism at home, focusing on the ways parents perceive biliteracy and bilingualism and how these perceptions translate into their home practices, and the extent to which the approaches they adopt in relation to the children's bilingualism and emerging literacy impact on their children's responses to their home literacy practices and their biliteracy and bilingual development;

(3) the role of the community centre in supporting the children's biliteracy development and bilingualism in community, focusing on how community members perceive biliteracy and bilingualism and how these translate into their community practices, and the extent to which the approaches they adopt in relation to the children's bilingualism and emerging literacy impact on children's biliteracy development and bilingualism; and

(4) the evidence of individual differences among the Indonesian bilingual children in biliteracy development exploring their biliteracy performances in their classroom, home and community, focusing particularly on the differences in the ways the

children perform biliteracy and bilingualism in their classroom, home and community; and its relationship to their level of biliteracy development.

Some Key Terms and Concepts

Outlined below is a brief description of some key terms and concepts as they have been applied in this study. In Chapter 2 some of these are discussed in greater detail in relation to the research literature that has generated them.

Sites of translanguaging

These are defined as settings that the children are operating in and in which they are being exposed to speech and text in potentially at least two languages, in this case English and Indonesian, and where the use of the two languages is such that each may be employed to promote understanding and language development in the other, for example, through processes such as retelling of a story read in one language in the other, discussion of meanings of words and phrases presented in one language and their translation into the other language.

Language practices

These are defined as ways in which a language is used in interactions, both in speech and oral language and in and around written texts.

Continua of Biliteracy

Following Hornberger (1989) (see Chapter 2 for further discussion) these are continua which incorporate intersecting dimensions along which bilingual language learners and users can be distinguished in relation to the nature of their access to and experiences of biliteracy. The most recent model distinguishes four continua: context, development, content and media, each incorporating 3 dimensions of difference.

Further Reflections on the Researcher's Position and Role

LeCompte, et al. (1999) contend that the most appropriate role for an ethnographer to establish with anyone in the research site is that of a helpful learner. "Ethnographers must be learners, and as such, they must position themselves so that people in the community feel comfortable teaching them" (p. 21). In preparation for the research I put considerable effort into developing rapport and trust with the children, families, teachers and community members who I was asking to participate in the project. One approach I used with the children was to bring my own children, who were of similar ages, to play with the Indonesian children who I was hoping would agree to participate. We became close to the families and also shared activities at the community centre to the extent that my children became friends and I was seen as an extension of these peer friendships as reflected by Nanda, who when I was observing in her classroom, called out to me "Hi Basri", indicating how comfortable she felt when I was around in her school.

I took up and was accepted in the position of participant observer in the children's school classrooms helping their mainstream teachers in classroom literacy activities as well as being seen as the children's friend in their classroom literacy learning. At home the parents accepted me as a friend coming from the same ethnic background (and for those still studying also as a fellow Indonesian AusAid scholarship student working for a postgraduate degree), while I maintained a good relationship with their children as they engaged in their home literacy activities.

Taking the position as one of the community activists in the community centre involved in assisting with planning the religious literacy program and contributing to the weekly community literacy sessions by sitting together with the participating children was helpful to get indepth data in each context as LeCompte, et al. (1999, p. 10) suggest "it is impossible to develop the rapport necessary for good ethnographic

understanding and data collection if social distance is maintained between researchers and informants".

This approach enabled me to establish a close relationship and rapport with the children and families that form the focus of this study. They were aware of the overall purpose of my study (i.e. my interest in bilingualism and biliteracy) so it needs to be acknowledged that this may have influenced their behaviours around literacy to some extent. However, I believe that over the year that I was engaged with the children, their school and families I became a well-accepted part of their world and someone they felt they could interact with in a natural, everyday way. These issues around ethnography and the place, role and effect of the ethnographer are discussed further in Chapter 3.

In Summary

This chapter has introduced the key issues concerning the importance of biliteracy development and bilingualism in the current globalising world. It has also outlined the aims of the study and briefly introduced the participants in the research and explained a little of their context and my role in the research process.

Chapter 2 reviews some concepts and theoretical issues in considering biliteracy development and bilingualism from a language ecology perspective. It discusses the metaphor of language ecology used as a term to frame this study as well as views about classroom, home and community literacy practices in the process of an individual child becoming bilingual based on the Hornberger's proposal for four continua of biliteracy. In the light of this review of the literature, Chapter 3 discusses the major theoretical and methodological considerations that have shaped this research adopting an ecological approach to researching biliteracy development before presenting in some detail the approaches used in data collection and analysis. Chapters 4, 5 and 6 provide detailed accounts of the respective roles of the

mainstream teachers, parents and community activists in supporting the children's biliteracy development. Following on from this Chapters 7 and 8 focus on the evidence of individual differences among the children in their biliteracy development exploring their reading and writing performance in Indonesian (L1) and English (L2) in their classrooms, homes and community. Finally, Chapter 9 brings together the findings from the analyses of contexts and their impact and the analysis of each child's bilingualism and biliteracy development in reading and writing to draw some conclusions about language ecology as a framing metaphor for bilingualism and biliteracy in minority language background children.

Chapter Two

Ecological Perspectives on Biliteracy Development and Bilingualism of Language Minority Children

This chapter reviews some concepts and theoretical issues in considering biliteracy development and bilingualism from a language ecology perspective. This will include discussion of the metaphor of language ecology used as a term to frame this study. Following this, consideration will be given to views and approaches in the study of literacy, including classroom, home, and community literacy practices. The third section of the review will focus on bilingualism in children concentrating on the means and processes of an individual child becoming bilingual, and then the next section will consider the literature on biliteracy development, including Hornberger's proposal for continua of biliteracy. The final section of the chapter will summarise key aspects of what has emerged from the literature analysis in the chapter.

Language ecology

The notion of language ecology was first proposed by Einar Haugen (1972), who describes it as 'the study of interactions between any given language and its environment' (p.325). As Hornberger (2002) has highlighted, the language ecology metaphor has been appropriated from the field of biological ecology, and this led to a new field of study now commonly referred to as the ecology of language. In his groundbreaking advocacy for the concept, Haugen (1972) emphasises that languages are intrinsically connected with each other in their surroundings, and argues for the importance of the language environment in relation to language use in the community, with this mainly being influenced by those who use languages and transfer them to others.

Haugen's (1972) primary focus is on discussing the condition of a language from psychological and social perspectives, as well as its position within the environment

and how factors such as attitudes to a language variety in relation to status and intimacy and its positioning within a broader ethnolinguistic context impact on its continuing use. What Haugen means by status is the power and influence associated with each language within the community, where positioning of a language as one with status is associated with it being valued by people who have higher socioeconomic backgrounds, whereas another language may be seen as having low status in comparison, often then meaning that its use is restricted to those from lower socioeconomic background, who value the language for reasons other than its status. The other dimension that Haugen has emphasised is that of intimacy. Intimacy deals with the "sense of being associated with solidarity, shared values, friendship, love, in short the contacts established through common family and group life" (p.329), and such valuing of a language can occur regardless of how it is valued in terms of its status.

In further developing his ideas about the concept of language ecology in relation to language functions and forms as well as language interactions and their users. Haugen (1972) proposes 10 questions that need to be answered in order to place a specific language ecologically as follows:

> "(1) What is its classification in relation to other languages?; (2) Who are its users?; (3) What are its domains of use?; (4) What concurrent languages are employed by its users?; (5) What internal varieties does the language show?; (6) What is the nature of its written traditions?; (7) To what degree has its written form been standardized, i.e. unified and codified?; (8) What kind of institutional support has it won, either in government, education, or private organisation, either to regulate its form or propagate it?; (9) What are the attitudes of its users towards the language, in terms of intimacy and status, leading to personal identification?; and (10) Finally we may wish to sum up its status in typology of ecological classification, which will tell us something about where the language stands and where it is going in comparison with the other languages of the world" (pp.336-7).

Palmer (1974) adopts these 10 ecological questions, classifying them into ten categories: "classification, users, domain of use, concurrent languages, internal varieties, written traditions, standardization, institutional support, users' attitudes and

typology of ecological classification" (p.229), and advocates that by applying these categories, it is possible to gain insight into significant interactions and interplay between languages, as for example, in the school context in relation to school language choice and use in bilingual and multilingual communities. Building further on Haugen's work, Edwards (1992) focuses Haugen's questions by dividing them into three main types of variables; "speaker, language and setting" (p.43). He discusses the 10 ecological questions starting from 'historical and descriptive linguistics' to 'ecological classification', and extends this into a detailed checklist of 33 areas for consideration beginning with the issue of "numbers and concentrations of speakers" and concluding with "general public awareness of area" (p.50).

The metaphor of language ecology has been applied in recent times in many different sub-fields of applied and socio-linguistics (e.g. Barron et al., 2002; Fill and Mühlhäusler, 2001; Mühlhäusler, 1996; Creese and Martin, 2003; Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996; Hornberger, 2002; Ricento, 2000; Edwards, 1992; van Lier, 2000). In the field of sociolinguistics, for example, Barron et al. (2002) argued that even though many previous studies concentrated on language survival and maintenance, the promotion of language diversity and the interaction between languages and the environment, much of the existing research on language ecology has been recognised as "more than the two-dimensional network of interacting languages, it acknowledges an infinite world of possibilities" (p.10). In applied linguistics, particularly in the classroom context, Fill and Mühlhäusler (2001) elaborate the metaphor of language ecology as an approach to cover the varieties of lesson in relation to the differences between different language learners, the impact of language diversity, the need for language maintenance, and the role of interaction among the language users.

In attempting to elaborate the themes within language ecology, Hornberger (2002) distinguishes three central themes in the metaphor of ecology, all acknowledged in the work of Haugen. The first two of these themes relate to language evolution and

the language environment, as she stresses that "like living species, [languages] evolve, grow, change, live, and die in relation to other languages and also in relation to their environment" (p.33). Hornberger identifies as the third theme, language endangerment, as language change leads to potential loss and suggests the importance of strategies for how to counteract language endangerment and loss. Similarly, Mühlhäusler (1996) argues for three metaphorical themes and provides an approach within the language ecology framework to deal with language evolution, language maintenance and language endangerment. He particularly argues for the comparability in the process involved in the disappearance of language to other ecological change in that "the change of a single link in an ecological network can precipitate very considerable overall changes, the disappearance of one species typically leading to that of a dozen of others" (p.49). Interestingly, both Hornberger and Mühlhäusler have distinguished the two key themes of language evolution and language endangerment in a similar way. However, they differ on the third theme with Hornberger's (2002) 'language environment', assuming that every language is associated with its users in interacting with the environment and Mühlhäusler's (1996) focus on 'language maintenance' dealing with language survival within the society. For the purpose of the present study, the language environment theme proposed by Nancy Hornberger is broader and fits better with the focus of the study on the contexts of language interaction in three inter-related environments, the school, home, and community, as will be discussed further in the following section.

In relation to the metaphor of language ecology on language endangerment, Hornberger (2002) argues that language endangerment emerged from the concern for linguistic human rights creating the conditions for solving problem associated with the language endangerment and language displacement. An example of such endangerment, highlighted by Mühlhäusler (1996), is the effect of the dominant role of English all over the world, as well as other major languages, such as, Indonesian and Mandarin in the context of Asia Pacific Region, and their influence in endangering the existing languages in the society.

In exploring the themes of language evolution and language environment within a language ecology framework, Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) advocate that the activities of language planning should provide a space for all languages in the society. They argue that in terms of language environment, government and NGOs, communities of language users, and educational agencies have important roles in supporting the use of multiple languages in the ecolinguistic system. An important aspect of language planning according to them is the issue of supporting the ecology of a specific language to maintain it "within the vast cultural, educational, historical, demographic, political and social structure in which language policy formulation occurs every day" (p.13).

In an attempt to make a link between language planning and the ecology of language, as an intervention to influence ecology language policy should support language rights. The considerable work on language rights by Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1996) discusses language policy options internationally within the framework of language ecology that promotes multilingualism and the diversity of languages. They contrast the transmission of a global view placing English as the dominant language used all over the world, with the paradigm of language ecology that refers to developing a global language diversity, encouraging the learning of foreign languages and bilingualism, as well as ensuring linguistic human rights to all language learning and users. They contend that "English can serve many useful purposes but will do so only if the linguistic human rights of speakers of other languages are respected" (p.447). This global language ecology approach will, in turn, provide a space for language learners, wherever they are in the world, including the Indonesian children in the present study, as a minority language group living in Australia, as will be examined in the three intersecting contexts in the later chapters, school, home, and the community (Chapters four, five, and six respectively).

Language learning can also be related to the field of language ecology. Van Lier (2000) argues that the approach of language ecology to language learning emphasises language development, such as of first, second, and foreign languages, incorporating both processes and the interactions with the environment. According to van Lier (2000) one of the essential emphasises related to the ecological approach to language learning is that "an ecological approach asserts that the perceptual and social activity of the learner, and particularly the verbal and nonverbal interaction in which the learners engages, are central to an understanding of learning" (p.246). Adopting a similar approach to the future of language learning, use and planning, Ricento (2000) argues for the framework of language ecology emphasising language rights in relation to the language use in micro-level schema as well as macro socio-political processes. He then recommends using the language ecology framework to connect to language use and language development in the context of the specific society, as is proposed in researching biliteracy development of Indonesian children in the Australian community context (discussed further in Chapter six).

Despite the growing numbers of studies on language ecology in relation to language planning and policy, Creese and Martin (2003) point out that there is only a small amount research concentrating on the interaction between languages and their users in multilingual classroom settings. Mühlhäusler (1996) has critically argued for a reform in language education applying the framework of language ecology to address the issue of how to fit language education into the existing linguistic ecologies. As a consequence it is relevant, on the one hand, to discuss further the ecology of language in multilingual classroom settings. On the other hand, the ecological detail of interactional practices in the multilingual classroom within such environments is also important to investigate for a better understanding and significant contribution in the field of language ecology, and this is what has been attempted by Hornberger (2002) with her continua of biliteracy and bilingualism, which will be examined in detail in a later section.

In sum, the language ecology approach has gained currency in the sub-fields of applied and socio-linguistics. The work of Haugen (1972) on promoting the ecology of language as an approach to explore the interrelationships of language and its environment has inspired other researchers to develop the metaphor of language ecology in their own contexts. The most provoking idea that shapes the present study is the work of Hornberger (2002) who introduces an ecological approach in multilingual language policies and the continua of biliteracy, the idea of "opening up ideological and implementational space in the environment for as many languages as possible" (p. 30) especially in the context of schools and their community.

For the specific purposes of this study, Haugen's (1972) approach is most usefully exploited when it is linked to Hornberger's continua of biliteracy development, particularly in answering one of the ecological questions "What are the attitudes of its users towards the language, in terms of intimacy and status, leading to personal identification?" (p.337), which can be used to analyse data on attitudes and approaches of the classroom teachers, parents, and community activists to supporting children biliteracy development and bilingualism, as well as children's attitudes and approaches toward their biliteracy development and bilingualism in Australian social contexts. In fact, there are seven ecological issues significantly related to the present study among the 33 on Edwards' (1992) checklist, specifically, "Degree and type of language transmission?; Linguistic capabilities of speakers?; Language attitude of speakers?; Speakers' attitude and involvement regarding education?; Types of school support for language?; Religion of speakers?; and Type of strength of association between language and religion?" (p.50). These particular ecological questions are relevant to analyse data in relation to the children's responses toward their biliteracy and bilingual involvement in the three intersecting contexts in this present study, those of school, home, and community. This study is planned to make a contribution in filling the gap in the amount of research which concentrates on the interaction between language and their users in school, home, and community contexts (Creese and Martin, 2003; Hornberger, 2002), as it adopts an ecological approach to

researching biliteracy development of Indonesian bilingual children in their interactions and activities in the three intersecting contexts in Australia, those of school, home and community. This will provide, in turn, impetus for alternative language planning for Indonesian children in school, home and community contexts where the language is positioned as a minority one as a result of those concerned living in a foreign country.

Approaches in the Study of Literacy

A number of perspectives have been adopted in defining literacy. For example, the Australian Language and Literacy Policy (1991) defines literacy as:

> "The ability to read and use written information and to write appropriately, in a range of contexts. It is used to develop knowledge and understanding, to achieve personal growth and to function effectively in our society. Literacy also includes the recognition of numbers and basic mathematical signs and symbols within texts. Literacy involves the integration of speaking, listening and critical thinking with reading and writing. Effective literacy is intrinsically purposeful, flexible and dynamic and continues to develop throughout an individual's lifetime" (p.9).

In a related, but different English speaking context, the UK National Literacy Strategy (DfEE, 1998) identifies literacy in terms of a set of 9 major competencies covering the ability to engage with, read, analyse and produce texts in a range of fiction and non-fiction genres. Those literacy competences are associated with phonological awareness, phonic and spelling, grammar awareness, reading comprehension and writing composition of fiction and non-fiction genres. Leung (2005) argues that "this highly specified literacy curriculum comes with an equally well-defined pedagogy" (p. 102).

From an emergent literacy perspective, children are considered to be on an irrevocable path to reading from their first experiences with language. All the steps and stages on the way, beginning with children's first utterances, are part of literacy. This view has been most vigorously defended by Teale (1986) who makes a strong

argument that learning to read is a cultural acquisition, therefore it is a central part of children's socialization from the earliest encounter with text. Indeed, studies of the family context of language use have left no doubt that family support and early exposure to literacy have a profound influence on the development of children's literacy skills (Dickinson & Tabors, 1991; Heath, 1982; Snow, 1983; Wells, 1985).

In order to identify and document literacy development, Taylor (2000, p. 212) has created a practical framework for monitoring progress at home and school starting from the point of philosophy and context, and moving onto methodology, documentation and applications (see diagram below).

Philosophy and context
Background factors in monitoring Progress: priorities, literacy approaches, languages, participants, interests

Applications
Reporting, Responding, partnership responsibilities, Dissemination, Reflection

Methodology:
Procedural factors in gathering information and evidence
Individuals, group, whole class
Timing sequences schedules
Artifacts

Documentation
Summarising data, charts and displays
Triangulation: cross-check, missing evidence, collaboration
Folio development

Figure 2.1: Taylor's framework for monitoring literacy progress at home, school, and community centre

To assist the documentation process, she advocates using a pupil literacy portfolio which includes:

> "(1) classroom observation which covers anecdotal comments about the observable pointers identified in the following episodes: shared reading, independent reading, modelled/joint construction of writing, and sharing; (2) sample of writing (collect one sample from each term) and guided reading (running records); (3) Re-tellings (oral to oral and written to oral); and (4) Interviews (reading interview, writing interview, letter and sound identification)" (p. 218).

In an attempt to link with the social context of literacy, Verhoeven (1994) has taken into account the development of social cultural aspects and the differences evident as a result of the diversity in society. Seeing literacy or illiteracy in a more comprehensive way, he defines literacy as "a life long, context-bound set of practices in which an individual's needs vary with time and place" (p.8). Taking a critical stance, Street (1993) juxtaposes views on literacy as being from an 'autonomous' (p.5) to an 'ideological' (p.7) perspective. From the autonomous perspective, he defines literacy in reference to western culture seeing literacy as a general skill that people can learn by themselves in a special setting. Street then discusses this further from the perspective of ideology, defining literacy practices in terms of the structure of power and culture in the community. In addition, Street argues for the importance of those in power having a better understanding of literacy from the autonomous perspective. Similarly, writing just one year after Street, Verhoeven (1994) claims that growing research indicates that "literacy implies the capacity to use language in a decontextualised way" (p.7).

Regardless on the development of literacy in a wider context, Street (1994) discusses contemporary literacy by considering literacy qualitatively, firstly outside the framework of education and by locating literacy practices in the context of power and ideology, rather than as a neutral, technical skill. From this perspective, Street (1985, 1993) recognises the diversity of literacies and that the application of literacy practices are connected to particular cultural settings, which are always related to ideology and power. Following this, Martin-Jones & Bhatt (1998) argue for the need to conceptualise "culture as continually changing and open to redefinition rather than as fixed or constant" (p.39). They confirm that the value of culture and social identity are built up from the daily life of interactional practices in literacy. These practices according to them are connected to the diversity of people's social status and characteristics, such as gender, ethnicity, residence, and interests. One example supporting this perspective is the multilingual literacy practices which Martin-Jones & Bhatt (1998) draw on to explore how dynamic social and cultural practices shape

their study in Leicester and foreground the complex and dynamic approaches arising from the literacies and languages of the teenagers they worked with.

In contrast, Street (1994) recognises the work of John Ogbu, a famous scholar in the field of education, as one who recommends in recent times to narrow down the literacy definition. According to Street, Ogbu's approach represents a leading perspective in the sector of education viewing literacy in reference to Ogbu's (1990:520) definition as "the ability to read and write and compute in the form taught and expected in formal education" (as quoted in Street (1994:100). In contrast to this perspective, Street gives an example of literacy that is embedded in non-educational values, referring to Reid's (1988) observation in South East Asia:

> "the old Indonesian ka-ga-nga alphabet was taught in no school and had no value either vocationally or in reading any established religious or secular literature. The explanation given for its persistence was the local custom of manjan, a courting game whereby young men and women would gather in the evenings and the youth would fling suggestive quatrains [pantun] written in the old script to the young women they fancied (p. 218)" (as quoted in Street (1994:100).

This local literacy practice gives more evidence to challenge the narrow view of literacy, as argued by Street (1987), that a new literacy is associated with the existing concepts and conventions of the receiving culture in relation to communication.

In attempting to address the future development of the literacy, Street (1994:108), in referring to the next decade, divides approaches in literacy by advocating three central themes. The first theme deals with clarifying and defining literacy concepts to avoid a 'literacy' and 'illiteracy' division in the context of cultural and ideological differences. The second theme requires beginning with the environment where people are able to comprehend the meaning of the culture and literacy uses. Finally, a third theme is required to connect "theory of the kind being developed in the New Literacy Studies with the experience and insights of practitioners" (p.108). Street goes on to argue that these three themes offer a better and more sustainable approach to policy in

the area of literacy and that study and practice in the coming era can explain the validity of this claim.

Since the 1990s there has been growing interest in culturally-informed literacy research beyond the classroom context, including a growing body of community-based research on literacy in different cultural contexts. This work has been largely ethnographic in nature and has explored different means of documenting the ways in which people read, write, and draw meaning from texts in domains other than education. The starting point for this work is a social perspective of literacy that emphasises the need to understand literacy as a social practice rooted in special cultural settings (Barton, 1994; Baynham, 1995; Hamilton, Barton, & Ivanic, 1994; Heath, 1983; Street, 1984, 1993). This literature has informed the present study in the choice to employ a longitudinal ethnographic approach (see Chapter 3) in researching biliteracy development of children in the process of becoming bilingual in Australian social contexts.

In exploring the different views and approaches to literacy education, such as constructivist, student-centered approaches vs teacher-centered approach, Vygotsky (1978) argues that the main feature of constructivist teaching and learning is the process of scaffolding to guide the students to be knowledgeable and skilful in their learning developmental process. In respect to many different schools of thought on constructivism, Pedersen & Liu (2003) highlight the differences between the teacher-directed approach and the student-centered approach due to the students' activity objectives and teachers' role. In terms of the aims of learning, they note that students are required to achieve the aims set by their teachers in the teacher-directed approach, however, in the student-centered approach, the students are expected to respond to the key issues, promoting their ownership in their learning process. In terms of the teachers' role according to them, in a teacher-directed approach, the learning objectives, plans and activities are designed by the teachers to help their students meet the objectives, while in the student-centered approach, teachers become

facilitators helping their students to respond to the central problem, and letting the students develop their response in their learning process. This provides invaluable concepts for the present study, particularly in interpreting the classroom teachers' attitudes and approaches to supporting children's biliteracy development and bilingualism in their classroom.

Bilingualism in Children

Several investigators have recently been concentrating on bilingualism in relation to the means and the processes by which children become bilingual (e.g. Datta, 2000; Bialystok, 2001; Barrat-Pugh, 2000; and Hornberger, 2002). The approach to becoming bilingual, is the way adopted to acquire the communicative competence in two languages, which can be achieved by children as a matter of their interactions in two or more of a diverse range of languages in the surrounding society. Datta (2000) discusses the distinction between childhood bilingualism being 'simultaneous or consecutive' (p.15). Simultaneous bilingualism according to him occurs in the situation that a child has experienced two different languages concurrently through being in a family where the parents use two mother tongues and have an explicit desire to bring up their children through this exposure to become simultaneously bilingual. In contrast, a child in a language minority group who is exposed to a second language as the language of instruction in school or in a childcare centre or in social interactions in the community, may become consecutively bilingual, if there is sufficient opportunity to add a second language to their mother tongue (Datta, 2000). In other words, a child who is or is becoming bilingual may achieve this through formal and informal exposure and either formal teaching and learning or informal non-tutored learning and may become literate in one of these languages or both.

In an attempt to link L1 and L2 literacy in bilingual contexts, Bialystok (2001) argues that the wide-ranging studies on literacy acquisition of monolingual children have provided a valuable approach and relevant information to investigate the particular

cases of literacy acquisition in bilingual children. This issue has recently become a concern in the school system, since there has been only a small amount of research expressly addressed to these bilingual populations. Bialystok considers that children with their L1 as a minority language in the school community are in a different context, and advocates that literacy skill in the dominant language should be studied by children both formally and informally, while they learn and keep their L1 'written proficiency' (p.153). This has some parallels to the background of the Indonesian children in this present study, as their L1, Indonesian, is a minority language in Australia, and they are trying to acquire their L2, English, as the majority language used in school and the wider community.

In a recent review of research on first and second language and literacy development, Barrat-Pugh (2000) concludes that research to date suggests several considerations. Firstly, children's L1 use in early childhood education contributes to their second language development and their literacy comprehension. The second consideration is that learning L2 literacy is influenced by L1 literacy development, and both L2 and L1 literacies support each other. Next, children's language skills in learning their L2 are developed through code switching. Besides that, children can benefit and achieve a high level of metalinguistics awareness and capacity to critically explore texts for similarities and differences through the process of biliteracy development. Finally, children's L1 use can guide to a "strengthening of self-concept and confidence" (p.176). These findings from Barrat-Pugh's (2000) review provide invaluable support for the parameters being investigated in the present study such as the interaction of L1 and L2 in the school, home, and community contexts that biliteracy is an asset to be valued.

Since most research has been dealing with literacy development in monolingual and school settings, much is still to be understood about literacy development in more than one language in the intersecting contexts of school, home, and community. Hornberger (2002) promotes a continua of biliteracy model based on principles of

language ecology to consider the community and classroom challenges facing language policies in contexts of societal multilingualism and suggests that it is pivotal for the language users, educators, and planners to contribute to the "ideological and implementational space" (p. 30) that may currently be available to support bilingualism and biliteracy. In her work on the continua of biliteracy and the role of the bilingual educator, Hornberger (2004) advocates for the role of language educators as simultaneously being teachers, researchers, and language planners in her concluding remarks that they "need to have opportunities to reflect critically on the context and content of their teaching, and to uncover the communicative repertoires that students bring to school and that can serve as resources for their language and literacy development" (p.168).

In terms of the teachers' role in facilitating and supporting L1 of minority children in the classroom, de Jong & Harper (2005) argue that mainstream classroom teachers are influenced by their way of using English as a language of instruction for their students and do not realise how important their approach is within their classroom for the use of L1. This happens according to them because they may have a misleading understanding by seeing the use of L1 as a barrier in learning English, instead of considering how the use of L1 can support their students' academic learning. As a result, those teachers in this category may promote using only English in their classroom and encourage the students and their parents to use only English in their communication when this is actually detrimental potentially to their bilingual students' development.

Within his theoretical framework Cummins (1989) makes a key point that minority children and their communities can be disempowered educationally in interacting with societal institutions. Students from minority groups according to him "are empowered or disabled as a direct result of their interactions with educators in the schools" (p. 58). He argues further for the role of language educators to facilitate the interactions between schools and the wider contexts, such as home and community,

and to connect the school by involving the language and culture of minority groups in the school program, promoting community participation from minority groups as a part of the students' education, encouraging the students' enthusiasm to actively use language for their own skill and knowledge, and involving professionals to advocate the minority children's academic difficulties within the school context instead of "legitimising the location of the problem within students" (p.58).

In an attempt to classifying the teachers' role and their classroom practices dealing with minority children in the broader societal context, Cummins (1986, 1989, 2001) provides the following framework (see Figure 2.2) to identify the characteristics that empower children as literacy actors.

```
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                    SOCIETAL CONTEXT                               │
│                                                                   │
│                        ←————→                                     │
│  MAJORITY GROUP          │              MINORITY GROUP            │
│                          ↓                                        │
│                  Ambivalent insecure                              │
│                  Minority group identity                          │
│                                                                   │
│                    EDUCATIONAL CONTEXT                            │
│                                                                   │
│                 EDUCATOR ROLE DEFINITIONS                         │
│                                                                   │
│                        INTER              ANGLO-                  │
│                        CULTURAL           CONFORMITY              │
│                        ORIENTATION        ORIENTATION             │
│                                                                   │
│  CULTURAL/LINGUISTIC   Additive----------------------------Subtractive │
│  INCORPORATION                                                    │
│                                                                   │
│  COMMUNITY             Collaborative---------------------Exclusionary │
│  PARTICIPATION                                                    │
│                                                                   │
│  PEDAGOGY              Interactive/                               │
│                        experiential---------------------Transmission │
│                                                                   │
│  ASSESSMENT            Advocacy-              Legitimation         │
│                        oriented------------------------------oriented │
│                            │                      │               │
│                            ↓                      ↓               │
│                        EMPOWERED              DISABLED            │
│                        STUDENTS               STUDENTS           │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
```

Figure 2.2: Empowerment of Minority Students: A Framework for Intervention adapted from Cummins (1986, 1989, 2001)

Within the interventional framework Cummins (1989/2001) clarifies that in the societal level, the minority language group interacts with the majority group in the context of school, home, and community. The interactions in those contexts can be categorised from collaborative to subtractive in terms of cultural/linguistic

incorporation. From a community participation perspective, those interactions can be categorised from collaborative to exclusionary. From a pedagogic perspective, the categories range from interactive/experiential to transmission, while assessment deals with advocacy vs. legitimation. In respect to his framework, Cummins (1989) addresses to the issue of the empowerment of the minority students in relation to their development of language ability, self-confidence, as well as their spirit to their academic success. Since the Indonesian children in this study are considered to be a minority language group,, Cummins' framework provides invaluable information to categorise mainstream classroom teachers' supports toward biliteracy and bilingualism (see Chapter four for details), as well as being helpful in categorising the types of supports from the children's parent and community activists in biliteracy development and bilingualism as discussed further in Chapters five and six respectively.

With respect to the 'addictive-subtractive' dimension in Cummins' framework in relation to the empowerment of minority students' language and culture, Lambert (1980) clarifies that 'additive' is defined as the addition of a L2 and culture, which may lead to some change in the position of the L1 and culture. Whilst, according to Baker (2006, p. 74), 'subtractive' bilingualism occurs when the L2 and culture replaces the L1. In addition, Cummins (1989) contends that teachers can empower their minority students by seeing their role to learn a second language and culture as an additional student repertoire, thereby realising the well-recognised benefits from learning two or more languages in an educational setting through enhancing their metalinguistic development through additive bilingualism.

From a community participation perspective, Cummins (1986) argues that good interaction between school and the community will empower minority students. For example, when classroom teachers involve minority parents as partners in educational matters, parents tend to have self confidence, promoting positive academic performances. Baker (2006, p.344) confirms that parents as partners in biliteracy

development is important, including when local and family 'funds of knowledge' are utilised. Therefore, the role of the teachers can be identified along the collaborative to exclusionary dimension in relation to parents and the minority community.

In relation to pedagogy Cummins (1989) identifies two major orientations distinguishing the role of the educators in monitoring classroom interactions working together with their students. He argues that the essential feature of the transmission model is the function of the teachers in transferring their knowledge and skills on their students. This interaction according to him is continuously monitored and initiated by the teachers to achieve their instructional aims. In contrast, Cummins (1989) argues for the interactive/experiential model that emphasises the role of the teacher as a facilitator, a creator of peer interaction in the context of teaching and learning, including the interaction that focuses on language use and development in relation to all contents in the curriculum to achieve "higher level cognitive skills and intrinsic task orientation rather than extrinsic motivation" (p.64). With respect to assessment, Cummins (1989) promotes an "advocacy" orientation that challenges the traditional, normative and disabling functions of psychological and educational assessment.

In an attempt to link between bilingualism and translanguaging, the work of Edwards (1992) is relevant to discussing the term translanguaging. One of the questions he addresses as mentioned earlier is the issue of "degree and type of language transmission" (p.50) as a framework in researching the language change and development including literacy or biliteracy development and bilingualism. Sites for translanguaging can be settings that the children are operating in and in which they are being exposed to speech and text in potentially at least two languages, in this case English and Indonesian, and where the use of the two languages is such that each may be employed to promote understanding and language development in the other, for example, through processes such as retelling of a story read in one language in the other, discussion of meanings of words and phrases presented in one language and

their translation into the other language as mentioned in the earlier chapter (Chapter one). Clearly the opportunity for such activities is dependent on the teacher's approach in either transmission of knowledge and/or facilitation of learning. An important consideration in the present study is how and the extent to which such translanguaging occurs, including the children's involvement in interactional biliteracy and bilingualism practices in the three inter-related contexts, school, home, and community.

For the specific purposes of the present study, the framework provided by Cummins (1986, 1989, 2001) in Figure 2.2 is an invaluable tool to examine the attitudes and approaches of the teachers in supporting biliteracy development and bilingualism of minority children in their classroom literacy practices. Since the present study does not only focus on the educational/classroom context, but also considers the home and community contexts of biliteracy, therefore, the framework will be drawn on in examining the attitudes and approaches of the minority children's parents at home as well as attitudes and approaches of community members at the community centre in supporting language minority children's biliteracy development and bilingualism.

Biliteracy Development

The continua of biliteracy concept defines biliteracy as "any and all instances in which communication occurs in two (or more) languages in or around written material" (Hornberger, 1990: 213). This model is described in relation to the intersecting continua of biliteracy such as the contexts, media, content, and development of biliteracy (Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000; Hornberger, 1989a). Hornberger (2002) continues to promote biliteracy as "a comprehensive, ecological model and as a way to situate research, teaching, and language planning in multilingual settings" (p.36).

There has been recently a growing amount of research concentrating on the development of literacy skills in L1 regarding the cognitive and linguistic underpinning of successful reading and spelling acquisition. (Lapkin & Swain, 1991a; Krashen, 2002; Martin, 2003; Cummins, 2000b). Not much is known, however, of the extent to which these findings apply in L2, and whether the identical literacy skills in L1 and L2 are predicted by the same predictors. For example, Geva & Wade-Woolley (1998, p. 88) conducted a longitudinal study on biliteracy development in various sociocultural settings. Their study concentrated on the longitudinal development of children's L1 and L2 literacy in relation to word recognition, spelling, and reading fluency. They found that "the positive and significant correlations among parallel L1 and L2 reading and spelling measures provide evidence for common underlying cognitive and linguistic mechanism" (p.105). They then advocate for the importance of role-playing to develop oral proficiency and better practising of underlying linguistic knowledge afforded in the L1 as children get syntactic and semantic benefits from reading a text faster in their L1 than in their L2. These different contexts provide a variety of testing grounds for the investigation of universal and population-specific processes in the acquisition of biliteracy.

In relation to emergent literacy, there are a number of cultural differences in literacy practices. Literacy in every society carries a power status for the individual. Datta (2000) reveals that how literacy is valued can be different from one culture to the others. He gives an example in the case of Hindi-speaking parents in Britain who reinforce with their children the importance of learning to read and write by using the metaphor "If you don't learn to write and read, you'll live the life of a donkey" (p.14). According to him some Hindi-speaking parents expect their children to be literate both in Hindi and English, and they support their children's biliterate activities outside school such as home and community, however, other parents may accept their children to be only literate in English. Yet Baker (1996) points out that literacy plays an important role for children to be progressive and powerful. In addition, Datta (2000) argues for the importance for children culturally to "learn to make sense of life

and the environment around them through shared cultural activities" (p.16), and highlights how critical community and family resources, such as language schools and religious venues in the home, are for supporting minority language literacy development.

In an attempt to link between multilingual language policy and the continua of biliteracy, Hornberger (2003, p. 318) argues that "multilingual language policies are essentially about opening up ideological and implementational space in the environment for as many languages as possible" (p.318), and proposes an ecological approach for the continua of biliteracy in multilingual language policy that can be used by language educators, users, and planners to provide the ideological and implementational spaces in the environment such as school, home, and community. In school and community contexts, Hornberger (2003) argues that these continua of biliteracy model can challenge the literacy practices in the community and school classrooms. As, for example, she gives evidence of those challenges in South Africa and Bolivia within the school and community contexts. In the community context according to her, the challenge is to deal with the community mind-set that children's best learning comes firstly from their own languages, while in the classroom context the challenge comes from the students' involvement in the interactions around the provided materials which they are not interested in. To address these challenges, Hornberger (2003) has provided the continua of biliteracy model covering "media and content of biliteracy, and the former to biliteracy development and contexts" (p.323) as will be discussed in the next section.

Hornberger (2004) offers a framework for the continua of biliteracy model that can be used by researchers, teachers, and language planners in linguistically diverse settings as follows:

```
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                      Context of biliteracy                            │
│                                                                       │
│        Micro      ←─────────────────────→      macro                  │
│        Oral       ←─────────────────────→      literate               │
│   bi(multi)lingual ←────────────────────→      monolingual            │
│                                                                       │
│                                                                       │
│                    Development of biliteracy                          │
│        Reception  ←─────────────────────→      production             │
│          Oral     ←─────────────────────→      written                │
│          L1       ←─────────────────────→      L2                     │
│                      Content of biliteracy                            │
│        Minority   ←─────────────────────→      majority               │
│       Vernacular  ←─────────────────────→      literacy               │
│     Contextualised ←────────────────────→      decontextualised       │
│                      Media of biliteracy                              │
│  Simultaneous exposure ←────────────────→      successive exposure    │
│   Dissimilar structures ←───────────────→      similar structures     │
│     Divergent scripts  ←────────────────→      convergent script      │
│                                                                       │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
```
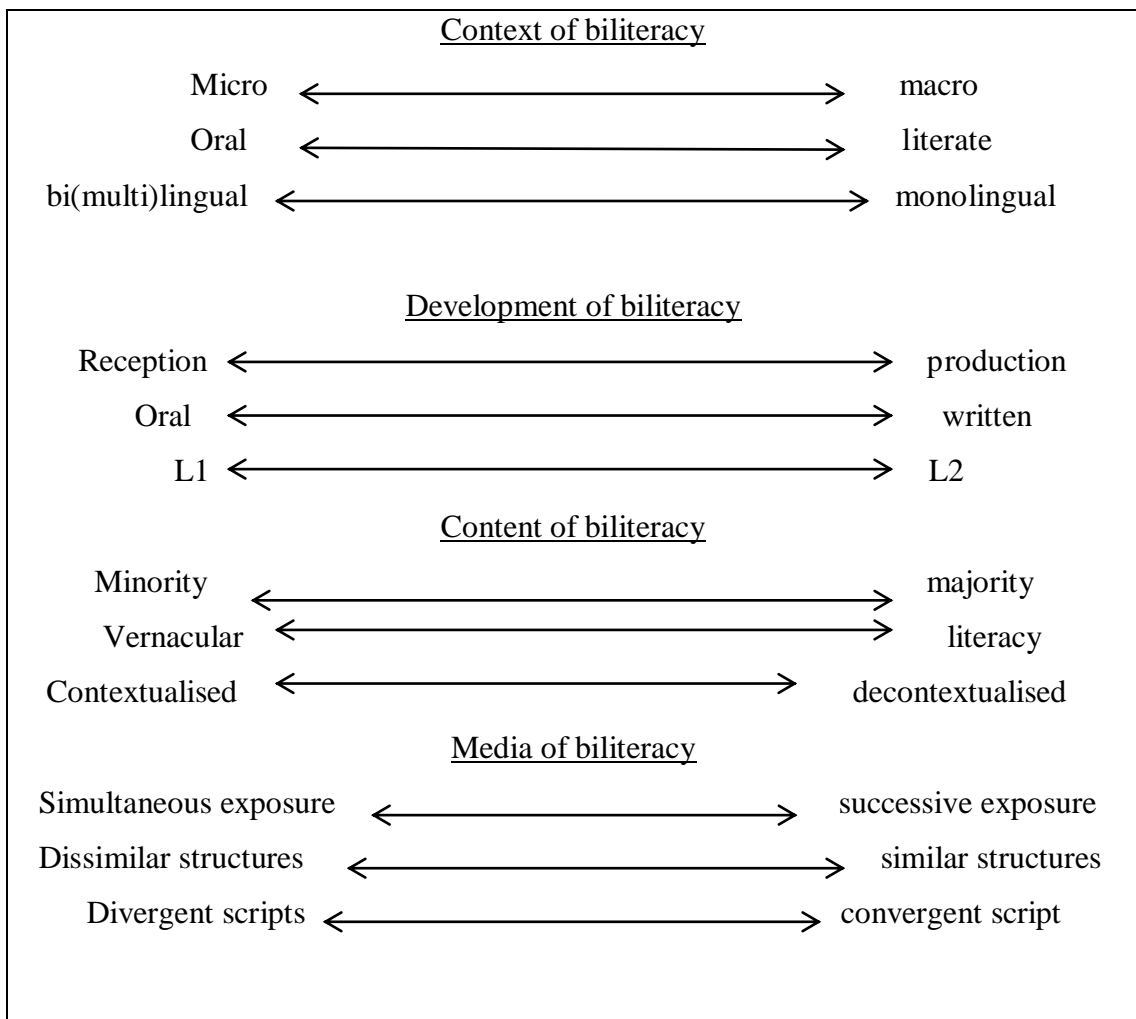
Figure 2.3: The continua of biliteracy adapted from Hornberger (1989, 1990, 2000, 2002, 2003 & 2004)

Most of the framework of the continua model of literacy proposed by Hornberger (1989, 1990, 2002, 2003 & 2004) is clearly illustrated in the notion that every continuum is connecting and intersecting with the others and the interrelationships of all points within the continua are also interconnected. Horberger's (1989) model is underpinned by the insight that:

> "the more their learning contexts and contexts of use allow learners and users to draw from across the whole of each and every continuum, the greater are the chances for their full biliterate development and expression" (p. 289).

The proposal of the dimensions incorporated in Honrberger's continua of biliteracy developed from her work on bilingual education and biliteracy development among Quechua speakers in Peru growing up with Quechua and Spanish (Hornberger, 1988; Hornberger, 1994). She initially proposed 3 intersecting continua (covering contexts, development and media of biliteracy) to account for the range of dimensions and complex interacting factors that contribute to producing different biliteracy outcomes (Hornberger, 1989). In this initial paper Hornberger argues that:

> " the interrelatedness of the continua allows us to see why there is potential for positive transfer across languages and literacies, whereas the nested nature of the continua allow us to see that there are a myriad of contextual factors that may abet or impede such transfer" (1989, pp. 88-9).

She illustrates this with the cases of three children concludes that the chances of becoming fully biliterate depend on the degree to which their learning contexts "draw on *all* points of the continua" (1989, p.89).

Following Hornberger's model research over more than a decade, much undertaken by Hornberger's postgraduate students, has explored its relevance in a range of linguistically diverse settings, both urban and rural (see for eg. Skilton-Sylvester, 1997). This has led to evolution of the continua model (Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester, 2000) to add an extra set of nested continua associated with the content of biliteracy and addressing a perceived deficiency in the previous version of the model in that it failed to adequately take into account the power dimensions of biliteracy, which Cummins' work and framework has particularly highlighted, as well as accounting better for the sociocultural dimensions of bilingual and biliterate learners' identities and sense of agency and investment in the language development process (see for example, Norton, 2000).

This present study adopts the underlying philosophy of an ecology of language approach as promoted by Hornberger (1989, 2000, 2002, 2003 & 2004) and her continua of biliteracy model to describe and explore the individual's progressively

expanding knowledge of reading and writing, understanding the role of literacy practice in classroom, home and community as well as other mediating factors in a successful biliteracy development. The research will consider and document the growing ability of individual Indonesian children to read and write accurately in order to engage with written texts and communicate effectively in written Indonesian and English evolving from the context, development, content, and media of biliteracy.

In Summary

This chapter has provided a review of literature addressing the key concepts and debates that frame and provide a starting point for the investigation. It commenced with examining the metaphor of language ecology as an approach to researching biliteracy development of minority children, following up with detailed discussion of some of the most influential approaches that have been adopted in the study of literacy, particularly, in relation to literacy practices in the classroom, home and community. This chapter has been intended to provide only an initial framing of the investigation and the debates and questions that it is interrogating. Once the research methodology has been outlined in detail (Chapter 3), the thematic chapters exploring the findings of the ethnographic research in the contexts of school (Chapter 4), home (Chapter 5) and community (Chapter 6), and then considering individual differences amongst the children in their development (Chapters 7 and 8) will each be initiated with a discussion of concepts and related research about literacy and biliteracy development in that context.

Chapter Three

Researching Biliteracy Development and Bilingualism in Australian Social Contexts

"Whose Dad are you?"

In this chapter I will introduce the major theoretical and methodological considerations that have shaped this research. First of all, a discussion is offered about the particular claims for a longitudinal ethnographic study of five children's biliteracy development and bilingualism in their classrooms and beyond over one year. This study involved ethnography which investigated the experiences and practices of the children, their four families, eight classroom teachers and six Indonesian community members/tutors. It is argued that this study is naturalistic in that no attempt was made to create an experimental situation, and normal activities in the children's school, home and community life were the focus of attention. Issues to do with validity and reliability in naturalistic research will be examined.

"Whose Dad are you?", was one of the questions to me from Fasya's friend, James, an Australian child in the group when I was approaching the focal children in the first week of classroom observation at school. Then he continued to ask, "Are you Fasya's Dad?". Fasya directly responded to his friend, "No…, he is my Dad's friend". This is the beginning of Fasya being unhappy when approaching him in the classroom for the data collection. Responding to this situation, I changed my tactics for my classroom observation by approaching James (pseudonym) and we sat together close to Fasya whilst doing the classroom literacy activities such as the reading aloud of a big book, or discussing how to spell simple words like: shoes, book, pencil, pen, paper etc. James was happy when I was in the classroom since he had a friend to work with and ask for assistance in his literacy learning. Spontaneously, when Fasya saw me helping James in his literacy learning, he came and asked me, "Could you help me how to spell this word?" (Field notes, 15/7/2003). This was the beginning of the meaningful classroom data collection as moved from being a stranger in the classroom to being a

friend of the children and the classroom teacher, working together with them in all the literacy activities in the classroom. The processes used to collect data in the contexts of school, home, and community using an ethnographic approach are discussed in the rest of this chapter.

Developing a Longitudinal Ethnographic Study to Biliteracy Development

Research into literacy development employing a longitudinal study design has been the focus of many literacy researchers (see Heath, 1982 & 1983; Florio-Ruane, 2002; Erickson, 1996; Bauman & Sherzer, 1974; Gee, 1989; Barton, 1994). The value of longitudinal study is that it provides a capacity to examine the process of literacy development as it occurs over time. In particular, ethnography is a valuable approach to undertaking longitudinal naturalistic study of the literacy development process. Heath (1982, p.33), one of the pioneers of ethnographic longitudinal research about literacy and language socialisation, instructs educational researchers that an understanding of ethnography "depends on linking it to its traditional disciplinary base in anthropology and its role in the anthropologist's study of human behaviour in cross cultural perspective". Heath's comment underscores the disciplinary roots of ethnography in studies of culture and the value of comparison and contrast across cultures as part of such study.

Whilst its roots lie in anthropology and sociology, the value of ethnography has been realised across a wider range of disciplines, including in education, where the recognition of the existence of groups with their own cultures, such as those of a school and families associated with the school, has led to exploration using ethnographic techniques to provide new and contextualised insights into aspects of human behaviour in relation to child development and classroom learning. The acceptance of ethnography in educational research has most recently been recognised through the launch of a dedicated journal in 2006, *Ethnography and Education*.

In the field of language and literacy learning Heath's (1983) pioneering study of language and literacy learning socialisation practices in 3 distinctive communities within the Piedmont region of the Carolinas, *Ways with Words*, highlighted how ethnography can provide insights and understandings about language socialisation that had not been uncovered with other research approaches used in educational research at that time. As Heath explains the purpose of her ethnographic study:

> what this book does do is record the natural flow of community and classroom life over nearly a decade. The descriptions here [are] of the natural processes, activities, and attitudes involved in the enculturation of children. (Heath, 1983 as quoted in Heath, 1992, p. 52).

Since the 1980s, ethnography has come to be a well-accepted approach to researching language and literacy practices and usage, including in research about communities, bilingualism and language maintenance and transmission (see for eg. Hornberger, 1989, 1990, 2003; Kenner 2000; Martin-Jones, 2000).

Purcell-Gates (2004) has highlighted the particular value of ethnography in literacy research in that it views literacy as cultural practice since

> "ethnography is grounded in theories of culture and allows researchers to view literacy development, instruction, learning and practice as it occurs naturally in sociocultural contexts" (2004, p. 92).

Taking a similar position, Florio-Ruane and McVee (2002, p.80) trace how ethnographic approaches have been able to provide new ways of thinking and understanding about literacy "as observable practices" which have developed and are applied within communities and which simultaneously reflect and constitute the social and cultural identities of the participants. Hess (1998 as quoted in Florio-Ruane and McVee, p. 80) sees ethnographic approaches in literacy development and learning as being characterised by cross-cultural comparison "focussing primarily on differential treatment and access to knowledge within schools of a society characterised by diversity in race, language, ethnicity and social class"

Ethnography is grounded in particular philosophical tenets, but also is associated with some specific field data collection methodologies. Hammersley (1990) distinguishes ethnography as a methodology from ethnography as a philosophical tenet. Others, such as Green, Dixon and Zaharlick (2004), suggest that ethnography constitutes a 'logic of enquiry' in which its philosophical basis and methodology are inextricably linked. They argue that ethnography has as its foundation a set of three underlying tenets "ethnography as the study of cultural practices; as entailing a contrastive perspective; and as entailing a holistic perspective (p. 155) and argue that fundamentally "ethnographers seek understandings of the cultural patterns and practices of everyday life of the group under study from an emic or insider's perspective" (p.155-6).

Florio-Ruane and McVee (2002) distinguish 'new' ethnographies from those that epitomise a more traditional anthropological orientation. These 'new' ethnographies recognise that culture is not static and that as Clifford has highlighted "people and things are increasingly out of place" (Clifford, 1988, p. 6). Particularly relevant in the context of this study into bilingualism and biliteracy development in a multicultural and multilingual, but English dominant context, is Homi Bhabha's (1994, pp. 1-2) reflection that the focus of cultural inquiry has shifted to "in between spaces" where the self is elaborated as people engage with one another.

There is currently some debate about the range of research that claims to be ethnographic, with some arguing that research cannot be claimed to be ethnographic when the methodology does not rigorously adopt ethnographic methods. For example, Florio-Ruane and McVee (2002) have argued that many educational researchers, including some in the field of literacy and language, have applied ethnographic methods without adhering to its theoretical basis and roots in cultural anthropology and without adhering to its methods in a rigorous and sustained way. They argue that observational research only qualifies as ethnographic if it leads to the development of a narrative record that brings together data from the range of data

collection methods and sources and is based on sustained engagement and study of behaviour and practices in context.

There are certain common principles that specialists in ethnography see as being key components of an ethnographic methodology. First, the ethnographic researcher works closely in the research context and operates over an extended period as "a participant observer in the community of study" (Purcell-Gates, 2004, p. 101). A first step in this process is the careful negotiation of entry into the community to gain their agreement and acceptance through the development of trust and rapport. Multiple data sources are collected in the community of study ranging from researcher fieldnotes with detailed observations and comments, video and/or audiotapings, interviews with participants, photos, artefacts produced in the context (such as literacy materials produced by and/or used by children and their teachers, parents and other community members) and other supporting material, such as official documents (eg. policies, procedures, newsletters). Schensul, Schensul and LeCompte (1999) emphasise that the data collected through these methods can be both qualitative and quantitative, but the analysis of the material is always driven by the desire to achieve qualitative understandings through ethnographic interpretation.

This study employed a longitudinal ethnographic study in order to monitor biliteracy development and bilingualism, particularly the involvement of each individual in literacy practices in the school, home and community contexts. In practice, this means that the researcher is committed to: (1) the importance of extended and intensive observation and interviews; (2) respect for teachers' and students', parents' and community members' standpoints and perspectives; (3) the need to understand institutional locations; and (4) the need to consider the local in the context of the national and global.
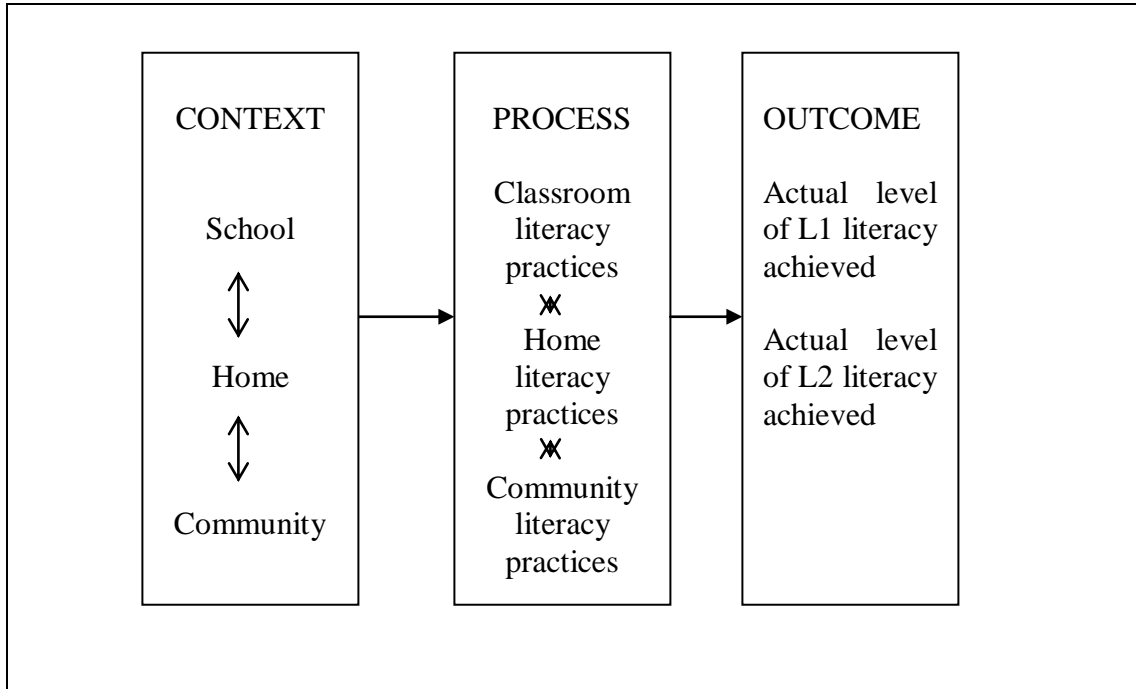
In addition, this study will also utilise the concept of literacy practice, which at the moment is the most robust of the various concepts that literacy researchers have been

developing. This concept does not only attempt to handle the events and the patterns of activity around literacy, but to link them to broader cultural and social contexts (Street, 2000:p. 21). As such, they are appropriately studied ethnographically (Florio-Ruane & McVee, 2002: p. 84). This study, therefore, will use the 'ecology of literacy' metaphor as part of the analytic framework to describe the practices and achievements of the children's biliteracy development in relation to the social, educational and family systems. In other words, the study will focus on context, process, and outcome as well as the interrelationship between these. Context refers to the school, social and familial contexts framing the children's learning. Process refers to the dynamics of learning and acquisition for each of the children. Outcome refers to the actual levels of L1 and L2 literacy achieved. Thus, the research explores in depth the interaction of process in context to produce outcomes (Figure 3.1).

Participants and Setting

This longitudinal investigation takes place in Australian social contexts and includes following the development of children over a one year period of schooling, in their Australian English medium primary school and associated home and community contexts. Five Indonesian background children (three boys and two girls from four families) who were studying in Australian primary school are the participants in this study as well as their parents, classroom teachers and some community members.

Figure 3.1: Interaction of Process in Context to Produce Outcome

The five children were chosen as participants because they are all from Indonesian background families and thus share aspects of their social and cultural context. At the same time they differ in their prior exposure to monolingual literacy as well as other individual differences (which will be discussed further in Chapter 7). Their grade level ranged from Prep/1 to 5/6 (Figure 3.2 below). All children had regular exposure to Indonesian at home. Some families expected to return to Indonesia to live and all parents were supportive of their children being bilingual.

To explore the literacy practices and approaches in school classroom, home and community, eight classroom teachers as well as the principal of the school, who also functioned as a literacy coordinator, the children's four families, and 6 executive community members became the main participants of this study as they interacted with the children on a regular basis.

Figure. 3.2. Individual Backgrounds of the Children and Their Families.

Pseudonym	Age	Gender	Parents	Prior living in Australia (years)	Number of siblings	Linguistic background
Nanda	5,2	F	Arini Arman	1	1	Indonesian
Fasya	5,1	M	Nurmin Suroto	0.2	2	Indonesian
Haris	8,1	M	Warda Emil	1	2	Indonesian
Wendy	8,3	F	Andriani Angore	2	1	Indonesian
Lukman	10.4	M	Nurmin Suroto	0.2	1	Indonesian

The teachers who participated in the research had teaching experience for the length of one to 12 years. Their ages ranged from 27 to 47 years old. The background of the participating teachers is shown in Figure 3.3 below (see also Chapter 4 for detail).

Figure 3.3. Teachers' Personal Data

Teacher's Name (pseudonym)	Age	Grade Level	Gender	Language Backgrounds	Prior teaching experience (years)
Lily	27	Prep	F	ESB	4
Chameli	36	Grade 2	F	NESB	7
Amanda	28	Grade 3	F	ESB	5
Hillary	47	Grade 4	F	ESB	12
Robinson	46	Grade 4	M	ESB	17
Ann	31	Grade 4	F	ESB	1
Rosemary	27	Grade 5	F	ESB	5
Lawrence	24	Grade 6	M	ESB	2

(ESB: English Speaking Background; NESB: Non-English Speaking Background,
F= Female , M = Male).

The other six main participants in this study are the community activists who ran
activities regularly in the Indonesian Moslem Community centre that the children
regularly attended (refer to Table 3.4).

Table 3.4: Community Activists' Personal Data

Pseudonym	Age	Gender	Educational Level	Number of years staying in Australia	Residential Status	Roles
Harmoko	45	M	Ph.D	7	PR	Office Bearer in MCO
Emil	39	M	BA	6	PR	Office Bearer in MCO
Mukhlis	47	M	Ph.D	12	PR	Office Bearer in MCO/Former Office Bearer in IIS
Parwoko	38	M	MA	3	TR	Community literacy Instructor
Mulyani	40	F	Year 12	11	PR	Female group leader/Instructor
Elvira	41	M	BA	8	PR	Community Literacy Instructor

(M = Male, F = Female, PR = Permanent Resident, TR = Temporary resident)

Gathering Data

There were several techniques adopted in data collection including extended and intensive school, home, and community observation, informal interviews, videoing, audiotaping, and the collection of a literacy portfolio for each child as a way to document on-going literacy development of Indonesian and English at school, home and in community contexts. The literacy portfolio material was all dated so that when the material was produced and incorporated into the portfolio could always be tracked and reported. Some samples of materials drawn from the literacy portfolios is provided in Appendix 2.

Table 3.5: Techniques of Data Collection

Data collection tool	School	Home	Community
Observation	Yes	Yes	Yes
Fieldnotes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Interview	Yes	Yes	Yes
Reflective Journal	Yes	Yes	Yes
Videotaping	Ltd	Yes	Yes
Photograph	Yes	Yes	Yes
Portfolios	Yes	Yes	Yes

Notes: Ltd = Limited   Yes = Available

Observation

A number of experts believe that participant observation is the most appropriate means of basic data collection in ethnography in order to interact closely with participants (see Burns 1990; Glesne & Peshkin 1992). This position of participant observer, as Purcell Gates (2004) suggested, provides more appropriate way to collect information naturally in a classroom context. Glesne & Peshkin (1992, p. 45) further argue that the role of the participant observer enables the conscious observing of the research setting, its participant, the act, the event, and gestures that occur within them. I take the position in the current study of being a participant observer in the children's classroom, home, and community literacy practices. In this case, I spent the equivalent of approximately two hours per week per child for over one year observing and documenting literacy-oriented practices. This would include observation of the children and their interaction in literacy practices with their teacher

and other children in the classroom, and assistance of the classroom teacher in making available literacy-related materials produced by the child for the literacy portfolio and to crosscheck the researcher's data obtained in the classroom observation. In addition, I conducted observation in the home context. This observation aimed to document biliteracy and bilingual practices at home. This included the interaction between children and parents, the interaction between children and their siblings, in using biliteracy and bilingualism. I also took note of the children's attitude to literacy learning both in Indonesian and English, developing reflections about what it all means and what influences or pressure are shaping the process. The four families were the focus of the observation in relation to their home literacy practices, both in L1 and L2 literacies (see Table 5.3 above).

The final set of observations I conducted was in the Indonesian community centre. This aimed to record the children's interactions with the wider Indonesian community in Melbourne. It was also important to investigate how such community interactions shape and influence children's biliteracy development. This observation mainly focused on the literacy practices of the children as they normally gathered every weekend usually on both Saturday and Sunday for what the community members called 'Weekend School'. Most of the literacy practices observed related to the religious activities in the centre where children were exposed to L1 and L2 literacy interaction in the process transmitting religious teaching and values (see Chapter 6 for detail).

Field Notes

I took descriptive and analytic notes during the research. These fieldnotes aimed to describe the settings and the activities of participants during the fieldwork, and to give comments and ideas about what was happening (Glesne & Peshkin 1992). Fieldnotes described 'as accurately as possible and as comprehensively as possible all relevant aspects of the situation observed, include both what was actually observed

and the observer's reaction or comment" (Gay 1996, p. 225). In addition, fieldnotes "offer subtle and complex understandings of these other lives, routines, and meanings (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw1995, p. 13). The fieldnotes content included for example:

> Fasya is doing a wonderful job today commented his teacher at the end of literacy learning session (Fieldnotes, 14/7/2003).

Based on the above note, I examine my analytic comments in considering what made the teacher evaluate Fasya's literacy this way and how the activities in the classroom assisted Fasya in developing his literacy ability.

Interview

Before conducting an interview, I considered several important things about the interview, as suggested by Glesne & Peshkin (1992, p. 73), that it needs to be "convenient for both participants and researcher, the appropriateness which means both researcher and respondents feel like talking, and the availability, which refers how long the respondents agreed to be interviewed". I undertook three types of interviews: interviews with teachers, interviews with parents and their children, and interviews with community activists.

The interviews with teachers aimed to gain teachers' perspective and attitude towards biliteracy development in school. This interview was also intended to identify teachers' activities and approaches in developing (bi)literacy in the school context. The interviews with parents aimed to get an understanding of parents' attitudes to supporting biliteracy development at home. The last group of interviews, with community activists, were intended to get the activists' ideas and activities in the community and their perspectives on how these assisted the children's biliteracy development. The teachers' interview was carried out at the end of the classroom literacy learning and sometimes it was conducted as well in lunch times where the teachers felt more comfortable to response to the requested questions addressing their

biliteracy and bilingualism practices in their classroom. In the home context, parents were interviewed during the visits on Saturday at the home literacy activities usually taken place in the guest room and dining room and sometimes in the background where the parents were enthusiastic to discuss about their support to their children's biliteracy development and bilingualism. At the same time, the parents whose role as the member of the community activists as well as other members were also interviewed in relation to their support to provide community biliteracy activities which was usually taken place in the community centre on Sunday.

Reflective Journal

A reflective journal is commonly used by ethnographic researchers (Newman 1997). I used a reflective journal to reflect to what I had seen, felt and experienced during the fieldwork. I also commented on every setting I observed through fieldwork. I made reflections in every setting that I was exposed to in observing literacy practices in the three intersecting contexts of school classrooms, homes, and the community setting.

Photograph and Videotaping

Photography and videotaping techniques are used to enhance observation and they can be employed in a variety of ways (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992, p. 51). As suggested by Glesne & Peshkin, I used photography and videotaping to record a number of literacy activities and events at school, home, and in the community. This visual records primarily aimed to provide further insight into how the children developed their literacy abilities at home and in the community. These videos provided a clear picture of children's attitudes and behaviour toward biliteracy development. For example, I recorded the COTE (Culture Other Than English) activities at school in order to have detailed record of how the children used L1 at a literacy exhibition. This video recording was conducted carefully by asking permission from the

classroom teacher, the Indonesian parents and their children as the target participants in this study, and by relaying only the show of the Indonesian children at the COTE celebration which was taken place outside of the school classroom.

Data Analysis

The data analysis took place in phases as data were collected. Phase 1 involved the analysis of the role of the mainstream teachers in supporting children's biliteracy development in school context. The second phase refers to the analysis of the differences in the way parents perceive biliteracy and bilingualism in the home context. The third phase entailed the analysis of the role of the community centre in supporting children's biliteracy development and bilingualism. The last phase was to analyse the evidence of individual differences among the Indonesian bilingual children in biliteracy development exploring their biliteracy performances in their classrooms, homes and community.

Michael Patton (1987 in LeCompte and Schensul 1999) explained that the ethnographic analysis does three things: "(1) It brings order to piles of data an ethnographer has accumulated; (2) It turns the big piles of raw data into smaller piles of crunched or summarized data; and (3) It permits the ethnographer to discover patterns and themes in the data and to link them with other patterns and theme" (p. 3). LeCompte and Schensul (1999) see this as being a "critical step leading to the end of the product-interpretations and implications for more research, intervention, or action" (p. 3) even though not being the final step in the research.

Research Issues

This study raises the issue of how literacy in one language impacts on the process and experience of acquiring literacy in a second language within an ecological approach to language development. In the school context, it particularly explores how

mainstream classroom teachers perceive biliteracy and bilingualism and how these translate into their classroom practices; and to what extent the approaches they adopt in relation to the children's bilingualism and emerging literacy impact on their biliteracy development and bilingualism in a public primary school in which English is the only official medium of instruction. How does the teacher's level of knowledge about, interest in and approach to supporting bilingualism and biliteracy impact on the child's biliteracy development and bilingualism? In the home context, the study explores the way parents perceive biliteracy and bilingualism and how these translate into their home practices; and to what extent the approaches they adopt in relation to the children's bilingualism and emerging literacy impact on their children's biliteracy development and bilingualism as well as how the children respond to their home literacy practices. How do the parents' level of knowledge about, interest in and approach to supporting bilingualism and biliteracy impact on the child's biliteracy development and bilingualism as well as their children's attitude toward the use of L1 and L2 at home. In the community context, the study explores the way community members perceive biliteracy and bilingualism and how these translate into their community practices; and to what extent the approaches they adopt in relation to the children's bilingualism and emerging literacy impact on children's biliteracy development and bilingualism. How do the community members' level of knowledge about, interest in and approach to supporting bilingualism and biliteracy impact on the children's biliteracy development and bilingualism? And how do children respond to their community literacy activities. The final focus in this study is to explore how the Indonesian children perform biliteracy and bilingualism in their classroom, home and community; and to what extent the biliteracy performances they demonstrate at school, home and community in relation to their bilingualism and emerging literacy impact on their biliteracy development and bilingualism in Australian social contexts in which English is both the only official medium of instruction at school, and the more dominant language in the broader society. How does the child's level of biliteracy development and bilingualism, after experiencing the literacy practices in

the context of school, home, and community contribute to their individual differences in biliteracy development and bilingualism?

The main goal of scrutinising these questions is to provide a rich description of the children's bilingualism and biliteracy and to come to some conclusions about the value of ecologically informed frameworks, such as those of Hornberger and Cummins, to account for the children's experiences and differences.

Method of Analysis

In describing the method of analysis for this research, I have borrowed the term used by Spradley (cited in LeCompte and Schensul 1999, pp.70-71) of "*domain analysis*" which describes the components of the world in which participants live and the participants' perceptions and understanding how each domain impacts on the children. Baker (2006, p.5) also uses domain/context analysis to describe individual use of bilingualism. For the purpose of this study, I classified the domain categories as school, home, and community. In each domain, based on my ethnography, I was able to categorise the participants in relation to their practices and childrearing and language ideologies, as per the summary table below.

Table 3.6: Classification of Domain Categories of the Participants

Domains	Participants	Categories
Schools	Teachers	English Literacy Oriented (ELO)
		Transitionally supportive of biliteracy and bilingualism (TSBB)
		Strongly supportive of biliteracy/bilingualism (SSBB)
Home	Parents	Parent Directed Family (PDF)
		Child Focused Family (CFF)
Community	Community activists	Centre a site for translanguaging (CST)
		Centre for religious transmission (CRT)

Initially, I intended to use the analytical tools of systemic functional linguistics, developed largely by Halliday and Hasan (1976 and 1985), Halliday (1985a and 1985b) and Martin (1992) to analyse the children's literacy product in each domains. However, as the research developed, my aim changed to showing the development of biliteracy by looking at the processes of the literacy as well as the outcomes in the focal children's L1and L2 literacy achievement. This meant that it seemed more useful to focus on the most obvious area of development, their vocabulary in their L2 writing products through each term of the year. Taylor's (2000) framework for researching literacy development, introduced in Chapter 2, emphasises the importance of documenting children's involvement in different language skills (speaking, listening, reading, and writing), as well as highlighting language components, such as vocabulary, as an essential supporting element for children's literacy development. This formed the basis of the decision to focus primarily on vocabulary development for in-depth investigation of literacy development in each language.

The output of L2 literacy therefore was analysed using an internet assisted analysis tool, *Compleat Lexical Tutor Analysis Tool* (can be accessed: www.lextutor.ca or http://132.208.224.131/), developed by Cobb (2004). This type of analysis has been used by Cobb (2006) in analysing and teaching vocabulary. Cobb (2004) classifies vocabulary into three categories: the *most common or simple words* (defined as words used in everyday life such as go, make, buy, (*K1)), academic words* (referring to words used in academic settings such as analyse, evaluate, interpret, (K2), and *technical or unfamiliar* words (such as fiction terms or name of unfamiliar things (K3). By using this analytical tool I could see clearly and quantitatively the development of the children's L2 vocabulary across the period of the research (four terms across a full year's schooling). Their L1 literacy products were also analysed by considering the vocabulary the children produced, but in a more conventional way by finding out the number of tokens used in each term manually.

Issues of Reliability and Validity

Reliability refers to two assumptions. The first is that the research can be replicated. The second assumption is that in the study, "two or more people can have similar interpretations by using these categories and procedures" (Burns 1990, p. 245). Ethnographic research cannot be repeated because it "occurs in a natural setting and is undertaken to record the process of change" (ibid.), and as Burns has highlighted it is very difficult for an ethnographer "to replicate the findings of another because the flow of information is dependent on the social role held within the group studied and the knowledge deemed appropriate for incumbents of that role to possess" (Burns, 1990, p. 246). Given the nature of ethnography, the research does not address the issue of reliability, but validity is paramount. I ensured the validity of this study by using multiple methods of data collection. The multiple sources of data enhance the richness of the findings. The capacity to use multiple sources for triangulation of data

ensures the capacity to improve the internal validity of the research in accord with the recommendation of Burns.

Ethical Implications of Researching Biliteracy Development

According to Sieber (1993):

> Ethics has to do with application of a system of moral principles to prevent harming or wronging others, to promote the good, to be respected and to be fair (p.14).

Ethical issues are concerned with the principles and values that always govern research involving humans including children who have to understand their research rights and voluntary participation, as well as their autonomy to decide whether they want to continue or stop participating in the research involvement (Hurley & Underwood, 2002).

This research involved children as respondents of the study. This meant that considerable attention was required in planning and gaining approval for the research to ensure it avoided exploiting the children. In the process of applying the ethics, I had to apply for ethics approval from both the Department of Education and Training and Victoria University. Work with children was seen as a sensitive issue that needed to be addressed appropriately. In all, it took about six months to get the approval from the University Ethics Committee and the Victorian Department of Education and Training. Once these formal approvals were granted I also needed to gain approval from the School Principal as well as the participants.

In ensuring ethical issues relating to the informants and negotiating permission from the authorities, I approached this formally by sending letters to the participants, school principal and the teachers. For the children, I sent formal letters to their parents, and then their parents would approach their children to invite them to participate voluntarily in the research. Gaining the formal approval and informed

consent of all participants required a significant amount of ground work beforehand to build rapport and support at the interpersonal level. This process is discussed in detail below.

The research involved children which then required different treatment from those of adult participants. I followed the Guidelines of The Human Research Ethics Handbook (2002) on how to approach children. One of the implications was that "activities unique to children may impose additional risks. For example, researching involving a school or classroom population may carry a risk of invasion of privacy for research participants". I addressed this by approaching the children and establishing rapport so that I was seen as someone who acted as their friend in the classroom, home and community. In addition, I provided clear choices for the children: 'Agree to participate' and 'Do not agree to participate in this study' or 'Do not want to continue participation in this study'. The study was commenced in Term 3 of one school calendar year with seven Indonesian children participating at that stage. However, two of them decided they did not want to continue their participation of the following term, so only five children actively participated in the study through to the conclusion of the data collection (4 terms). Initially, some of the Indonesian children were reluctant to participate when their parents asked for their agreement to participate as one of Fasya's parents said:

| Rupanya anak-anak belum mengerti apa itu penelitian. Jadi mereka belum setuju untuk ikut berpartisifasi dalam penelitian ini (Interview, 5/6/2003). | It seems the children do not understand what research means. So they do not agree yet to participate in this study (translation). |

Knowing that the children were not convinced that they wanted to participate, I visited their homes bringing my two sons and daughter to play together with them in their homes. As in the Indonesian custom, we mostly chatted about the current news in Indonesia until we, the parents and I, had the opportunity to talk to the children

about the research. Since those children had already known me personally, then the parents tried again to explain about my research and I clearly explained what was involved in the school, home, and community in relation to my study clarifying my intention with statements such as "I would come to your classroom in the school to look at what you are doing in your literacy activities. I would also visit you at home to have a look at your home activities like reading books, writing stories, picture drawing etc." All the children that I approached agreed to voluntarily participate in this study. Culturally speaking, when I was in their home asking for their participation, they may not have felt they could say no. However, I ensured that they had this opportunity as I allowed the parents and their children to decide themselves in my absence by discussing the potential risks for all of them before signing the consent form.

Another consent issue related to the participation of the classroom teachers. In the first term of the research, all classroom teachers agreed to participate and committed to providing any relevant documents such as literacy output produced by the children in the classroom, and made time for informal interview at the end of visits. Since the Indonesian children moved to other classrooms or moved up to a higher grade level after 2 terms, when they commenced the new school year, they were taught by new classroom teachers who had not participated at the beginning of the study. This meant new permission had to be gained to get the involvement of the children's' new teachers. One of the new teachers, Lawrence (pseudonym) refused initially to participate when the Principal had explained to him about my research. As the Principal told me: "I'm so sorry to inform you that one of our teachers does not want to participate in this study because he is a new teacher in this school" (Interview with the principal, 9/12/2004). As an ethnographer in the school, I asked the Principal to facilitate an opportunity to have lunch together with the teachers in the school staffroom. My meeting with Lawrence went very well and we got chatting about the situation of the Indonesian children in the school, so he changed his mind and agreed to participate after giving it some further consideration.

Anonymity is highly protected in this research. I employed pseudonyms to ensure the protection of individual details in accord with Hurley and Underwood's (2002) recommendation.

In Summary

In this chapter I have considered some of the major methodological issues determining the organisation and the shape of this study. In the manner of an ethnographic approach the processes of the literacy practices in the three contexts were carefully documented through photograph, videotaping, field notes, a reflective journal, interviews, observation, as well as carefully keeping a portfolio of all literacy products of the children from term to term across a full school year (4 terms). This yielded a wealth of material that was analysed primarily qualitatively but also quantitatively to a limited extent. The ethnographic analysis in Chapters 4 to 6 provides an account of the literacy processes and activities in the three intersecting contexts focussing on how the approaches in each context impacted on the children's attitudes and responses. Following this in Chapter 7 and 8 the children's reading and writing development in L1 and L2 is discussed in greater detail. Let us turn first though to the school context.

Chapter Four

Attitudes and Approaches to Supporting Children's Biliteracy Development and Bilingualism in the School Classroom

"Mami…Mami…Mami… guru saya bisa bahasa Indonesia"

In this chapter I will discuss the role of mainstream teachers in supporting children's biliteracy development in their classroom, focusing particularly on the differences in the way mainstream classroom teachers perceive biliteracy and bilingualism and how these translate into their classroom practices. In addition, I will consider the extent to which the approaches the teachers adopt in relation to the children's bilingualism and emerging literacy impact on their biliteracy development and bilingualism. How does the teacher's level of knowledge about, interest in and approach to supporting bilingualism and biliteracy impact on the child's biliteracy development and bilingualism? Let me begin by explaining the above Indonesian quotation as a response from a child to his teacher in a classroom setting.

Contextualising Biliteracy Development and Bilingualism in the Classroom

"Mum…Mum…Mum… my teacher can speak Indonesian" proudly commented a smiling Fasya, when had just returned home from his local primary school where officially instruction is conducted in English. He is very happy to see his teacher has learnt to speak to him in some words of his home language, Indonesian, after a couple of weeks at the school throughout which he had been in the classroom keeping silent and watching other children doing their daily activities because of having no

understanding at all of English. This experience marks the beginning of Fasya feeling comfortable in his Australian school and appears to be pivotal in his performances and confidence in biliteracy development and bilingualism in the school.

The situation of language minority children in mainstream schools has attracted an increasing amount of research interest over the last three decades, reflecting the fact that migration (Suarez-Orozco, 2001) is one of the distinctive defining features of globalisation. Hornberger (2002) argues for the need to address the issue of 'one language-one nation ideology' (p.31) in relation to the influence of the current global pressures, as May (2001) advocates that there is an urgent need to re-examine the economic and political power in relation to the growing number of minority children who have the rights to be biliterate and bilingual in this modern 'nation-state structures' (p.7).

 Linking language minority students and bilingualism, McLeod (1994) argues that the growing number of students from language minority group has attracted greater concentration on different languages used in the classroom. Hornberger (2003, p.3) identifies the need for those in public school systems to have an understanding of biliteracy because of the increasing numbers of minority language children in their classes. Kenner (2000) has demonstrated that failing to allow for the potential of individual bilingualism in the way that the school curriculum is structured at an institutional level is a significant deficiency in current educational policy in English dominant countries, such as the UK and Australia.

In Australia most minority language children, such as those in this study, are learning in schools where English is the only official language of instruction. These children have the potential of becoming both bilingual and biliterate, but most are not able to realise this potential with the resulting benefits that accompany the achievement of additive bilingualism. In their classrooms, the medium of instruction is the children's

L2, English, and the majority of classmates do not speak the child's or children's L1. Drawing on the conceptual work of theorists such as Hornberger (2002) and Muhlhausler (1996) an important underlying philosophical tenet of the approach adopted in this research is the concept of language ecology and, specifically, the potential for educational policies and practices in school, home and community that preserve and develop language diversity, rather than suppressing it. As both Hornberger (2002) and Muhlhausler (1996) emphasize, school becomes a site for language ecology and/or an instrument for (re)producing language ideologies and practices, with teachers being key players in setting the agenda, dictating directions in language practices.

There is a growing body of evidence that teachers have the potential to foster multiliteracies in their classrooms. For example, based on their action research, Schwarzer, Haywood and Lorenzen (2003) have outlined a range of teaching strategies that can enable students to develop multilingual literacy regardless of whether the teacher her/himself has knowledge of the languages in question. Skilton-Sylvester (2003) has described how teacher policymaking at the micro level of the classroom can subvert dominant macro level language ideologies and policies. Auerbach (1993:9) argues against the notion of English as the only language used for communication in the ESL classroom, challenging the English only movement to support bilingual education and language rights, explaining the benefits of L1 resources for all ESL students. She highlights the political dimensions in pedagogical stances:

> "Whether or not we support the use of learners' L1s is not just a pedagogical matter: it is a political one, and the way that we address ESL instruction is both a mirror of and a rehearsal for relations of power in the broader society" (p.10).

Creese and Martin (2003) have highlighted the value of Ricento's approach to considering the patterns of language use in particular contexts. Ricento (2000) raises some fundamental questions which need to be answered:

"Why do individuals opt to use particular languages and varieties for specified functions in different domains, and how do these choices influence – and how are they influenced by – institutional language policy decision-making (local to national to supranational)?" (p.208).

To answer this particular concern, he advocates connecting language use patterns in a specific context to the "effects of macro-sociopolitical forces on the status and use of languages at the societal level" (p.209). This has some parallels to the present study given its focus on school context, and the classroom, and its attempt to link this to the wider contexts, such as home and community.

With respect to micro-level of analysis, Cummins (1986/2001) points out that the classroom teachers have an influential role in the school:

"Legislative and policy reforms may be necessary conditions for effective change, but they are not sufficient… The social organisation and bureaucratic constraints within the school reflect not only broader policy and societal factors, but also the extent to which individual educators accept or challenge the social organisation of the school in relation to minority students and communities" (p.657).

Studies such as that of Rueda and Garcia (1996) also highlight how teachers themselves, despite the presence of research that supports the value of an additive perspective (eg Cummins, 1989), may hold perceptions and beliefs about bilingualism and biliteracy in relation to literacy instruction and assessment that mitigate against the incorporation of L1 in their classrooms. Against this background, in considering how school practices preserve and develop linguistic diversity, a particular focus will be on the role of the teachers.

Australian Social & Educational Context

Australian society is multicultural with a significant proportion of the population (16%) speaking a language other than English at home with the most cultural and linguistic diversity evident in the main urban centres such as Melbourne, where this study is located, and Sydney, in each of which cities there are more than 25% of the

population who speak a LOTE at home (Clyne and Kipp, 1999). Despite this diversity, English is the official national language and the main medium of instruction in virtually all public schools. Whilst State and Federal official policies encourage second language learning for all students from primary school age, with some exceptions, such as bilingual immersion programs in a number of government and private schools, the languages taught in most such programs are best described as tokenistic. Most involve limited hours of instruction per week (less than 1 hour in many cases) and are normally not the home language of the majority of students in any given school. The very linguistic diversity of the migrant population and the lack of concentration of any one ethnic group within particular geographical areas, mean that most non-English speaking background students do not have access to home language study in their local school (Clyne and Kipp, 1999). There is an extensive network of out of hours language schools, which receive some degree of government support, but a small proportion of ethnic language minority background children attend these. The Education Minister, Dawkins (1991) suggested that "priority attention must be given to languages of broader national interest to Australia. Australia's location in the Asia-Pacific region and our patterns of trade should continue to be a factor in this selection of priorities" (p.15). However, Clyne and Kipp (1999) in commenting on language policy implementation explain that "while all of them have made some gesture in the direction of making languages other than English an integral part of the education of all school pupils, there is considerable variation in the explicit policies" (p.22). Victoria, for example, prioritised a balance of European and Asian languages and a balance of 'trade' and community languages by establishing four tiers of languages:

1. Key languages: French, German, Italian, Modern Greek, Indonesian, Japanese, Mandarin, and Vietnamese.
2. Languages for priority development: Arabic, Korean, Russian, Spanish, and Thai.
3. Languages of particular significance (particularly in a given geographical area), e.g.: Australian Sign Language (Auslan), Croatian, Hebrew, Khmer, Koorie (Aboriginal) languages, macedonian, Maltese, Serbian, Turkish.

4. Other languages, usually taken at the Victorian School of Languages (Clyne and Kipp, 1999: p. 23).

The broad Victorian language in education policy context is quite favourable to LOTE. The Victorian Department of Education, Employment and Training (DEET, 2000: 7) has a strong commitment to giving opportunity for students to learn a language other than English (LOTE) in all primary schools, including potentially one that might be their home language, such as Indonesian, one of the designated key languages to learn at school. The Department of Education (DoE, 1998:v) recognises the early development of literacy as the foundation of all learning, and supports extensive resources to schools in Victoria to ensure that all children become literate in English. In addition, becoming biliterate is also highly recommended. As Emmitt and Pollock (1995:5) contend the development of biliteracy should be able to lead learners being more 'critically aware of their world and creative control of it'.

There are tensions and ongoing contradictions in dominant macro-level language ideologies and policies, such as those discussed above in the Australian context. In the United States context, Skilton-Sylvester (2003) argues "there is not a deterministic connection between what is stated at the macro level as official policy for linguistic minority students and what happens at the micro level in term in terms of actual schools and classrooms" (p.170). Victorian Schools and educational bureaucracy have not necessarily been successful in fully implementing state level policies at the local level, due to constraints in resources and local implementational capacity.

School Context

The school in which this research was conducted is a public primary school located near a large university in suburban Melbourne in a lower middle class-working class area of high linguistic and cultural diversity. More than 70% of the children in the school come from home backgrounds in which English is their second language,

either because they are the dependants of international students or because they are the children of permanently resident migrants from non-English speaking countries. Whilst many of the international student families are only living in Australia temporarily, others aspire to applying for permanent residence at the conclusion of their studies, an opportunity that current Australian immigration policy supports. In the school there are children from more than 33 different language and cultural backgrounds. A classroom teacher, Rosemary, explains this diversity by saying, "Everyone talks in their mother language and they come from different cultural backgrounds. A lot of different countries meet together in here, a very mixed up group" (Taped interview, 10/09/2003). This school puts its motto which focuses on the importance of caring, growing, and achieving in a collaborative way, into practice through the promotion and development of: excellence in learning; a safe, care environment; positive partnerships within the school, self esteem; creativity; learner responsibility; respect and tolerance of individual differences; co-operation and courtesy (School Brochure, 2003). Richardson (pseudonym), a Vice Principal of the school explains the official approach to languages education:

> Children here in this school already know two or three languages, and the parents are interested in them learning English, so we celebrate culture other than English and that probably will be Pacific islands' culture and language for six months, Indonesian culture for six months and then Chinese, follow by Indian and Sri Lankan, and that way the parents learn about the program. They are brought in, they actually come into classroom and teach children and they also run a whole school event (Taped Interview, 23/06/2004).

So, an important aspect of the school's approach is initiatives to celebrate various culture and their associated languages, including through official full school COTE celebrations.

The classroom environment in the teachers' classrooms at Grades prep/1, 1/2, 3/4, and 5/6, where I observed for four terms, differ from one another, despite shared demographic characteristics within the school. The key dimensions of these differences are related to the relative prominence given to the display of student work

vs teacher-selected/produced examples and learning materials. For example, the Prep (1st year class) classroom where Fasya and Nanda study is dominated by the creations of the teachers, including lists of words that the students are expected to remember, such as church, cheese, chip, chook, cheaper, cheater, chicken in learning the sound of /ch/, or a list of positive expressions describing people, such as "Good boy, smart girl, respectful child, hard working student, helpful man, wise lady, intelligent people, responsible person, great man", are placed along all the walls and are also hanging above the students' learning centre even though there are also some displays of the students' productions in literacy learning. Chameli, Fasya and Nanda's teacher said, "the classroom is interesting, you can get to make it nice and warm, and put up children's works of art, and it gives them some pride and confidence that their work is up there. It must be good and stimulate and motivate them to do even better" (Taped Interview, 30/03/2004). In contrast, the classroom where Wendy and Haris study is full of the creations of the students in literacy learning and art arranged around the walls and above them in the classroom. When the students look around, they continually see their own as well as their friends' productions. The students proudly explained their work to me when I was in their classroom working with them on their literacy activities. One of Haris' friends in a small group of about 3-4 students approached me, showing me his writing with a picture on it about a footy player that was hanging just above our table. He enthusiastically told me how he had started loving footy. Haris and Wendy, however, were hesitant about explaining their work in the display. They just responded to my questions with yes or no without any further explanation as provided by their Australian friends in the group (discussed further in Chapter 7). In another contrast, in Lukman's upper grade level classroom, the work of the teacher dominates the classroom setting emphasising the rights and the responsibilities of the students in the classroom, Hint *Text-to-text; Text –to-self; and Text-to-world"* including, on a wall chart of the current topic providing the main focus during the week. For example, when discussing India, Rosemary, the teacher, had already provided the web of India as a guide for her students to work with as follows:

Prewriting - Plan - Drafting - Revising - Proof reading - Publishing

    1   2   3   4   5   6

Industry	Traditional clothing	Import & export

Agriculture

Climate

Religion

India

Population — Flag

Food

Transport

Languages — Festivals

Other Forms sites

Wall Chart (11/11/2003)

Each classroom is also equipped with 5 networked computers where the students can locate and read material from the internet to assist in writing their projects. For example, Haris, as a Grade 3 student, searched for some information about Indonesia because he wanted to write about Indonesia in his project. Using the web to research he tried to find out the size of the population, the main production of the country, the income rate per capita, the culture and social structure etc. This project was set by the teacher under the theme of neighbouring countries. In explaining his choice of Indonesia as his project topic, he attributed this to his parents, saying "it is my Dad's choice because he wants me to know more about Indonesia" (discussed further in the next chapter dealing with the familial context of biliteracy development). Nanda and Fasya, in their Grade1/2 classroom, on the other hand, used the computer mainly for writing up the story or reading something from the computer that the teacher had already set out for them to read when their group had the chance to work with the computer. Similarly, Lukman in the upper grade level, used the computer for writing

his work in many types of genres, including poetry, journal writing, book report, procedural writing, narrative writing.

All classrooms are equipped with a mini library, but each class has a different appearance. The classrooms for lower and middle grade level students I observed have an area around the teacher's table for book display. Here the teacher displays books picked up from the school library for the students to read and allows them to choose either to read in school or to borrow and take home to read with parents or siblings. In contrast, the classroom for the upper grade level students has a mini library placed in a purpose built the corner of the classroom, so that the teacher just picks out some books that they need for display in relation to the thematic focus of each term of the year. This mini library is very helpful for both the teacher and the students in literacy teaching and learning, as Lawrence, the teacher, said, "The books that I provide in the corner of this classroom are very helpful because my students can easily pick up what they like to read in the classroom, during recess time, book sharing or even borrowing books to bring home. That's why I recommend other classrooms to do the same thing as in this classroom" (Taped Interview, 21/06/2004).

Children also spend time working with literacy activities in the timetabled literacy teaching block in the classroom where two grade levels are combined together into a multi-aged or composite class. The literacy block is recommended in the curriculum for the literacy program and involves spending two-hour daily on uninterrupted literacy activities.

My observation of literacy classes revealed that they always start with the whole class in a circle, and then the children are divided into small groups of usually 4-5 working on an activity, such as reading a book in the small group circle, writing a journal at the tables, listening to a story from a tape recorder in a corner of the classroom, working with the networked computers arranged in one line attached to the wall near the teacher's table. This setting is generally the same in each observed classroom,

however, the way the students are grouped is different from teacher to teacher. For example, Lily, Grade I/Prep teacher, put the Indonesian children in the same group because she wants the newcomers to get help from a child of the same linguistic background as she said, "I usually put the Indonesian children in my class in the same group, so that the one who has already stayed longer here can explain or help me explain to the newcomers who do not know English at all yet" (Taped Interview, 10/09/2003). Amanda, adopts a contrasting strategy, putting the Indonesian children, Haris and Wendy, in different groups because she wants them to focus on English. She explains that she believes that by working with friends who are native Australian English speakers, they will automatically be able to learn from their friends.

Mainstream Classroom Teachers

Mainstream classroom teachers are the teachers who are responsible for teaching the core areas of the primary school curriculum, which include literacy/English, Science, Mathematics, Technology, and Study of Society and Environment. In this study, eight classroom teachers were involved whose ages ranged from 24 to 47. Three quarters (6) are females and 2 males, and their teaching experience ranged from 1 to 17 years (See Table 4.1 below).

Table 4.1: Summary of Teacher Interviews

| Teacher's Name | Age | Gender | Prior teaching experiences (years) | Indonesian children | | | | Teacher Background |
				No.	Name	Grade Level	Age	
Lily	27	F	4	3	Nanda Fasya	Prep/1	5,2 5,1	ESB
Chameli	36	F	7	2	Nanda Fasya	1/2	6,1 6,0	NESB
Amanda	28	F	5	3	Haris Wendy	3/4	8,1 8,3	ESB
Hillary	47	F	12	1	Wendy	3/4	9,2	ESB
Robinson	46	M	17	1	Haris	3/4	9,0	ESB
Ann	31	F	1	1	Haris	3/4	9,2	ESB
Rosemary	27	F	5	2	Lukman	5/6	10,4	ESB
Lawrence	24	M	2	1	Lukman	5/6	11,0	ESB

All but one (Chameli) are Anglo-Australian background, although some have studied one or more languages at some stages in their education. In this school the teachers are all fully trained primary teachers, but none of them have undertaken specialist training in TESOL, 'special' education or another area that might have given them specific knowledge and skills for teaching bilingual children. They have learnt from their experiences handling a variety of minority children in their classroom from many different language and ethnic background and each of them demonstrates different attitudes and approaches to supporting minority children's biliteracy development and bilingualism, which will be discussed in the following section.

Some of the teachers had experienced learning a Language other than English (LOTE), so that they could draw on this experience in helping their language minority children acquiring English as their second language.

Teachers' Attitudes in Supporting Biliteracy/Bilingualism in Their Classroom

The eight mainstream classroom teachers demonstrate different ways of supporting biliteracy/bilingualism in their classroom. Their approaches have been classified into three broad types: (1) strongly supportive of biliteracy/bilingualism; (2) Transitionally supportive of biliteracy and bilingualism; and (3) English Literacy Orient.

Table 4.2: Thematic Matrix on Classroom Literacy Practices of the Teachers and Impacts on Children's Biliteracy Development and Bilingualism

Group	Teachers	Classification	Characteristics	Impact on children
A	Robinson (Grd. 3/4) Chameli (Grd. 3/4) Lawrence (Grd. 5/6)	Strongly supportive of biliteracy and bilingualism	- Constructivist approach to teaching literacy - Develop innovative literacy activities that create opportunities for L1 literacy in class. - Supportive of biliteracy development within class - View L1 as a facilitator of L2 learning.	- A lot of improvement in L1 and L2 literacy - Good progress in the new learning environment -Confident in productive skills in both languages - Positive outcome in biliteracy development/ bilingualism
B	Lily (Grd. Prep/1) Rosemary (Grd. 5/6) Hillary (Grd. 3/4)	Transitionally supportive of biliteracy and bilingualism	- Varied approaches in teaching literacy from constructivist to more teacher-centred - Positive attitude to spoken L1 in the class - Supportive of L1, but not as much as in group A for L2 literacy. - More likely to view L1 as a potential barrier to L2 learning (but not all)	- Progress in L1 ranges from similar to L2 to not as much as in L2 - Feel well connected to the class through the use of L1 and L2 - Active participation in classroom activities - Enjoy literacy learning
C	Amanda (Grd. 3/4) Ann (Grd. 3/4)	English literacy oriented	- Teacher-centred approach in teaching literacy - Allow use of L1 to assist in enhancing communication in early stages but not encouraged. - Entirely focused on	- Spoken L1 maintained as a mode of communication in classroom. - Literacy development only in L2. - Continuous progress but slower in L2 literacy learning

			teaching and learning of English literacy. - Tolerant of bilingualism, but not supportive of biliteracy.	(compared with under group A) - Passive participation in classroom activities.

Note: Grd. : Grade level

Strongly Supportive of Biliteracy/Bilingualism (SSBB)

Three classroom teachers, Robinson, Chameli and Lawrence, have been categorised as being strongly supportive of biliteracy and bilingualism. They all perceive biliteracy and bilingualism as being very important and valuable for the bilingual children in their classroom. They view one language as helping the other, for example, in explaining why she encourages speaking and writing in the children's native language in class, Chameli said " …they [students] should never ever be made … to feel that they only have to read and write and speak in English. It is fantastic if they know another language because one language helps another one" (Interview with Chameli, 22/06/2004).

These teachers also assume that people who are confident and competent in the home language will acquire a similar command of English and they view the home language as providing a basis for second language learning. Robinson explains "…if they [Indonesian students] come to us and say the words in Indonesian, that means they've got a grammar structure, so all we have to do is put English words on top of it" (Taped Interview, 30/03/2004), revealing on the one hand his lack of formal understanding of second language acquisition processes, but also his belief in the value of the child's L1 knowledge.

Transitionally Supportive of Biliteracy and Bilingualism (TSBB)

Three teachers (Lily, Rosemary, and Hillary) have been categorised as transitionally supportive of biliteracy and bilingualism because they view L1 positively and encourage its use but focus on its value primarily transitionally to aid the process of the child adapting to the English medium classroom. They have a positive attitude to having children from many different cultural backgrounds in their classes, as Rosemary said:

> " I try to link a lot of things so that they read while they are writing or they write while they are reading ... Specially with Hasyim and Lukman, and a lot of my ESL children, activity like this we would have been doing…They don't understand what those words mean. You can't ask them until they understand the word. So we would do a lot of work on word order, what the adverb means so that we are comfortable in that part. That's really helpful for Hasyim and Lukman, who don't have a strong vocabulary based yet … and it's good for Hasyim and Lukman especially Lukman jut verbalising the thought" (Taped Interview, 10/09/2003).

Besides this, they also support the limited use of L1 in the classroom, primarily as a facilitator and bridge to second language learning, as Hillary said "We use home language as a springboard into English". At the same time, however, they may be inconsistent in their approach to supporting biliteracy development and bilingualism in the classroom, viewing the home language as an impediment to second language learning, particularly learning about tenses in English. Two of the three, Rosemary and Hillary expressed this, for example, Rosemary said "…it is just a language barrier, everyone talks in his mother language and they come from different cultural background". They generally tend to promote the use of the home language in the classroom just for the new students who come to their class and do not understand English at all. For example in assisting the new arrivals, Lily uses the other child from the same language background to help the new comers in her classroom understanding the instruction, as she said:

> "I think it helps because we have Hendra in the classroom. Hendra has a little bit English, so he can help other Indonesian children. When they come to the classroom, they are quiet and I just let them to have a look

and see what happens and they pick up what to do by watching the others. When I say we are going to have a yellow book they look around to see what the other children are doing and the children are great because they end up with help" (Taped Interview, 10/09/2003).

English Literacy Oriented (ELO)

Two teachers, Amanda and Ann, have been classified as English literacy oriented as they do not pay any attention at all to the students' home language in the classroom. The target of their literacy teaching and learning is only English as Ann said: "I think it is fine if he [Haris] speaks English … as I can see his English very well anyway" (Taped Interview, 23/06/2004). Whilst they tolerate children speaking their home languages to each other in the classroom, they ignore their use, pretending not to notice the language being spoken and not responding to it either negatively or positively. As Amanda said "They may be talking about someone or may be talking about me, I don't know, and I don't care" (Taped Interview, 10/09/2003). These two teachers share their similarities of being tolerant of bilingualism in their classroom, but have no interest in the potential existence of literacy in L1.

Characteristics of the Teachers' Approach in Their Classroom Practices

The characteristics of the teachers' classroom practices seem to relate to their attitudes to literacy teaching and learning in the classroom, and their understanding of the relationship between L1 and L2 in literacy and language development.

Teachers Strongly Supportive of Biliteracy and Bilingualism

The teachers who are strongly supportive of biliteracy and bilingualism generally adopt approaches based on a student-centred view of teaching and learning literacy. This dimension of the student-centred approach is the same as in the approach based on constructivist view promoting independent learning, enquiry-driven learning, and

self directed learning. The three SSBB teachers tend to set up issues and control their students' activities, give instruction to their students' exploration, and support their students' way of thinking. In other words, the students have the autonomy to lead their own explorations in the classroom learning. Robinson, for example, implemented his constructivist view in approaching the minority children in the classroom by identifying his students' weaknesses. Since he found out that the children who migrated need more English, he employed a different approach as he explained "What I am doing is … a bit hard for them … so what we do is construct spelling stuff, English grammar, that sort of stuff, so they are still able to work independently rather than at a different level" (Taped Interview, 30/03/2004). Chameli has different ways of implementing her constructivist view. She always starts her story writing on the board before the children do more by themselves and she takes the big book in reading and discussing about it with the students. She also provides opportunities for children to develop through their own interest as she explains further "we keep changing around to keep in mind that some children learn better by reading, some children learn better by listening". While Lawrence implemented his constructivist approach in literacy teaching and learning by concentrating on the area when the children needed more support at any given moment and giving more opportunities for children to learn from each other.

Most of the teachers in this group also adopt an approach to classroom literacy teaching and learning which emphasise engagement of children in enjoyable and meaningful activities. They pay careful attention to each student's need and ability until each develops into a more independent learner. Robinson, for example, explains how he makes the lesson meaningful for children by selecting materials based on the students' needs and interests. Of the three teachers, Robinson was the most flexible and innovative in developing and adapting materials as he said: "Children sometimes come up with the brilliant ideas to explore more in many resources such as books, magazines, newspaper, and internet after learning one lesson or doing their independent study, or a certain project which is usually due to be collected every

Friday, and I just respond to their wish by saying 'go for it', that is excellent to do more quality work" (Taped Interview, 30/03/2004).

Chameli preferred to use prepared materials, such as big books, in a more systematic way in formally teaching literacy. Initially she seems monotonous and formulaic in her way of teaching literacy in the classroom and I placed her in group B (TSBB teacher). However, in analysis based on observation notes and in-depth interviews, it was identified that her way of teaching literacy was very creative in developing and incorporating extension activities into her lessons, such as giving opportunity to her students to express their own experience related to the story books, facilitating each child to explore more things to say by asking if anyone has a similar thing to tell like in the story, etc. She enthusiastically explains her literacy activities in the classroom, as follows:

> "Normally … I always start with a big book, and the reason for using the big book is that all children can join in reading. It also gives a chance to the kids who can't read on their own, and they can join in, and they're not made to feel that they can't, because they are reading it together. After the big book reading, and the groups normally would be one writing group, one with reading, and sometimes they listen to the story on tapes, and there could be different activities and we keep changing around to keep in mind that some children learn better by reading, some children learn better by listening, so that's why we keep changing this around" (Taped Interview, 22/06/2004).

In relation to their attitude to the relationship between L1 and L2 and the use of L2 in the classroom, all teachers in this group have a positive attitude to L1 use, but vary in how they encourage it. They are active and innovative in creating a variety of literacy activities for learning both languages and use them to help each other as Chameli said "… learning one language is always going to help them with another one" (Taped Interview, 30/03/2004). Robinson demonstrates his positive attitude by using the home language of the students to avoid them getting frustrated in trying to express themselves in L2. He encourages children who are having difficulty in expressing

themselves in L2 in a particular context to use their L1. For example, he encourages Haris to write a personal report in his home language, Indonesian, and then to share this with another child and discuss how the same material could be expressed in English. One of his techniques is an approach that is based on translation. This means that learners are constructing sentences in the target language through translation exercises in respect to put the rules and principles into practice.

Chameli and Lawrence also show their positive attitude to the use of L1 by having special performances in celebrating culture other than English (COTE). What they do is to conduct a consultation with the parents from many different countries, language and cultural backgrounds in their class to brainstorm what each community can do in the COTE celebration at the end of the year. Parents come up with activities such as story telling in their home languages including Indonesian and Bengali, or dramatising folktales. The parents involved then come to the classroom regularly for rehearsal to assist the children in writing and reading poetry, learning to sing songs, and participate in drama, using their own languages. This culminates in a performance that includes participation of each child in his/her home language, including children from English speaking backgrounds. As can be seen from video tapes of the performance of Chameli's students in the COTE celebration involving Fasya and Nanda represented Indonesian together with other friends in the classroom singing the same song in their own language from many different languages background, English, Bengali, Arabic, Chinese, Hindi etc. The 'how are you' song is as follows:

"We say 'how are you' 3x in English; we say 'tomi kemon achho' 3x in Bengali; we say 'kaifa haluka' 3x in Arabic; we say 'apa kabar' 3x in Indonesian; we say 'tom kesaho' 3x in Hindi" (Video, 17/05/2004).

Also, the teachers show many ways of supporting children's biliteracy development and bilingualism. Not only do they facilitate the children learning literacy in their home language by providing books in the home language, they also encourage the

children to read the books and share them with other friends in the classroom. With younger children they may also use cross-age mentoring/tutoring provided by an older child of the same language background to provide a context for sharing texts in the children's L1. Most activities are still in English, but the teachers plan to include some L1 whenever this can be embedded in their teaching practice to maintain interest and to signal their valuing of L1 in the classroom. They equally valued L1 and L2 by integrating L1 and L2 in their classroom teaching practice. For example, when Lukman, a Grade 5 child, came to the Prep grade to read a book in Indonesian to Fasya and Nanda in the Buddy program set up by their classroom teachers, all the children were happy to do this activity and the teachers kept doing it once a week. Children in this activity came up with the ability to share their experience in English at the end of the literacy block time. For example, Nanda always was very confident in sharing her reading of Indonesian books such as "101 ekor anjing" to other children in the whole class in English. The teachers especially encouraged small group discussion and pair work among the Indonesian children to create opportunities for language and literacy work in L1.

Teachers Transitionally Supportive of Biliteracy/Bilingualism

The teachers who are transitionally supportive of biliteracy/bilingualism are not uniform in their approaches to teaching literacy. Even though in comparison with the strongly supportive group, the TSBB teachers tend to be more structured and teacher-centred, they are still flexible in organising their literacy activities by varying the nature and order of activities. For example, Hillary always starts by using story reading as a way to keep children optimising their potential in literacy acquisition. However, she does not rigidly follow the regular literacy block time allocation of 100 minutes with 50 minutes for reading and the other 50 minutes for writing. She incorporates literacy activities throughout the day reinforcing the development of literacy across the curriculum, and with a lesser amount of formal time allocated to structured literacy activities. These three teachers are knowledgeable about using integrated approaches and actively involve themselves in small group discussion

exploring the students' experiences. They are good at initiating material and activities suitable to the individual child's situation and progress in literacy learning. Besides, they also show their positive attitude to the relationship between L1 to L2 in the classroom by using children of the same language background to help each other in the transitional period, and encourage reading and writing activities in L1 as this seems to assist a child in developing their L2 literacy in the classroom.

Overall this group tend to view L1 as a barrier to ongoing second language learning and expect its use to phase out over time. Hillary views L1 as a barrier particularly in learning and using tenses both in speaking and writing, while Rosemary refers to it as being a barrier more broadly. They focus more on L2 as the dominant language used in both inside and outside of the school as Rosemary said, "We have a picture book in the library in Indonesian, and I set it up for him to read. … it is just the language barrier…".

In terms of literacy teaching pedagogy, the three teachers differed. Lily and Rosemary were quite similar in ways they organised literacy classes, adopting approaches based on constructivist learning principles, like those in Group A, whereas Hillary had a more structured and teacher-centred approach, like those in Group C. Two of the teachers (Rosemary and Hillary) have no regular use of L1 literacy materials or activities, but use L1 materials occasionally when children are having difficulties in English activities, as an 'escape' to have 'downtime' from the strain of using L2, while Lily seems to be more constructivist in teaching literacy by providing opportunity for the students to develop both languages in her classroom practices.

Of this group, Lily was the most positive and imaginative in her approach to encouraging use of L1, even learning some Indonesian so that she could bridge the communication gap with newly arrived children and earn their trust, hence the child's enthusiasm in the quote at the beginning of this chapter when he heard Lily saying some words in Indonesian. Lily explained this in one of the informal interviews:

"I use my chance to learn some expressions in Bahasa Indonesia when I have a meeting with parents to explain my program at the beginning of the term. For example, when I discussed with Fasya's mother and father what to do with Fasya as he did not know English at all at this stage, they taught me some Indonesian expressions like selamat pagi (good morning), apa kabar (how are you) etc. and then I tried to use those expression when I am taking attendance list and greeting everyone in the classroom. When I come up to the Indonesian children, I say, selamat pagi Fasya, selamat pagi Nanda, selamat pagi Hasyim. Then they are all smiling when I say some words in Indonesian".

Initially in this analysis, Lily was placed in the strongly supportive group as a result, as she shared many perspectives and characteristics with this group. However, further analysis revealed that she only adopted these approaches with newcomers and those with poor English in the class and did not maintain this approach with other non-English speaking background children who were proficient in English, and, thus, she was subsequently categorised in the transitionally supportive group.

English Literacy Oriented (ELO)

Both the ELO teachers adopt largely teacher-directed approaches in teaching literacy, an approach which is well known as a direct instruction used by classroom teachers for their minority children who learn English as a second language. It involves a careful analysis of the skills that must be acquired by anybody learning to read in line with implementing teacher-directed approach. As a recent US report describes:

"Direct Instruction described as being skills-oriented and emphasizing the use of small group, face-to-face instruction by teachers and aides, using carefully articulated lessons in which cognitive skills are broken down into small units" (Schug, Tarver, & Western, 2001, p. 1).

The ELO teachers are quite formal and formulaic in their approach and stick closely to the official government guidelines in relation to the 100 minutes literacy block each day. Interestingly, even though Amanda is structured and conforms to the

government guidelines, she places a lot of emphasis on planning literacy activities in the classroom that will be meaningful and engaging for the children to follow because she wants the students to be comfortable about the process, if possible. So when the students are learning about procedural writing, she does a science experiment and the students have to write about their experiences. Ann, however, is reluctant to explore anything other than traditional structured literacy activities in the classroom. She does not exercise flexibility in exploring different topics or themes to integrate in the daily literacy block, and she seemed worried by having an observer in her classroom seeing how she teaches literacy. This can be seen by her response when I approached her, when she always said, "we just do the same things like yesterday and the day before, we are not doing much in literacy activities". Her explanation about her literacy activities in the classroom seems formulaic: "We do reading and writing activities, so at the moment last week we talked about noun, proper noun, things like that, and every week the students do the same things. They have to do writing about what they do on the weekend".

In relation to interaction in L1, Amanda's and Ann's attitudes are neutral. They are tolerant of the use of L1 in the spoken language interaction in the classroom and pretend to pay no attention to the fact that the children are speaking in their home language, and do nothing that recognises or encourages L1 literacy knowledge. L1 is only used to assist in enhancing communication in early stages, but not encouraged. All literacy materials and activities are in English as Amanda said, "…they are talking among themselves at lunch time and I don't mind if they are comfortable talking in Indonesian. I don't really have a problem if they are talking in Indonesian because they all have good English".

In comparing the teachers' approaches to the use of L1, it is apparent that some of the teachers are primarily motivated in their approach by their commitment to constructive student-centred pedagogy, whereas others are more explicitly motivated by a commitment to the value of L1 maintenance. Whilst all the teachers in the strongly supportive group, Robinson, Chameli, and Lawrence, made explicit

reference to their belief in the value of the child developing literacy in their home language and thereby demonstrated a commitment to L1 maintenance, in contrast, none in the transitionally supportive group explicitly advocated the value of developing L1 literacy. However, two teachers in that group, Lily and Rosemary, talked extensively about their child-centred, constructivist literacy pedagogy, and this seemed to be the primary driver for their support of the incorporation of L1 in the classroom with their Indonesian background children. For them this primary motivation had the indirect effect of supporting bilteracy, but was pedagogical, rather linguistic.

Impact on the Students' Biliteracy Development and Bilingualism

The approaches of the three groups of teachers in supporting biliteracy development and bilingualism appear to have impacted on the students' biliteracy development and bilingualism. The evidence of this can be seen in the individual cases of experiences of the children. Of particular interest in relation to this are the differences in the responses and literacy development of the same child when in the class of teachers who have different attitudes and approaches to biliteracy and use of L1 in the classroom, such as are the cases of Nanda, Haris and Lukman. So as well as outlining in broad terms how each approach appeared to impact on the children's responses and development, particular consideration will be given to how these different approaches impacted on the development of these specific children.

Students with Teachers Who Are Strongly Supportive of Biliteracy and Bilingualism

Students of the SSBB teachers generally show a lot of improvement in both L1 and L2 literacy and as they settled into the class and became familiar with the teacher's approach and expectations they became highly engaged and active in participating in class. Their L2 literacy development is steady and continuous in writing and reading and they move from being quiet to talkative and confident of using Indonesian in the

classroom. For example, Nanda, when she was taught by Chameli, demonstrated a lot of progress in writing and reading as well as her level of engagement in the classroom. When she first entered Chameli's class, Nanda had a very passive style of learning similar to what is normally expected in Indonesian schools and pre-schools. She was shy, appeared nervous and mainly kept silent when the teacher came near her. Whilst she did interact a little with the other children in class, this was mainly in response to the teacher's request to work in a group with others. In contrast, by part way through the first term she had become more comfortable and talkative, and was always raising her hand either to answer or ask a question of her teacher. She was constantly smiling and talking to others in the class, happily describing books that she had read both in L1 and L2. Nanda became very effective in using new vocabulary and integrating things she had learnt during each morning's reading group time into the writing that she did later in the day. As the weeks went by the amount that she wrote in English steadily increased in both its length and complexity. Her reading fluency in both languages increased rapidly, although in the first term she focused on decoding the relationship between the letters and letter combinations and their corresponding sounds and spoken words. In her second term under Chameli's guidance she started to improve her understanding of the meanings in the written texts. This was reinforced at home as her parents were encouraged by Chameli to question her about what they were reading when they read to her and with her at home in English and Indonesian. Chameli encouraged the reading at home to be in both L1 and L2. In the interview conducted at the end of her second term of teaching Nanda, Chameli said,

> "Nanda is doing very well in reading and writing. Her spelling is good, her reading is flying. She likes reading in the classroom, she reads in the special reading room, she borrows books from library, she reads regularly and takes books home and whenever she has time, she is reading a book. She has produced a very beautiful story:

Once upon the time, there is a little girl called Lucy, she has a cat call Lucy. Lucy is 80 years old and she went to visit to grandma after that she get home and her parrot is gone somewhere. Lucy called the police, Lucy found it, and Lucy said thank you very much. Lucy had a great time finding her parrot. "

Prior to being taught by Chameli, Nanda had spent just over one term being taught by Lily (transitionally supportive). Lily made a big effort to assist Nanda in feeling comfortable in the classroom, even learning some words of Indonesian and linking Nanda up with an Indonesian speaking older 'buddy' to share reading in L1. However, it was only when Nanda was subsequently taught by Chameli that she started to actively participate and to markedly progress in both L1 and L2. Whilst this change could have been the result of her becoming more settled at school and having passed through the initial 'silent period' that occurs when a child is immersed in an unfamiliar language, there was a noticeable difference in Nanda's engagement as a result of her exposure to Chameli's approach.

Students with Teachers Who Are Transitionally Supportive of Biliteracy/Bilingualism

Students of the TSBB teachers demonstrated less progress in L1 literacy development compared with those taught by teachers in Group A, but they appeared to progress at a comparable rate to those in Group A in their L2, English. For example, Lukman, who was taught by Rosemary (Group B) for two terms and Lawrence (Group A) for another two terms, and progressed differently under each teacher. When he was with Rosemary, Lukman was very happy to engage in literacy learning and became very talkative and confident. He made a lot of progress in his L2 literacy development and was autonomous in his approach, reading the instruction guide himself when he was not sure what to do. His journal writing developed from just a few words to full and gradually more complex sentences with more use of English syntax and morphology. He enjoyed writing and started to develop ideas to put into his writing. He was happy to talk in Indonesian, in the classroom, and was very sociable and relaxed in chatting with his friends in class, primarily in Indonesian. The encouragement of Rosemary

for him to use spoken L1 in the classroom assisted him in moving from being a little bit worried at the start of the year to being very confident. His L2 literacy development gathered pace as he grew in confidence. In the two terms following this when Lukman was taught by Lawrence he demonstrated progress in L2 similar to what he was making under Rosemary, but there was a noticeable difference in his L1 progress. Under Lawrence he was encouraged not just to read and speak in L1, but also to write in L1 and to share this writing with other children in the class (irrespective of whether they knew his L1). For example, one weekend Lukman had been cherry picking in country Victoria with a group of families from the Indonesian community, and he wrote about this when he came to school the following Monday as follows:

> Saat hari sabtu kita pergi ke tempat yang banyak cerinya. Kita menuju ke tempat itu sekitar 3 jam. Begitu kita sampai, kita langsung mengambil bak untuk ceri aku dan Ram balik mengambil 2 bak masing masing. Kita mengambil yang banyak lalu kita gabungkan setelah itu kita makan bersama sama. Sebelum ceri kita habis, kita mengambilnya lagi. Sesudah itu kami berbaring di rumput sambil menunggu yang lain. Saat itu kami ketiduran, jadi kami dibangunkan untuk pergi ke pantai. Di perjalanan kami berhenti untuk istirahat dan ke toilet. Dan menunggu yang lain kita membeli fish and chips untuk cemilan. Sesudah itu kita pergi ke pantai. Saat di pantai kita mendapatkan ubur-ubur lalu kita lemparkan ke satu sama lain. Dan kami membuat Sandcastle yang besar sekali. Kita sudah selesai membuatnya tiba tiba kita di suruh pulang. Kita segera mandi dan siap siap pulang. Begitu sampai di rumah saya tertidur dan besoknya saya pergi ke sekolah untuk menceritakan semuanya.

> Translation
> On Saturday, we went to a cherry fruit picking place. It took 3 hours to get there. When we arrived, we directly took a tray for the Cherry. Ram and I took 2 trays each. We picked up cherry as many as possible and put them in one tray and ate together. Before the cherry ran out, we picked up the fruit again and after that we lied down in the grass root while we were waiting for others. At that time we were overslept, then others waked us up for going to a beach place. In the way to go to the beach area, we stopped in the rest area for taking a rest and going to toilet. While waiting for others in this area, we bought fish and chip for eating. Then we continued to go to the beach. When we arrived in the

beach, we found see-star and through it to one each other. After that, we made a big big sand castle. Sooner after we made it, we were asked to go home, so we took a bath for being ready to go home. After we arrived at home, I directly went to bed, and at the following morning, we went to school to tell all the stories (Translation in English).

This piece of writing impressed me as normally in Indonesia children at age 11 are not expected to produce such extended pieces of writing that show a well developed structure, a number of complex sentences and sophisticated vocabulary. His quality of writing in Indonesian was far higher than we would have expected of children in Indonesia at this age in Year 5/6. Interestingly, though, some features in the Indonesian (eg. ke tempat, ke pantai) show evidence of language contact with English syntax and semantics.

Students with English Literacy Oriented Teachers

Students of the ELO teachers tended to speak their home language as a mode of communication in the classroom. Their literacy development at school was only in English and whilst their L2 literacy learning progressed, the rate of progress was noticeably slower than for students being taught by teachers adopting the other two teaching approaches. Haris, for example, who had been taught by teachers in Group A and C, exhibited a substantial difference in his progress dependent on the teacher's approach. When he was with both teachers from Group C (Amanda for two terms and with Ann as a replacement teacher for a half term), his L2 literacy progress was slow. His participation in the classroom was quite passive and he did not produce many literacy products and the texts that he produced were quite unimaginative and formulaic. When Robinson taught him for just over a term, after Amanda left, the difference in his behaviour and progress was very noticeable. He tried very hard and listened and became confident and appeared to understand what he was being asked to do. The encouragement and opportunity to write and read in L1 stimulated him into producing a lot more literacy products and he started to be quite creative in what he produced, writing poetry, integrating pictures and text. When he started to feel

confident, he put words together in new ways, and he structured his sentences better and also became a competent reader in L1 and L2 demonstrating a high level of both fluency and comprehension. Whilst part of this change in Haris may have been in response to having a teacher of the same gender as himself and his growing understanding of English, it appeared that the active encouragement of the use of L1 in literacy activities was also important in making Haris feel comfortable and valued within the classroom, As Robinson, Haris classroom teacher, said:

> Haris is doing very well in the classroom. He understands what is being asked to do in English, so he is a confident student, tries very hard and listens very carefully. His progress can be seen in the result of the reading test on March and August or November. His reading comprehension has improved from level 6 to 7 under the ACER test administered both in March and November 2003, as well as his vocabulary record which has moved up from level 4 to 5 within one year. This literacy record indicates that his reading comprehension has improved from high average to above average as well as his vocabulary from low to average level within one year" (discussed further in Chapter 7).

In Summary

The mainstream teachers in this school teaching the Indonesian background children as well as children from many other language backgrounds, demonstrated some marked differences in both their attitudes to children's bilingualism and biliteracy and in their classroom teaching practices in teaching children from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds. These differences did not seem to relate to the length of their teaching experience, or the era in which they received their teacher training, although it is interesting to note that both teachers in the group who were English literacy oriented had 5 years or less teaching experience and there has been a move away from 'whole language' and other constructivist approaches to ones that include more teacher-directed activities and a stronger focus on explicit teaching of phonics and knowledge about language over the past decade in teacher training programs. In contrast to these ELO teachers, Lawrence in Group A and Lily in Group

B were also relatively newly trained and exhibited very positive attitudes to the use of L1 in their classrooms.

What is evident is that the more supportive the teachers were of biliteracy development and bilingualism, the more constructivist was their teaching approach and the more varied were the activities they encouraged in their classrooms to create opportunities for literacy engagement and learning. To take Hornberger's concept, these teachers created 'ideological and implementational space' (2002, p. 30) in their classrooms for biliteracy development and, by doing this, they were particularly effective in promoting both their students' biliteracy development, and in engaging and integrating them into the class in a way that made them feel valued.

Chapter Five

Attitudes and Approaches to Supporting Children's Biliteracy Development and Bilingualism at Home

"Papa, saya tidak punya PR, saya hanya disuruh baca buku ini"
[Dad, I don't have any homework, I am only asked to read this book]

In this chapter I will discuss the role of the parents in supporting their children's biliteracy development and bilingualism at home, focusing particularly on the differences in the way parents perceive biliteracy and bilingualism and how these translate into their home practices; and the extent to which the approaches they adopt in relation to the children's bilingualism and emerging literacy impact on their children's responses to their home literacy practices and their biliteracy and bilingual development. How do the parents' level of knowledge about, interest in and approach to supporting bilingualism and biliteracy impact on the child's biliteracy development and bilingualism as well as their children's attitude toward the use of L1 and L2 at home? Let me begin by explaining the above Indonesian quotation as a response from a child to his father at home at night.

Broader Australian Societal Context

"Papa, saya tidak punya PR, saya hanya disuruh baca buku ini" commented a smiling Lukman, argumentatively after he had just come back from the playground near his house where he had been playing with his other Indonesian background friends. He was quite unhappy to see his father getting angry and asking him to do his homework as he was tired after playing with his friends. Sensing the tension between father and son about homework, Mum, who had just returned home from her busy Masters of TESOL study program at the nearby campus, approached Lukman asking him to clean his dirty hands in the bathroom while reminding her husband about how the Australian educational system is different from the Indonesian educational system, especially in primary school. Lukman's Mum smilingly explained to her husband

"here in Victoria, children are not forced to do homework, so that they feel comfortable in their learning process both at school and at home" (Interview, 20/08/2003). This experience marks the beginning of Lukman feeling comfortable in his Australian home context and appears to be pivotal in his performance and confidence in biliteracy development and bilingualism at home. He no longer feels that literacy and learning at home is chore, rather it is an activity of choice to be undertaken when desired for fulfillment.

Contextualising Biliteracy Development and Bilingualism at Home

Research into home literacy practices and its impact on children's literacy acquisition has received great attention   from literacy experts during the last three decades (Lonigan, Burgess, & Anthony, 2000; Neuman & Dickinson, 2001; Senechal & LeFevre, 2002; Whitehurst & Lonigan, 1998). For example, Adams (1990) argues that children who have been doing well in their initial reading skills will remain good readers, while those who find it difficult to read will continue to experience problems in their reading throughout the school years. Therefore, Leseman & DeJong (1998) advocate the importance of creating a home literacy environment where child or children can experience and interact with texts in order to contribute to their literacy acquisition.

Even though a large body of research suggests that families indeed provide a great deal of support (both physical and social) for their children's growing literacy (Barrat-Pugh & Rohl, 2001; McCarthy, 1997; McNaughton, 1995; Moll, Amanti, & Gonzalez, 1992; Shockley, 1994), some researchers still approach their work with families in onesided, somewhat tokenistic ways (Cairney, 1997; Cairney & Munsie, 1992). As Taylor (2001: 74) has highlighted tokenistic, one-way approaches to communicating with families about literacy are unlikely to challenge mainstream understandings of literacy, and may serve to simply reinforce the status quo within literacy education. One study that was particularly 'single-sided" in the stance taken by the researchers toward gathering information about home literacy practices of non-

mainstream families was Dickinson and DeTemple's (1998) study of maternal reports of home literacy practices. They took a somewhat patronising approach to the information such parents can provide, while they acknowledged that non-mainstream parents value literacy and want their children to develop strong literacy skills. Their study showed that such parents could provide accurate information that can then be used by schools to increase parental involvement in their literacy development, and that teachers should support the use of reporting tools, such as a literacy record. Despite their professed focus and interest in building home-school partnerships, the approach suggests not only a distrust of parents, but also a distrust of the ability of teachers to learn from parents without such a tool, so that even though Dickinson and DeTemple conclude by saying that "each time a school solicits parents' knowledge about their child, it takes an important step toward building a home-school partnership that will benefit the child and family" (p.258), it is not convincing a suitable basis has been established for such partnerships.

A more fruitful approach to finding out about home literacy practices can sometimes be simply to ask parents what is important to them in their child's literacy development. Edward and Pleasants (1997) did just that. They asked parents to "tell their stories," and found that the narrative approach enabled parents to:

> "select anecdotes and personal observations from their own individual
> consciousness to give teachers access to complicated social, emotional
> and educational issues that can help to unravel for teachers the mystery
> around their students' early literacy beginnings" (p.30).

By doing this teachers may discover aspects of home literacy environments that may otherwise have remained hidden. What teachers learn through listening to parents can then be useful to them in creating classroom environments that better reflect and extend the already existing literacy of the children in their classes. Moll et al. (1992), in an attempt to help teachers move beyond a "thin' and 'singled-stranded" (p.134) view of students from language other than English background, also listened to (as opposed to "measured") non-mainstream families. The researchers visited families at

home, and learned from them about their considerable literacy skills and abilities. These "funds of knowledge" (p. 132) were then used within the classroom to create authentic and meaningful literacy experiences.

As I read studies on the home literacy environment and home literacy practices (egs. Barr, 1994; Peak, 1991; Yamada-Yamamoto & Richards, 1999; Lonigan, Burgess, & Anthony, 2000; Neuman & Dickinson, 2001; Senechal & LeFevre, 2002; Whitehurst & Lonigan, 1998; Roberts, Jurgens, & Burchinal, 2005; Zentella, 2005), I wondered how the Indonesian families in my study might support children's biliteracy development. I knew from my experience that literacy is generally valued highly in middle class Indonesian homes as parents tend to have high expectations of their children to achieve high scores in their language subject. Children, therefore, are expected to work hard doing large amounts of homework in the form of textbook exercises and drills. As a consequence, parents usually do not have much unstructured time to spend with their children.

In contrast, in mainstream US educational contexts, Latino parents, for example, are often blamed for the educational failures of their children, a high proportion of Hispanic background people (44%) have not completed a high school education compared to 13% of the rest of the nation (Suárez-Orozco, 2002). Zentella (2005, p. 13) argues that parents are accused of not helping with homework or the learning of English, not attending school parent-teacher meetings, and not reading to children or providing books. In promulgating this deficit view of Hispanic parents, Lauro Cavazos, the first Hispanic Secretary of Education under President George W. Bush, categorised the types of family into two categories: situation-centred and child-centred in areas such as register, meaning, participant status, topic, and typical communicative situation.

This distinction in parenting types has been widely adopted in understanding different language socialisation practices in children associated with different cultural and family structures and is based on the work of Ochs and Schieffelin (1984), who

identified two approaches as polar opposites, distinguished primarily by how much adults adjust their speech when talking with children and how much they adjust to the children's speech. Pease-Alvarez & Vásquez (1994) argue that the child-centred caregiver helps adapt the situation to the child by conversing with the child as a conversational partner, seeking out child appropriate topics and tailoring the talk to the child's level, simplifying and repeating, engaging the child in regular routines, eliciting clarifications and elaborations, and expanding and extending the child's speech –all the while communicating in a very sympathetic tone of voice-an "affect laden register" (p.84).

The link between the schools' ways of literacy teaching and learning and home literacy practices has been the focus of interest among researchers in order to reduce the potential conflict between values and approaches at home and school. Researchers inspired by Shirley Brice Heath's seminal book *Ways with Words* (1983) have confirmed the importance of understanding such differences. Heath documented the language genres and literacy events in three monolingual English-Speaking populations in the Carolinas (Black and/or White, working and middle classes) and the ways in which each community's "ways with words" affected the academic success of their children. Most important, she showed that teachers could tap into each community's practices and culture to help failing students learn to read and write at or above grade level, once they understood that what they thought was the right and only way for parents to teach children was, in fact, only one of many ways. Heath (1986) identifies six verbal genres that mainstream school-oriented homes and classroom share, all of which are linked to the adaptations of child-centred families in the Ochs and Schieffelin model below:

1. Label quests: naming items or their attributes, or asking "What's/who's this/that?" type of questions.
2. Meaning quests: Inferring the child's meaning; for example, the baby says, "Up mommy," and the mother says, "You want to get up on my lap".

3. Recounts: Asking for retelling of incidents or information known to listener and child; for example, "Tell Grandpa what we did this morning".
4. Accounts: Giving new information or interpretation; for example; "How did you get around in the zoo".
5. Event casts: Providing running narratives of present events or forecasts; for example, "First we'll get dressed, then we'll go to visit Grandma, and then we'll go to the park".
6. Stories: Fictional accounts of characters involved in a series of events.

She argues that children who get years of practice with these language genres at home can be expected to perform better, when they enter kindergarten or first grade, than those who have had little exposure to them. Heath (1982) suggests that the culture of the classroom should be modified to accommodate the culture of the students in relation to their previous literacy practices with their families at home before going to school. Her work has demonstrated the importance of understanding that literacy practices are cultural practices and that literacy has different value and expression in different cultural contexts. Since her initial work, the research of many others interested in crosscultural literacy, such as Street (2001), and Martin-Jones and Bhatt (1998) have explored in greater depth the meaning and performance of literacy in different social and cultural contexts.

The current study tries to deal with home literacy practices in relation to some of the above concepts and explores how Indonesian parents participate in socialising their children into L1 and L2 literacies in the home context. I wondered, also, whether the Indonesian families in my study might approach literacy somewhat differently while they were in Australia. Particularly, to what extent is their attitude to L2 literacy and biliteracy and bilingualism influenced by their distinctive experience of the Australian context, which includes their contact and interaction with the Australian education system, both as postgraduate university students and parents?

Parents

The four families in the community of study were all headed by Indonesian-born parents who had brought their children to Australia either as permanent residents or temporary Australian residents (international students). Within the four families the parents involved ranged in age from 35 to 47 at the time of the study. In the three families that were comprised of international student sojourners, those enrolled as international students are all the mothers, with the fathers in these families being considered as the students' dependants, and able to be employed in Australia on this basis (See Figure 5.1 below). These roles within the families reflect a somewhat non-traditional family dynamic resulting from Australian government policy that has meant a strong focus on women from Indonesia (often university lecturers) being supported to gain higher degrees through access to study in Australia as a means of achieving a longer term Indonesian government strategy of improving the gender balance in the upper levels of the professions, including in universities.

Figure 5.1: Summary of Parents and Family Context

Parents' Name	Family Role	Age	Number of years staying in Australia	Children				Linguistic background	Occupation
				No.	Name	Age	Gender		
Arini Arman	M F	37 40	1 0.8	2	Nanda Ade	5,2 13,0	f m	BSB MSB	DS CE
Nurmin Suroto	M F	38 47	0.5 0.2	2	Fasya Lukman	5,1 10,4	m m	BSB MSB	MS CE
Warda Emil	M F	35 37	1 3	3	Haris Hasyim Halim	8,1 5,3 9,5	m m m	BSB BSB	FPE FPE
Andriani Angoro	M F	38 39	2 0.5	2	Wendy Ana	8,2 13.2	f f	BSB MSB	DS RF

Key: M, mother; F, father; f, female; m, male; BSB, bilingual; speaking background; MSB, monolingual speaking background; DS, doctoral student; MS, master student; CE, casual employee; FPE, full-time or part-time employee; RF, research fellow
Note: All names are pseudonyms

All but one family (Haris') is temporarily resident in Australia. Most of the fathers have reversed their traditional roles and have technically become dependants because of their wife's occupation as either masters (MS) or doctoral students (DS). They have come to Australia to support their wife, so that they tend to be expected to dominate the housework and look after their children, including usually bringing their children from home to school on school days as well as picking up their children after school and attending to other kids' business, such as arranging and supporting them in their after school activities. Besides this, they may have become casual employees (CE) during their spare time in order to supplement their family income and thereby assist in fulfilling their children's needs both for educational purposes, such as buying books, school uniform, etc. and for funding of home and community activities such as buying games, renting videos, going on outings and holidays. One of these families, that of Wendy, had a somewhat different situation to the other two, in that the father was quite often absent as he spent part of the time continuing his ongoing employment back home in Indonesia, leaving his wife to have responsibility for both her studies and the home and children.

The one family who had become permanent residents in Australia had both parents (Warda and Emil) in work. As full or part time employees (FPE), they spent most of their time at work during school hours and beyond, so that their children had limited hours to communicate with their parents, especially their father. Whilst Haris and his mother and siblings had only been living in Australia for the past year, the family had actually lived in Melbourne, before returning to commence his schooling in Indonesia. Warda had then quickly returned to Australia to take up permanent residence with the family only being able to follow him back two years later.

Parents' Attitudes to Supporting Biliteracy/Bilingualism at Home

All the parents profiled here were committed to their children's educational achievement in English. However, they demonstrated different ways of supporting biliteracy/bilingualism in their home. Their approaches to language and biliteracy development have been classified into two broad types: (1) Child-Focused Family (CFF); and (2) Parent-Directed Family (PDF).

Table 5.1: Home Literacy Practices of the Parents and Their Types of Biliteracy and Bilingualism

Child's Family	Family approach in language and literacy development	Commonalities	Manifestation
Wendy Haris	**Parent Directed**	- Strong parental desire and direction in approach taken to language and literacy practices at home - distinct parental roles within household .	**Type A: (Haris' family)** Family and home as the site of maintenance and transmission of traditional heritage cultural values and practices, including L1 language and literacy, religious values and practices, knowledge about Indonesian events and society and traditional role expectations. L2 only used in sibling and child peer spoken interactions Parents support homework activities in L2, but only use L1 themselves in interactions around homework **Type B: (Wendy's family)** Home and family as a gendered language space with separation of language practices in L1 and L2 depending on the parent the child is interacting with L1 language and literacy associated with father (who is only occasionally visiting) L2 language and literacy associated with mother. In the (normally) all female household L2 (English) used to transmit and reinforce

			'modern' values associated with women's equality and rights and a positive attitude to Australian society and cultural values.
Nanda Fasya/ Lukman	**Child Focused**	- Responsive to child's personality and interests in language and literacy choice and activities. - Encouraging of both L1 and L2 literacy at home and comfortable with mixing of L1 and L2 - parental roles fluid and not necessarily in line with traditional Indonesian role expectations.	Use both L1 and L2 for literacy at home, but focus is dictated by the perceived needs and interests of the child Proactive in extending children's enjoyment in literacy through encouragement and activities at home in L2 and L2 'Translanguaging' fostered in interactions around text (where child's levels in each language make this possible)

Child Focused Families

Two families, Lukman/Fasya & Nanda's families, have been categorised as child focused in their approach to language and biliteracy development. These families applied a child-centred approach in their home literacy practices, being responsive to each child's personality and interests, and flexible about how language is used in communication and literacy, encouraging both L1 and L2 literacy without insisting on these. The parents in this family type simplified their speech when they were talking to their children, and negotiated meaning with their children by expanding and paraphrasing what their children were saying. They appeared to consider their children as equal partners in literacy learning or practices and valued it highly when their children initiated topics. Normally communication between parents and children functioned well. These parents also demonstrated that they perceived their main role to be a good family team member with a high level of mutual understanding between father and mother in dealing with their children's language and biliteracy development. Besides this, they provided a rich biliteracy environment at home and appeared to value L1 and L2 similarly.

Parent Directed Families

Two families, Wendy's and Haris' families, have been classified as parent directed in their approach to language and biliteracy development as they exhibit strong parental desire and involvement in determining and directing their children's home language and literacy practices, with discrete and different roles of the two parents in achieving the desired approach. Within this type, the two families shared commonalities, but also exhibit some differences in how their commonalities in overall approach to language and biliteracy development were realised. Each couple (parents) appears to have a certain target to achieve in their home literacy practices. One couple has more focus on L1 language and culture maintenance, whereas the other has more focus on L2 language and culture. They have their own strategies to achieve their target in home literacy practices. For example, Wendy's family had come up with the strategy

of only using L2 in their home interactions with the mother, Wendy and her sibling (older sister). The target of the home literacy practices among mother and daughters was only English. Wendy had very limited opportunity to use her native language since her mother strictly uses L2 in communication with her at all times and in all places. Only when her father came for a short visit having taken some time off from his work back in Indonesia, did Wendy have the opportunity of communicating in L1 at home. When this occurred Wendy's mother complained that she felt that her English had deteriorated since the coming of her Indonesian only speaking husband had forced the use of Indonesian in her daily communication. This family had developed a separation of language somewhat similar to that which has proven to be a very successful strategy for developing bilingual children – the one parent-one language approach.

Characteristics of the Parents' Approach in Their Home Literacy Practices

The characteristics of the parents' approaches in the home practices seemed to relate to their attitudes to language and literacy learning at home, and their understanding of the relationship between L1 and L2 in literacy and language development.

Parents in Child Focused Families

The parents who are categorised as leading child focused families generally adopted child-centred approaches in their home literacy practices. This approach draws on a constructivist view promoting independent, enquiry-driven and self-directed learning. The child-centred approach was manifested in a number of ways, including in how the parents modified their speech when they were talking to their children to ensure comprehensibility and to maximize the negotiation of meaning that took place.

Another characteristic of the parents in the child focused family was the different roles of each parent in language and literacy practices at home. The fathers, as the dependants of their wives and primary caregivers, tended to accommodate to their

wives in the ways they supported their children's literacy practices at home. Their main reason for doing this was that they viewed their wives as being more educated and knowledgeable about educational matters, including the Australian school system. This meant that they were more flexible than would traditionally be the case for Indonesian parents in allowing their children to adjust to their current situation, both at school and in the home environment. The mothers demonstrated their child-centredness in organising their literacy activities by varying the nature and order of activities. In contrast, the fathers in both families initially tended to be more parent-centred or situation centred trying to dominate or direct their children in their home literacy activities. For example, I was present in the house and observed Fasya and Lukman's father telling them to do their homework as soon as they got home from school. The family lived in a three-bedroom house located in walking distance from the nearby university. They shared the house with other Indonesian students who were also studying at the university. When Fasya and Lukman had just arrived from school having been picked up by their mother, their father directed them: "You go and do your homework first and then play" (Observation, 17/9/2003). This style is typically brought from Indonesia where children have huge amounts of homework every day and parents are expected to make sure that their children do their homework exactly following the textbook as it is normally the only resource book used in school for literacy learning. The father was quite surprised when Lukman responded: "there is no homework here Dad, we only have a project to do either at school or at home. I did it already at school and I only have some books to read tonight" (Observation, 17/9/2003).

One reason why this response really shocked Lukman and Fasya's father was because he had not experienced such a response before as it is unusual for Indonesian children to have a debate with their parents. The father then complained to his wife saying:

"Itu Lukman Ma. Sudah tidak mau dengar lagi, disuruh kerjakan pekerjaan rumah, eh malah menantang. Apa-apaan itu?" (Interview with Mom, 17/9/2003).	Look at Lukman Mom, he does not want to listen to me anymore. I asked him to do his homework, but he rejected. What's the matter with him? (The translation)

As someone who knows the educational context of Australia, Lukman's mother approached her husband trying to make him feel comfortable with the current situation with their children saying:

"Anak-anak di sini memang tidak banyak pekerjaan rumahnya. Tidak seperti di Indonesia., hampir-hampir anak-anak tidak ada istrahatnya", jadinya anak-anak senang pergi sekolah" (Interview, 17/9/2003).	"Children here do not have a lot of homework to do at home. Unlike in Indonesia where children mostly spend their time doing homework without any rest, children in Australia are happy to go to school" (the translation).

Similarly, when Nanda's father asked her to do her homework and Nanda said, "no", her father got angry and asked Nanda not to complain at all as a daughter. What surprised him when he got angry was that Nanda warned back, saying:

"Don't try to hit me Dad, if you do, I'll call the police. I know the number, 000, then you'll be caught by the police and put you in the jail" (Interview, 27/1/2004).

These specific examples are interesting crossculturally as they show how the fathers in both families were trying to operate in their caretaking roles in a highly directive way that might be acceptable in an Indonesian context, but which, given the children's exposure to other cultural practices and ways of operating through school and the media, did not have the desired effect in leading to the children undertaking the task/s they had been asked to do. For these families, at this time, the home became a site of tension around literacy, especially in relation to formal literacy work around homework, although the fathers gradually became more accepting of the different context, and more child-centred in their approach.

The mothers of these two families behaved differently from their husbands. They were tolerant with their children and much more accepting of how their children were learning to cope with living in Melbourne as they were familiar with the Australian learning context where children are treated as the centre of literacy learning. Nanda's mother, for example, always listened carefully to her daughter who always narrated her work from school. She once asked Nanda when we were chatting in the family room to show me what she had read at home. And I directly asked Nanda "what have you read, Nanda?" She said:

> "I have read all of this while showing a novel. Then she explained in Bahasa Indonesia: Buku ini tentang parent show and tell, lalu ada masalah karena parentnya tanda tangan palsu" (Interview, 27/1/2004).

In the early stages of her schooling, Nanda's mother, Arini, just let Nanda feel comfortable with her new environment and her surroundings, in the school, home and community as she said:

Nanda lebih suka membaca, dia suka membaca buku-buku saya, saya kurang tahu apakah dia mengerti atau tidak. Karena saya lihat dia suka membaca, maka saya bawa ke toko second handbook untuk beli buku-buku yang relevant dengan dia, kebetulan dia suka buku-buku yang ada gambarnya, lalu biasanya setelah baca-baca dia juga suka nulis-nulis (Interview, 27/1/2004).	Nanda likes to read. She likes to read all my stuff, she just reads them and I don't know whether she understands or not. Starting from this, then I just asked her to accompany me going around the shopping centre and we found a second hand bookshop and I bought for her some books relevant to her interest, like picture books (Translation).

In addition, Lukman/Fasya's parents became increasingly aware that their sons were experiencing a different educational context and saw their role as supporting their children as independent learners. To support their children's independence in both L1 and L2 literacies, they provided a home internet connection with the latest computer features to facilitate their children engaging independently in home literacy activities

of their choice. This computer facility resulted from complaints from both Fasya and Lukman asking their parents to provide a computer with internet connection supposedly for their school work.

Parents in Parent Directed Families

The parents in the parent-directed families adopt a largely parent-centred approach in home literacy practices, an approach that Zentella (2005) called 'situation-centred'. They created home literacy practices in which they controlled the time and monitored all literacy learning happening around home. For example, Warda, as the housewife (with only a part-time job), whose primary role was looking after her three sons, always came and approached her sons who were doing things on the two computers provided by their father. She used to say simple encouraging words to her sons "bagus nak, karena kamu kerjakan PR" "It's good darling, because you are doing your homework" (Home Observation, 23/03/2003), encouragement that the children did not get the opportunity to hear in Indonesian at school. The father had a different approach to his sons' home literacy practices. He usually asked them to recount what they had learnt from school and his sons always discussed further the topic they had initiated for confirmation. Haris once discussed one of his school projects about Indonesia and talked to his father saying, "I could discuss about the population, culture, and the main products, yaa… His father only said one word, "How?" Haris confidently responded to his father, "I would search for that information through internet". What his father was doing was encouraging his child to talk about what he had been doing or what he had been learning as a way of promoting interaction and discussion at a level that the child was dictating. There was almost an 'instructive' quality about it as if the father saw his role as rehearsing the child in what he needed to do.

In Haris' family the home literacy practices were also facilitated at home for both L1 and L2 learning, and some equipment and programs were provided for both languages. For example, Haris' home literacy environment was facilitated by TV

programs directly connected to Indonesia such as Rajawali Citra Televisi Indonesia (RCTI), Televisi Pendidikan Indonesia (TPI), Televisi Republik Indonesia (TVRI), INDOSIAR, Surabaya Citra Televisi (SCTV). As a result Haris and his two other brothers were exposed to their home language through many interesting programs offered on each TV channel. For example, RCTI screens children's cartoons, TPI has educational programs including quizzes and schools programs, TVRI screens the latest news and current affairs, and INDOSIAR has special documentaries about unique things around Indonesia. Haris, for example, said: "I like cartoon films on RCTI TV every evening" (Home observation, 23/7/2004). This example of enjoying cartoon films in L1 meant that he could enjoy communication in Indonesian, but it did not have as strong a role in contributing literacy modelling and promoting literacy use as some of the other home literacy activities, such as conversation around ideas from texts or reading. There are two reasons why I would argue that the cartoon program viewing contributed less. Firstly, it did not involve as much interaction around the cartoon text, tending to be a more passive activity. Second, the parents clearly communicated in their approach how they valued more those literacy activities that clearly related to their children's homework brought from school.

Home literacy activities, such as reading and writing, had high value in this family with children being given some flexibility to play around their home, but with clearly prescribed limits and expectations. For example, Haris' Mum said:

| Anak-anak bebas main di dalam rumah asal berkaitan dengan pelajaran di sekolahnya, bisa main komputer atau internet tapi untuk kepentingan PR-nya, atau sesekali main game untuk menghindari kejenuhan di rumah. Mereka juga pakai komputer untuk cari lagu-lagu Jepang karena kebetulan belajar bahasa Jepang, sampai kreatif bigitu (Interview, 17/7/2004). | Children have freedom to play inside the house only if related to their lesson at school, such as playing in the computer; using internet for their homework; playing a game to avoid being bored at home; downloading songs from the internet like Japanese songs because they learn Japanese language at school; all of these lead them to be creative (Translation). |

Haris' Mum was trying to say that the children had freedom to engage in computing activities as long as they related in some way to their school literacy homework or language learning. She valued her children's creativity in using the home resources for their biliteracy learning. One of the interesting things here is that she focused strongly on literacy at home for its value in relation to school learning and literacy, rather than as an activity that had value and legitimacy in its own right and that could include getting enjoyment out of texts (and a diversity of texts) that may have no relationship to learning.

The other characteristic of this family is the comprehensive collaborative work between mother and father in supporting their children's biliteracy development. The collaboration is in the form of them having a clear and strictly adhered to understanding based on a role separation. As father, Emil took responsibility for literacy development in both L1 and L2 outside the home through the community centre. He took his children to the community centre for the religious learning delivered both in L1 and L2 every weekend.   As a full-time employee he had very limited time to interact with his children at home during the day except for the weekends. However, he was still able to communicate with his children after coming from work when he entered his house giving a formal greeting in Arabic: "Assalamualaikum Warahmatullahi Wabarakatuh". Then those who were at home who were listening to this greeting responded with the same greeting, as had become a customary practice for all visitors to the family as well. The father always checked out whether his children had done their homework at home even though he authorised his wife to deal with school business. He let his wife, who only had a part-time job, look after the children, including driving and picking them up from school. His wife accepted that her role as the mother of the children includes taking care of school business as well as participating with the children in their home literacy activities. His wife sometimes complained about the three sons who always fought when they were at home. For example, she said:

It is quite tiring Sir. Because all of them are boys, they always fight everywhere, such as in front of the TV; in the dining room; about taking turns in the shower in the morning before going to school. But if their father has already come, everybody keeps silent (Translation).	Aduh, payah pak. Karena semuanya laki-laki, kerjanya berkelahi melulu, apa di tempat computer, sementara nonton TV, di tempat makan atau kalau mau mandi pagi sebelum ke sekolah. Mereka pada saling tunjuk-menunjuk siapa duluan, tapi kalau bapaknya sudah datang semuanya pada diam (Interview, 23/11/2003).

She is quite worried about her children's daily interaction and fights at home. One of the things that the three boys quarrelled about in the computer room was access to the computers, as there were only 2 to share between them. In the family room where the direct television connection to Indonesian TV took place, the boys fought to get their own favourite programs offered both by the Indonesian and Australian TV channels. Haris' younger brother preferred to listen to the top music shows screened on SCTV every weekend, whereas his older brother tended to watch documentaries about unique things around Indonesia from Indosiar, while Haris himself was more likely to watch cartoons every evening from RCTI. To anticipate this internal problem, Warda, had organised for each child to have an opportunity to watch shows according to his own interest and to take a turn every three days to have what each referred to as 'my day'. For example, it was Haris' turn to watch his favourite program on Monday, followed by his older brother on Tuesday and his younger brother the next day. This example illustrates a parent-directed approach to resolving the situation by imposing a solution on the children rather than allowing the children to come up with a solution themselves. Also, the example is interesting for what it shows about the mother's main role in organising and disciplining the family, her approach in achieving this and how the children have clashes in their preferences for media although all preferring Indonesian Channels, but also all had strong desire to use computers and the internet. As a result, the mother had high appreciation from her husband, who really trusted her to deal with any internal family problem as he said:

Kalau masalah internal keluarga apalagi kalau itu masalah anak-anak di rumah, atau dalam urusan belajar, ibunya anak-anak paling mahir, apalagi dia memang pernah menadalami masalah pendidikan di tingkat master di Monash University (Interview, 23/11/2003).	If it is internal family related matter to children's problems at home, or problems in learning, the mother is very skilful because she got her master degree in Education at Monash University (Translation).

From this statement, Emil gives full authority to his wife to deal with any internal family business so that he can concentrate on his routine work in his full-time job and his voluntary work as an executive committee member of Moslem Community Organisation (MCO) where he is responsible for the community gathering and activities in the community resource centre over three days a week starting from Friday to Sunday (discussed in Chapter 6).

The other thing that characterises Haris' family is that both father and mother are consistent in using Indonesian at home in communication with their three children. Even though the children kept talking in English, the parents both always responded in Indonesian. This communication was adhered to deliberately by these parents in order to maintain the home language, as Emil explained:

Kita selalu pakai bahasa Indonesia di dalam rumah walaupun anak-anak paling sering pakai bahasa Inggris di rumah. Kalau dengan mereka sesama anak-anak memang pakai bahasa Inggris terus menerus, tapi kalau dengan bapak atau ibunya, kita biasakan pakai bahasa Indonesia agar Indonesianya tidak hilang atau paling tidak mereka ngerti kalau orang lain bicara dalam bahasa Indonesia (Interview, 20/6/2004).	We always use Bahasa Indonesia inside the house even though children tend to use English at home. Among the children, they communicate in English, but if they talk to their Mom and Dad, we use Bahasa Indonesia to maintain being able to communicate in L1. At least they can understand other people who speak Bahasa Indonesia (Translation).

Emil insisted on speaking Indonesian to his wife and children as he felt that this was important in order for the children not to forget Indonesian or at least so that they could understand when other people spoke in Indonesian. The parents did not want

their children to lose their culture, because they still had to deal with relatives who lived in Indonesia and the children had to speak Indonesian to their grandfather by phone. For example, when their grandfather had come to visit them a couple of months earlier, the children had not been able to speak fluently in Indonesian, but their grandfather had used Indonesian with them daily so that they could understand and communicate with him even though he was just staying in Australia for three months on a tourist visa (Interview, 23/11/2003). Overall, the value placed on the home language, Indonesian, and the second language, English, as the language of instruction in Australian school and community, is equal in their home.

This family also has a strong commitment to religious instruction and practice and the children learn religious materials in Indonesian through movies, music, magazines etc bought from Indonesian stores around Melbourne (of which there are at least 3). In learning the religious material, the children were guided to learn by heart some daily prayers, such as a prayer before eating, a prayer before leaving the house etc. The language of this instruction and practice was always Indonesian and literacy associated with religious practice was highly valued. One of the times I visited they were learning religious material I then took that material and asked Haris to read it to me. The material that Haris read was learned from his grandfather, including the following Indonesian religious song:

> Amal apa amal apa yang disukai Allah
> Sembahyanglah sembahyanglah tepat pada waktunya
> Apa lagi apa lagi yang disukai Allah
> Berbaktilah berbaktilah pada ibu dan ayah
> Apa lagi apa lagi yang disukai Allah
> Berjuanglah berjuanglah berjuang di jalan Allah
> (Reflective Journal, 29/11/2003).

When Haris read the above song, he could pronounce all the words in Indonesian, but he read the text quite slowly. He could also understand the message inside the song since he could describe a little bit about the song saying: "This song is about the actions that Allah likes such as pray on time; respect for parents etc." (Fieldnotes,

29/11/2003). The literacy practices around religion were a high priority within the home, particularly being able to learn in order to repeat by heart.

The main parent within the other parent-directed family (Table 5.2), Wendy's mother, Andriani, had more focus on L2. In the absence of her husband, the family only used English. They used Indonesian only when the father visited them and the mother considered the coming of the father as a barrier to her and the children's second language learning and practice of English. As the entire focus of learning was only the second language, all examples of home literacy practices refer to the second language.

The parent-centred approach applied in this parent directed family was clearly reflected in their home literacy practices. For example, Wendy's mother always compared their experiences in the Indonesian learning context and the Australian school contexts, such as the parents' role at home in supporting their children's literacy development, and the material used for literacy learning. That is why she always directed Wendy in what to do in relation to learning literacy. As she said:

| Di sana [Indonesia] khan pendidikannya beda proses dan penilaiannya. Di sana hanya hafalin, tapi kalau disini [Australia] prosesnya. Di sana harus kerja keras banget karena kelas 5 dan 6 berat. Sekarang gantian ibunya yang akan dampingi dan perhatian khusus untuk anak" (Interview, 26/9/2004). | The learning process in Indonesia is different from the Australian school system. The Indonesian system is likely to be more learning by heart while in the Australian system, the process of getting to know is the main concern. That is why children in Indonesia work hard and I will look after my children in this situation (Translation). |

Further, Wendy's mother complained about the misleading concepts in the textbooks used in Indonesian schools:

| Anak-anak selalu diajar membaca ini ibu budi, ibu Budi ke pasar, bapak ke kantor, padahal sekarang ibunya ke kantor juga. Selalu diajarkan ibunya | Children are always taught to read 'Here is Mrs. Budi; Mrs. Budi goes to the market; Mr X goes to office, while Mrs. Y also goes to office. Children are always |

belanja ke pasar padahal ibunya juga melakukan bisnis, konsep itu salah, juga tidak mengajarkan wirausaha sampai sekarang masih saja berlangsung (Interview, 26/9/2004).	taught that Mrs. X goes to the market while Mrs. Y also does business. Those concepts are wrong, and do not teach the children the entrepreneurship is happening up to now (Translation)

Wendy's mother was really concerned about these misleading concepts as she viewed them as being irrelevant in their gender perspectives in the current Indonesian context, where men and women already have equal opportunities in every occupational sector, such as being business professionals, lecturers, parliament members as well as in executive positions in the private sector right up to being President, (such as with Megawati Sukarnoputri). In other words, she felt that the literacy learning materials in Indonesia needed to be modified to make them up to date for better education and education for all, the motto introduced by the international organisation, UNICEF, as a guideline for human rights in education as applied to all countries around the world. This suggests that one of the reasons she was not proactive in encouraging her daughter's Indonesian literacy at home was because she felt alienated by and disapproved of the content of Indonesian texts as these conflicted with her attitude to women's rightful roles in Indonesian society.

The other characteristic of this Parent Directed family was that they preferred to use the second language, English, as the main tool of communication at home. Wendy's mother, for example, used her daughter as sparring partner talking in English, as she said:

Berhubung saya kurang banyak berinteraksi dengan teman lain di kampus karena kebanyakan di Lab, maka saya gunakan juga berinteraksi dalam bahasa Inggris dengan anak saya di rumah (Interview, 26/9/2004).	Because I do not have much time to interact with friends on Campus spending most of the time in the lab, I then use English to communicate with children at home (Translation)

Even among the Indonesian community, people feel proud of having their children being able to speak English very well with other Indonesian children. As Wendy's mother again contended, "have a look at other Indonesians, all of them speak in English. They all like to speak English because most of their friends use English to communicate with each other" (Interview, 26/9/2004). It appears from these comments that Andriani was attracted by the power and prestige of English as the dominant language of the community in the Australian context.

Using the family's first language at home only occurred when Wendy's father, Angoro, was visiting. He did not know much English, so he preferred to speak only Indonesian among the members of the family, including to his wife, and two daughters. He strictly focussed on using Indonesian when he was at home, but Andriani seemed to feel that this was a barrier in learning English as she said:

| karena bapak datang, Inggris saya lagi kacau lagi karena kebanyakan Indonesianya (Interview, 26/9/2004). | Because of the coming of the father, my English becomes poor since we talk a lot in Indonesian (Translation) |

At the critical time for Wendy's mother to submit her PhD thesis, she had to stay all day and night in the lab on campus for about three months. In anticipation of this she had asked her husband to come and stay with her to help with looking after their two daughters. From this point, Wendy and her older sister were exposed much more to L1 literacy interaction since the father brought some Indonesian literature facilitating their bridging from English to Indonesian as preparation for going home to Indonesia. Angoro acted as the facilitator, friend, teacher, cook, and cleaner at home during this period and was dedicated to meeting all his children's and his wife's needs. At night time, he helped his daughters with their school homework, replacing their mother's role. All interaction in every single activity at home with him used Indonesian, including reading activity using the books he had brought from Indonesia. During this period the children were spending about one hour per day of their spare time on L1

literacy activity with the father acting as the facilitator (Home Observation, 20/10/2004).

Children's Attitudes and Responses to Their Home Literacy Practices

The children displayed their different attitudes and responses in their home literacy practices. Their attitudes and responses will be explored under the two categories of family: (1) Child Focused Family (CFF); and (2) Parent Directed Family (PDF).

Children in Child Focused Families

Children in the CFF families demonstrate different attitudes and responses toward their home literacy practices. The variety of attitudes and responses will be explored within each family as well as the interaction between children and their parents, siblings, and friends in biliteracy development and bilingualism.

In terms of her likes and dislikes about learning at home and school, Nanda preferred to study at school because she thought that at school she really learned something as she said: "Saya lebih suka di sekolah karena di sekolah kita belajar (I like it at school because I can study together with friends". Even though she liked to read novels at home, she did not recognize that she was learning something because she did not have feedback similar to what she received from her classroom teacher at school. Her Mum was busy with her study as well as her older sister who was studying at secondary school. Nanda received little response from her Mum if she tried to tell her about the book that she had read, although her mother had been responsive to her interest in reading by buying her books. For example, when Nanda read the book about 'Parent show and tell', she explained to her Mum in Indonesian after reading it: "Buku ini tentang parents show and tell, parents suruh tandatangan palsu" (this book is about parents show and tell). (Interview, 27/1/2004). Nanda also liked to read the materials available at home, such as Indonesian magazines, newspapers, and some textbooks brought from Indonesia. She even liked to read her Mum's books but after

reading those books, she said: "I don't understand this". Because of her reading hobby and the spontaneous enjoyment she seemed to take in reading (that her Mum has only just realised), Nanda was very happy when her Mum asked her to go to the shopping centre looking for a secondhand bookshop and bought some books of interest to her, such as picture books, as Nanda said:

| Terima kasih Mum. Ceritanya bagus-bagus dan menarik dalam buku itu. Buku yang penuh gambar yang baru dibeli di toko buku (Home Observation, 4/2/2004). | Thanks Mum. The stories are good and interesting in the book. The book which was full of pictures just bought from the book shop (Translation). |

Nanda also demonstrated positive attitudes to reading in her home language, Indonesian. She was confident in reading some Indonesian materials, such as books, Jawa Pos newspapers, and Indonesian magazines as well as watching Indonesian videos and Indonesian news on the SBS channel every Saturday. She once read an Indonesian text from a book brought from Indonesia:

Laut itu luas
Di atas laut angin bertiup
Bermacam-macam ikan hidup di laut
Di tepi laut ada pantai
Pohon kelapa tumbuh di pantai
Gunung hutan kebun laut
Ada di sekitar kita
Masih banyak benda lain
Ada di lingkungan kita (Surana, 2002: p. 105)

When Nanda read the above text, she could read fluently and without any mistakes, and she could also explain what the text was about, "The text is about the sea full of fish inside surrounded by mountains and forest". (Home observation, 27/2/2004).

Lukman and Fasya are brothers who have different attitudes and responses in their literacy practices. Lukman liked to play outside in the playground just behind his house with his friends, while Fasya liked to stay at home playing games by himself or watching cartoon films on TV. For their first three months in Australia both Lukman and Fasya still used Indonesian when they talked to each other. Later after they were more familiar with English, they used English in most of their communication. Lukman, who was already literate in Indonesian before coming to Australia, had a different approach in acquiring the pronunciation of each word in English from Fasya who was not literate in Indonesian before coming to Australia. Lukman's pronunciation tended to be highly affected by his L1, while Fasya tended to follow directly his Australian friends. For example, when Lukman said the word "no" he sounded the word like reading it in Indonesian, but Fasya pronounced it [nou] like his other native speaking friends. The point of this example in relation to their bilingual and biliteracy development is that Lukman's early strategy was to borrow or transfer from L1 into L2, whereas Fasya treated the early acquisition process as if he was engaged in L1 acquisition and drew on speakers of English as an L1 around him as his models.

In contrast to their different approaches to acquiring spoken English and in early reading, Lukman and Fasya tended to have positive attitudes and responses to their own literacy practices, particularly in English at home with their mother and father. Lukman, for example, liked to explain in English what he understood from watching the news, as the following response shows: "Mum, Dad [while shouting] there is something happen in the news, people died…," while Fasya tended to only repeat the words he was hearing like when his mother asked him "what's funny Fasya?", and then he responded: "yeah… it says like this "banyak orang meninggal [many people died]". He then translated the news to his Mum in English, "It seems like an earthquake" when he tried to explain the news (Home Observation, 26/5/2004).

Another response from Fasya was that when he went to Hisfield (local shopping complex) with his mother by bus and greeted the baby just behind him saying: "oh

that's a baby, a girl? Oh she is a girl. Excuse me, okay, oh yeah. That's good". These words automatically came from Fasya who responded to the situation in his surroundings. In this instance, he seemed to take pleasure in showing off his ability, practising vocabulary and phrases. Another example of this was when Fasya and his mother were waiting for a train, he said: "Mum that's the train, okay. Mum train Mum, it's raining Mum…" (Interview, 20/08/2003). This expression from Fasya was recounted as something that he had said by his mother, Nurmin, when she was being interviewed in the home. During the interview she was explaining how Fasya was developing in his L2, including his language use in many situations, such as in the train, in the bus, and in the shopping centre.

The development of Lukman and Fasya's attitudes and responses toward their biliteracy practices changed over time. Soon after he had arrived Fasya tended to have negative attitudes and responses to literacy activities at school, home, and in community. He blamed everything on his new environment, asking to go home while crying "Ibu, pulang...pulang…ayo pulang ke Indonesia…" [Mum, go home…go home… let's go home to Indonesia]. At school, he did not understand at all what he was listening to and said: "semuanya gila, tak ada yang suka sama saya, tidak ada yang peduli dengan saya, tidak punya teman" [all of them are crazy, no one likes me, no one cares about me, I do not have any friend]. These negative attitudes and responses started to change after he got a very good response from his teacher at school greeting him in his home language saying: "Selamat pagi Fasya" as discussed in the previous chapter (Chapter 4). Starting from this point, his attitudes and responses also changed at home. He turned to having positive attitudes and responses both at home and school to both L1 and L2 literacies. He did not want to go back to his home country any more and tended to enjoy his new life with his new friends as he responded to one of the questions addressed to him "how do you feel about going to your home country?" he answered: "oh… I'm scared to go home because the teacher there is not friendly, a lot of homework and no play time at school, I like to stay here" (Home Observation, 25/05/2004). His literacy practices at home

specifically in relation to literacy (as opposed to use of L2 in speech) also improved by always trying and repeating the words he heard from school teachers, friends or even from cartoon films and he started to be keep repeating some expressions such as: "I'm sorry, I called you because I am cold, I couldn't sleep. I think warm it in five minutes, and I'll use a blanket, sorry for that" (Interview, 20/08/2003).

He also became creative in his home literacy practices, such as creating a game by drawing first a crocodile or butterfly, and then he asked his mother to play with him: "Mum you play with this… you first Mum…ah that's my turn Mum". He really enjoyed his home literacy activities, such as reading some L1 and L2 books borrowed from school library as a regular task for children to read at home to either, mother, or siblings, drawing animals, or creating a game like Pokemon cards and making his own sentences such as: "I win, I win, you go, you go…". He was also very proud to show his work to his father. This can be seen when his father came and visited him at school, Fasya approached his father while pointing out his pictures in the wall and confidently said: "that is my picture and my work, Dad".

In terms of L1 and L2 use at home within the family, both Lukman and Fasya used more English after 3 months in Australia. Fasya and Lukman always interacted in English even when quarrelling with each other. To accommodate the children, the father and mother used to use English when they talked to both Lukman and Fasya, but they intentionally used their home language, Indonesian, when they talked about serious things because they felt it to be more comfortable and meaningful to express these matters in their L1, as Nurmin said:

| "Kalau bahasa sehari-hari saya pakai bahasa Inggris, tapi kalau ada yang penting saya pakai Indonesia karena lebih pas gitu lhoh. Kalau pakai bahasa Inggris secara psychologis kurang erat dan juga kurang menghayati maknanya. Memang bagaimanapun juga yang paling nikmat kalau pakai bahasa sendiri" (Interview, 20/08/2003). | We speak English in our daily conversation, but we use Indonesian when we talk about important things to have deeper and meaningful understanding. Whatever the condition, the most enjoyable thing is using our own language (Translation). |

For the parents in this type of family, it made sense if they used L1 in talking about an important thing, however, for the children, they had come to a different understanding about using L1 and L2. Fasya, for example, would quickly understand an instruction if his parents said it in English. When his mother, Nurmin, called Fasya by asking in Indonesian: "ke sini Fasya, saya akan beritahu sesuatu" then there was no response from Fasya, but when she said: "Come here Fasya, I want to tell you something", then Fasya directly came and approached his Mum saying: "What's it about Mum?". Similarly, when his father, Suroto, took white drinking water in a glass of tea, then Fasya responded: "Dad, it doesn't make sense" (Interview, 20/08/2003). This expression from Fasya was recorded in the background doing an interview in the home with Fasya's mother, Nurmin, when she was explaining what was happening to Fasya's L2 development in English. Such observed behaviours of children in this child focus family appears to be evidence that a result of adopting a child-centred approach is the promotion of independent, enquiry-driven and self-directed learning in the children's home biliteracy practices.

Children in Parent Directed Families (PDF)

Children with the parents in a PD family have moved from negative to positive attitudes and responses toward their home literacy practices both in the home language, Indonesian, and their second language, English. Haris, for example, said he felt happy to have some literacy support at home, such as TV connected directly to Indonesian TV channels, Indonesian magazines, and religious materials both in English and Indonesian, a computer with the internet, play station, as he said: "I like to watch the Indonesian TV because there are lots of movies, like from 11 o'clock I watch Doraemon, it gives us some lessons. I watch also the Indonesian news" (Interview, 21/9/2003).

Haris and his siblings tended to follow their parents' expectation to maintain their heritage culture and language as directed by their parents in their home literacy interaction using mostly their L1, but still allowing them to use their L2 in a limited

way, especially among the siblings. Haris, for example, communicated in both languages when he explained what he usually did at home, and his English was sometimes mixed with Indonesian as one of his responses demonstrated:

> Saya [Haris] main computer dan internet, playstation and sometimes go to my friend's house, di rumah temanku doing my homework, buat project and writing. Biasa nulis project about Indonesia atau buat buku, culture or religion, biasanya satu sampai tiga halaman (Interview, 21/9/2003).

His biliteracy environment at home had a significant influence on his performance in both English and Indonesian. On the computer, Haris generally interacted with the English context as he said:

> Here in the Internet, we have live chat and we can meet everybody in the world in the room chatting. There is a program in the computer through Internet called 'meet with your friend'. When you open the program, you can meet your friend. Like I myself, I usually find my friends and chat with them like Hasyim, Rahman, Lukman and still many others (Interview, 21/9/2003).

The availability of the Indonesian literacy materials, such as those related to religion, magazines, and newspaper, were also influential for his L1 performance. In reading his L1 materials, Haris demonstrated his ability without any hesitation in front of us (his father and mother, his siblings, and in my presence as well). When his father showed him the Indonesian reading taken from 'Harvest Day Book', Haris read as follows:

> Kita bersyukur kepada Tuhan Yang maha Esa. Mengapa, karena kita hidup di Indonesia. Negerinya penuh dengan pemandangan alam kita yang mempesona. Pemandangan di pantai dan di pegunungan yang ada di sekitar kita. Banyak wisatawan mancanegara tertarik berkunjung untuk menikmatinya dan mereka kagum melihatnya (Home Observation, 21/9/2003).

Haris read this text with 100% correct pronunciation. Even though he rejected the invitation to read when he was asked, "Can you read this Indonesian text" and responded, "no, I can't read it", he actually managed to read it when he tried to read word by word. This initial negative attitude and spontaneous response demonstrates how the Indonesian children felt shy about revealing their real ability in L1 literacy to others, highlighting that they were painfully aware of the change in context and content of their bilingualism and biliteracy so that their once powerful and statusful home language was in the new context a minority language primarily used in a limited range of contexts associated with family and community. When I [researcher] admired his ability to read the Indonesian text saying, "That's excellent, you could read all the words in the text," he still seemed ashamed and said, "no, I just could read it, but I don't understand". However, when we (Haris & I) sat together tracing the meaning of the words he had no difficulty in recognising and explaining the message of the text about thanking the Almighty God for providing beautiful lands around Indonesia.

Haris' attitudes and responses changed after a couple of terms in the Australian school system. When he was asked the same question as in the previous visit, "Can you read this Indonesian text?", on another home visit during the Easter holidays (Mid April 2004), a few months later he proudly said, "Yeah, I could do that", and then he directly read as follows:

> Pernahkah kamu menonton pertunjukan kesenian di daerah tempat tinggalmu? Kesenian apakah itu? Bagaimana perasaan kita ketika menonton pertunjukan itu? Indonesian memiliki berbagai jenis kesenian. Hampir di seluruh daerah memiliki kesenian sendiri-sendiri. Jenis kesenian di daerah-daerah berbeda-beda baik musik iringan maupun gerakannya, oleh karena itu orang menyebutkannya sebagai kesenian daerah. Selain kesenian itu, tiap daerah atau suku juga memiliki adat dan kebudayaan sendiri-sendiri. Adat dan kebudayaan tidak sama antara satu daerah dengan daerah lainnya. Karena perbedaan inilah orang mengatakan sebagai adat dan kebudayaan daerah.

At this home visit he showed his confidence in reading. When he was asked, "Do you know the meaning of this text?" then he said, "I'm not sure, but, it is probably about the arts and culture around Indonesia", with a smiling face indicating that he did not have any hesitation to respond to all types of questions. Despite being now more open and positive about L1 literacy, Haris made a striking strong comment in relation to his literacy development as he said, "You know what, when I finish reading a book, I like to write and make a summary, usually in two or three pages". This feedback referred specifically to his reading and writing skills and strategies in his use of English at home, suggesting that he was more deliberate and placed stronger emphasis on English (L2) literacy, even though his parents had placed a strong emphasis on L1 literacy at home and in the community.

Wendy is the other child who is categorised in this type of family (Type B Table 5.2). Her mother clearly communicated her expectations about Wendy's engagement in literacy at home and Wendy seemed to enjoy fulfilling the tasks expected. Home literacy was oriented towards completion of prescribed homework reading and writing tasks, which all centred on English. For example, Wendy interacted with her mother in home reading activities regularly - either she read books to her Mum or her Mum read those books to her. Wendy usually read a storybook to her Mum that was related to her school reading books, since she had to read a certain number of books within the running school term as she said:

> I always borrow books from the school library because I have to read a certain number of books this term to put into my reading book. My Mum has to sign in my reading book for every title of the book I've read" (Interview with Wendy, 25/7/2004).

Wendy was quite well prepared for the home reading activity since her Mum was very strict with the rules they [Wendy and her Mum] had made in relation to the home literacy practices, such as there being a proper time for playing with other

friends around the house, so that she did not forget to go home after she had really enjoyed playing with friends, as her mother said:

Kalau dia [Wendy] main dengan teman-temannya yang lain di sekitar rumah ini, dia mesti ikut keyboard sebagai guideline kapan mainnya. Guideline ini paling tidak diikuti meskipun tidak tepat sekali waktunya. Dia diarahkan untuk mematuhi roster yang telah dibuat bersama ini, karena kalau tidak, dia tidak akan pulang-pulang … Saya hanya tanya kalau pulang sekolah mau apa? Mau nonton TV, setelah itu apa, mau buat homework, lalu nonton Simpson…" (Interview, 26/9/2004).	If Wendy plays with her friends around this house, she has to follow the agreed time schedule. She is directed to strictly obey the time schedule made together for the discipline. I just ask when she comes back from school what she wants to do such as watching TV, then doing homework, and watching TV again like Simpson. (Translation).

Wendy tended to follow these rules and she was happy playing around her house with her friends as she said:

> I play with other friends around here, and I like playing, going shopping in the weekend in Chadstone… I also like to borrow some books from school library for home reading activity because I have to read at least one book every night at home before I ask for Mum's signature (Interview, 26/9/2004).

In terms of her home reading and writing activities, she had positive attitudes and responses in doing her home literacy tasks, such as integrating reading and writing or other aspect of language as she said:

> Saya punya list of the books, chapter book is a long story… besides, nulisnya ada pada PR yang due setiap Friday. PR itu ada nulisnya, mix. One side reading and other side writing and also Math, and sometimes listening, an integrated subject matters, juga ada tulis halusnya" (Interview, 26/9/2004).

Whist Wendy was comfortable in mixing English and Indonesian in her speech, her literacy development and usage at home centred on English and school-related English literacy tasks.

In Summary

The parents of the children in the four Indonesian families in their home contexts demonstrated some marked differences in both their attitudes to children's bilingualism and biliteracy and in their home literacy practices in teaching and interacting with their children. These differences did not seem to relate to the length of their living experience in Australia, or the parents' level of education. However, it is interesting to note that the two sets of parents operating with what has been characterised as a Parent Directed Family (Haris' and Wendy's) are both highly educated. Their deliberate choice not to adopt a child centred approach, but rather one that included a stronger focus on parent directed activities seemed to be driven by their strong parental desire and chosen direction in their preference for language and literacy practices and development for their children. For Haris' family this desire and direction was associated with positioning family and home as the site of maintenance and transmission of traditional heritage cultural values and practices, including L1 language and literacy, religious values and practices, knowledge about Indonesian events and society and traditional role expectations and may be related to the fact that the family were now permanent residents so saw the family context as one where most of the work of language maintenance and transmission needed to be done. For Wendy's family (particularly her mother, Andriani) the desire and direction involved creating home and family as a gendered language space with separation of language practices in L1 and L2 depending on the parent the child was interacting with, and with L2 language and literacy associated with mother. In the (normally) all female household L2 (English) was used to transmit and reinforce 'modern' values associated with women's equality and rights and a positive attitude to Australian society and cultural values. L2 literacy activity at home was fairly narrowly focussed around school-required home literacy tasks.

In contrast to these Parent Directed families, Nanda's and Lukman and Fasya's parents, also all relatively highly educated, appeared to value L1 and L2 similarly in the home context. These parents tended to be more responsive to each child's personality and interests in language and literacy choice and activities, whilst nevertheless encouraging both L1 and L2 literacy at home. They were comfortable and tolerant of their children mixing L1 and L2 and adopted parental roles that were fluid and not necessarily in line with traditional Indonesian role expectations and use. Both L1 and L2 were used for literacy at home, but the focus was dictated by the perceived needs and interests of the child. They were proactive in extending children's enjoyment in literacy through encouragement and activities at home, as well as encouraging the use of 'translanguaging' in interactions around text (where the child's levels in each language made this possible) to check for the child's understanding of material and to facilitate greater engagement.

Both approaches, parent directed and child focussed, appear to have been quite effective in achieving the goals that the parents aspired to for their children, so parenting style per se was not the primary determiner of outcome in any of these cases. What is evident is that the more creative and involved the parents were in the process of supporting biliteracy development and bilingualism at home, and providing opportunities for biliteracy engagement and learning, the better the immediate results in terms of the children's outcomes both in L1 and L2 literacies. The most creative family was Lukman/ Fasya's parents since they had a better understanding of their children's needs in this new educational environment. Their types of support for literacy learning both in L1 and L2 at home, including using TV and the internet, were positive and fostered a very supportive home literacy environment. What Lukman, and, also, Haris, in their different ways, showed in their significant biliteracy development was evidence that their parents were particularly successful in creating an 'implementational space' at home for biliteracy (Hornberger, 2002, p. 30) and a 'sense of efficacy to develop positive academic consequences' (Cummins, 1995, p.108).

Chapter Six

Attitudes and Approaches to Supporting Children's Biliteracy Development and Bilingualism in the Community

"Ayo cepat, kita pergi ke mesjid"
[Hurry up, let's go to the mosque]

In this chapter I will discuss the role of the community centre in supporting the children's biliteracy development and bilingualism in the community, focusing particularly on the differences in the ways that community members perceive biliteracy and bilingualism and how these translate into their community practices; and the extent to which the approaches they adopt impact on the children's biliteracy development and bilingualism. In particular, I will consider how the children respond to their community literacy activities and how community members' level of knowledge about, interest in and approach to supporting bilingualism and biliteracy impact on the children's biliteracy development and bilingualism. Let me begin by explaining the above Indonesian quotation as a response from a child to his father about the community centre activity.

Contextualising Biliteracy Development and Bilingualism in Community

"Ayo cepat, kita pergi ke mesjid" Haris urged his other two brothers, as they were preparing to go to the community centre not very far from their house where their other friends from the same cultural background would be joining them. They were quite happy to see their father getting ready and asking them to prepare everything for the religious literacy activities in the community centre. Their enjoyment of playing around the community centre was indicated by their positive response to the community literacy activities they experienced every weekend. These activities included reciting the Qur'an, the Holy Book of Islam; reading the meanings of the Qur'an in their L1 language; listening to the religious stories from instructors;

competing with other children in religious quizzes; enjoying a variety of traditional cakes and food. Based on my observations and their comments the children experienced happiness and fulfilment from being amongst their peers playing around both inside and outside the centre. This experience marked the beginning of every newcomer feeling comfortable in Australia and appears to be pivotal in his/her performances and confidence in biliteracy development and bilingualism in the community. These community activities will be discussed further in the following section.

A considerable amount of research has been dedicated to understanding literacy practice outside classroom and schools in the past decade (Moje, 2000), however, Moje claims that there has been still "little attention given to what it means to talk about literacy in the community" (p. 77). In examining community in community-based literacy research, Moje (2000) situates literacy learning within the context of community by relating it to community spaces and the texts that emerge within those spaces. Wason-Ellam, et al. (2004) argues for a multifaceted process in community literacy practices due to the family's background, with those being a complex and dynamic dimension to the extent to which community spaces may be influenced by the available access to services, resources, and information for family members. For example, depending on what a specific family chooses to engage in, Wason-Ellam et al. describe community literacy as:

> "reading documents such as signs, notices, posters, advertisements, letters, or schedules of recreational activities. Or it may be characterised as the reading practice associated with participation in neighbourhood activities or cultural events in libraries, bookstores, and children's centres" (p.2),

In an attempt to link community literacy and children's learning in the home, Wason-Ellam, et al., in reference to the work of Nespor (1997), have recently argued that "what community literacy research may not make explicit is changing layers of literacy located in the kid networks or child-centred spaces" (p.2). The interactions between literacy and the community according to them influences children's literacy

learning, such as their learning from books, games, and leisure activities, and also includes learning in decontextualized virtual spaces, like television, films, computers, and videos. They finally emphasise the difficulty of establishing clear boundaries between home and community literacy practices as children's participation in social and cultural activities within a wide-range of texts is an integral part of the children's literacy practices at home.

With regard to address the above questions, Heath (1986) proposes seven uses of literacy in the community as follows:

> "(1) Instrumental: Literacy provided information about practical problems of daily life (price tags, checks, bills, advertisements, street signs, traffic signs, house numbers); (2) Social interactional: Literacy provided information pertinent to social relationships (greeting cards, cartoons, bumper stickers, posters, letters, recipes); (3) News related: Literacy provided information about third parties or distant events (newspaper items, political flyers, messages from local city offices about incidents of vandalism, etc.); (4) Memory supportive: Literacy served as a memory aid (messages written on calendars and in address and telephone books; inoculation records); (5) Substitutes for oral messages: Literacy was used when direct oral communication was not possible or would prove embarrassing (messages left by parent for child coming home after parent left for work, notes explaining tardiness to school); (6) Provision of permanent record. Literacy was used when legal records were necessary or required by other institutions (birth certificates, loan notes, tax forms); and (7) Confirmation: Literacy provided support for attitudes or ideas already held, as in settling disagreement or for one's own reassurance (advertising brochures on cars, directions for putting items together, the Bible)" (p.21).

In attempting to put the broad uses of community literacy into literacy analysis, Lotherington (2003, p. 211) draws on four of Heath's uses, instrumental, social interactional, news related, and memory supportive, as a framework to analyse students' journals of literacy events of a group of young Australians of South-East Asian background and explores the world of Grade 9 and 10 students through their everyday language and literacy practices. Based on the extensive survey, observational and interview data from students, their teachers and parents in her study, Lotherington (2003) suggests there is a need:

"(1) to rethink how to conceptualise, validate, teach and assess literacy proficiencies in a multicultural society; and (2) for closer collaboration on all fronts in the lives of these young people (among their teachers, between the school and the home, the school and the community, and the home and the community) to help them build an Australian life within dynamic and potentially inclusive multiculturalism" (p.216).

This has some parallels to what the present study is seeking to achieve through its exploring of biliteracy development and bilingualism in the context of community by considering the children's exposure to biliteracy practices in a community centre, as will be discussed further in the next section.

Community Context

The context of community centre in which this research was conducted is an Islamic Centre called the Moslem Community Organisation (MCO) located near where the families lived. This centre aims to facilitate Indonesian community activities for both children and adults. It is a place for the Indonesian community to have gatherings, discuss the current situation in Indonesia and 'hot' issues (eg. at the time of the research the parliamentary election in 2004, the first direct presidential elections in 2005 and bird flu and child hunger). In short, this is a place for promoting good relations among Melbourne's Indonesian community, and for maintaining Indonesian cultures and values, language and literacy. The children, as one important constituency in the community, have regular literacy activities every Sunday. More than ten children usually attended, including four of the focal children. The literacy activities usually lasted from 10:00 am to 12:15 pm (Midday Pray time) commencing with the facilitator telling religious stories, such as the story of the all Prophets, eg. the prophets Isa, Nuh, Musa, Ibrahim, Adam, Muhammad SAW, as well as other stories read from the religious books available in the book corner of the centre. They then continued with reciting the Qur'an, where children took turns, as selected through pointing by the facilitator, to read the meaning in Indonesian, and they then

usually discussed the content using both English and Indonesian. Children who regularly attended these literacy activities in the community centre demonstrated marked differences in how they learned these religious lessons. Four focal children (Fasya, Haris, Lukman and Nanda) actively participated in the weekly community centre activities, while the other one (Wendy) only ever participated in the monthly activity where all Moslem community members around Victoria came together to listen to the religious messages delivered by a guest speaker invited by the community activists. (Observation, 15/7/2003).

The community activists generally conducted a meeting once a year to plan community activities in the centre. One of the meetings I participated in as a community activist and researcher was the annual meeting of the community activists midyear in 2003. This meeting made annual plans to serve the Indonesian Moslem community around Victoria providing activities for adult members of the community (both men and women), teenagers, and children. The activists in this meeting were grouped based on their interests, so that the youth went to the group dealing with the teenage activities, the women went to a group to plan for the women's activities, and the community activists and instructors who are the focus of this chapter went to a group that worked on framing the activities involving children in the community centre. This approach emphasises how activities in the centre were strongly shaped by gender and age differences.

In my role as a researcher as well as a community member interested in education, I went to participate in the group planning activities for the children. We all sat together brainstorming suitable programs for the children and we ended up with a list of short term activities (designed to focus on a specific story or message) and longer term activities, such as religious quizzes, inviting special experts and singing stars for children from Indonesia.(Field Notes, 15/6/ 2003).

The primary use of literacy in the centre based on my observations was confirmation – in this case confirmation related to the Qu'ran and the associated religious teachings. A typical session in the community centre started with the activity of listening to a religious story. This usually took 15-20 minutes involving the instructors reading those selected stories to children and giving them the opportunity to respond to the story. All children were usually sitting in a circle with both boys' and girls' groups in the same carpeted room. Another 15-20 minutes were used to recite the Qur'an, usually starting with the involvement of the instructor first to show the appropriate ways of reciting the target learning of the day. The children then followed the instructor's way of reciting the Qur'an together in chorus, which made it quite noisy. The activity of getting to know the Qur'an continued by involving the instructor in explaining its meaning and messages in order to facilitate the children having an understanding of what they were reciting. The Qur'an was written in Arabic as the message from Allah delivered by Prophet Muhammad in the third century. Each Moslem is required to be able to recite this Arabic script, get to know the messages, and to communicate them to others. The focus is on learning to recite by heart, but without a knowledge of Arabic it is very much a memorisation exercise. The meaning of the text is presented and discussed in English, Indonesian or a combination of the two.

After one hour of the religious literacy learning, all the community members (adults and children) take a 30 minute break and enjoy the plates of food brought by the women's group (mostly mothers of the children). In the last part of the lesson time, the religious literacy learning continues with one on one tutorial mentoring of each child in reciting the Qur'an (being able to recite the Qur'an was a long term goal of the program).

Another example of an activity conducted in the centre was a competition for the children to demonstrate their knowledge of religion. This activity, called religious quizzes, was conducted twice a year, midyear and the end of year usually in the

holiday period and was intended to assess the effectiveness of the regular religious literacy learning taking place across a number of locations around Victoria. One of the religious quizzes conducted midyear in 2003 was videotaped. The children demonstrated their skills and knowledge in answering the religious questions delivered both in Indonesian, and English to facilitate better understanding. The quizzes were conducted by involving children in groups. Haris and Lukman, who represented their community centre, came up with the top ranking and their group answered almost all the religious questions and requests correctly (Video, 15/6/2004).

Community Activists

The community activists considered in this chapter are those community members who were responsible for running the community literacy programs addressed to the children's, teenagers', fathers' and mothers' groups as well as programs for all these groups in around Victoria, such as the group of Indonesian Moslems from Brunswick, Clayton (IIS), Footscray, Laverton, Franston, and the Youth Indonesian Moslem Association (YIMSA). The community activists set the goals for the annual programs and made the programs interesting to the whole community by inviting certain famous people from Indonesia to deliver speeches, sometimes sponsored by the Australian government as well, e.g. K.H. Abdul Rahman Wahid (Gusdur), a former Indonesian president; Hasyim Musadi, the president of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), the biggest Islamic organisation in Indonesia; and some other parliament members who came and talked about the political situation in Indonesia. A special event organised by the group of female activists under MCO, focused on Indonesian children in Australia, was a workshop dealing with the morals of children presenting Indonesian expert, Dr. Seto Mulyadi and a film star, Neno Warisman in 2004. The community members were very enthusiastic about this special event and most of the Indonesian parents and children went and participated in a two day workshop conducted in the Brunswick Hall centre.

For the purpose of closer investigation in this study, the community activists were selected based on their frequency of contribution to the community literacy activities at the centre. They included three people who were office bearers in the MCO or in the Clayton group instructors in the community centre, and the female group leader (see Table 6.1 below).

Table 6.1: Summary of the Community Activists

Pseudonym	Age	Gender	Educational Level	Number of years staying in Australia	Residential Status	Roles
Harmoko	45	M	Ph.D	7	PR	Office Bearer (MCO)
Emil	39	M	BA	6	PR	Office Bearer (MCO)
Mukhlis	47	M	Ph.D	12	PR	Office Bearer (MCO)
Parwoko	38	M	MA	3	TR	Community literacy Instructor
Mulyani	40	F	Year 12	11	PR	Female group leader/Instructor
Elvira	41	M	BA	8	PR	Community Literacy Instructor

All but one (Parwoko) are permanent residents (PR) in Australia having migrated to Australia for a better life after they had pursued their masters or doctoral study. For example, Mukhlis had applied for PR after completing both his Masters and Ph.D. in

Biological Science over 6 years. He had just been granted residential status a couple of years earlier. Emil came first to Australia as a dependant of his wife, an AusAid student. He subsequently was promoted by the company he was working with and was able to apply for PR and his wife as well as three sons (including Haris, one of the focal children in this study) joined him later after returning home for a couple of years to fulfil the return home rule of Department of Immigration and Indigenous Affairs.

The activists had roles serving the whole Indonesian community around Victoria though the central organisation is located in suburban Melbourne in the centre's main building which was built with support of community members, the Indonesian government and Indonesian Moslem donors. Most of the activities in the centre deal with religious literacy activities using Indonesian as a tool of communication among adult community members and mixed L1 and L2 for children. It is also notable that this is a very male dominated community organization and community space. There was only one woman who actively participated as a community activist.

Activists' Attitudes to Supporting Biliteracy and Bilingualism in the Community

Activists demonstrate different ways of supporting biliteracy/bilingualism in their community activities. Their approaches have been classified into two broad types: (1) the activists who view the centre as a site for translanguaging (CST); and (2) the activists who view the centre as a site for religious transmission (CRT).

Table 6.2: Community literacy practices of the activists and their types of biliteracy and bilingualism

Community Activists	Activists' approach to language and literacy development	Commonalities	Manifestation
Mukhlis Mulyani Elvira	Centre as a site for translanguaging & transliteracies (CST)	- Encouraging of both L1 and L2 literacy at the centre and comfortable with mixing of L1 and L2.	'Translanguaging' fostered in interactions around text (where child's levels in each language make this possible)
		- View L1 and L2 as very helpful for children in community interaction	Use both L1 and L2 for literacy practice in the community centre, but focus is dictated by the perceived needs and interests of the child
		- Provide L1 resources for literacy learning	Proactive in extending children's enjoyment in literacy through encouragement and activities in the community centre
		- Use the benefits of limited vocabulary of instructor for L1 use	Creating L1 use by the limitation of what the instructors can say in English.
		- Always make sure for better understanding in L1	Assessing the children comprehension through the use of L1

Parwoko Emil Harmoko	Centre as site for religious transmission (CRT)	- Cultural and religious literacy practices	Community centre as the site of maintenance and transmission of traditional heritage cultural values and practices, religious values and practices, knowledge about Indonesian events and society and traditional role expectations.
		- View L1 as a barrier to learning L2 with Limited use of L1	Very limited use of L1 in their interaction among the community members
		- Environment affects L2 use most of the time (80% L2 use)	Limited exposure to L1 literacy practices in the community centre
		- Formulaic activist style in literacy use	No response to the use of L1 and no understanding of the L1 communication in the community centre

Centre as a Site of Translanguaging (CST)

Three community activists, Mukhlis, Mulyani, and Elvira have been categorised as being activists who view the centre as a site of translanguaging. They all perceived biliteracy and bilingualism as being very important and valuable for the bilingual children in their community interaction and communication. They viewed one language as helping the other in community interaction. For example, Mukhlis stated that newly arrived children felt strange in their new environment and could not understand the sound (English) they were listening to. But other children who had already stayed in Australia longer came and helped them in their L1. In teaching religious literacy in the community centre, Mukhlis said:

Indonesian Islamic Society (IIS) selama ini sudah memfasilitasi dua kepentingan yaitu menggunakan dua bahasa yaitu bahasa Indonesia dan Inggris. Memang kepentingan ini terutama untuk gurunya yang kadang-kadang bahasa Inggrisnya juga tidak kompli kosakatanya dan juga bagi anak-anak yang baru datang (Interview, 12/9/2004).	IIS has facilitated two things in the community centre activity such as the use of L1, Indonesian, and L2, English, as the language of instruction for religious literacy teaching and learning in children, both for newcomers and those who have already stayed in Australia for quite a long time (Translation).

These community activists also assumed that as long as children remained attached to the community centre activities which maintained the use of L1 as the tool of communication, then they would never lose their L1 even though most of their daily time was spent using L2 among their friends and teachers at schools or even with their siblings at home. Yet, the children still listened to their home language from their parents as Mulyani said:

Anak-anak pakai bahasa Indonesia karena orangtuanya tidak tahu berbahasa Inggris. Karena orangtuanya sangat terbatas dalam berbahasa Inggris, akhirnya anak-anak mengenal bahasa Indonesia dari ketrbatasan orangruanya berbahasa Inggris (Interview, 9/9/2004)	Children use their L1, Indonesian, because their parents do not know English. Because of their parents' limited use of English, children are still familiar with their home language that their parents use in their daily communication (Translation)

Elvira has a strong commitment to both L1 and L2 use in his literacy practices in the community centre. He actively encouraged the children to read the L1 and L2 books available on the bookshelf, which had been provided by the community activists. He explained:

Jika saya pakai buku yang berbahasa Indonesia, saya jelaskan dalam bahasa Inggris kepada anak-anak, sedangkan kalau bukunya dalam bahasa Inggris, maka saya pakai bahasa Indonesia dalam menjelaskan kepada anak-anak, tetapi anak-anak bebas berdiskusi dengan menggunakan kedua bahasa tersebut dan kadang-kadang bahasanya anak-anak campur-campur (Community Interview, 16/9/2004).	If I use an Indonesian book, I will explain in English to the children, and if the books are in English, I will then use Bahasa Indonesia to the children, but the children themselves feel free to discuss those reading books using both languages independently. Usually children come up with mixture of both Bahasa Indonesia and English (Translation).

In short, this group certainly seemed to have a strong orientation towards the importance of the community setting as a site for the transmission of Indonesian language and Indonesian cultural values, especially those associated with religious observance. However, this focus acknowledged the children's bilingualism and drew on their differing capacities in each of the languages to foster use of each and, through this, ongoing involvement in and development of Indonesian as a valued community and home language.

Centre as a Site for Religious Transmission (CRT)

Three community activists (Parwoko, Emil, and Harmoko) have been categorised as the activists who view the centre as a site for religious transmission because they appeared to view their mission as being to make the children understand their belief as Moslems and they did this primarily in the language which they saw as being strongest for the majority of the children, thereby using mostly English as the

medium of instruction. They had a positive attitude to having children from many different cultural backgrounds in their classes and supported the limited use of L1 in the community centre primarily as a facilitator and bridge to second language acquisition, as Parwoko explained:

Saya pakai bahasa Inggris dan bahasa Indonesia, campur-campur. Saya menangani anak-anak yang berbahasa Inggris dan yang belum bisa berbahasa Inggris. Karena mereka campur-campur, maka saya juga pakai bahasa campur-campur. Dominan sih Inggrisnya, tapi khan orangtuanya juga masih pakai bahasa Indonesia (Interview, 9/9/2004).	I use English and Indonesian, mixing L1 and L2. I handle a group of children who do not speak English yet and another group of children who are active users of English. Because of their different language abilities, I use both L1 and L2, but more dominant in English and the parents still keep using Indonesian (Translation).

Parwoko extrapolated further later, explaining that he used English most of the time because most of the children understood it well (Interview, 9/9/2004).

The other community activist, Harmoko, focussed strongly on teaching religious literacy in the community centre. His approach to this was quite formulaic, and instructor/facilitator-centred. His attitude toward the use of L2 was more clear-cut and based on his perception of it being the dominant language of the children, as he said:

Kita tidak memperhatikan bahasa Indonesianya anak-anak di tempat ini. Target kita adalah bagaimana anak-anak mengenal nilai-nilai Islam dengan menggunakan bahasa Inggris sebagai bahasa pengantar agar anak-anak lebih mudah mengerti pesan-pesan yang disampaikan kepadanya (Interview, 10/5/2004)	We do not notice the children's home language in the community centre. Our target for this religious literacy teaching and learning is to get children to know the Islamic value using English as means of instruction in order for it to be easier for children to understand the given messages (Translation).

The priority for this group of activists is the transmission of religious values and literacy (eg. knowledge of the Qur'an) and they view English as the better vehicle for this as it is what they perceive that most of the children know best. L1 was only used when required to ensure that those children with more limited English had fully understood the religious teachings that were the focus of an activity.

Characteristics of the Activists' Approach in Their Community Literacy Practices

The characteristics of the activists' approach in their community literacy practices seem to relate to their attitudes to literacy teaching and learning in the community, and their understanding of the relationship between L1 and L2 in literacy and language development.

Activists Who View the Centre as a Site of Translanguaging (CST)

The community activists who view the centre as a site for translanguaging generally adopt approaches based on a child-centred view of teaching and learning literacy. This dimension of the child-centred approach is the same in its underlying approach as a constructivist view of learning, promoting independent, enquiry-driven, self directed learning. The CST activists set up problems and monitored the children's exploration, guiding the direction of the children's inquiry and promoting new patterns of thinking. For example, when Mukhlis taught children the Qur'an in the community centre, he usually asked the children to read the meaning of the Qur'an in both English and Indonesian and discussed further with them how to put the Qur'anic teachings into practice (Observation, 16/1/2004). Running classes in the community centre could take unexpected turns as children were given the autonomy to direct their own explorations (Classroom Compass, 1994, p. 2). These community activists saw themselves as having a role in providing responsive services for their community members. Mukhlis as a high office bearer in one local Islamic association called Indonesian Islamic Society (IIS) provided religious literacy activities both for parents

and their children every weekend. He took the initiative in encouraging parents to gather as well as children, as he said:

Pada awalnya kita adakan pengajian untuk keluarga atau siraman rohani, lalu kita perluas menjadi pengajian juga untuk anak-anak dalam bentuk Taman Pendidikan Anak (TPA) sebagai pusat pendidikan bagi anak-anak. Kegiatannya yang paling pokok adalah belajar membaca Al Qur'an, sopan santun, dan cara melakukan sholat (Interview, 9/9/04)	At the beginning, we only conducted a meeting for family gathering and chatting among the community members, but later, we expanded to provide religious literacy learning and teaching for children under the term of Children Educational Centre such as learning to reciting Qur'an, Ethics, and ways of doing prayer (Translation).

The other characteristic of this group of CST activists was the way they perceived the use of L1 and L2 in the community centre. They viewed L1 and L2 as being helpful and complementary to each other. The use of L1 and L2 in the community centre was mainly to serve the different linguistic capabilities of participants, as some parents and children commonly used L1 in their community communication, whilst others felt more comfortable using English. Mukhlis, for example, said:

Repotnya begini untuk anak-anak ini bervariasi. Ada yang baru datang dari Indonesia dan ada yang sudah lama di sini. Jadi untuk bahasa, anak yang baru datang mungkin bahasa Indonesia lebih lancar dari pada bahasa Inggrisnya. Tapi kalau anak yang sudah dua atau tiga tahun di sini, bahasa Inggrisnya lebih lancar daripada bahasa Indonesianya. Jadi bagi instruktur itu memang dia berbicara dalam dua bahasa yaitu bahasa Indonesia dan bahasa Inggris. Karena kebanyakan instruktur juga dari mahasiswa yang mungkin bahasa Inggrisnya belum bagus, hingga mereka dalam mengajar selalu campur dalam bahasa Indonesia dan Inggris (Interview, 9/9/2004).	Because of the two different groups of children such as children as newcomers and those children who have already stayed in Australia for 2 or 3 years, the instructors used L1, Indonesian, and L2, English, interchangeably as the instructions in their religious literacy activities in the community centre. Most tutors from students do not speak English well yet, so that they always mix L1 and L2 in their interaction with both groups of children (Translation).

From the above responses, it can be seen that the person in charge of running the community literacy activities used their bilingual and biliteracy resources to support children's ongoing interest and development in Indonesian, including incorporating story and religious books available in the resource centre in L1, and discussion of religious teachings in L1 as Mukhlis said:

… karena instrukturnya mengalami keterbatasan bahasa, kemudian anak-anak beberapa diantaranya akan kembali ke Indonesia, dan buku yang kita pakai adalah acuannya buku bahasa Indonesia, jadi mau tak mau harus ada penjelasan baik dalam bahasa Inggris maupun dalam bahasa Indonesia" (Interview, 9/9/2004).	… because of the limited use of L2, English, for the instructors, and some of the children will return home, Indonesia, as well as using the L1 books as the references, therefore, there have to be an explanation both in English and Bahasa Indonesia in the community literacy teaching and learning"(Translation).

Furthermore, most of the community members still maintained the use of L1 in events involving the children. They often mixed L1 and L2 to make sure that the children understood the instructions they had listened to. For example, on the day celebrating the end of Ramadhan where Moslems conduct 'Idul Fitr' (post Ramadhan festival) to celebrate that they have completed a whole month of fasting, Mukhlis asked the children to prepare everything for the festival saying: "you organise to bring 'tikar' to the mosque". He preferred to use the word 'tikar' instead of prayer mat because the children would already have been familiar with this word as they always heard from their parents or other community members in their daily interactions. An interesting aspect of the mixing here is that he did not say the full sentence in English and then repeat or explain it in Indonesian or vice versa. Rather he adopted intrasentential code switching that involved judgements about words that either are better known in one language than the other, or that he wanted to reinforce in one language because he saw that word as having particular value or significance.

The interactions between adults and children and children with children were somewhat different in their structure and language use. The interactions among the community members who viewed the centre as a site of translanguaging were quite flexible in using both languages. This was because the CST activists seemed focused on providing opportunities for the children to explore their capabilities and interests through their community literacy learning. For example, the children might have the opportunity to read a religious story by themselves in the resource centre after listening to the instructor's explanation in both languages in the reading circle or lying down and listening in the corner of the room. Then the children might be given the opportunity to draw and write everything in their notebook in the language of their choice while playing around the centre. The children in this situation seemed comfortable and happy since they had freedom in the way they interacted with the instructors. They tended to smile in doing all the activities because they interacted freely with other children without any overt instruction or trouble from the community members who were in charge of running the session (Community literacy observation, 25/8/2003).

Elvira in one of the informal conversations at the end of a community literacy activity in the centre explained his attitude toward the use of L1 and L2 in his religious literacy teaching and learning saying:

Saya menghadapi anak-anak santai saja karena saya ingin melihat anak-anak betah dalam mempelajari agamanya, Islam, dari sumber buku yang tersedia di sini baik dalam bahasa Indonesia maupun dalam bahasa Inggris. Saya tinggal ambil buku yang tersedia di rak ini, lalu saya bacakan kepada anak-anak sambil tanya jawab tentang isi buku tersebut sembari anak duduk atau baring dalam ruangan yang berkarpet atau main-main dengan anak-anak yang lainnya. Pokoknya bebas bagi anak-anak untuk berkreasi atau lari-lari	I handle children in a relaxed situation because I want to see children feel comfortable in learning their religion, Islam, from the books available both in bahasa Indonesia and English. I just pick up the books in this bookshelf, then I read to children while asking and answering the issues related to the content of the books where children sit down or lie down in the room covered by carpet or play around the room with other children. My main concern is to let children explore their

dalam ruangan ini, yang penting tetap ikut belajar dan menikmati waktunya di sini (Informal chatting, 15/1/2004).	creativity and enjoy their time in this community literacy practice (Translation).

Elvira saw the centre as a valuable space for children to enjoy their literacy activities utilising the religious resources to develop understanding of religious practices. One of the literacy activities observed was the involvement of Fasya (then five years old). When Fasya was listening to the explanation about the compulsory fasting for every Moslem in the holy month of Ramadan for around 30 days, knowing that he had to stop eating and drinking from very early morning before the sun had risen until sunset in the early evening, he was afraid of not being able to do his duty as a Moslem and directly asked his religious instructor saying: "How about me? I can't stop eating and drinking". The other children in the literacy learning group were spontaneously laughing after they heard Fasya complaining and gave some comments based on their own experiences. For example, Wahyu, a nine year-old Indonesian child in the group, said in Indonesian:

Saya bisa, saya sekarang sudah seminggu puasa, saya tahan makan dan minum mulai pagi sampai petang, tapi kalau udah petang, saya habisin semua makananya karena sangat lapar (Observation, 15/12/2003).	I could, I have already been fasting for a week by not eating and drinking during the daytime starting from early morning to the early evening. But when it is the time for eating, I eat a lot because I'm very hungry (Translation)

Lukman, his brother, on the other hand, said:

Saya kalau puasa saya langka-langkai, hari ini puasa, besoknya tidak, jadi saya rasakan tidak terlalu lapar. Tapi sekarang saya udah bisa puasa 2-3 hari berturut-turut (Observation, 15/12/2003)	I don't fast every single day. If I fast today, I won't fast the following day, so that I don't feel not too hungry. But now I have already been able to fast for two three days continuously (Translation)

Haris came up with a different comment reflecting his experience as a child living in a parent directed family environment (see Chapter 5) as he said:

Saya kalau tidak puasa, orangtua saya marah-marah. Jadi saya harus puasa setiap hari sampai sekarang (Observation, 15/12/2003).	If I don't fast, my parents will get angry with me. So I have to fast every single day until now (Translation).

The above literacy interaction between the instructor and children, and among the children themselves (in this case all in Indonesian) indicates that the centre provided a space for encouraging all the children to feel comfortable in maintaining their own culture and using their L1, whilst recognising that English is their primary language at school.

Activists Who View the Centre as a Site for Religious Transmission

The activists who view the centre as a site for religious transmission have a different approach to teaching literacy there. Even though they tended to be more structured and teacher-centred, in comparison with the activists who view the centre as a site for translanguaging, they were quite flexible in organising their community literacy activities by varying the nature and order of activities. For example, Parwoko usually started his religious literacy learning by using the Qur'an mostly using L2 and with limited use of L1 translation as a way of keeping the children focused on their religious study. The use of L1 was only with the newly arrived children who did not yet understand English. He incorporated his community literacy activities throughout the session reinforcing the development of religious literacy by reciting the opening surah of the Qur'an called Surah Al Faatihah with the translation in both L1 and L2 as follows:

Dengan menyebut nama Allah yang Maha Pemurah lagi Maha Penyayang. 1. Segala puji bagi Allah, Tuhan semesta alam. 2. Maha Pemurah lagi Maha Penyayang. 3. Yang menguasai di hari Pembalasan. 4. Hanya Engkaulah yang kami sembah, dan Hanya kepada Engkaulah kami meminta pertolongan 5. Tunjukilah kami jalan yang lurus, 6. (yaitu) jalan orang-orang yang telah Engkau beri nikmat kepada mereka; bukan (jalan) mereka yang dimurkai dan bukan (pula jalan) mereka yang sesat.	In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. 1. All praise is due to Allah, the Lord of the Worlds. 2. The Beneficent, the Merciful. 3. Master of the Day of Judgment. 4. Thee do we serve and Thee do we beseech for help. 5. Keep us on the right path. 6. The path of those upon whom Thou hast bestowed favors. Not (the path) of those upon whom Thy wrath is brought down, nor of those who go astray.

The community members expected the children who came to the centre to be able to understand the ethics explicitly stated in the Qur'an as Emil said:

Anak-anak harus diajar etika yang terdapat dalam Qur'an sehingga mereka bisa melaksanakannya dalam kegiatan dan kehidupan sehari-hari baik di Mesjid ini maupun di rumah atau sekolah. Pokoknya diamana saja berada, kalau anak-anak sudah mengerti etika Islami, Insya Allah mereka akan menjadi anak-anak yang beradab, punya sopan santun dalam berinteraksi kepada orang tua atau orang dewasa, maupun sesama mereka sendiri sebagai anak-anak yang akan banyak bergaul di dunianya sendiri-sendiri (Interview, 23/8/2003)	Children have to be taught about ethics stated in the Qur'an so that they can implement their Islamic ethics in their lives in the Mosque, home, school or anywhere. If children have already understood the Islamic ethics promoted in the Qur'an, they would have become polite in interacting with their parents or other people including their peers (Translation)

Emil emphasised the religious messages in many ways, such as through telling the religious stories, drawing a mosque or people who are praising the Lord, and

providing religious story books for children to read and share with the other children in the group discussion. These activities involved mostly English with some limited combination with Indonesian as the medium of interaction between activists and children or among the children themselves.

The activists who view the centre for religious transmission also more like to apply teacher/instructor centred approaches in literacy learning. This approach was mainly influenced by their experiences in the teaching and learning of religion back in their home country, where the religious teacher, commonly known in Indonesia as 'guru Ngaji', is the main source for children to learn from. Harmoko, for example, expected his instructions to be followed. As guru Ngaji generally he provided the model first by his reading of the Qur'an in Arabic script as a specific religious literacy activity. He then pointed one by one among the children to imitate his way of reading until the target of the religious learning in the particular session was achieved. The religious learning pattern was always like this, as he said:

| Dalam belajar agama atau baca Qur'an, kita selalu memberikan contoh terlebih dahulu bagaimana cara membacanya, lalu kita tunjuk satu persatu untuk mencontohi cara kita, persis sama dulu waktu kita belajar membaca di Indonesia sehingga kita bisa mengenal huruf arab sampai lancar membaca (Interview, 19/11/ 2003) | In learning religion or learning how to read Qur'an, we usually gave the model first how to read it, then we pointed one by one imitating the way we read, exactly the same way when we were learning as a child in Indonesia to know the Arabic alphabet until we read fluently (Translation). |

From this context, the children were expected to recite first the Qur'an by focussing on the Arabic script to develop their familiarity with the Qur'anic original script. He used L1 and L2 translations to facilitate their comprehension of the Qur'anic recitation and teaching. This guru Ngaji had never been trained in teaching skills unlike the community activists in the other group. He had learnt how to read Qur'an this way when he was a child of primary school age and this experience dominated

his approach to teaching the children. Even though he received some negative responses from the children, such as "It was boring to learn this stuff", he kept going this way without any hesitation saying: "delivering the truth always face a high challenge and this "sacral book" (the Qur'an) has to be learned by every Moslem without any giving up hope" (Interview, 25/8/ 2003).

The other CRT activist, Harmoko, was also formal and formulaic in his approach, basing his lessons very prescriptively on the books written in Arabic and their translations, both in English and Indonesian. He always started with reading the Qur'an first, and then read the translation in English and then in Indonesian. For example, in one session when I was present as an observer, the children learned some verses in the Qur'an called surah Al Baqarah from 1 to 5, translated into English and Indonesian as follows:

1. Alif laam miin	1. Alif, Lam, Meem.
2. Kitab (Al Qur'an) Ini tidak ada keraguan padanya; petunjuk bagi mereka yang bertaqwa	2. This is the book about which there is no doubt, a guidance for those conscious of Allah.
3. (yaitu) mereka yang beriman kepada yang ghaib, yang mendirikan shalat, dan menafkahkan sebahagian rezki yang kami anugerahkan kepada mereka.	3. Who believe in the unseen, establish prayer, and spend out of what we have provided for them,
4. Dan mereka yang beriman kepada Kitab (Al Qur'an) yang Telah diturunkan kepadamu dan kitab-kitab yang Telah diturunkan sebelummu, serta mereka yakin akan adanya (kehidupan) akhirat.	4. And who believe in what has been revealed to you, [O Muhammad], and what was revealed before you, and of the Hereafter they are certain [in faith].
5. Mereka Itulah yang tetap mendapat petunjuk dari Tuhan mereka, dan merekalah orang-orang yang beruntung.	5. Those are upon [right] guidance from their Lord, and it is those who are the successful (Saheeh International, 1997, p. 2).

After doing the introductory reading of the text and its translation, he asked the children to read it one by one in the same way without any interruption from the other children. Each child would have a turn in reciting the Qur'an and then would continue to read the translation either in English for the children who were already settled in Australia or in Indonesian for those newcomers who were not confident to do this in English. This approach dominated when he was teaching and most of the children complained since their creativity was buried and it was unnatural for children to keep fighting for their own interest because of their parents' willingness for their children being steered in what they perceived to be the "right" direction (Observation, 12/10/ 2004).

Harmoko was tolerant of the use of L1 in spoken language interaction in the community centre, but he paid little attention to the fact that the children were speaking in their home language, and he did nothing that recognised or encouraged L1 literacy knowledge. L1 was only used to assist in enhancing communication in the early stages, but not encouraged. All literacy materials and activities were mostly in English with the original script in Arabic, as Harmoko said:

| Saya tidak peduli apakah anak-anak pakai bahasa Indonesia dalam berinteraksi dengan anak-anak yang lainnya. Karena saya selalu pakai materi semuanya dalam bahasa Inggris yang tersedia di rak buku ini. Mereka juga cepat paham kalau pakai bahasa Inggris (Interview, 25/11/ 2003) | I don't care when children talk in their L1, Indonesian, in their interaction, because I always use all learning materials written in English available in this bookshelf. Yet, children understand quickly if using English in communicating with them (Translation). |

As previously commented for Emil this teaching style appeared to be strongly influenced by the instructors own formation and experience of the Indonesian style of religious learning, even though Harmoko seemed to place very little value on Indonesian as the language for such transmission. He was very focussed on

communicating the religious messages, which are, of course, originally in an L3, Arabic, and sought what he saw as the most efficient means of making that transmission from Arabic to something the children all understood – which he perceived to be messages in English. In short, the CRT activists view the community centre as the site of maintenance and transmission of traditional heritage cultural values and practices, particularly religious values and practices, including traditional role expectations.

Children's Attitudes and Responses to Their Community Literacy Practices

The children demonstrated different attitudes and responses to their community literacy practices and these will be explored under the two categories of the community activists: (1) centre as a site for translanguaging (CST); and (2) centre as a site for religious transmission (CRT) and will consider how the children respond to the literacy activities, such as reciting the Qur'an, listening to the religious stories, getting to know the meaning of the Qur'an with the translation in both L1 and L2, competing on religious quizzes, and doing one on one tutorials or mentoring. Let's follow the responses of each child as s/he experienced the centre through the year bearing in mind that the community activists took turns weekly with the continuity of the programs planned through the annual meeting of the whole community membership.

Children with Community Activists Who View the Centre as a Site for Translanguaging

Three boys, Lukman, Fasya, and Haris, were exposed to the community activists who viewed the centre as a site for translanguaging. These children moved from initially negative to positive attitudes and responses toward their community literacy practices both in the home language, Indonesian, and in English. Haris with his other two brothers, for example, felt happy to have some literacy activities in the community centre every weekend such as learning to read the Qur'an by reading the translation

both in English and Indonesian; listening to the religious stories; learning about some Islamic values like Mosque, a girl who wears 'hijab' as a compulsory aspect of the 'Muslimah' (women in Islam) or Kiblah (the direction of Moslems for prayer across the world):

| Ayo cepat…cepat… cepat…, kita mau pergi ke Mesjid., Horee…ayo kita berangkat (Observation, 12/12/2003) | Come on, hurry up, hurry up, hurry up, we are going to Mosque. Horee… let's go (translation). |

The above response was spontaneously made by Haris and his two brothers, Hasyim and Halim, in relation to their father's request to get ready for going to the Mosque for their community literacy activities. They smiled and their faces expressed genuine excitement and enjoyment at the prospect of listening to religious stories for the first fifteen minutes, reading religious picture books available in the book corner, and sharing religious experiences, eg. fasting, praying.

These children had positive attitudes to the use of L1 and L2 in the community centre interacting with the instructors and other children and other attending community members. The three focal children, Lukman, Fasya, and Haris, seemed comfortable interacting with their friends using English and with other community members speaking Indonesian. Their opening speeches to adults always started with the common greeting expression: "Assalamu Alaikum, pak, apa kabar (while smiling)", indicating that they respected the adult members of the community (Community observation, 15/3/2004).

Lukman and Fasya, for example, are brothers, but have somewhat different attitudes and responses to their community literacy experiences. Lukman liked to go to the community centre, reflecting his father's characterisation of him as an 'outdoor man', whereas his brother, Fasya, preferred to stay at home playing games by himself and watching cartoon films on TV. At my second visit for home observation on a

weekend day, Fasya complained to his father who had asked him to get ready to go to the community centre:

Papa, saya tidak mau pergi ke Mesjid. Saya tinggal di rumah saja, mau nonton film kartun. (Home Observation, 25/8/2003).	Dad, I don't want to go to Mosque. I stay at home because I would like to watch cartoon movies (Translation).

Lukman, on the other hand, tended to have positive attitudes and responses, particularly enjoying reciting the Holy Qur'an and reading the meaning in Indonesian. He often volunteered first to recite the Qur'an.

Lukman and Fasya's attitudes and responses toward their community literacy practices changed over time. As a new arrival Fasya tended to have negative attitudes and responses. Unlike in the school contexts (as discussed in the previous chapter) when Fasya and Lukman just came to school and felt strange in their new environment, here in the community centre they tended to enjoy their community literacy activities. Lukman, even as a new arrival, said:

Saya senang datang ke sini [community centre] karena saya ngerti apa yang harus dilakukan., juga banyak teman-teman yang bisa bahasa Indonesia (Interview, 20/07/2003).	I like to come here [the community centre], because I understand what to do, and I have many friends who can speak Indonesian (Translated).

Fasya, on the other hand, initially felt uncomfortable with his new environment because even though he interacted with peers from the same language backgrounds, these peers mostly used English to interact and communicate with others. This negative attitude started to change after he got a very supportive response from his mother and father as well as the instructors in the community centre. His father

always accompanied his sons to the centre and encouraged his sons to do their best facing their new lives, as he explained:

Saya tidak pernah putus asa untuk mengantar anak-anak pergi ke Mesjid, karena disamping memang tugas kami untuk membimbing anak-anak ke jalan yang benar, saya melihat di Mesjid, mereka rupanya agak senang karena bisa bersama dengan anak-anak Indonesia yang lainnya yang tentunya masih juga pakai bahasa Indonesia dalam bercakap dengan saya, apalagi dengan Fasya yang masih bingun kalau dengar bahasa Inggris (Interview, 20/7/2003).	I never gave up accompanying my children to the Mosque, because that is my job to guide children in the right direction. I notice my children when they are in the Mosque, they feel happy to be with their friends who can talk in Indonesian, particularly if they talk to Fasya who still gets confuse when listening to English language (Translation).

In the community context, Fasya's parents were not totally allowing Fasya to control his literacy activity and learning. They saw participation in these activities as being beneficial to Fasya and, therefore, they ensured his continuing involvement despite his reluctance initially. His mother, who had limited time to be with her children, since she was busy with her postgraduate study, always ensured her sons confronted their new living situation, as she said:

Saya selalu yakinkan anak-anak untuk menghadapi hidup baru di sini, karena semua anak-anak yang baru datang pasti mengalami hal yang sama dan tak lama kemudian sudah bisa beradaptasi dengan lingkungan barunya. Paling juga satu dua bulan bingung, setelah itu malah sudah lebih baik dari kita-kitanya para orangrua (Interview, 20/7/2003).	I always ensure my children to face this new life, because almost every child who just came here, he or she might have the same experience, getting lost in their new environment. However, they will be able to adjust to their new situation in a couple of months. After that they might be better than us as the parents (Translation)

Starting from this point, Fasya's attitudes and responses changed to being positive both at home and in the community. After the first two months, both boys were eager

to go to the community centre every weekend. If it was Friday, they felt happier than the other days of the week and sometimes they spontaneously said together like a chorus: "Tomorrow is Saturday, horee….. let's go to the Mosque". A video I recorded at the centre showed that the children were very enthusiastic showing their religious knowledge and practices starting from performing prayer and learning by heart practical prayers for daily activities, such as prayers for waking up in the morning, before and after eating, for leaving the house, meeting with other people, peaceful life in the world and the day of the hereafter. (Video Recording, 20/8/2004).

Both Lukman and Fasya started to use more English in the community centre setting after 3 months in Australia, preferring it for interaction with their friends. Lukman, for example, responded to one of the questions addressed to him when he was in the community literacy activity asking how dominant English was in most of his interaction with his friends, he said:

Saya sekarang selalu pakai bahasa Inggris karena memang begitu, teman-teman cepat ngerti apa yang saya bilang. Teman-teman yang lain juga begitu, jadinya kita bahasa Inggris terus dimana-mana (Informal Interview, 27/8/2004).	I am now using English because it just happens, and my friends understand quickly if I speak in English. Therefore, we use English all the time everywhere (Translation).

The way Lukman and Fasya shifted from L1 to L2 was the evidence of how their environment had contributed to the change of their attitudes towards each of their languages.

In short, these children were exposed to the community space of translanguaging fostered through interactions around text (where the child's levels in each language made this possible), using both L1 and L2 for literacy in the community centre, but with the focus being dictated by the perceived needs and interests of the child, and

proactively extending the children's enjoyment in literacy through encouragement and activities in the community centre.

Children with Community Activists Who View Centre for Religious Transmission

Children in the CRT activists' group had different attitudes and responses toward their community literacy practices. Two of the focal Indonesian children, Wendy and Nanda, were involved in the group run by the CRT activists.

Wendy interacted with her friends most of the time in English since she had been encouraged to speak English everywhere. She only liked to go to join the community literacy activities where English was the medium of instruction. Her mindset was already in English, so that when she was with her friends in the centre using L1, she was reluctant to respond in L1 saying: "I'm not interested in speaking in Indonesian, because we all use English here. We speak English to friends, Mum, uncles and others" (Interview, 3/9/2004). This example suggests that for Wendy the community centre was not seen as an independent site of languaging, but rather one to which she brought the practices that she had adopted at school and home. This attitude was known among the community members as being an 'exclusive child' and was viewed as tending to indicate someone who was showing off by using English as the only way of communicating among children, parents, and other community members. Mukhlis, for example, said:

Anda sudah tahu istilah teman-teman di sini, kalau ada anak yang maunya saja ngomong pakai bahasa Inggris melulu sama siapa saja lawan bicaranya, itu namanya "exclusive". Hanya mau tahu dalam bahasa Inggris, karena orangtuanya juga yang membuatnya begitu. Jadi tak heran kalau anak-anak seperti itu tidak tertarik untuk pakai bahasa Indonesia lagi (Interview, 9/9/2004).	You know, the term that has been already well known in here, if there is a child who only want to speak English to everybody, that is called 'exclusive'. She or he only wants to interact in English as set up by his or her parents not to use Indonesian (Translation).

Wendy's responses to the community literacy activities were quite negative as she got lost in following those who used L1 as their main means of communicating with each other. This experience also influenced Wendy in being passive in most of the community literacy events even though she was in the CRT group. Her limited exposure to the use of L1 in her daily life made her scared because she was in the situation of soon returning home, where her L1 would be the only language of instruction as she said:

> I don't know what will be happening to me when I go home after Mum finishes her study. My Dad has just come from Indonesia to accompany and help Mum in the last three months before completing her study while he only speak Indonesian to me since he doesn't speak English at all, so that I have to interact with him in Indonesian. I have spoken Indonesian a little bit since my Dad's coming and staying with us (Interview, 27/9/2004).

Nanda's attitude toward her literacy experience in the community centre was quite different from Wendy's. She came to join the community literacy activities in the centre accompanied by her father. Nanda seemed to be reluctant to come to the community centre as she was only the one girl who was diligent in attending the literacy activities:

| Saya biasa malu-malu datang karena biasa sendirian cewe di sini yang rajin datang, tapi karena Papa ngajak ke sini saya juga turut datang karena takut tinggal di rumah sendirian (Informal Interview, 14/7/2003). | I sometimes feel ashamed to come here because I am the only girl who is diligent to come, but because my Dad always asks me to come with him in here, I then follow him because I myself feel afraid to stay at home alone (Translation). |

Nanda came from a child-focussed family (see Chapter 5) and had good support for her biliteracy development at school (see Chapter 4). Despite her hesitation she

managed to adjust herself after a couple of weeks joining in with the literacy activities even though she was the only girl interacting with boys. One of her favourite literacy activities was listening to the religious stories read by the instructor. She enjoyed listening to the stories about the real history of the Prophets and she was exposed to all the stories about the prophets starting from Prophet Adam to Prophet Muhammad. The title of the book: "Kisah Nyata 25 Nabi & Rasul" [Real stories about 25 Prophets]. This L1 literacy activity attracted Nanda's interest to continue reading the book herself and spontaneously she asked the instructor on that day, Mulyani, (a CST activist) an unexpected and challenging question at the end of the literacy learning as she said: "Why no woman become Prophet". This question was really shocking for Mulyani since in her Indonesian style she had not experienced handling such a critical question coming from an Indonesian child. Because of her limited knowledge, she responded to this question with a smile and asked Nanda to just keep reading all the stories of the Prophets in the book as well as retelling the stories using both English and Indonesian (Field Notes, 19/1/2004). This example highlights how the learning style and approach that was encouraged at school (and which Nanda had responded to so positively with her thirst for learning) clashed with the more traditional view of knowledge and learning in the community setting. Nanda's lesser ease with the community literacy approach and activities reflects her unease with this clash.

In Summary

The types of approaches and attitudes of the various community activists in relation to the children's biliteracy development and bilingualism have been described and discussed in this chapter. The use of literacy in the community centre was focussed on Heath's category of confirmation, supporting the strongly held community attitudes and beliefs about the central place of Islam in an individual's life and in the way they are expected to behave towards others.

There were marked differences that led to the activists being broadly classified into two groups based on their attitude to language in relation to the religious literacy teaching and learning they were engaged in. These differences did not seem to relate to their residential status, or their educational level, although it is interesting to note that the community activists who viewed the centre as a site for religious transmission had either Masters or Ph.D level qualifications, even though their approach in teaching community literacy was traditional and deductive. They drew on their own structured and formulaic experiences of religious literacy acquisition from their heritage, but using English as the easiest and main vehicle for delivering the religious messages.

In contrast, the activists who view the centre as a site for translanguaging (CST), Mulyani, Elvira, and Mukhlis were relatively lower in their educational level (year 12 and BA), two of them had permanent residential status as well and had lived in Australia for an extended period. This group exhibited very positive attitudes to the use of L1 in their community literacy practices and events viewing the community centre as a site for translanguaging. The CST community activists have provided a space for developing biliteracy and bilingualism of the children in the community context by using L1 and L2 in every literacy activity starting from the religious story telling, getting to know the meaning of the Qur'an, reading L1 books and discussing the related issues around the text using both L1 and L2, as well as the religious quizzes competition twice a year.

What is evident is that the more constructivist and flexible was their teaching approach and the more varied the activities they encouraged in their community centre to create opportunities for literacy engagement and learning both in L1 and L2, the more enthusiastic and relaxed the children seemed to be about their participation in the centre's activities. To take Hornberger's concept, these community activists created 'ideological and implementational space' (2002, p. 30) in their community centre for biliteracy development and, by doing this, they were particularly effective

in promoting both children's biliteracy development and bilingualism, and in engaging and integrating them into the centre in a way that made them feel that both they and their heritage was valued.

Chapter Seven

Individual Differences in Bilingual Reading Development

"Mami mami saya sudah bisa baca buku sekarang"
[Mum mum I have been able to read a book]

In this chapter I will discuss the evidence of individual differences among the Indonesian children in their reading development exploring their bilingual reading performances in their classroom, home and community. How do the children's levels of bilingual reading development reflect differences in the approaches they have been exposed to in each of these intersecting contexts and their individual differences in age and learning styles? Let me begin by explaining the above Indonesian quotation as a response from Fasya to his mother.

Contextualising Individual Differences in Bilingual Reading Development

"Mami mami saya sudah bisa baca buku sekarang" (Mum mum I have been able to read a book), proudly commented a smiling faced, Fasya, sitting in his living room while reading a book borrowed from the school library. He was enjoying being able to read books in Australia, as he said:

Saya senang membaca buku-buku disini karena buku-bukunya sangat menarik di baca. Bukunya juga dengan gambar-gambar didalamnya hingga saya mudah mengerti isi bukunya. (Interview, 19/04/2004).	I am happy to read books here because the books are interesting. The books also contain pictures so I can understand the content easily (Translation).

There has been increasing evidence of influences on individual children's reading development since the early 90s. Scarborough & Dobrich (1994a, 1994b) comment that it is not clear just exactly what, or how much children learn about reading by being read to by adults. Fox (1993) suggests the development of reading ability can

be enhanced through adults reading to children as this may help them learn to "crave" books, creating a desire to read. Through this process children learn not only which parts of the storybook one uses to derive meaning, and whether text or illustration has ultimate "authority" over that meaning, but how to display knowledge, and how one can question the meanings made by others from the same text (McNaughton, 1995).

Reading storybooks to children before they begin school has been linked to success in beginning reading at school (Heath, 1982, 1983). McNaughton (1995, p. 104) calls reading at home "an especially significant literacy activity", but it is also one that may vary in its practice across different cultures (Au, 1995; Au 1998; Cummins, 1991; Heath 1983; McNaughton, 1995).

In relation to the L1 and L2 reading interaction, Krashen (2002) believes that a short cut to reading in a second language is by learning to read in the primary language as he argues further that: "(1) we learn to read by reading, by understanding what is on the page; (2) it is easier to understand text in a language you already know; and (3) once you can read, you can read; reading ability transfers across languages"(p.143).

In the context of reading in the classroom, Martin (2003) stresses the interaction between indigenous language and official languages and his research in a Brunei primary school classroom gives evidence that "the classroom participant cannot manage content lessons in English alone" (p. 83), needing to draw on their indigenous language, Malay as a resource.

In the community context, Baker (2006, p.335) emphasizes the value of "culturally relevant books" as "motivation to read, to read independently and enjoyably, will be enhanced when the student meets text that has a friendly cultural meaning". Freeman et al. (2003) suggests three things to achieve such cultural relevance in books: similarity of the students' family and language community characterizations; the

comprehensiveness of themes and contexts within their life experiences; and the familiarity of languages and discourses to the students.

The focus in this chapter relates to development of receptive competence within the biliteracy development continuum (Hornberger, 2004), through examining the children's development in reading and activities promoting reading. In analysing aspects of the children's reading development we will focus on their individual differences and the interaction of L1 and L2 in the three intersecting Australian social contexts: school, home, and community. The evidence of children's bilingual reading development mostly derives from the three intersecting contexts, those of school, home, and community where these Indonesian children exposed to the interaction of their L1, Indonesian, and their L2, English as discussed alone in three chapters (Chapter 4, 5, and 6 respectively) and this chapter relates to the children's bilingual reading development in those intersecting and interconnecting contexts covering the L1 and L2 interactions.

The Younger Children: Prep and Grade 1

Fasya

As discussed in Chapter 7, Fasya, one of the two younger children, has some differences in language exposure as he was not able to read in his L1 before coming to Australia, so he was experiencing simultaneous reading development in English and Indonesian.

Fasya's Bilingual Reading Development in School

In L2 reading in Term 1, Fasya used a number of communication activities to improve his reading skills. The activities all involved completing simple activities based around texts, e.g. dramatising, sequencing sentences and asking questions,

retelling and talking about stories, reading in class. The linguistic features in reading which showed evidence of his literacy development were the uses of sound-letter knowledge to read new words and match some familiar spoken words with written words. In the school context, the reading activities always started with shared and guided reading where children learned to recognise and understand texts in its context using big books, poems, story books and CDs. In short, Fasya followed the class literacy activities as a passive learner observing what his friends were doing in the classroom. He joined the group activities and sometimes his classmates in the group helped him with how to do the instructed literacy activities. This involvement contributed to him gradually and significantly developing his L2 literacy development from term to term over the year.

My observation of the classroom activities documented a range of activities and events designed to develop the children's awareness of text, its structure and function. The main focus of the activities was on exploring the meaning in language (semantics) central to the story orientation. This involved the storyline, for example, characters, events - predicting and analysis. The other language focus was the study of sentence structure (syntax) and words (morphology and phonology), and with a focus also on the print, such as locating print on the page rather than illustration; locating where to start to read –left-right directionality; reading left page before right; spacing between words; and one to one matching.

Other features involved in activities included identifying first or last letters of a word, noting the term 'word'; identifying upper- and lower-case letter; identifying and using the term 'capital letter'; identifying capitals at the beginning of names and sentences; identifying high-frequency words and words beginning with a given letter; identifying sentence structure and punctuation – sentence stops, question and answer, direct speech and quotation marks, speech bubbles, interjections and exclamation marks, commas, apostrophes for contractions and possessive; identifying vowels;

identifying conjunctions (eg and, or and but); dividing words into syllables, compound words, words within words; identifying digraphs, consonant blends; learning to identify nouns, proper nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs, and adverbs; identifying antonyms and synonyms; identifying singular and plural; developing a knowledge of English language forms, eg she/he, her/his, they/their; and identifying verb tenses. Other areas covered included knowledge about non-fiction books such as reading for information; looking for key words, summarising; using a glossary, index and contents; and becoming familiar with scientific and technical language.

By Term 2 Fasya was able to read and understand short texts, e.g. a shared story, with the assistance from his classroom teacher as well as his parents at home. The text contained information about the environment such as school environment and community. Fasya also read aloud with expression using simple punctuation and recognized some common letters, words, phrases or sentences from charts, books. The strategies used by Fasya for developing his reading skill was listening to texts, reading aloud and using pictures to help predict meaning.

In Term 3, Fasya participated in a number of activities that improved his reading skill. He read well known or familiar stories without assistance, used pictures to help predict meaning, joined in shared reading, read a known story with appropriate pausing and intonation. By participating in those activities he could recognise that texts had characteristic structures, e.g. a beginning, middle and end, recognise some common letters, words, phrases or sentences from charts, books, posters, etc, and exhibited an awareness of the conventions of written English texts, e.g. left to right, top to bottom.

In Term 4, Fasya's reading activities include obtaining information from simple illustrations, tables or diagrams, rereading known books and texts, reading a known story with appropriate pausing and intonation and relating something learned from a

text to own experiences or opinions. Consequently, he could recognise some common letters, words, phrases or sentences from charts, books, posters, etc and understood common language of reading, e.g. title, page, cover. His strategies for developing reading skill were listening to texts, reading aloud, using pictures to help predict meaning, choosing appropriate books to reading level and using some phonetic, grammar and content cues to predict meaning.

From the above brief description of the literacy events and activities that Fasya participated in from Term 1 to Term 4 over the year, it is evident that he demonstrated marked development in his L2 reading, starting from simple reading activities or events to more complicated ones. Fasya was also exposed to an increasing number of reading activities or events from the first to the fourth terms (the earlier the lower, the later the higher).

At school Fasya was exposed to certain attitudes and approaches from his classroom teacher toward the use of L1 in the classroom. As discussed in detail in Chapter 4, Lily, Fasya's classroom teacher, was considered transitionally supportive of the use of L1 in the classroom. She used L1 to support Fasya in making the transition to feeling comfortable studying in the classroom and eager to go to school. This contributed to his L1 receptive literacy development and to the significant development of his L2 literacy and language development over the four terms in both spoken and written communication.

The other L1 exposure that Fasya experienced in school was the involvement of children from the upper grade level in the buddy program. For example, Lukman came down from Grade 5 to read Indonesian story books to the Prep Grade Indonesian speaking children every week, facilitated by their classroom teachers. Fasya seemed to feel hesitant to be involved in this L1 literacy activity at first because he thought he was expected to always use English in school. His attitude of rejecting this L1 literacy activity in the classroom saying "no, no, no" while raising

and moving his right hand to the right and left toward Lukman indicated that he did not agree to participate in the assigned L1 literacy activity. Having seen that Fasya felt uncomfortable as discussed earlier in Chapter 4, Lily, his classroom teacher, approached him saying, "selamat pagi Fasya" (good morning Fasya) and continued to say in English "You could do that, do you like it?". Fasya kept smiling without saying a word and continued to listen to the Indonesian story read by Lukman without any more hesitation at all. This was the start of Fasya moving from a negative attitude to a positive attitude toward L1 literacy activities at school, and it was pivotal in his transition to starting to enjoy his school literacy activities. Until then he had still seemed as if he felt like confused newcomer as he struggled to understand instruction in English (Classroom Observation, 14/7/2003).

It was also interesting to note the impact on Fasya when he became an L1/L2 translator when his new friend from Indonesia, Tony, came to join the school. He was always asked by his classroom teacher, Chamely (then his teacher) to translate into Indonesian whatever he did in class for Tony who was always placed close to Fasya. Fasya, who had already moved up to a higher grade level, from Prep to Grade 1, felt happy to translate all the instructions for Tony. Some examples of the expressions that Fasya translated were the instructions such as "*sit down (duduk), attention please (perhatian), circle please (duduk melingkar), listen carefully (dengar baik-baik)*". As a consequence and unlike Fasya when he had first arrived, Tony was able to join the school without any great anxiety as he had a friend from the same cultural and language background to interact with both in school and at home (as they also stayed in houses close to each other) (Classroom Observation, 11/2/2004).

Fasya's Bilingual Reading Development in Home Context

In his L2 literacy practices at home, Fasya usually read selected books and participated in other tasks brought home from school. Either he read those books with

his mother or she read them to him. In addition, he liked reading books containing pictures, religious books, children's magazines and some short stories. During the observation, Fasya read a number of religious books, such as the English translation of the Qur'an and Hadists (which is the explanation of Islamic Prophet behaviour and oral teachings). One example of Fasya's readings was observed as shown below:

> Al-Ikhlâs : Absoluteness
>
> Say: He is Allah, the One Allah, the eternally Besought of all He begetteth not nor was begotten. And there is none comparable unto Him

Fasya first read this Islamic text experiencing some difficulty in pronouncing the long words such as 'eternally, besought, begetteth, comparable' in his second term in school, and then he asked his mother to explain the meaning of all the strange words. He was very keen to grasp the meaning and the message. He sometimes complained to his mother about the unfamiliar words in such religious texts, saying: "I can't understand this Mom because I don't know the words". This response indicated that Fasya was very motivated to grasp meaning from his reading. (Observation, 6/9/2003).

As discussed earlier (Chapter 5), Fasya regularly watched Indonesian programs on TV, including the SBS screening of Indonesian news for about 30 minutes everyday. He would sit with his Mom and Dad finding out what was happening in his native country, particularly looking out for news about his regional area. Chatting about the current news in Indonesia was one of L1 interaction between Fasya and his parents at home and this usually occurred twice a week on Saturday and Sunday, as reflected in my journal written in L1:

When it is time for watching the Indonesian news program on SBS TV, the children shouted asking their parents to watch together indicating that these children are getting great enjoyment out of listening to the news in their L1, Indonesian and the literacy involved in such viewing. (RJ, 26/12/2004) (Translation).

This home literacy activity was valuable for Fasya given that he had not been able to read or write in Indonesian before coming to Australia as it modelled of literate practices where Fasya was exposed to understanding the messages through his L1 listening comprehension as well as reading captions from the TV display as the newsreader read the news from around Indonesia. The responses from Fasya when reading the news, such as him saying "something happens in Indonesia, an earthquake, many people died Mom" indicated that he had a good understanding of the news and he continued to discuss further using both L1 and L2 interactively with family members, including his older brother (another focal child in this study). The responses from his father, such as "apa yang terjadi Fasya? (translation: what happened Fasya?)" sometimes invited Fasya to explain what he had just heard from the TV news usually from the breaking news, using L1 to respond to his father's questions such as:

| Ada gempa di Sumatera, banyak sekali orang meninggal. Banyak orang cari tempat tinggi dan lari ke gunung. Kasian sekali mereka hidupnya, Dad (Home observation, 30/12/2004). | There was an earthquake in Sumatera. Many people run away looking for higher places and run toward the mountain. What a pity for their life, Dad (Translation). |

The other L1 literacy activity that Fasya was exposed to was religious literacy reading related to his community literacy activities. Fasya used to read some religious materials, such as the four great books (Kitab), such as Kitab Taurat, Zabur, Injil, and Al-Qur'an. When I picked him up from his house to go to the community centre one day, before we left we sat down together reading the religious book that was on the table in the guest room, a book containing the story of Prophet Isa AS. We just picked

the word of Allah to read aloud, as shown below:

Dan kami iringkan jejak mereka (nabi-nabi Bani Israil) dengan Isa putera Maryam, membenarkan kitab yang sebelumnya yaitu Taurat. Dan kami telah memberikan kepadanya kitab Injil sedang di dalamnya (ada) petunjuk dan cahaya (yang menerangi) dan membenarkan kitab yang sebelumnya yaitu kitab Taurat. Dan menjadikan petunjuk serta pengajaran untuk orang-orang yang bertaqwa (QS Al Ma'idah: 46).	Later, in the train (of the prophets), We sent Jesus, son of Mary, confirming the Torah which had been (sent down) before him, and gave him the Gospel containing guidance and light which corroborated the earlier Torah, a guidance and warning for those who preserve themselves from evil and follow the straight path (The Feast: 46).

Like the school classroom teacher in checking the reading development of each child in the classroom by putting a tick above those words read correctly, Fasya and I also agreed to do the same thing in reading the text. In his reading of the text, he could easily read the words that contained one or two syllables such as "*dan, kami, yang, Bani, Isa, yaitu, di, orang, etc*". However, he was hardly able to read words that contained more than three syllables, for example, the words such as "*Iringkan, membenarkan, memberikan, menerangi, menjadikan, pengajaran*". Fasya sometimes complained while he was reading when he got to words containing 4 or 5 syllables, saying: "Uh, I can't read the long words". His L1 reading level was similar to his L2 reading at this time, as at that stage he was also able to easily read only those words that contained one or two syllables (Home Observation, 10/1/2004).

As discussed earlier, Fasya's L2 reading progressed consistently over the four terms of the school calendar year, and his L1 reading developed along with his L2 reading. The similar script in his L1 and L2 seemed to assist in his being able to transfer his developing decoding skills from L2 to L1. While Fasya had not been able to read before coming to Australia and he was in the situation of then starting to learn English, by the time he was able to read in L2, he was also able to read in L1, as demonstrated in his reading of the above L1 text. Furthermore, Fasya's father and

mother changed their home tactics for Fasya as the year passed by focusing more on L1 reading as a preparation to go home to Indonesia where he would be exposed to the wider Indonesian societal and school contexts. As a result, by the time he was nearly leaving to go home, Fasya did this L1 reading activity:

Engkau teman sejati	You are my true friend
Selalu menemaniku	Always accompany me
Dalam suka dan duka	In happiness and sadness
Kutulis dalam lembaranmu	I write in your diary
Kisah-kisahku	My stories
Pengalamanku	My experience
Dan perasaanku	And my feeling
Hanya padamu	Only to you
Kau selalu setia	You are always loyal
Mendengar ceritaku	Listening to my story
Menjadi tempat curhatku	Becoming my heart chatter
Dan menyimpan rahasiaku	And keep my secret (Translation)

This text was an Indonesian poem taken from an Indonesian Grade 2 textbook, the main textbook used in the grade that Fasya would be returning to. Before the end of the year Fasya was already able to fluently read all the words and seemed to have no problems in identifying the long words, such as "*lembaranmu, menemaniku, menyimpan*" in the above L1 text. This indicates that his L1 reading had improved markedly in Terms 3 and 4, along with the consistent development of his L2 reading.

Fasya's Bilingual Reading Development in Community Context

In the community (as described in Chapter 6), Fasya was also exposed to the community literacy activities, including reading religious materials available in the centre. Discussion in and around the reading of religious texts assisted Fasya in his first two months in Australia in feeling comfortable in his new situation as such texts were familiar to him, whereas he felt like a stranger in school since he could not understand what was happening in the school activity.

At the centre Fasya was exposed to the types of the community activists who view centre as a site for translanguaging. Fasya demonstrated a marked development in aspects of reading from Term 1 to Term 4. For example, in communication around text, a rapid change was evident from him sometimes asking questions, retelling and talking about the religious stories read in the group in the first two terms, to usually participating in the third term, and finally, consistently communicating in this way in the fourth term. This means that the communication around the text consistently happens, such as asking questions, retelling and talking about the religious stories read within the group. This also applied to the other activities such as reading and understanding short, common community religious texts; reading familiar religious stories without assistance from the community activist; rereading religious books and texts. In term of contextual understanding, Fasya had a significant change from sometimes relating something learned from a religious text to his own experiences or opinions in the first two terms to consistently doing it in the third and fourth terms. This also applied to his development in aspects of linguistic structures and features, such as using sounds-letters knowledge to read new words, matching some familiar spoken words with written words, reading with expression using simple punctuation, recognising some common letters, words, phrases or sentences from the religious books and posters, and understanding common language of the religious reading, eg. title, page, and cover.

Fasya was actively involved once a week using L1 and L2 interactively to learn the religious materials conducted in the community centre. Since he was a new arrival and had not found friends to play with, his father accompanied him to join the activities and the community activists approached him using L1 and L2 interchangeably to make sure that everybody understood because of the variety of levels of language competence of the community literacy learners (Community observation, 29/6/2003).

The following text sample was taken from Fasya's L1 literacy activity in the community centre:

Demikian Non-Muslim yang hidup di tengah masyarakat Muslim, hendaknya merasakan kasih saying dan perlakuan baik.	Let's live harmoniously between Moslem and Non-Moslem (Translation)

Fasya was trying his best to read this text, but as he read very slowly this indicated that at that stage he was not able to read fluently in his L1 and was frustrated, as he commented while he was reading, "Aduh, susah sekali bacanya, Aku nggak ngerti apa maksudnya" "it is very difficult to read the above text and I don't understand the meaning" (translation) (Community observation, 6/7/2003). 'Aduh' is a special Indonesian expression when complaining about what to do. The community activist Mukhlis was trying to help Fasya solve his reading problem by giving him a tutorial dedicating his time to sitting together pointing out each word of the religious literacy learning. Mukhlis usually read first each new word as a model, introducing the way of reading and pronunciation, then to be followed by Fasya getting familiar with those new words as Fasya still had difficulty in pronouncing those unfamiliar words. For example, Fasya was only able to read the words containing one syllable such as "non, di, baik, dan". He still hardly read those words containing more than three syllables such as "merasakan (to feel), masyarakat (community), perlakuan (treatment), hendaknya (ought to)" . This reading was still when he was at an early stage in his literacy development where he had started to recognise the alphabet as well as identifying letters of the alphabet in words.

The other L1 literacy activity in the community centre was listening to religious story reading by the instructor, which usually took about 30 minutes. This religious reading activity was intended to introduce some religious concepts and messages to the children. Once he had become acquainted with some friends at the centre Fasya was enthusiastic about attending the literacy activities in the community centre where he

was still able to use his L1 interacting both with the other children and community activists and actively participating in the discussion around the L1 reading texts.

After the discussion around the religious text, the children were usually asked to read in turn to provide opportunities for each child to be actively involved in self reading. One of the reading samples that Fasya took a turn to read alone was the text below:

Janganlah saling membenci, saling iri hati, saling membuat makar. Jadilah hamba-hamba Allah saling bersaudara. Tidak boleh seseorang Muslim menghindari saudaranya di atas tiga hari (HR. Bukhari).	Don't hate, be jealous, and create conflict one with another. Become the god messenger who loves each other. It is prohibited for a Moslem not to talk with his brother for more than three days (Hadith).

I was struck by how much Fasya seemed to have improved his L1 reading when I observed him participating in this activity in the second term at the community centre. He was able to read this text quite fluently pointing out each word as he read aloud. He read most of the words containing one or two syllables, such as *"iri, hati, saling, makar, tidak, boleh, Muslim, atas, tiga, hari, saling, etc,"* correctly. He read correctly words containing more than three syllables such as "*janganlah, menghindari, etc*" sometimes but needed to read these slowly. Evidence such as this suggests that his L1 reading had started to improve markedly as he was focusing at school on developing his literacy in L2 (Observation, 22/9/2003). Fasya seemed to draw on his L2 reading strategies to assist him since at this time he had exposure to intensive L2 reading activity at school. In his third and fourth months in Australia he already was enjoying reading some picture books and discussing the reading texts. Since his L2 and L1 use convergent script Fasya appeared to be able to easily transfer his L2 reading strategies to L1 reading, as his parents reported with surprise:

Setelah kurang lebih 6 bulan di sini, tiba-tiba Fasya lancar membaca baik dalam Bahasa Indonesia ataupun Inggris. Saya	After around 6 months here, Fasya was suddenly able to read fluently both in Indonesian and English.

| heran kok bisa lancar juga bacanya dalam Bahasa Indonesia, pada hal kita tidak pernah secara serius membimbing dia membaca dalam Bahasa Indonesia Mungkin ini pengaruh kebiasaan membaca dari sekolahnya (Interview with parent, 10/1/2004). | Surprisingly, I was amazed that Fasya could read L1 texts as he had never been trained how to read in Indonesian seriously. This was possibly influenced by his reading habit in his school (Translation). |

As the community centre activities extended over the next couple of terms, Fasya was exposed to a variety of L1 literacy activities, including the incidental quiz competition among Indonesian children from around Victoria at the end of the first term of the study. This was conducted once a year to assess indirectly the religious knowledge that children had gained from their religious literacy learning. In the quiz Fasya tended to have no response to the questions and seemed to have no ideas to contribute. Whilst he could read both in Indonesian and English, it appears that he still was struggling to understand the messages contained in the texts.

Further examination of some of the reading texts that were being used highlights how difficult these texts were for a five year old child to comprehend as they are quite didactic and densely packed with fairly archaically and abstractly expressed messages about moral and ethical behaviour. For example, the following L1 text was taken from his regular L1 reading activity in the community centre (4/3/ 2004):

| Dari Amiril Mu'minin Abi Hafsh Umar bin Al-Khothob r.a. telah berkata : Aku telah mendengar Rasulullah s.a.w. bersabda: "Sesungguhnya bagi setiap amal perbuatan tergantung pada niat, dan sesungguhnya bagi setiap orang apa yang ia niatkan. Maka siapa yang hijrahnya menuju (keridhoan) Allah dan rasulNya, maka hijrahnya itu kearah (keredhoan) Allah dan rasulNya. Siapa yang hijrahnya itu karena dunia (harta dan kemegahan dunia), atau karena sayang wanita yang akan dikawininya, maka hijrahnya itu kearah apa yang dituju" (HR. Bukhari dan Muslim). | From the Leader of Moslem Abi Hafsh Umar bin Al-Khothob r.a said that: I heard the Prophet said: "All activities rely on intention. All must have intention. For those who move because of the God and his prophet, the move therefore will get blessing from Allah. Whoever moves because of material things or because of women that he married, therefore his move will only get that" (Translation). |

Since Fasya had developed his skill in reading aloud in L1, he proceeded to a longer L1 text (below) but still could not comprehend the message he was reading. This was evident when he was asked by his tutor what the text was about and he just kept silent, not feeling able to make any response. The initial focus of his L1 reading was clearly on decoding letter/sound correlations, which are regular in Indonesian. He managed to develop this facility quite quickly, but this did not mean that he was able to make sense directly out of the challenging religious texts that he had learnt to read aloud (Community observation, 4/3/2004).

The text below was the longest L1 text Fasya read in the community centre. By this time (June '04) Fasya was already considered to be a 'senior' child as he had resided in Australia for about one year compared with other children who had just arrived in Australia or had only been in the country for a couple of months. He demonstrated his L1 reading development by being able both to decode letters/sounds in the text and to demonstrate some understanding of its messages. Unlike in some of the earlier sessions he was able to respond to some questions asked both by the community tutor and his parents. For example, when the instructor asked Fasya what he understood about the text, he responded "the text is about the messages from Prophet Muhammad, something like *pesan untuk menjaga Al-Qur'an dan Hadith* (translation: message to look after the Qur'an and Hadith)*",* mixing L1 and L2 in his explanation.

Ingatlah, suatu hari kamu akan mendengar Allah dan harus mempertanggung jawabkan semua amalanmu. Karena itu berhati-hatilah jangan menyimpang dari jalan kebenaran setelah kepergianku nanti. Ya saudara-saudaraku, tidak akan ada nabi atau rasul sesudahku dan tidak akan ada agama lain yang lahir, karenanya simaklah baik-baik ya saudaraku, dan pahamilah kata-kata yang kusampaikan kepadamu, bahwa aku meninggalkan dua pusaka, Al-Qur'an dan contoh-contohku sebagai As-Sunnah dan bila kalian mengikutinya tidak mungkin akan	Remember, one day you will hear Allah and must be responsible for all you have done. So don't disobey the truth. My brothers, there will no more prophet after I die. There will no more religion other than Islam, therefore please listen carefully that I only leave two treasurers Qur'an and Hadith (Oral tradition of Prophet) to guide you. Those who listen this

tersesat. Siapa yang mendengarkan perkataanku ini wajib menyampaikannya kepada yang lain dan seterusnya dan mungkin yang terakhir memahami kata-kataku ini bisa lebih baik dari yang langsung mendengarkan. Demi Allah aku bersaksi, bahwa aku telah menyampaikan ajaran-Mu kepada umat-Mu ya Allah (Community Portfolio, 27/6/2004).	message must spread it to others, and it might be the last who hear my message would better than the previous one. For the God sake, I witness that I have told your teaching to your people oh Allah (Translation)

One of the factors that appeared to contribute to the improvement of Fasya's reading comprehension was the attitude of his parents at home towards the religious literacy learning in the community centre. I was eager to find out what types of attitude Fasya's parents had at home. My expectation was that their involvement in L1 literacy practices were contributing to his improvement and this was confirmed by my observations. His parents were always checking with their son what he had learnt at the centre as soon as he arrived home. This motivated Fasya in giving his full attention to his learning so that he was prepared to respond to his parents:

Saya dan ibunya selalu bertanya kembali kalau Fasya mengerti apa yang dia pelajari di Mesjid. Kita jadikan kegiatan ini untuk lebih akrab dengan anak-anak dan juga supaya Bahasa Indonesianya juga dia pahami (Interview with parents, 12/6/2004).	My wife and I always ask Fasya whether he understood what he learned from community centre. We use this activity to have an L1 friendly communication with him as well as developing his understanding of Indonesian (Translation).

I was curious about this change in his parents's attitude so that they were always checking his L1 reading comprehension, and this appears to have been spurred by input from his classroom teacher, as his father explained:

Saya diundang untuk bertemu dengan gurunya Fasya di sekolah dalam acara temu khusus antara guru sama orang tua murid. Di situ gurunya bilang kalau	I was invited to see Fasya's teacher at school for the teacher-parent conference. In the meeting, his teacher explained about Fasya's

Fasya sangat lemah dalam pemahaman membacanya, tetapi kemampuan dan mengenal huruf sudah memadai artinya sudah fasih membaca. Gurunya menyarankan agar selalu memonitor apa saja yang dibaca Fasya, dan tanyakan tentang apa yang dibacanya, ajak dia untuk selalu menceritakan apa yang dibacanya dalam bahasa apa saja yang dia kehendaki (Parent Interview, 19/6/2004)	weaknesses in reading comprehension, but he had already been able to read the decoding letters or sounds meaning that he could read fluently. His teacher suggested to always monitor what Fasya was reading and always ask him what the text about, and persuade him to always retell the reading text in what ever the language he wants to (Translation).

As a consequence of this input Fasya's parents' attitude toward L1 literacy practices at home changed and their decision to prioritise reading comprehension activities in their home literacy practices appears to have been pivotal in improving Fasya's reading comprehension.

Fasya's development in reading across his two languages illustrates how the interaction of his learning across the three contexts contributed to his biliteracy acquisition. His L1 reading started to develop in the community through his application of phonic decoding strategies that he had developed through his L2 reading acquisition. His L1 reading development was then enhanced through the input of his parents adopting strategies to facilitate his reading comprehension development suggested by his school L2 literacy teacher. As a result his L1 reading moved from slow reading with no ability to decode meaning in Term 1 to be faster and faster over the other terms and with comprehension of the text starting to develop as well towards the end of the year. Over the same time span his L2 reading jumped from Level 2 in the first term to Level 7 in the fourth term (Portfolio, 9/6/04).

Nanda

Unlike Fasya, Nanda (the other younger child) had been able to read in Indonesian before coming to Australia, so she was categorised as having 'successive exposure' to

the two languages. As she was able to read in her L1, she was able to draw on her knowledge about reading from this experience in the process of developing her reading in L2 in Australia.

Nanda's Bilingual Reading Development in School Context

In the first two terms, Nanda was exposed to a number of reading activities, such as reading and understanding short texts, e.g. a shared story, with assistance from her classroom teacher. The texts contained information about the environment, eg. school environment and community. She also read with expression using simple punctuation and recognised some common letters, words, phrases or sentences from charts and books. The strategy she applied in developing her reading skills was listening to texts, reading aloud and using pictures to help predict meaning.

Nanda used a number of activities to improve her L2 reading skill in the third term. These activities included reading well known or familiar stories without assistance from her classroom teacher and her parents, using pictures to help predict meaning, joining in shared reading, and practising reading a known story with appropriate pausing and intonation. Through these activities she recognised that texts have characteristic structures, e.g. a beginning, middle and end, and she was able to identify some common letters, words, phrases or sentences from charts, books, posters, etc, and showed an awareness of the conventions of written English texts, e.g. left to right, top to bottom.

In the fourth term, Nanda's reading activities included obtaining information from simple illustrations, tables or diagrams, rereading known books and texts, reading a known story with appropriate pausing and intonation and relating something learned from a text to own experiences or opinions. Her strategies for developing her reading skills were similar to those applied previously, but she also started to use phonic,

grammar and context cues to predict meaning more.

From the notes of literacy events and activities starting from Term 1 to Term 4, Nanda developed significantly in her L2 reading. This can be seen through the processes of L2 reading experienced in the school starting from simple reading activities or events to more complicated ones. She was also exposed to an increasing number of reading activities or events from the first to the fourth terms (the earlier the lower, the later the higher). Evidence of her development can be seen from her running record sheet of texts which showed that she had read: "Fred's Fantastic Feat". Using an observation survey provided by the teacher to record the children's reading development, this text was categorised as level 20 (the difficulties of the reading texts ranged from level 1 to 20), and Nanda was one of children in the class who reached this high level compared with Fasya who only reached Level 7 in the same time frame.

Nanda's Bilingual Reading Development in the Home Context

At home Nanda read a number of books brought from school that she had borrowed from the school library, including big books (large format books used in encouraging reading in the early primary years), fiction and non-fiction books. This reading activity was connected to assignments from school that required her to read the borrowed book and then get one of her parents to sign in her reading book to confirm her having read the listed title. In the parent-teacher conference, Nanda's class teacher had emphasized to her parents the importance of monitoring their child's reading activities by asking her to retell the content of each reading book in her own words. The teacher-parent conference/interview was quite an effective means for reviewing performance and anticipating the children's problems in reading. In Nanda's case she was considered to be a very fluent reader in her classroom, but her understanding about what she read was quite low. This was discussed in the teacher-

parent conference, both in relation to how the teacher was responding to this in the classroom and what was recommended for her parents to do at home. With this guidance Nanda's reading skill significantly improved from term to term as she moved from reading fluently simple text or books to a more complicated books containing more complex sentences and also improved her understanding of what she had read.

In her L1 reading at home, Nanda was exposed to a range of books and reading activities, including the regular reading of Indonesian tales at bedtime and reading of other L1 materials in the home. Nanda's home L1 reading practices were varied and ranged from reading storybooks, other books, magazines and newspapers. In Term 1, Nanda just read L1 books such as "101 Ekor Anjing" and "Kupu-kupu Malam, Kemana Terbang". She vividly explained these two books to her mother who was always asking her to recount a little bit about what she had read, as mother explained:

Saya selalu cek setiap selesai membaca buku apa saja. Itu saya lakukan setelah saya pulang dari kampus sekaligus jadikan alat untuk menjalin hubungan yang harmonis dengan anak-anak dan juga sekalian meningkatkan pemahamannya dalam membaca (Interview with Parent, 19/9/2004).	I always monitor every single piece of reading my children do. I intentionally do this after coming back from campus to have a harmonious relationship with the children and to improve their reading comprehension. (Translation)

Nanda's mother seemed to have a strong role in fostering L1 literacy, particularly focusing on comprehension. She was exposed to the Australian educational context as she was pursuing her PhD at the university. She deliberately provided L1 literacy resources at home for Nanda to read and let Nanda explore the available L1 resources at home by herself. Her father was also very supportive of the use of L1 at home since he had limited English to interact with Nanda. Given this situation, to maintain communication with Nanda, he was happy to listen to Nanda reading L1 resources and sometimes did the same as his wife in checking Nanda's reading comprehension,

but mainly using L1. The similarly literacy supportive situation in the home and school contexts experienced by Nanda probably contributed to her tremendous improvement in both L1 and L2 reading levels over the year.

Nanda's Bilingual Reading Development in Community Context

In the community centre, Nanda was exposed to mainly L2 reading activities. She actively participated in the religious literacy practices offered there and her learning was guided by the community activists who have been characterized as viewing the centre primarily as a site for religious transmission (see Chapter 6). The key point for the community activists was to transmit religious values to the children so that they would acknowledge their religion and could learn to apply their religious knowledge in their daily lives. Since the community activists assumed that Nanda and the other Indonesian children in the group would understand well if L2 was used as the medium of instruction, almost all their literacy activities, including reading, and discussion around the reading texts was conducted in English.

Despite this, Nanda still spent some of her time chatting among the Indonesian boys and girls using both Indonesian and English. Since the community activities were also socially oriented, whilst the children had come together with their parents for the purpose of religious learning, meeting with other members of the community and chatting was a favourite activity around the centre outside the formal teaching and learning.

Most weekends there were around 10 children who regularly participated in the community literacy activities. Nanda had a similar pattern of activities in the community centre to Fasya. However, Nanda seemed to be shy because she was sometimes the only girl in the group she was allocated to. She generally kept silent through the whole learning process in the centre (Community Observation,

23/7/2003). Consequently, she kept complaining to her mother and asking her to let her stay home doing what she wanted, like watching cartoons or reading books, as she said:

Saya malu ke mesjid karena saya kadang-kadang sendirian perempuan di sana (Interview with Nanda, 30/7/2003).	I am ashamed to go to the Mosque since I am sometimes the only female in the group (Translation).

Initially, Nanda seemed to feel hesitant about going to the community centre and did not seem to experience the same spontaneous enjoyment of the classes as many of the other children. Yet she was required to attend the centre as her father was in the adult group studying religious materials and she was not allowed to stay at home alone. Gradually, she began to feel more comfortable as she became acquainted with the other Indonesian children and, finally, she came without any hesitation. Her interaction with other Indonesian children as well as with adult members of the community using her L1 at least some of the time, provided an acknowledgement of the value of L1 and probably contributed to making 'space' for her L1 literacy development, even though actual reading in L1 primarily occurred at home.

The Middle Primary Years Children: Grade 3 and 4

Haris

Haris had just started to read in Indonesian at the time his family left to come to Australia, so his L1 reading was at an early stage of development when he commenced in his Australian school. He was able to decode letters and sounds in words and easily pronounce words containing one or two syllables, but he still had difficulty in sounding out words containing three or more syllables in Indonesian. The discussion below is an exploration of his L2 and L1 reading development in the

three intersecting contexts: school, home and community in Australia.

Haris' Bilingual Reading Development in School Context

In the first two terms, Haris used a number of communication activities to improve his reading skills. The activities included obtaining information from simple illustrations, tables or diagrams and completing simple activities based around texts, e.g. dramatizing, sequencing sentences and asking questions, retelling and talking about stories read in class. Besides this he used cards to learn new vocabulary and tried different strategies in reading, such as reading short stories.

In the third and fourth terms, Haris continued to read simple passages, such as short stories, for understanding and to listen to his teacher's reading of a story. He read familiar stories and stories about his environment. In addition, he reread known books and texts, read a known story with appropriate pausing and intonation, and related things learned from a text to his own experiences or opinions.

From the records of literacy events and activities starting from Term 1 to Term 4 over the year, Haris developed significantly in his L2 reading in the school context. This can be seen through the processes of the L2 reading experienced in the school starting from simple reading activities or events to more complicated ones. He was also exposed to an increasing number of reading activities or events from the first to the fourth terms (more simple at the beginning and more challenging later).

In the first two terms Haris was taught by Amanda, a classroom teacher who was categorised as an English literacy oriented (ELO) teacher. Her main concern was to make sure that Haris developed well in English literacy in line with the standards in the Victorian curriculum standards framework. Over these two terms the only L1 literacy practice that Haris participated in at school was the involvement of parents in

the teaching of Indonesian poetry to be presented in the COTE exhibition at the end of each term. The sample in Chapter 4 of Indonesian poetry was selected for performance with Haris as the main actor at the end of 2003. This poem was about colonialism (as shown again below), but focusing more on how Haris performed in the COTE celebration.

350 tahun kolonialisme penjajah bercokol di bumi tercinta ini. Penderitaan, dan kegetiran yang panjang melahirkan pemikir-pemikir terkenal melepas belenggu berjuang. Berjuang terus sehingga terwujud yang dinamakan kebangkitan nasional. Rasa persatuan dan kesatuan dengan sumpah pemuda tahun 1928. Sang orator Bung Karno yang gigih, Bung Hatta konseptor demokrasi ekonomi yang hebat didukung tokoh tokoh dedikasi, pengabdi negeri ini. (Maman & Bainar, 1997, p. 119)	For 350 years colonialism was in place in this lovely country. The long prosperity and heroism created well known thinkers to be independent. The spirit of the youth pledge in 1928 united the nation. Bung Karno is a wellknown orator, while Bung Hatta conceived the basis of a democratic economy and was a dedicated public figure for this nation. (Translation).

Haris was selected to perform because he was the one who had seemed to enjoy reading the poem most, always enthusiastically smiling and with expressive body language. In the COTE celebration, he was very attractive wearing traditional Javanese dress with sarong and special cap. He performed the poem with expressive gestures and a deep voice emphasizing certain words such as "penjajah (colonials), penderitaan (in prosperity), kegetiran (uncertainty)". The most interesting moment was when he came to "Berjuang terus (keep fighting) when raising up his voice he stepped forward and his right foot stamped down loudly as he raised his right hand up. This attractive L1 literacy performance impressed most of the audience with backgrounds from many different countries so much that they stood up while clapping their hands for a few seconds (Videotaping, 19/12/2003).

Haris' Bilingual Reading Development in Home Context

At home Haris usually read selected books and undertook other tasks brought from school. He either read the books with his mother or she read to him. In addition, he liked reading books containing pictures, religious books, children's magazines and some short stories. During the observation, Haris read a number of religious books such as the English translation of the Qur'an and Hadists (which is the explanation of Islamic Prophet behaviour and oral teachings). An example of his reading was:

> *He created the heavens And the earth In time (proportions): He make the Night overlap the Day and the Day overlap the Night. He has subjected the sun and the moon (to His law): Each one follows a course for a time appointed* (Surah XXXIX, 5).

Most of Haris' home reading activities, other than the school required reading, were related to religious confirmation literacy, such as Islamic articles, and religious stories. After he had read the passage above he asked his mother to explain its meaning as he was genuinely keen to grasp the message.

In the first two terms, Haris was also exposed to the L1 religious literacy reading at home, as in this example:

Amal amal apa yang di sukai Allah. Sembahyang-sembahyang tepat pada waktunya. Apa lagi yang disukai Allah. Berbaktillah berbaktillah pada ibu dan ayah. Apa lagi apa lagi yang di sukai Allah. Berjuanglah berjuanglah di jalan Allah(Portfolios, 5/7/2003).	What actions that Allah likes. Pray and pray exactly on time. What else that Allah likes. Obey your parents. What else that Allah likes. Keep a focus on Allah's ways (Translation).

Haris was able to read simple words such as "amal, apa, lagi, yang, dan, etc." correctly, but he sounded some of the letters as in English, for example, all the 'a'(s) letters he pronounced as short Australian English vowel /ae/ rather than the lower

Indonesian /a/. This L1 reading had been influenced by his experiences over six months of learning to read in L2 and having this as his primary focus.

As discussed in detail in Chapter 5, Haris' family upbringing was characterized by a strong parental desire and direction in the approach taken to language and literacy practices at home and distinct parental roles within household, with family and home being constructed as the site of maintenance and transmission of traditional heritage cultural values and practices, including L1 language and literacy, religious values and practices, knowledge about Indonesian events and society and traditional role expectations. The following L1 reading sample was taken from his L1 reading record at home at the end of 2003. The text was taken from an Indonesian textbook for Grade 3 level that his parents had brought from Indonesia. Haris agreed to read this text at the dining table where his father, mother, and siblings as well as the researcher were sitting together:

Pernahkah kamu menonton pertunjukan kesenian di daerah tempat tinggalmu? Kesenian apakah itu? Bagaimana perasaan kita ketika menonton pertunjukan itu? Indonesia memiliki berbagai jenis kesenian. Hampir di seluruh daerah memiliki kesenian sendiri-sendiri. Jenis kesenian di daerah-daerah berbeda-beda baik musik iringan maupun gerakannya, oleh karena itu orang menyebutkannya sebagai kesenian daerah. Selain kesenian itu tiap daerah atau suku juga memiliki adat dan kebudayaan sendiri-sendiri. Adat dan kebudayaannya tidak sama antara satu daerah dengan daerah lainnya. Karena perbedaan inilah orang mengatakan sebagai adat dan kebudayaan daerah" (Home observation, 20/12/2003).	Have you ever watched the traditional arts show in your area of living? What arts? How do we feel if we watch that show? Indonesia has a variety of traditional arts and culture. Traditional arts and culture differ from one to the other both the music and the dances. Therefore, people call them traditional arts. Besides this, each region has its own custom and culture. Because of these differences, people call them regional customs and culture (Translation)

Haris had demonstrated a marked development in his L1 reading level over the six months since I had commenced studying him as he was able to read most of the

words in the text fluently as well as understanding its meaning. This L1 reading comprehension was shown when he was asked about the text when he said:

Bacaan ini tentang kebudayaan di sekitar Indonesia, berupa pertunjukan seni dari berbagai daerah yang berbeda-beda (Home Observation, 20/12/2003).	This text was about the culture around Indonesia such as traditional music from many different local places (Translation).

Haris' L1 reading comprehension had clearly developed as well along with his significant development in L2 reading as discussed earlier in this chapter. The interaction between the L2 reading practices and his L1 reading at home and in the community centre were evident from the progress he was making in his biliteracy development.

Haris' Bilingual Reading Development in Community context

In the community (as described in Chapter 6), Haris was also exposed to the community literacy activities. He was very happy spending most of his time on Sunday in the community centre. This was indicated by his response to his other two brothers and his parents at home when it was Sunday. He always reminded other family members about their plans, such as "Mom, buy cakes to bring to the Mosque", and in the community centre, he actively and happily participated in the reading programs usually starting with reading a religious story. Like Fasya, he was also exposed to the activists who viewed the centre as a site for translanguaging and who created a space for the use of L1 and L2 in the religious reading activities.

Haris' father, as a community activist, accompanied him, joining the L1 literacy activity in the community. The community tutor approached Haris using L1 and L2 interchangeably to make sure that everybody understood because of the variety of levels of language competence of the community literacy learners. The following

sample was taken from Haris' L1 reading activity and is a sample of the many religious learning materials provided in the community centre.

Setiap Muslim tentu meyakini bahwa membaca Al-Qur'an termasuk amal ibadah yang sangat dianjurkan. Seseorang yang membaca Al-Qur'an akan mendapat pahala yang besar dari Allah SWT. Meskipun telah dibaca berulang kali, ayat-ayat Al Qur-an tidak akan pernah membosankan bagi yang membaca maupun yang mendengarkannya. Ayat Al-Quran yang dibaca dengan benar, fasih, dan lancar disertai alunan suara yang merdu akan menyentuh perasaan orang yang mendengarkannya (Portfolio, (6/7/2003)	Every Moslem believes that reading the Qur'an is highly recommended to do. Someone who reads the Qur'an will get a great reward from Allah SWT. Even though it is read many times, the Qur'an will never become boring for those who read and listen to it. The Qur'an read correctly, fluently, with the beautiful voice will influence the feeling of people who listen to it (Translation).

The other L1 reading activity in the community centre was listening to a religious story read by the instructor, which usually took about 30 minutes. This religious reading activity was intended to introduce some religious concepts and messages to the children. Haris interacted with both other children and community activists and actively participated in the discussion around the L1 reading text, which was usually conducted after the reading of the religious story book. After the discussion around the religious text, the children were usually asked to read in turn to provide an opportunity for each child to be actively involved. One of the reading samples that it was Haris' turn to read alone was the text below:

Bagi setiap muslim, beriman terhadap kitab-kitab Allah hukumnya wajib karena termasuk salah satu rukun iman. Namun kitab suci Al-Alqur'an tidak cukup hanya diimani. Al-Qur'an harus dipelajari dengan sungguh-sungguh, dipahami secara benar, dan diamalkan dengan ikhlas dalam kehidupan sehari-	For every Moslem, belief in Allah's Kitab is compulsory because it is one of the criteria for belief. However, to believe only the Qur'an is not enough. It must be learned seriously, understand it correctly, and put it action voluntarily into daily life. If those things are done, we will get

hari. Jika semua dilakukan, maka kita akan mendapat kebahagiaan dunia dan akhirat (Portfolio, 26/10/2003)	happiness in the world and the hereafter (Translation).

In reading this text Haris pointed out each word as he was reading aloud and read correctly most of the words containing one or two syllables (egs. *"Allah, iman, suci hari, maka, kita").* He sometimes read words containing more than three syllables, such as *"dipelajari, kebahagiaan, kehidupan"*, correctly but slowly. The only word that Haris pronounced like an English was the word of "kita" read by Haris as /kite/. This provides evidence that his L1 reading had started to improve markedly and he was more successfully discriminating between the sound/letter correspondences in the two separate languages (Observation, 26/10/2003).

Haris also seemed to apply L2 reading strategies from his intensive L2 reading activity at school to his L1. In the third and fourth terms in Australia he already enjoyed reading books and kept discussing the reading texts. Since his L2 and L1 use convergent scripts, he could easily transfer L2 reading strategies to L1 reading, as his parents surprisingly reported:

Saya melihat perkembangan Haris dalam membaca text bahasa Indonesia sangat pesat di sini karena dia sudah fasih membaca buku-buku, majalah dan surat kabar yang berbahasa Indonesia. Akhir-akhir ini dia selalu membuat ringkasan dari buku yang dibacanya dalam kata-katanya sendiri. Sepertinya dia sudah punya bagan pada setiap membaca buku dia sudah siapkan buku catatan untuk menulis kata-kata penting, lalu dia kembangkan dalam bahasanya dia (Parent Interview, 22/5/2004).	I noticed Haris' reading development in Indonesian was remarkable because he could already read books, magazines, and newspapers in Indonesian. Lately, he also made summaries of the books he had read in his own words. Apparently, he already had developed the mindset that whatever he read he had to make notes writing down the important things as the ideas to develop for drafting his writing in his own language style (Translation).

Thus, the similarities in the treatment and support of literacy practices from the community centre to home as well as school appear to have contributed to the significant development of Haris' L1 reading as he has been able to understand the L1 reading material as well as responding to any related question to the L1 text and moving from slow reading in Term 1 to be faster and faster over the other terms across the year. Using his L1 reading to further develop his English reading skill was also an effective influence as well for his bilingual reading development over the third and fourth terms.

Wendy

Wendy (another middle primary years child) had studied in an Indonesian public primary school in Grade 1. At this grade level in Indonesia, Wendy was beginning to read in her L1, so that her L1 reading was still at an early stage of development when she made the transition to school in Australia. At the time she came to Australia, Wendy had already been able to decode letter sound correspondences in Indonesian. Her bilingual reading exposure was somewhat different from the other Indonesian children in this study as has been evident from the detailed discussion and analysis in the preceding chapters about the three intersecting contexts of school, home and community.

Wendy's Bilingual Reading Development in School Context

The L2 reading activities I observed in Term 1 were passages that related to the theme of the lengths of time, such as a specific time for playing, reading familiar songs, poems, chants, answering simple questions or giving basic information. To improve her L2 reading, Wendy engaged in a number of activities, such as reading simple instructions, and reading simple topics, such as about familiar social events that occur around the school.

In the third and fourth terms, Wendy started to read simple passages, such as short stories, for understanding and listened to her teacher's reading of stories. She read a simple story and a story about the environment as well as a story about events. She used key words to understand simple reading passages in Term 4. In one lesson during these two terms, her teacher picked "Diary of a Wombat" as a book to read and asked questions of the students. Wendy listened carefully and sometimes laughed, indicating she followed and understood the plot of the story. After this activity, Wendy was asked to choose one book to read and then retold the content to other students in the class, for example the book entitled 'Just Tricking' (Observation, 15/3/2004). These activities demonstrated how Wendy developed her reading capacity by re-telling the story she had read to others.

Wendy's classroom teacher was Amanda, who was categorised as an English literacy oriented (ELO) teacher. Given this, Wendy had a limited exposure to her L1 at school since her teacher focused more on improving her L2 literacy, both in reading and writing in class. Amanda would tolerate it if Wendy spoke in L1 in the classroom, but she would not respond at all to what she was saying unless she used English as Amanda said: "They may be talking about me using Indonesian in my class, but I don't care, I just want her to keep progressing well in English" (Teacher Interview, 9/7/2003). As discussed in Chapter 4, Amanda was quite formulaic in her classroom teaching approach, where she provided modelling geared to fostering L2 literacy and treating all children equally whether they were native or non-native speakers of English.

The only L1 literacy exposure for Wendy in the school setting was her involvement in the celebration of culture other than English (COTE). As discussed earlier in this chapter, the COTE program provided an opportunity for the children to show cultural differences from around the world, including Indonesian culture, such as Indonesian songs and poetry. Wendy participated in the group singing the Indonesian national

anthem, called 'Indonesia Raya'. She was very happy to sing her national anthem with her other Indonesian mates. Her enthusiastic participation in this L1 literacy activity, including singing the "Indonesia Raya', and reading together the "1928 Youth Declaration" conducted by some parents once a week over two months in preparation for the COTE celebration was evidence of Wendy's eagerness to be involved in L1 literacy activities at school. This L1 reading exposure contributed to her developing her L1 reading level since she had to practise reading in her L1 both in school and at home (as homework) (School observation, 15/10/2003).

Wendy's Bilingual Reading Development in Her Home Context

Wendy read a number of books such as big books, fiction and non-fiction books brought from school and borrowed from the school library. This reading activity was connected to the assignments set from school to read the borrowed book and then ask her parents to sign in her reading book record documenting the title of the book she had read. As was the case with some of the other children her parents had been advised by her class teacher to always check the reading activities at home by asking their children to tell and retell the contents of each reading book in their own words. The other further L2 reading activity done by Wendy at home was to read a range of fiction and non-fiction books. All her reading was only English texts and she had lists of books that had been assigned by the school for reading. To show the evidence that she had read the book and understood the contents, her parents signed in her home literacy activity books.

For the first three terms of this study, Wendy's L1 reading development in the home context seemed quite limited, because of the nature of language separation in her 'parent directed family' (PDF) (discussed in detail in Chapter 5). The only L1 used in the family for this period was when either they were visiting Indonesian friends or having Indonesian families visiting their house.

Intensive exposure to L1 literacy practices at home happened only during the fourth term of this study when Wendy's mother was very close to submitting her thesis and was not able to take primary care of the children. She asked her husband to take sabbatical leave from his work in Indonesia to take care of the children at home. When this occurred, Wendy started to gain exposure to both L1 and L2 reading practices at home, but with a predominance of L1, since her father wanted to guide Wendy in preparing for her return to school in Indonesia where Indonesian would be the medium of instruction. These L1 reading practices at home, even though they only took place over a couple of months, contributed to Wendy's L1 reading development. She was able to read fluently the Indonesia texts that she would need to read at school in Indonesia and that her father had brought with him. The text below was quoted from Thohir (2004: 55), a textbook on religious education for the Grade 5 level in Indonesia:

Puasa adalah suatu ibadah yang mengandung unsur-unsur nilai pendidikan, latihan, dan tuntunan baik terhadap jasmani maupun rohani. Intinya adalah agar manusia senantiasa melakukan perbuatan yang ma'ruf (baik) dan mampu mencegah segala perbuatan yang keji dan mungkar. Ibadah puasa tidaklah dilakukan untuk sekedar memenuhi kewajiban. Namun harus diiringi dengan melaksanakan ibadah-ibadah sunah lainnya. Jika hal tersebut dapat terlaksana, hikmah puasa akan dapat dirasakan sesudah bulan Ramadan (Thohir, 2004:55)	Fasting is a religious activity containing educational value, exercise, and good treatment for body and spirits. The point is that people should be able to do good actions and avoid all bad actions. The activity of fasting is not only done because it is compulsory, but also for doing other important (Sunnah) activities. If those things can be done, the fruitfulness of doing fasting can be enjoyed after the month of Ramadan (Translation).

In reading this text Wendy was able to read almost all words fluently, except for the word *"ma'ruf"*. This was probably because of the unfamiliar punctuation in English since the word "ma'ruf" is from an Arabic root, meaning good. However, like some

of the other children who have been concentrating mostly on decoding texts in English she did pronounce 'a' in many of the words according to how they would be sounded in English as /ae/, a higher shorter sound. This reading sounded like Indonesian Batak dialect in Sumatera or Torajanese in South Sulawesi even though Wendy's heritage was not from either of these ethnic backgrounds. This error in decoding had arisen from the interaction of her L2, English, with her L1 literacy.

Wendy's Bilingual Reading Development in Her Community Context

Wendy did not regularly attend the weekend religious literacy activities. She only joined the community literacy practices occasionally when she accompanied her mother who had a monthly regular gathering with other community members at the centre. During her irregular presence, Wendy was exposed mainly to L2 reading activities as she participated in the group run by the community activists who viewed the centre as a site for religious transmission (see the detail in Chapter 6).

From the discussion of the literacy events and activities over the year it is clear that Wendy's reading skill in her L2 developed significantly. This can be seen through the processes of the L2 reading experienced in the school, home and community activities and events starting from simple reading activities to more complicated ones. She was also exposed to an increasing number of reading activities or events over the full year.

Only after her father came around four months before going home was Wendy exposed to L1 literacy both at home and in the community. She started regularly coming to the centre with her father and began to be more actively involved in the religious literacy activities that incorporated some use of L1 literacy. Wendy's

reading skill in her L1 developed markedly only in the fourth term after she started receiving a focus and support for L1 from her father.

The Upper Primary Years Child: Grades 5 and 6

Lukman

Lukman, as the only one upper primary year child (and Fasya's oldest brother), had been at school in Grade 5 for a month at the start of the study. Before coming to Australia he had been able to read in Indonesian to the level that would be expected after 4 years of primary education. On arrival in Australia, despite his not knowing English, he had been placed directly into Grade 5 based on his age. The following discussion examines his bilingual reading development in the contexts of school, home and community.

Lukman's Bilingual Reading Development in School Context

In Term 1, Lukman was very enthusiastic, sitting in the middle of the reading circle to listen to his teacher reading about 'Fairy Tales', then followed by group brainstorming of ideas about the genre of fairytale, such as:

a. sometimes fairytales have magic some don't

b. usually have some abuses

c. often have solutions

d. usually have many different characters

e. sometimes have more than one heroes (Classroom observation, 15/7/2003)

Lukman also did a number of L2 reading activities in this term ranging from guided reading such as the topic entitled 'Behind the Screen', group reading such as 'Popular Pets', and he started reading independently, for example on the topic of "Fish".

Therefore in this term, Lukman showed a strong positive habit of developing as an independent reader at school in L2.

In Term 2, Lukman read fictional and factual texts for interest and information and justified his own interpretation. He learnt to locate ideas and information from a range of sources including reference books, the Internet and CD rooms. He developed proficiency in a range of reading strategies to promote understanding. Lukman became much more confident in using a range of skills to decode text when reading (eg. initial sounds, ending sounds, using visual cues, re-reading the sentence for meaning).

In Term 3, Lukman was encouraged to borrow books regularly and read for pleasure, interest and learning. He developed proficiency in a range of strategies to promote a deep level of understanding (as discussed in Term 2) of different types of text. His reading topics for this term included excursion globe, gone away, two boys, go Noah, Noah's boats.

In Term 4, Lukman showed continued progress and maintained a consistent effort during class time as well as completing some very good work. He continued his hardest work during reading time. He selected some interesting books at his level for independent reading. He progressed very well during guided reading and small group reading and this was very beneficial to his learning of English. As the teacher recorded in his mid year report, he was exposed to English during class discussion, and always attempted to engage in the discussion (Teacher's Report, June 2004).

Like the other Indonesian children, Lukman was exposed to L1 literacy practices through the COTE celebration, where he had the opportunity to participate in the demonstration of Indonesian culture as outlined earlier in this chapter. He actively participated as his parents strongly supported his involvement, as his father said:

Saya gembira melihat keterlibatan anak saya dalam acara yang akan diselenggarakan oleh pihak sekolah pada akhir tahun ini. Jadi anak-anak aktif berlatih baik di sekolah maupun di rumah. Kita datang ke sekolah turut melatih anak-anak Indonesia dalam meyanyi dan berpuisi. Di rumah kita juga latih terus, karena ini akan dipertunjukkan di depan banyak orang dari berbagai negara di penjuru dunia (Parent Interview, 18/10/2003).	I am glad to see my son's involvement in the L1 literacy show in the COTE celebration at the end of this year. The children were actively having practice in singing Indonesian songs and reading Indonesian poetry. We came to school to teach the Indonesian children to perform this song and poetry and continued this practice at home, because this is a big event involving many people from many different country backgrounds around the world (Translation).

Lukman was happy to partcipate since he was the oldest Indonesian child in the school and as a consequence, he was the most confident child in the L1 practice in performing the selected song and poem, as he said:

I like this activity because it is fun, we get together with the friends from Indonesia and juga senang bisa ikut dalam acara ini karena kita tidak pernah melakukan hal ini di Indonesia (Child Interview, 22/10/2003).	……………………………............. .... and we are also happy to participate in this program because we never do it in Indonesian school (Translation).

His active participation was also encouraging to the other Indonesian children. For example, Fasya and Nanda were ashamed to participate the first time in L1 literacy practices at school, but finally decided to participate because Lukman was there in the group as a role model without any hesitation in his performance, and because of the strong support from both parents and their teachers.

The other L1 reading practice that Lukman experienced at school was the reading buddy program set up by his classroom teacher. This program involved upper grade level children coming to the lower grade level to read books together. Lukman came down to Grade Prep/1 for L1 reading activity with children from the same language

background, including Fasya and Nanda. What Lukman did was take an Indonesian storybook from the school library to read with the younger children. He was happy to do this because he felt he was being useful and sharing his knowledge. It also gave him a sense of pride in the responsibility that he was being given as he was required to conduct the L1 group reading and report back on the activity to their classroom teacher through both oral and written communication. This L1 reading activity at school continued right through until the end of second term. In the third term Lukman went up to a higher grade level (Grade 6) taught by Lawrence and he did not then participate further in the buddy program. At this point he was well established in his L1 literacy and, as discussed in Chapter 4, Lawrence was quite creative in continuing to foster his engagement in L1 literacy.

Lukman's Bilingual Reading Development in His Home Context

At home Lukman usually read selected books and undertook tasks brought from school. He read the books with the assistance of his mother, especially when he was not confident in his English. In addition, he liked reading books containing pictures, religious books, children's magazines and stories.

During the observation, Lukman read a number of religious books, such as the English translation of the Qur'an and Hadists (which is the explanation of Islamic Prophet behaviour and oral teachings). The following example was taken from his reading activity at home where Lukman was observing the fasting month. As a Moslem, he had to fast for the whole daylight time across a whole month of usually 29/30 days, and Lukman used this opportunity to read the prologue of Al-Qur'an, which is called 'Al-Fatihah' as follows:

In the name of Allah, most benevolent, ever-merciful. ALL PRAISE BE to Allah, Lord of all the worlds. 2. Most beneficent, ever-merciful. 3. King of the Day of Judgement. 4. You alone we worship, and to you alone turn for help. 5. Guide us (O Lord) to the path that is straight, 6. The path of those You have blessed, 7. Not of those who have earned your anger, nor those who have gone astray (Ahmed Ali, 1993, p.11).

Lukman first read this Islamic text then he asked his mother to explain its meaning. He sometimes complained to his mother about unfamiliar words: "I can't understand this Mom because I don't know the words like *benevolent, merciful, beneficent*". This response shows how Lukman was trying his best to grasp the messages despite their rather abstract and archaic vocabulary (Home observation, 20/12/2003).

Like Fasya, Lukman was also exposed to watching the daily 30 minute Indonesian news program on SBS TV. He sat with his Mom, Dad and brother finding out what was happening and particularly watching out for news about his regional area. Chatting about the current news in Indonesia was one of the regular L1 interactions between Lukman and his parents at home and this usually occurred at least twice a week on Saturday and Sunday, when all the family were at home together at the same time, as reflected in my journal written originally in Indonesian:

It was in a rainy situation visiting Lukman and Fasya in their house looking at how they were doing. It was also lovely to see Lukman and Fasya chatting with their parents fully relaxed watching Indonesian news on the TV program particularly about their home town. These children were happy listening to the news in their L1, Indonesian while having morning tea discussing in Indonesian the current news that they had just heard from TV (RJ, 25/6/2003).

This home literacy activity was valuable for Lukman as it helped him to feel at home in Indonesia, even in his Australian home context. The modelling of literate practices that he was exposed to listening to the announcer and reading captions and headlines

from the TV display reinforced for him the importance and value of Indonesian literacy for his engagement with his home country and family. He clearly enjoyed this activity:

Ada berita kematian di Indonesia karena terjadi sunami di daerah Aceh. Saya sangat kasian melihat kejadian ini karena air laut naik ke daratan sampai 20 meter tingginya hingga menewaskan ratusan ribu orang (Home Observation, 24/4/2004).	There was news telling that many people died in the tsunami in Aceh. I felt very sad to see this disaster because the sea water rose up to 20 meters causing hundreds of thousands people to die (Translation).

Compared with Fasya, Lukman had been able to explore more about the news heard from TV because his reading level was already good enough to catch the messages from the L1 reading of the news. The response from their father "apa yang terjadi Lukman (what happened Lukman)" sometimes invited Lukman to explain more of what he had just heard from the TV news using his L1 to respond to his father's questions such as:

Ada lagi gempa sululan pa, disebutkan 6.7…. Tapi kali ini tidak menimbulkan tsunami, hanya karena orang-orang panik, mereka pada lari lagi cari tempat yang lebih tinggi (Home observation, 24/4/2004).	There was a continuous earthquake Dad, it was mentioned at 6.7 on this scale. But this time it did not create a tsunami, only many people ran away to find higher places because they were panicking (Translation).

The other L1 literacy activity that Lukman was exposed to was religious literacy reading related to his community literacy activities. Lukman was used to reading some religious materials such as the four big books (Kitab), Kitab Taurat, Zabur, Injil, and Al-Qur'an. One day when I came to pick his family up to go to the community centre we picked out a religious book to read aloud as shown below:

Al-Qur'an merupakan kitab suci yang paling lengkap dan sempurna. Isi kandungannya mencakup semua hal yang terdapat pada kitab-kitab Allah yang terdahulu, yaitu Taurat, Zabur,dan Injil. Kitab suci Al-Qur'an menjadi petunjuk dan pedoman hidup bagi umat manusia yang ingin mencapai keredhaan Allah SWT, yaitu kebahagiaan hidup di dunia dan akhirat. Al-Qur'an diturunkan tidak hanya untuk golongan manusia tertentu, melainkan juga untuk seluruh umat manusia (Thohir, 2004:24).	Al-Qur'an is the most complete and perfect holy book. It contains all things from the previous books of Allah such as Torah, Zabur, and Injil. The holy Qur'an becomes a guide for life for people who want to reach blessing from Allah that is happy life in the world and the hereafter. Al-Qur'an is not only for a certain group of people, but also for all the people (Translation).

In a similar way to his school classroom teacher checking the reading development of each child in the classroom, Lukman and I also agreed to do the same thing in reading the L1 text together. He could easily read all the words without any mistakes (ie all words pronounced correctly). He was also able to explain the above text in his own words such as "Bacaan ini tentang Al-Qur'an yang menjadi petunjuk bagi kita semua" (This text is about Al-Qur'an as the way of life for all of us) (Home Observation, 10/1/2004). From this response, it was clear that Lukman was now well able to explain in his own words an L1 text that he would hardly have been able to read or explain when he first arrived in Australia. His exposure to L2 literacy practices in the Australian school had developed his facility in reading and interpreting texts, including those in his L1.

Lukman's Bilingual Reading Development in His Community Context

At the community centre Lukman was also exposed to literacy activities associated with reading religious materials. Participation in the activities at the centre assisted Lukman in making the transition to Australia and was particularly helpful for him in his first two or three months when he was struggling with English and felt like a

stranger at school. Like the other boys in this study, Lukman was exposed to the community activists who viewed the centre as a site for translanguaging (see detail in Chapter 6). Lukman demonstrated a marked development in aspects of reading from Term 1 to Term 4. This applied to his reading and understanding of short, common community religious texts; reading familiar religious stories without assistance from the community activist; rereading religious books and texts, and reading and retelling religious stories. He also gradually grew in his confidence and capacity to draw on the texts to make sense of his own experiences and to develop his own opinions. This development also applied to aspects of the linguistic structures and features of the texts, such as using sounds-letters knowledge to read new words, matching some familiar spoken words with written words, reading with expression using simple punctuation, recognising some common letters, words, phrases or sentences from the religious books and posters, and understanding common language of the religious reading, eg. title, page, and cover.

Since the focus of the community literacy practices was more on receptive skills, such as listening and reading, the discussion below explores Lukman's involvement in the community centre, particularly in relation to his L1 reading development over the four terms of the year. The following sample was taken from Lukman's L1 literacy activity in the community centre as one of the many other related religious reading materials provided in the community centre.

Rasulullah SAW sangat dikenal oleh para sahabatnya sebagai orang yang taat dan sangat rajin beribadah kepada Allah SWT. Pada suatu saat, Rasulullah SAW kedatangan tamu tiga orang sahabatnya. Mereka sangat mengagumi kesalehan diri Rasulullah SAW sehingga masing-masing berikrar di hadapan Rasulullah. Salah satu diantara mereka ingin melakukan salat sepanjang malam terus menerus tidak tidur. Yang kedua ingin	The Prophet Muhammad was well known by his best friends as a man who was loyal and very diligent in praying to Allah. One day, three of his best friends came to visit him. They admired the Prophet Muhammad for his loyalty to Allah, so that the three visitors declared their own wish in front of the Prophet. One of them wanted to pray all night without sleeping. The

berpuasa terus menerus sepanjang hari tanpa berbuka. Yang terakhir ingin menyendiri selama hidup tidak menikah. Ketiga-tiganya ditolak Rasulullah SAW dan diminta mengurunkan keinginannya (Sepenggal Kisah)	second one wanted to fast all day without eating. The last one wanted to live alone without getting married. The Prophet Muhammad refused them and asked them to withdraw their intentions (Translation).

Lukman was able to read this L1 text fluently in the second term (7/12/2003). Unlike Fasya, he was also able to grasp the ideas in the text and he was able to explain what it was about. For example, when he was asked to share with the other children in the group what he understood from the reading, he explained confidently:

The text I was reading is about a piece of story on the Prophet Muhammad and his three best friends. Ketiga temannya minta pada Nabi. Satunya ingin salat sepanjang malan tanpa tidur, yang kedua ingin puasa tanpa makan, yang ketiga ingin tidak menikah sepanjang waktu, tapi Nabi Muhammad menolak semuaanya (Community Observation, 7/12/2003). .	……………………………………. …………………………………… His three friends asked to the Prophet three things such as praying all night with no sleeping, fasting all day with no eating, and staying alone forever without getting married, but the Prophet Muhammad refused all of them (Translation)

From the above response, it was clear that he had experienced a marked development of his reading in L1 as using Indonesian and English interchangeably he demonstrated his reading comprehension to the group.

Lukman seemed to use his L2 reading strategies both for decoding words and meaning and this contributed to his biliteracy development. He grew in confidence in using these strategies as his English rapidly developed. By the time he had been in Australia for 8 months he was already able to easily explain what he was reading in his own words in either L1 or L2. His L1 reading level was achieved through his experience in the school where Lukman became familiar with the concept of using his own words in both oral and written communication, an approach that he was

previously unfamiliar with in the Indonesian educational system. This L2 reading experience contributed to his L1 reading development markedly in the third and fourth terms.

In Summary

The five Indonesian children in the process of becoming bilingual demonstrate some marked individual differences toward their bilingual reading development in Australian social contexts. These differences appear to relate to the types of experience and support the children have in school, home and community and these are impacted on by the attitudes towards the use of L1 of their teachers, parents, and community members.

All the children developed their L2 reading skills over the year they were studied. In the case of one younger child, Fasya, his reading acquisition in English was occurring simultaneously with informal literacy learning that was occurring outside school in Indonesian and with some support via the buddy program for L1 literacy in his classroom. All the other children had some level of reading knowledge in Indonesian prior to learning English and were developing their reading in English as an L2 successively to reading in L1. Virtually all the reading-focussed literacy activities, whether at school or at home, were focussed on reading activities that had been initiated at school and extended into the home through homework tasks.

Whilst L1 and L2 were regularly used in interactions around religious learning and religious literacy, all the children engaged in reading activities, such as reciting the 'Qur'an', reading the meaning of the 'Qur'an', reading religious books and stories. Overall, the community centre appears to have played an important role in valorising religious teaching and religious literacy and it legitimated the use of L1 and L2, including reading in both languages, especially in relation to Islamic practice.

Lukman and Haris who had teachers who were strongly supportive of biliteracy, and who were exposed to community activists who encouraged translanguaging demonstrated a consistent development in their bilingual reading. Their parents strongly supported literacy development at home and did this in ways that were responsive to the teacher's directions. For Haris, the importance of religion and traditional Indonesian culture was an emphasis for his L1 reading activities.

Wendy was the main child who was proactively encouraged to use English at home and she clearly saw developing L2 reading as the priority for most of the time she was studied. Whilst she had the capacity to read in L1 due to her previous schooling, without the support of her teacher, her mother and the community activists, she had much more limited opportunity to develop her L1 reading whilst in Australia and this was evident in her lower accuracy in L1 reading even after she had started to be re-oriented to L1 through her father's influence. Her experiences and achievements contrast with those of her similar aged compatriot, Haris.

The two younger children, Nanda and Fasya, experienced a classroom context that recognised their L1 language backgrounds by allowing their use of L1 in interaction and supported their reading in L1 as well as L2. Both had teachers who were transitionally supportive of bilingualism and biliteracy. Fasya's child-focussed parents, whilst being supportive of Lukman's efforts in reading in L1 at home in response to his teacher's encouragement, did not automatically transfer an expectation of reading in L1 onto their younger son, possibly feeling that doing this may impact on the progress he was making in L2 reading. However, Fasya's spontaneous enthusiasm for religious learning and literacy meant that he nevertheless made some progress incidentally in reading in L1 as well as L2.

Chapter Eight

Individual Differences in the Children's Bilingual Writing Development

"Saya takut pulang ke Indonesia Ma, gurunya seram-seram, dan bosan di sekolah, lalu PR melulu"

[I am afraid of going home to Indonesia, Mum, the teachers are unfriendly and boring in school, we just do homework all the time]

In this chapter I will discuss the evidence of individual differences among the children in their bilingual writing development by exploring their bilingual writing performance in their classrooms, homes and community. How do the children's level of biliteracy development as manifested in their writing reflect differences in the approaches they have been exposed to in each of these intersecting contexts and their individual differences in age and learning styles? Let me begin by explaining the Indonesian quotation above which was a response from Lukman to his mother, as his family were preparing to go home because his parents had completed their postgraduate degrees.

Contextualising Individual Differences in Bilingual Writing Development

"Saya takut pulang ke Indonesia Ma, gurunya seram-seram, dan bosan di sekolah, lalu PR melulu" [I am afraid of going home to Indonesia, Mum, the teachers are unfriendly and boring in school, we just do homework all the time], frighteningly commented an unhappy faced Lukman, preparing to go home to Indonesia. He was very upset to be returning to Indonesia, because of his negative experience in school there before coming to Australia, as he said:

Saya suka sekolah di sini karena kita banyak main di sekolah, gurunya ramah dan penolong, jadi kita tidak takut bertanya pada guru, tidak seperti di Indonesia. Di sana saya tidak pernah nanya karena takut gurunya marah (Interview, 19/04/2004).	I like to go to school here because we have fun at school and the teacher is friendly, helpful so that we are not afraid to ask the teacher. Unlike in Indonesia, I never ask my teacher there because I am afraid the teacher will get angry (Translation)

Lukman's attitude toward going back home reflects his awareness of the very different approaches in each situation. He remembered his previous experience in literacy learning in Indonesian contexts as being frustrating and destructive, whereas he had enjoyed his literacy learning in Australia for the past couple of years. This chapter will particularly explore the bilingual writing outcomes of Lukman and the other children, individual by individual, after they have each had the opportunity for and experienced the process of bilingual writing development in Australia.

If we take Hornberger's (1989, 1990, 2002, 2003 & 2004) intersecting continua of biliteracy as a framework there are some points of commonality, but also some of difference in how the children's experiences can be plotted on these continua. For example, in relation to the context of biliteracy, at the micro level, they have had exposure to different biliteracy expectations and practices from classroom teachers, parents, and community activists. At the macro level, all are currently living in Australia, a context in which English is dominant and Indonesian is a minority, community language. However, there are differences in how long they have been living in this context (with Wendy having been in Australia for much longer than the others). In addition, most of the children (Fasya, Lukman, Nanda, and Wendy) are sojourning and their families expect to be returning to Indonesia, where Indonesian as the national language and lingua franca is dominant and will be their medium of instruction, whereas English, whilst having status as an influential and prestigious foreign language, is not widely used in the community or at school. All children are living in a context where literacy is both languages is highly valued and they are

attending a school where many children are bilingual or multilingual (across a variety of languages), but most of the teachers are monolingual English speakers.

In relation to the development of biliteracy continuum, receptive language development, in reading and activities promoting reading, is distinguished from productive language development, in writing and activities promoting writing. Each of these aspects of the children's biliteracy development are areas of focus in analysing their individual differences and in looking at the interaction of L1 and L2 in the context of their Australian school, homes, and community. All the children can be considered to be in a similar position in that their L1 is a minority language and their developing L2 is the majority language. Through their experiences they are getting exposure to both vernacular and standard literacy in each language. In English, through their formal schooling, there is a strong focus on language use that is decontextualised, although the extent of this depends on their age, as the younger children are dealing with English in more strongly contextualized modes. The last continuum involves the media of biliteracy. There is some difference in language exposure as one of the younger children, Fasya, was not able to read and write in his L1 before coming to Australia, so was simultaneously developing literacy in English and Indonesian, whereas the other four children were developing their literacy in English successive to their development of literacy in Indonesian. Having said this, it needs to be recognized that all but Lukman had only been studying in kindergarten or lower primary in Indonesia, so they did not have highly developed literacy in Indonesian prior to coming to Australia. All shared a similar profile in the other media of biliteracy dimensions as Indonesian and English are not highly dissimilar in their structural characteristics and both use roman script, although Indonesian is an easier language to develop literacy in as it has a high degree of regularity in letter-sound correspondence and, thus, is relatively easier than English to learn to decode and to spell.

The focal children in this study had different responses toward their experiences of what is valued in speaking and knowing in Australian and Indonesian contexts.

Lukman, for example, was impressed by the way his classroom teacher treated him just like a friend as he said: "I'm impressed by school here in Australia. My classroom teacher is very helpful and we talk to each other just like a friend" (Interview, 6/8/2003). Fasya, his brother, on the other hand, was quite unhappy in the first two weeks after his arrival as a new student in his Australian school. He kept complaining to his mother and father wanting to go home to Indonesia since he felt strange and understood nothing in his new environment where English was the dominant language (see detail in Chapter 4). Most of the focal children had negative responses toward their literacy experiences at school in Indonesia. They mainly commented on the attitude of their classroom teachers at school, and the quantity of homework, as Nanda explains:

> We do not have time to play at home because of the lots of homework to do, and the school is not fun because the teacher is very strict just to do assignment by assignment in the text book (Home Interview, 16/8/2003).

In considering biliteracy development through examining each child's writing in each language as s/he was exposed to different attitudes and approaches from their school teachers, parents, and community members, his/her writing performance will be examined drawing on the four continua: the context, development, content, and media of biliteracy.

Bilingual Writing Development of Individual Indonesian Child

The record of L2 and L1 writing development is divided into two sections: *English* and *Indonesian* texts. The materials and analysis presented here for each child have been drawn from a range of data sources: observation, field notes, interview, reflective journal, photographs, videotaping, and portfolios (as discussed in Chapter 3). Some aspects of the children's bilingual writing development in each language to consider are vocabulary development, events and activities taken from the child's writing journal, their story writing, literacy book and other collected documents in

writing over four terms of a full year. This is for the purpose of demonstrating the development in the L2 and L1 writings created by the children.

In considering each child's bilingual writing development one aspect focussed on was each child's development of English vocabulary in the texts they produced through their English writing activities in school and through homework support also at home. These texts were carefully selected by the classroom teachers and the researcher to represent the performance of each child in each term of the year and were put into his/her individual portfolio. The rubric used for portfolio selection included consideration of a range of criteria. For the texts to be included in the child's portfolio they had to have been responded by both teachers and the students, as well as me as the researcher having been present as an ethnographer at some stage during its production in order for me to have an understanding of the literacy processes covering the circumstances of its production, including in relation to the context, content, development, and media of biliteracy (Hornberger, 2004).

The analysis was divided into two approaches: (1) using Compleat Lexical Analysis Tool (can be accessed from the site Http: //www.lextutor.ca/132.208.224.131/) developed by Tom Cobb (2004) to determine the vocabulary development in writing outputs produced by each child over a one year period of the school calendar covering consideration of vocabulary in relation to the patterns of the most common words that people used in everyday conservation, academic words and unfamiliar or technical vocabularies; and (2) using contextual analysis to analyse reading outputs, literacy activities/events, portfolio documents and strategies both in Indonesian and English in Australian social contexts. The analysis begins with the two younger children, Fasya and Nanda, who were studied through Prep into Grade 1 and then moves to the children in their middle primary school years, Haris and Wendy, before finally considering the development of the oldest child, Lukman, who was studied from Grade 5 into Grade 6.

The Younger Children: Prep and Grade 1

Fasya: Age: 5.1 years   Grade: Prep   Time in Australia at Term 1: 1 month

Fasya was 5.1 years old child at the commencement of the research. He had been in Melbourne only about one month when I started approaching him to participate in the research and he was in Prep class (1st year of formally schooling in the Victorian school system).

At five, Fasya already spoke and understood Indonesian well, but he could not read and write it even though he had attended a formal kindergarten program. This means that his literacy development in L2 and L1 were largely occurring concurrently, although he was learning English consecutive to his acquisition of Indonesian. Fasya's experience in Indonesian Kindergarten had mainly focused on activities in the playground as well as singing children's songs. One of the songs that Fasya still remembered and sang with a very beautiful voice in his house when I visited him there was a song about children who are diligent in going to school:

Satu dua tiga empat Lima enam tujuh delapan Siapa rajin bersekolah cari ilmu Sampai dapat sungguh senang amat senang bangun pagi-pagi makan roti pulang dari sekolah makan nasi (Home Observation, 5/7/2003).	One two three four Five six seven eight Whoever is diligent to go to school looking for knowledge, they will be very happy waking up in the morning enjoying bread for breakfast, going back from school having lunch with rice (Translation).

Fasya's Bilingual Writing Development in School Context

In the school context, Fasya's writing development progressed significantly over the four terms, but only in literacy in L2. This can be seen in his L2 writing products particularly through his vocabulary growth and the number of texts produced in writing and the change in the complexity of these texts.

Table 8.1: Fasya's Vocabulary Development in L2 Writing from Term 1 to Term 4

Items	School Term x Number of Words			
	Term 1	Term 2	Term 3	Term 4
Most frequent/simple words	219 words	276 words	441 words	571 words
Academic words	1 word	0	2 words	5 word
Technical or unfamiliar words/less frequent word	25 words	46 words	33 words	103 words
Total words in texts	245 words	322 words	476 words	679 words
Texts produced	16	17	20	22
Average no. of words	15.3	18.9	23.8	30.8

Key: Term 1 = 14 July – 19 September 2003; Term 2 = 6 October – 19 December 2003; Term 3 = 30 January – 11 April 2004; Term 4 = 28 April – 27 June 2004 Note: This applies to all other children in this study.

From Table 8.1 above, it can be seen that Fasya's L2 writing development shows consistent growth over one year of schooling. In his vocabulary development this growth can be seen from both the total number of words used and the extent to which technical/less frequent words were used. These figures also demonstrate that the longer he had been at school, the better Faysa's L2 writing was in both the length and sophistication of his texts.

The average length of Fasya's texts doubled between Term 1 and Term 4 and activities and events in his writing also changed over time. In Term 4 he was using

four times as many technical words as in Term 1. In Term 1 Fasya wrote about a picture or experience for the teacher (e.g. going to a shopping centre with his mother in the weekend) and wrote ideas, words, phrases and sentences developed from shared classroom activities (e.g. reflecting on the reading books to write a report and presenting it at the end of the literacy lesson). In developing his L2 writing skills, he used drawings to assist written communication and read his own writing loudly to check his own accuracy. For example:

> I like park
> I go to market (7 words)

He could only write simple sentences about the things that were very familiar to him.

By Term 2, Fasya was able to write sentences based on simple repetitive patterns and used familiar words in his writing. In addition, he placed spaces between recognisable words and showed an awareness of the rules of writing, e.g. left to right, top to bottom, recognising and knowing letter names and the order of the alphabet as well as identifying the difference between upper and lower case letters. In this term Fasya's writing exhibited another feature of development as he started to try to use some long sentences. However, there were still spelling mistakes that occurred in his writing, for example, the word '*becost*' (because), *whint* (want), *batr* (better), and *or* (are), as shown below:

> I feel so happy becost I like to do spelling. I whint to get batr at writing.
> I had a very good time with you. You or my best teacher (30 words).

In Term 3, Fasya developed his L2 writing further mainly by using familiar words, and writing simple sentences to match an illustration or retell an experience. He

shows an awareness of the rules of writing, e.g. left to right, top to bottom, and uses some basic punctuation appropriately, e.g. capital letter and full stop. He also copies words, phrases or sentence correctly, and uses his developing knowledge of sound-letter relationships to assist with spelling. He wrote sentence/s on a given topic e.g. my family, and used a range of strategies to find new words or spell known words e.g. picture dictionaries, charts. He spelt many frequently used words accurately, and attempted to spell unknown words. He could write much longer sentences even though there were several misspellings. In the sample passage below, the words *gred* (grade), *techa* (teaching), *righting* (writing), *tank* (thank), and *fro* (for) are all misspelt, and the piece expressing thanks is somewhat lacking in coherence:

> What I like beings is this gred. Thank you for techa me how to read and now my righting is good. Now tank you very much. James is very kind to me. James and I are playing football. Tank you fro being the best teacher (45 words)

By the fourth term, Fasya was able to confidently write sentences in L2 based on simple repetitive patterns, and read his own writing to the teacher, and share his writing with other children in the group. He had started to develop an awareness of writing for different purposes, e.g. instructions, stories, and the use of appropriate styles. He was able to write letters of the alphabet correctly and consistently, used correct word order in simple sentences and understood and used some grammatical rules appropriately, e.g. I go, I went. He used as well a range of strategies to find new words or spell known words e.g. picture dictionaries, charts. He spelt some frequently used words correctly, and attempted to spell unknown words, experimenting with known and modelled words and phrases to produce his own writing and then read his own writing aloud to check for accuracy.

A sample of Fasya's writing from Term 4 shows how his expression is much more coherent and cohesive in terms of his idea and meaning with little misspelling:

> I want to be your grade because you are a kind teacher and nice. I'd always like to be in your grade. I think you hum I am. I'm your friendly little young Fasya. I think you are very gentle.
>
> From your friendly little young. Fasya (46 words).

Another approach to exploring his writing development is to consider his teachers' reports of his overall progress over the four terms as these reflect the stages in the Victorian English Curriculum and Standards Framework covering the development of listening and speaking, reading, writing, social skills and learning behaviours. These reports only focused on his individual L2 writing development in the school context.

Fasya's teacher (Lily) assessed his literacy in English at the end of Term 2 (December 2003) as follows:

   [He is able to]

   (1) Consistently talk about a picture or experience for the teacher to write;
   (2) Usually contribute/write ideas, words, phrases and sentences in shared classroom activities;
   (3) Sometimes write sentences based on simple repetitive patterns;
   (4) Usually use familiar words in writing;
   (5) Usually read his own writing to teacher;
   (6) Usually write with confidence.

However, she indicates that he was not yet able to write simple sentences to match an illustration or retell an experience. From his contextual understanding of an aspect of writing, Fasya consistently placed spaces between recognisable words, and showed an awareness of the rules of writing, however, he did not yet have a well-developed awareness of writing for different purposes. Both in the teacher's report and through my observations it was evident that Fasya was usually able to recognise and know

letter names and the order of the alphabet, and recognise the difference between upper and lower case letters, write letters of the alphabet correctly and consistently, and copy words, phrases or a sentence correctly (Portfolios, 5/12/2003). This evidence was consistent with Fasya's L2 writing development as also demonstrated in Table 8.1, particularly in the first two terms.

Over the four terms of a school year, in contrast to his writing development in L2, Fasya did not produce any writing at all in L1. He seemed to be fully concentrated on developing his L2 knowledge and written literacy skills in L2. The observations over the four terms did not uncover any evidence that Fasya developed his L1 writing in the school context.

Based on the L2 and L1 writing outputs that Fasya produced over the four terms, his L2 writing developed markedly in terms of the key learning aspects of literacy that were observed ranging from communication around text, contextual understanding, linguistic structure and features, and strategies to achieve his learning target. These efforts were from the available evidence and reports of his parents his first attempts to write, and at school only involved English.

Fasya's Bilingual Writing Development at Home

Fasya produced writing at home only in relation to homework assigned by his classroom teacher at school. He usually came home with the assignment of summarising the books that he had just read, such as saying what the book was about, and explaining in brief the content of the book in his own words. His writing record at home gradually improved over the four terms. This was indicated by the gradual development of his capacity to undertake the expected task (eg. to talk about a picture or experience in his reader for one of his the parents to write) from not being able to do anything in the first term to sometimes being able to work with his parent to write some words in the second term, to usually being able to do so in third term, and consistently being able to do this in the fourth term.

Fasya's contextual understanding in writing also improved step by step from Term 1 to Term 4 in the writing activities he undertook at home. His contextual understanding improvement was indicated by moving from sometimes in the first two terms to consistently placing spaces between recognisable words in the third and fourth terms, as well as his awareness of the rules of writing. Whilst his development in linguistic structures and features was indicated by his consistent change from sometimes in the first two terms to usually in the third and fourth terms recognising and knowing letter names and order of the alphabet, recognising the difference between upper and lower case letters, writing letters of the alphabet correctly and consistently, and copying words, phrases or a sentence correctly.

What Fasya did at home to develop his L2 writing was to use a variety of strategies in writing, such as being able to use drawings to assist written communication as well as range of strategies to find new words or spell known words. At home he basically seemed to be applying the approaches and strategies he had been learning at school in the work with his readers that he was doing at home with the assistance of his parents (Portfolio, 5/12/2003). This extended to his attitude and approach in relation to L1 writing as he appeared to focus virtually entirely on writing in L2. The observation over one year demonstrated that there was no single L1 writing product produced at home. This evidence indicated that his L1 writing did not show a marked development in the Australian home context.

Fasya's Bilingual Writing Development in the Community

As discussed in Chapter 6, the literacy activities in the community centre had a different focus from the school and home contexts as well as there being two different styles of approaching their work with the children on the part of the community activists: (1) activists who viewed centre as a site for translanguaging (CST); and (2) activists who viewed the centre as a site for religious transmission (CRT). Fasya was exposed to the first type of community activists (CST), who emphasised the importance of teaching religious literacy using both L1 and L2 as mediums of

instruction to easily facilitate the learning of children with different levels of language capability in English and Indonesian. Fasya's writing in the community centre was only related to simple literacy activities, such as drawing a mosque or people who are praying. His L2 & L1 literacy development was mostly related to his receptive language skills, such as listening and reading.

Nanda: age: 5.2 years   Grade: Prep   Time in Australia at Term1: 6 months

Nanda was in Prep at the time this study was launched. She was with Fasya in this grade level, but her situation was different from Fasya's. Nanda had already had time to adjust to the new environment in Australia, since she had been studying in the school for 6 months. She had an older sister who was studying in an upper level grade, and who she played with both at home and in the community. Unlike Fasya, who was simultaneously being exposed to literacy in L2 and L1, Nanda had been able to read and write in Indonesian before coming to Australia, so she was categorised as having 'successive exposure' to the two languages. As she was literate in her L1, she was able to draw on her knowledge about literacy from this experience in the process of developing her literacy in L2.

Nanda's Bilingual Writing Development in School

Nanda's L2 writing at school covered activities such as word and sentence matching, alphabet games, phonemic awareness activities, sequencing pictures and sentences of processes or events, matching sentences to illustrations, simple comprehension and cloze activities. Handwriting included exercises such as correcting letter formations and appropriate starting points for letters. Nanda was exposed to a wide variety of reading texts suitable to her language level. These texts included narrative, informational and instructional texts incorporating everyday environmental and classroom texts such as signs, and labels. Since L2 writing activities were based on a topic approach, Nanda had experience of the following themes/topics: colour, animal, houses/homes, holiday furniture, days/months, seasons/weather, food, Australia,

action, traditional stories, clothes, occupation, me, school, shopping, and celebration (Portfolio, 5/12/2003).

Nanda's L2 literacy development progressed significantly over four terms that I observed her. This can be seen in her L2 writing records particularly in the growth of her vocabulary and the number of texts produced in writing as well as the average number of words per text as shown in the Table 8.2 below:

Table 8.2: Nanda's Vocabulary Development in L2 Writing from Term 1 to Term 4.

Items	School Term x Number of Words			
	Term 1	Term 2	Term 3	Term 4
Most frequent/simple words	496 words	594 words	867 words	1432 words
Academic words	1 word	5 words	2 words	4 words
Technical or unfamiliar words/less frequent words	99 words	114 words	159 words	163 words
Total words in texts	611 words	698 words	1028 words	1589 words
Texts	16	17	20	22
Average number of words	38.1	41.1	51.4	72.2

From Table 8.2 above, it can be seen that Nanda's L2 writing development shows marked growth both in the total number of words used and the extent to which technical/less frequent words were used. The average number of words per text doubled and the technical words usage grew by 60 %.

In her writing Nanda wrote about a picture or experience for the teacher and wrote about ideas, words, phrases and sentences in shared classroom activities. In developing her writing skills, she used drawings to assist her written communication and read her own writing aloud to check her own accuracy.

One sample of her selected texts was taken from her story writing produced in the classroom in Term 1. This text had already been checked by her classroom teacher, Chamely, as well as having been read aloud by Nanda in a group of five children in the school classroom with the good responses from both teacher and group mates:

> Once there was a lady mice, her name is Isabela. Isabela likes animal except faunas. Isabela is 20 years old. Her favourite food is soup. One day Isabela saw a kid that lost is lost in city. Then she help the kids. She said to the kid: "hello what's your name and why are you alone? Then the kid said: "I am lost in the city and my name is Lisa I 8 years old. Then Isabela found a man and they lived happily ever after (86 words).

The sample below was taken from Nanda's writing in the classroom in Term 2. She wrote about 'The Princes'. Before starting to write about it, she came to me as a friend who was sitting around with her group mates and asked how to spell the word 'princes', and then she directly wrote down in her writing book based on what she heard from me. As soon as she finished writing 'the princes', she then showed it to her teacher while reading it aloud. After a while, the teacher said, "Good job, Nanda, that's excellent". Nanda was very happy to hear her teacher's response toward her writing, smiling while looking at her own writing:

> The princes
>
> There was a king named William. He does not have a child. He was sad, then one day a happy daughter was born. He called it Odette. Everyone was happy and everyone said, "hurry". Odette was growing bigger and King William was growing old. Now Odette was 34 years old. One day Odette saw a prince. So they sang and danced after that King William was happy. One day Odette met a strange great big huge animal. His name was Roinar. He is very wicked and King William was very shocked. The Roinar is dead. The end (99 words).

In Term 3 for her writing, Nanda used familiar words, wrote simple sentences to match an illustration or retell an experience, showed an awareness of the rules of

writing, e.g. left to right, top to bottom, used some basic punctuation appropriately, e.g. capital letter and full stop, copies words, phrases or sentence correctly, and used sound-letter relationships to assist with spelling, Notably, there was a substantial increase in the number of technical/less frequent words that she used. This is an example of the sort of texts she was producing:

> Once there was a girl named Anita. Her favourite friends was Sally and Kathleen. Anita's long name was Anita Adrey. Anita had a pet. It was a rabbit. The rabbit's name is Marina. Marina's favourite food was just cucumber and salad. One day Anita woke up, but she could not see her pet anywhere. So Anita called her the P'dice. They had to find it in the laundry. Anita's room and her room is next to the toilet. So the police find it in the bathroom. So she said to the police thank you. So she lived happily ever after. Then the police went away. The end (107 words).

In Term 4, Nanda continued to develop the length and complexity of her texts. She wrote with confidence, mainly using sentences based on simple repetitive patterns. She enjoyed reading her writing to the teacher. She had an awareness of writing for different purposes, e.g. instructions, stories, and using appropriate styles. She also wrote letters of the alphabet correctly and consistently, used correct word order in simple sentences and understood and used some grammatical rules appropriately, e.g. irregular past tense forms in common verbs, such as 'go'.

The sample of Nanda's writing in Term 4 employs more complicated sentences including reported speech, as shown below:

> There was three books who I halved in the bookshelf. Their names was BBQ, Bonjoi, and Landi. BBQ is fanny. Bonjoi thinks there was a BBQ. So the Bonjoi called BBQ. But Bonjoi was joking. "BBQ there was a BBQ" Bonjoi said. A BBQ so I have to move "BBQ said". "wow wow wow " BBQ said. I fell off. It's your turn now, BBQ said to the Bonjoi. I there was something, BBQ said. "Something I have to go in the front. Sorry Bonjoi. It's a landi's turn. But Landis said " no with a soft voice. Now the dark came when andi was sleeping. Bonjoi and BBQ pushed

> Landi slowly. "wow wow wow, How did I get there, I am sorry " BBQ and Bonjoi said. The BBQ had a great day. Bonjoi said what are we wait, let's call her. Billy-billy came here. Billy was very happy to have another job. "That's better" Bonjoi said. Thanks billy, Landi said. The end (164 words).

The evidence of the selected texts exhibited above from the first to the fourth terms in the growth is length (86, 99, 107, and 164 words consecutively) demonstrate how consistently Nanda's L2 writing developed across the year.

Like Fasya in the school context, Nanda did not produce any writing at all in L1 over the four terms of the year. At school Nanda seemed to be fully focussed on developing her writing in L2, English.

Nanda's Bilingual Writing Development at Home

Nanda produced writing at home mostly in relation to homework assigned by her classroom teacher. She usually came home with the assignment of summarising the books that she had just read, such recounting what the book was about, and explaining in brief the contents of the book in her own words. Nanda was a very enthusiastic reader and her writing record at home shows how she gradually developed her capacity to undertake the homework tasks of retelling the stories of books she had been reading. Initially she talked about the book or pictures and experiences in the book and her parents assisted her in writing about this. By the fourth term she was able to confidently write a few sentences herself. Nanda's contextual understanding in writing also improved step by step from Term 1 to Term 4. This was evident in growing accuracy in placing spaces between recognisable words and appropriately applying the rules of writing and punctuation.

At home Nanda seemed to have the same strategy to developing her writing as what she had adopted at school context – she fully focused on developing her L2 writing. The observations over one year did not document a single L1 writing product

produced at home. This evidence indicates that her L1 writing did not show marked development in the home context in Australia.

Nanda's Bilingual Writing Development in the Community

Nanda's exposure to the community activists was similar to Fasya's exposure, although her group used English more in literacy activities than his. Her L2 literacy development mostly focussed on the development of receptive language skills such as listening and reading (as discussed in Chapter 7).

The Middle Primary Years Children: Grade 3 and 4

Haris: Age: 8.1 years   Grade: 3   Time in Australia at Term 1: 6 months

At the time the research commenced Haris was eight years and one month old and he had been living in Australia for 6 months with his parents and two siblings, his older and younger brothers. The children were mostly exposed to L2 use in the neighbourhood outside the home.

Before coming to Australia, Haris had studied to Grade 2 year level in an Indonesian primary school. At this grade level he had just started to read and write in Indonesian, so that his L1 literacy level was at an early stage of development. He was able to decode letters and sounds in words and easily pronounce words containing one or two syllables, but he still had difficulty in sounding out words containing three or more syllables in Indonesian. The discussion below is an exploration of his L2 and L1 writing development in the three intersecting contexts: school, home and community in Australia.

Haris's Bilingual Writing Development in School

Haris' L2 writing progressed significantly over the four terms that he was observed at school. His improvement can be seen both in vocabulary growth and the number of texts produced over the four terms as shown in Table 8.3 below:

Table 8.3: Haris' Vocabulary Development in L2 Writing from Term 1 to Term 4.

Items	School Term x Number of Words			
	Term 1	Term 2	Term 3	Term 4
Most frequent/simple words	468 words	557 words	596 words	1081 words
Academic words	3 words	4 words	10 words	12 words
Technical or unfamiliar words/less frequent words	62 words	64 words	88 words	108 words
Total words in texts	533 words	625 words	694 words	1201 words
Texts	16	17	18	20
Average number of words	33.3	36.7	38.5	60

Over the four terms Haris' L2 writing development is evident both in the most frequent/simple words doubling and in the average number of words also almost doubling with the growth from Term 3 to Term 4 being particularly great.

Other aspects explored were the activities and events in his writing. In Term 1, Haris read his own writing to the teacher and wrote about his ideas using simple sentence patterns that had been introduced and practised. The following sample of Haris' writing was taken from his literacy activity in the classroom where he had to write about 'what he likes and what he thinks about himself'. He expressed his meaning clearly without any spelling mistakes:

> At school I like to play sport
>
> I am superb at art work
>
> I can run really fast
>
> I think that people should be nice
>
> I wish to improve at sport
>
> I am interested at science
>
> I like eating ice-cream (40 words)

In Term 2, Haris used some complex vocabulary items in his writing (egs. gun paint, off duty) and his sentences are much more complex than in his texts in the first term, as shown below:

> I am a sailor
>
> I eat biscuit and dried fish and cheese salted meat covered in maggots and pickled cabbage that the rats have nibbled. During the day I wash the decks, clean the gun paint off the ship or repair the ship.
>
> Some of my friends that are off duty pick on me while I work hard. They eat 5 pm on the lower deck away from the captain (70 words).

In Term 3 Haris wrote a short story which reflected his experience. It was quite an imaginative piece of writing that drew on his experience and topics he had been learning about:

> The Adventure in the city
>
> At Sunday in 2004 Dad and I in the city, Dad decided to go to have a picnic in national park. When we arrived we had our lunch. After lunch my Dad and my Mum felt asleep. My brother Jake and my sister Annie decided to explore Just near the Yarra river we saw a big hole. Then we went in When we were out of the big hole. We were in Gold fields. Then one miner found a gold. He put it in the museum. Then we tried to get gold (97 words)

In the fourth term, Haris used chronological order markers, *first, second, after, next*, to structure sequences in his writing. . Whilst the tenses were quite mixed as can be seen in the following writing, this was nevertheless quite an ambitious and sophisticated story:

My best birthday

On September the eleventh it was my birthday.

That is tomorrow so I asked my mum if I could go to the shop to buy the ingredients for the cake. "Mum could I go to the shop with you", I asked. " Yes, you could come with me to the shop", said mum.

First we brought chocolate for the cover. Second we brought icing for the inside. Next we brought flour, lollies, balloons, birthday candles, and a birthday present. We then went home to make the cake, hang up the balloons and get ready for the party. Mum said we had to go to bed, so we slept at 11 o'clock. Tomorrow my friends came to my house for the party, first we played hide and seek. After I was it in that game we played tigi. After that we went to the swimming pool. In there we played with a ball. After that we went home to eat the cake. After that I open my present box. I got 10 toys another 10 is books about Australia and I got a globe (186 words).

The evidence of the selected texts exhibited above from the first to the fourth terms provides more detailed support to the numerical data in Table 8.3.

Haris also started to develop his L1 writing in the third and fourth terms that I was observing him, when he was exposed to a different classroom teacher, Robinson, a senior classroom teacher in the school. As discussed earlier in Chapter 4, Robinson has been categorised as a teacher who is strongly supportive of biliteracy and bilingualism. He was flexible in his classroom practices and encouraged the children to be creative in their literacy learning. In the case of Haris, as a non-native English speaker with a limited vocabulary in English, Robinson approached him in the classroom suggesting that Haris could write first in his L1, and then write it up in English. According to Robinson, this would be easier for Haris since he would

already have the ideas to write in English (Classroom Observation, 7/4/2004). This was the start of Haris producing L1 writing texts over the second half of the year and this experience and encouragement was pivotal for his L1 literacy development at school as shown below in one of the text samples produced by Haris. This sample was taken from Haris' L1 writing portfolio and is about his weekend activity:

Akhir pekan	Weekend
Hari sabtu saya tinggal di rumah sekitar jam 2 siang saya bermain tennis meja. Saya menang melawan ayah saya. Setelah itu, kami makan siang dengan bayam campur kentang. Saya suka bayam dengan kentang tetapi tidak dengan kue kentang. Setelah itu kami pergi ke tempat belanja di kota. Kemudian kami pergi ke rumah teman karena dia akan pulang ke Indonesia. Di sana agak membosankan tetapi kita bermain play station. Besoknya saya tinggal dirumah lagi kami ada pesta dirumah dan saya bermain di computer sampai jam 3 siang. Kita pergi ke kios untuk beli berbagai jenis makanan kemudian kita pulang kerumah. (Portfolio, 12/5/2004)	On Saturday, I stayed at home. At around two a clock I played table tennis with my Dad. I won the table tennis game versus my Dad. After that we had lunch with spinach mixed with potato. I like spinach with potato, but not with the potato cake. After that we went to a shopping centre in the city for buying present. Then we visited a friend who would go home Indonesia. We got bored there, but we played the Play Station. The following day, I stayed at home again because we had party at home and I played in the computer until on three o'clock. We went to the Milk bar to buy varieties of food to bring home (Translation).

This sample of L1 writing demonstrates that Haris had developed his capacity to express himself in writing in L1 to a level far beyond that which he had at the time that he left his Indonesian school about a year previous to this. The sentences are very well connected from one to the other using connectors such as "setelah itu (after that), kemudian (then), tetapi (but)". It appears that this level of sophistication in structuring his L1 writing has been influenced by his experiences in the first two terms at school in Australia being encouraged to express himself in English using Australian pedagogical approaches to encouraging school-related literacy practices. Haris seems to have been able to transfer literacy strategies and skills from L2 into L1 and vice versa.

Haris' Bilingual Writing Development at Home

Haris produced writing at home mostly in relation to homework assigned by his classroom teacher, mainly writing reports about books he had read at school. Gradually the L2 writing he produced for these reports grew in confidence and sophistication very much in line with the development of his L2 writing at school.

From Term 3 as Robinson encouraged Haris to write in L1 as well as L2, Haris started to also produce texts in L1 at home, such as this text about a visit to a famous Victorian national park, Wilson's Promontory:

Wilson Promentori	Wilson's Promontory
Hari Sabtu saya pergi ke Wilson Promentori dengan teman-teman saya. Kita bermain pasir dan air yang dingin kita membuat sandcastle yang besar dan membuat lobang yang sangat dalam dan kita mendorong-dorong yang jatuh ke lobang yang kalah setelah bermain kita makan siang. Kita makan siang burger dan hot dog. Kita makan sambil bermain dan setelah selesai kita menangkat ikan. Banyak ikan tapi masih kecil-kecil. Kita tidak bisa menangkapnya karena di bawah batas penangkapan . Setelah mincing kita pergi ke pantai sebelah kita bermain lomba lari dengan ember dikaki. Setelah itu kita pulang dan besoknya aku menceritakan semuannya (Portfolios, 29/5/2004).	On Saturday, I went to the promontory with my friends. We played in the sand and cool water making a big sandcastle and a very deep hole. We played pushing each other until one of us fell into the hole, after that we had lunch of burger and hot dog. After having lunch, we caught a fish, but the fish was still small as we could not catch the fish since the rule did not allow us to catch the small fish. After fishing, we went to another beach just close to this beach for running competition with a bucket attached to our foot. After that we went home and the following day, I told all the stories to friends in school (Translation).

This L1 text was produced at home for homework that involved writing a report on the weekend activities that he was subsequently to be required to present both orally and in writing in class. Haris' parents were amazed to notice that Haris could develop his L1 writing to this extent, even though this family strongly valued the home as the site of maintenance and transmission of traditional heritage cultural values and practices, including L1 language and literacy. His father, for example, had a very

positive attitude in response to Haris' L1 literacy activity both at school and at home, particularly when Haris was taught by Robinson, as he commented:

Saya suka sekali Pak Robinson, gurunya Haris di sekolah. Dia sangat mendukung harapan kita agar Bahasa Indonesianya anak-anak tetap bertahan dan kalau bisa berkembang terus. Saya senang melihat Haris dapat membaca dan menulis dalam Bahasa Indonesia seperti yang dia lakukan sekarang ini (Parent Interview, 29/5/2004).	I really like Mr. Robinson, Haris' classroom teacher at school. He strongly supports our expectation to maintain the children's L1 and to keep progressing. I am particularly glad to see Haris could read and write in Indonesian like what he is now doing (Translation).

Haris Bilingual Writing Development in the Community

Haris was exposed to community activists in a similar manner to both Fasya and Nanda (as discussed earlier). It was due to the same patterns of activities that all the children were expected to listen to the religious emphasis in the centre with L2 and L1 being used by the CST activists as the mediums of instruction to easily facilitate the children understanding religious teaching. His L2 literacy development was mostly related to his receptive language skills such as listening and reading (see Chapter 7 for further details), and no L1 or L2 writing products were produced at the community centre.

Wendy: Age: 8.2 years   Grade: 3 Time in Australia at Term 1: 18 months

Wendy was eight years and two months old at the commencement of the study and she was living temporarily in Australia. She had resided in Australia for about one and a half years when I started approaching her to participate in the research and was studying in Grade 3. She was with her older sister who was studying in Year 7, and they were the dependant children of their mother. They expected to be staying in Australia for about four years with irregular visits from their father, who worked in Indonesia. Before coming to Australia, Wendy had studied in Indonesian public

primary school in Grade 1. At this grade level in Indonesia Wendy was beginning to read and write in her L1, so that her L1 literacy was still at an early stage of development when she made the transition to school in Australia. At the time she came to Australia, Wendy had already been able to decode letter sound correspondences in Indonesian. Her L2 and L1 literacy exposure was somewhat different from the other Indonesian children in study as has been evident from the detailed discussion and analysis in Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7.

Wendy's Bilingual Writing Development in School

Wendy progressed significantly in her L2 writing over the four terms that I was observing her. This development can be seen both in the growth in her vocabulary and in the number of texts (see Table 8.4 below).

Table 8.4: Wendy's Vocabulary Development in L2 Writing from Term 1 to Term 4.

Items	School Term x Number of Words			
	Term 1	Term 2	Term 3	Term 4
Most frequent/simple words	589 words	692 words	749 words	1055 words
Academic words	1 word	7 words	9 words	7 words
Technical or unfamiliar words/less frequent words	67 words	114 words	96 words	130 words
Total words in texts	657 words	813 words	854 words	1192 words
Texts	16	17	17	19
Average number of words	41	47.8	50.2	62.7

Table 8.4 shows how Wendy's L2 literacy production steadily increased over the year. The total number of words and the number of unfamiliar words produced per term doubled. Whilst the quantity of texts did not increase very much there was a 50% increase in the average length of each text.

The other aspect to consider is the activities and events in her writing. In Term 1, Wendy wrote simple words, simple sentences and simple phrases. In developing her writing skills, she used pictures to assist with her written communication and she was able to read her own writing aloud to check her structure and vocabulary.

The following sample of Wendy's writing was taken from her literacy activity in the classroom where she had to make a drama about 'Noah' that would be performed at the literacy celebration at the end of the year. She drafted the scenario of the drama as follows:

Go Noah

Let all the animals goes in the ark so they don't get wet.

Mrs noah helping Noah build the ark bigger.

Angles tells noah that he have to build a mighty ark for the rainy day.

Families: they agree what Noah says (44 words).

In the second term, Wendy wrote simple sentences to make simple requests, or express basic needs, and wrote a series of events or actions using familiar or most common vocabulary as well as producing texts in a variety of writing genres, such as letters, procedural writing, news writing etc. The following example was taken from her writing sample produced in the classroom. She wrote a letter to her friend, Ayu (pseudonym) telling her about the school activities that she had experienced. She wrote clearly connecting sentences to make a coherent narrative text as can be seen below:

Dear Ayu

It's so cool you get to do cheer leading and you get go camping. Sometimes my friend and I do some dancing or cheer leading at school at playtime.

Our school holiday is coming up on June 25th.

This week in art we're doing clay. We have to make a dragon or a

dinosaur. I made a dragon it looks cute. We put the dinosaurs and dragons name kiln. A kiln is a special oven for a sky. Our art teacher is called Jenny W. So we have fun on your summer holidays.

From

Wendy

p.s: please write back to me (103 words).

In Term 3 Wendy wrote a short story that drew on her experience. It is a narrative recount in the first person of the events over the time when she was ill at home and is sequentially structured:

On Saturday, I was sick. So I stayed at home. I read my library book and I watched my dads. I watched Looney Tunes back in Action, Mary-Kate and Ashley passport to Paris and I also played on the computer.

On Sunday, I stayed at home again I continued reading my library. It was two of a kind. It was a Mary-Kate and Ashley book. At 2 o'clock Nadira came to cheer me up we watched Holiday in the Sun, switching goals. They are Mary-Kate and Ashley movies. We played a little joke on Nadira and her sister Shafira. At night my family walked to my mums friend house we had dinner there (113 words).

In the fourth term, Wendy was exposed to more complex sentence writing. As a result, her writing samples became longer and more complex. She wrote an excellent piece of writing about her birthday:

My stupid Birthday

It was my birthday. I'm turning eight. We all ate dinner. Couple of minutes, later it was time to blow out the candles. They all sang happy birthday, and I cut the cake into twenty-nine pieces. We all had our own pieces of cake, but the stupid bit was somebody spat out a piece of cake onto my face. I knew it was my cousin. He always spits on peoples' faces and cakes, and usually one of my friends does as well. Their mum gave me the presents just because they hate me. I've just

been spat at! Now one of my present is gone. At 8 o'clock I started looking at the presents. There are meant to be twenty but there's only seventeen left. I think my mean friends took there. Well, I just ask my mum for another three presents. I ask my mum she said, "no" so I asked my dad, and he said, "yes but only three! I yelled, OK! My dad gave me ticket to go to the Gold Coast in the Gold Coast dad let me go to Movie World and the Dream World. I think that's enough for my present. Three weeks later, we went to the Gold Coast. I make sure the door is locked, windows are shut and everything is put away. I checked everything. WE arrived at the Airport at 7. it was time to go the plane. It's going to be fun at Gold Coast. We arrived at 9.35 in the morning. My family and I walked to Movie world. I went on every ride, because my dad already paid $100 for entry because we all going to Dream World. There's many things to play with and rides to play on. It is much fun than Movie World. At night we watch the movie star and singers awards. Eminem got six awards for the best rapper. The next day. We went back to Melbourne. We arrived at Melbourne at 6.45. My mean friends were right in front of my eyes. " I'm sorry…wrecked your things and stole the present from your house. We've come to fix them with you" "Alright, I'll fix them with you, " I muttered. They return my birthday presents so I have to say thanks to dad because he gave me tickets to go to Gold Coast. My best friend was going to fight them but I told them not to. So we all became best friends forever. Our mean friends became best friend. Two weeks later, my family and my best friend and I went to Gold Coast again. We had more fun than before because there're more people to hang out with (451 words).

Wendy seemed to have no L1 writing exposure in the school context. Her classroom teacher was from ELO category (see Chapter 4) and strongly focused on her students' development of their writing in English. The observation of Wendy over one year did not uncover any L1 writing products produced by her at school. Wendy's L1 writing did not demonstrate any development in the Australian school context.

Wendy's Bilingual Writing Development at Home

Wendy's L2 writing development at home related to her school-related work. Unfortunately, Wendy seemed to have no L1 writing exposure at home. Her mother's approach to parenting led to the home being categorised as a parent directed family

(see Chapter 5). In Wendy's case her main caregiver parent's focus at home was on L2, English. In the home observation over a year there was no single L1 writing product produced at home. This suggests that Wendy's L1 writing did not show any obvious development in the Australian home context.

Wendy's Bilingual Writing Development in the Community Context

Wendy did not produce any writing samples in either L1 or L2 at the community centre. Unlike the other children she rarely went to the centre to join the community activities. She seemed to not have any interest in joining the community literacy practices, such as the religious teaching in the centre. One of the factors that contributed to this was her mother's attitude and availability as she was too busy to be able to accompany Wendy to the centre and did not seem to place any strong value on her daughter's participation in the community religious and literacy activities.

The Upper Primary Years Child: Grades 5 and 6

Lukman Age: 10.4 years   Grade: 5   Time in Australia at Term 1: 1 month

Lukman was the oldest Indonesian child participating in this study and was 10 years and 4 months when the study commenced. Both Lukman and his younger brother, Fasya, had been at the school for a month at this time and Lukman was in Grade 5. As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, before coming to Australia he had been able to read and write in Indonesian to the level that would be expected after 4 years of primary education, since he had attended primary school there to Grade 4 level. On arrival in Australia, despite his not knowing English he had been placed directly into Grade 5 based on his age.

Lukman's Bilingual Writing Development in School

The L2 writing development of Lukman occurred progressively over the four terms. This can be seen in his L2 writing records, particularly through his vocabulary growth

and the number of texts he produced as well as through evidence of his contextual understanding, development in his use of linguistic structures and features as well as in the activities or events and strategies he used both in writing and reading. The texts produced in writing were collected selectively over the four terms and putting into his writing portfolio. Table 8.5 below summarises Lukman's L2 vocabulary development.

Table 8.5: Lukman's Vocabulary Development in L2 Writing from Term 1 to Term 4.

Items	School Term x Number of Words			
	Term 1	Term 2	Term 3	Term 4
Most frequent/simple words	335 words	555 words	566 words	954 words
Academic words	13 words	3 words	18 words	8 words
Technical or unfamiliar words/less frequent words	44 words	50 words	82 words	78 words
Total words in texts	392 words	648 words	666 words	1040 words
Texts	12	15	15	17
Average number of words	32.2	43.2	44.4	61.1

Table 8.5 shows how Lukman's L2 literacy markedly developed over the year. This can be seen by the almost doubling of the average number of words per text. By Term 4, Lukman was using three times as many simple words as in Term 1. The data demonstrates that the more meaningful and varied his writing activities or events, the better the result of Lukman's L2 writing development at school. This is further explored below by examining some of his texts.

For writing activities in Term 1, Lukman wrote simple sentences to make simple requests, or expressed basic needs, and wrote a series of events or actions using familiar or most common vocabulary. The following writing sample was taken from a classroom literacy activity where Lukman was expected to write about his experience

in playing hockey. His writing seemed quite limited and in the sentences there is evidence of the transfer of L1 structure such as *'Games seconds'* (second game), *'In the weekend years today'* (This weekend), 'I am going in the Monash' (I am going to Monash), as shown below:

Play Hockey

In the weekend years today I am going in the Monash to play Hockey games. First score five and five. Game seconds was same and somebody kick the ball and you lose score is five and six (39 words).

.

In Term 2, Lukman wrote simple sentences using conjunction such as, *and*, *then*, *but*, and he had learned to use and write basic time/sequence markers, such as *first*, *next*, and to use prepositional phrases to express location, such as: *on the table, on the bed*. The sample of writing below was also taken from a classroom literacy activity. In this activity Lukman wrote a letter to his footy (colloquial term for Australian football) idol, with developing and quite accurate use of simple sentences, linked using conjunctions such as '*and',* as well as quite a coherent textual structure, as can be seen below:

Dear James

I'm your biggest fan. When I was watching TV I heard you have eye injury I feel sad but I still want to congratulate your team for winning. And I want to go to all your mathes in Victoria. I always check your information about you in internet. And I have your collection like card, poster, hot and now I want you to signature a Football and I want your email. I hope you can play when Essendon vs. Geelong.

Thank you

Lukman (85 words).

That Lukman was able to write a letter to his favourite footy player, James, giving his congratulations and expectations for the next round of the footy competition, shows his developing link to and understanding of L2 culture, in this case mainstream Aussie footy culture. The word 'mathes' in the box was the only error made by Lukman which the right one 'matches'.

In Term 3, Lukman used a range of strategies to find new words or spell known words e.g. picture dictionaries, charts, and he spelt some frequently used words correctly and attempted to spell unknown words. The following sample was taken from his Journal writing book produced in the classroom, in which he writes his holiday story:

> Holiday stories
>
> On Monday 5 April It was my birthday. I went to Fregon Park with Vicky and Errie play football. We play kicking with others and the Erield came so make 2 on 2 me and Errie Vicky and Eries dad. It was a hard game but we still won and the other day I got a new games its called medieval total won and impossible creature. Then we went to the foostcray to having a barbecue it was a nice day but mind blow the stuff and I played x box in the friend house and I went home at night and I sleep in the cars (109 words).

In Term 4, Lukman made new phrases or sentences using known phrases, structures or vocabulary, used some vocabulary from topics he had been studying to write simple sentences, and he wrote using a number of common classroom formulas, e.g. Just a minute, Be quiet please.

Lukman produced a long writing sample in Term 4 that shows his growing confidence in and capacity to express himself in writing in English, if still haltingly in places and with limited attention to punctuation:

Day 1 Camp Coolamotong

On Monday 31st of May we left from school to coolamotong in Bainsdale. We have to stop in Public toilet and as our recces. Then in the bus we waith Lion king and is Bering and I go for sleep in the bus because I'm really tired.

When I was wake up we were already in Coolamotong and I take my bag to rooms and go beach to the picnic to play the great race. The great race was really fun you have aclue inside the tub and my groups have to go at another and Tamira and Lisela doing another and they got 5 shoot in the colour and we have another clue to go to climbing we have to go real fast because we have to catch the time. After climbing the time is nearly out. So we ran down and doing canoeing. Matt and Andrew doing canoeing and they have to found the keys and they found the keys. They found the keys and the time is up and we ran to picnic table. Then we having shower after shower we have free time until dinner and after that we having a night walk. We saw a tree and a scratch from aborigines people making a canoe.

Day 2 Camp Coolamotong

On Tuesday 1st June 7:30 am I woke up in the morning and then every one started to wake up and I went to toilet to brush my teeth and wash my face and we having breakfast. After breakfast we have activity and my group have canoeing. In canoeing we have a nice weather and we try to make a circle and stuff. After that we have a race like we have to go across to the gum tree and take a rock then we have to go back to the shore and put it near the boat. After that we have a another race but this time we have to going around the area the Boat and go back to the shore and ran up to the hill. Then the last game that we play is Me and Faisal have to stand up in the edge of the canoe and try to make my partners fall to the water. After that we went back to camp And have a nice shower and changed and we have lunch after lunch we have bush area. We making pancakes, popcorn, and a pak to it was really fun. When we finish we went back and have a free time until Dinner. After Dinner Play a games the game is cool. We play Chochlate you have to use gloves and skurf I got 4 chochlate

That I ate it was a fun games after that we have a train games is like this if you hold the tray and you have to go like girls to boys to girls laura was the first that hold the tray if you said to someone you have to say like this if you like if you love me you smile and is really fun. After that we have supper and brush our teeth and sleep (528 words).

The evidence of the selected texts supports what the data in Table 7.5 indicates about the growth in Lukman's L2 texts with a particularly substantial increase in the quality and quantity of his output in Term 4 compared to the slower growth from Term 1-Term 3.

Lukman had the opportunity to produce L1 writing also at school. This occurred when he was taught by Lawrence, a new classroom teacher appointed by the school, who taught Lukman in Terms 3 and 4 of the study. As discussed earlier in Chapter 4, Lawrence was categorised as a teacher who is strongly supportive of biliteracy and bilingualism. He was flexible in his classroom encouraging the children to express themselves creatively in literacy learning. In the case of Lukman, Lawrence approached him in the classroom suggesting that he could write first in his L1, and then write it up in English. According to Lawrence, this would be easier for Lukman since he would already have the ideas to write in English (Classroom Observation, 8/3/2004). This was the start of Lukman producing L1 texts over the third and fourth terms and it was pivotal for his L1 writing development in Australian school context, as demonstrated in the text samples produced by Lukman on many different occasions.

The sample below was written taken about a BBQ at the community centre, and was one of his attempts to write in his L1 at school:

Barbeque	Barbeque
Pada hari sabtu di Westall kita melakukan barbeque sebelum makan. Kita sholat Zuhur lalu kita makan di Westall. Saya bermain dengan Hanif, Errie, Hafiz, Halim, Galih, dan Rahmanda. Westall hanya 1 stasion dari Clayton jadi saya hanya memakai mobil. Di Westall saya dan yang lain makan berbagai makanan serpti sosis dan daging kambing. Kita makan selahap-lahapnya sehingga kami tidak tahu kapan	On Saturday at Westall, we made a barbeque before having lunch. We also performed midday prayer before having lunch. I played with my friends Hanif, Errie, Hafiz, Halim, Galih, and Rahmanda. Westall is located only 1 station from Clayton. We ate sausage and lamb chop. We ate deliciously so that we forget to have playtime.

waktu bermain, setelah dari Westall saya pergi ke Coles untuk membeli kebutuhan sehari-hari seperti chips, juices, shampoo, beras, susu sereal . Setelah itu kami pulang dan mandi setelah mandi kami tidur. Besoknya saya pergi bermain football bersama Ennie (Portfolio, 13/3/2004).	After that I went to Coles to buy daily needs such as chips, juices, shampoo, rice and cereal milk. After that we went home to take bath and then we slept. The day after that I went to play football with Ennie (Translation).

On another occasion Lukman wrote a letter for his friends in his hometown, Samarinda. He was looking forward to reuniting with his friends on his return to Indonesia. His new habit of writing whatever came to his mind in Indonesian contributed to him producing the following text:

Yth. Teman-teman di Samarinda	Dear friends in Samarinda
Dengan hormat, Kabar saya di sini baik-baik saja kemarin saya pergi ke kebon binatang dengan keluarga. Kami melihat gajah, jerapah, monyet, kura-kura, buaya, singa, macan, dan lain lain termasuk kangguru dan kuala. Ketika saya membeli es krim tiba-tiba monyet mengambil dan dibawa ke pohon. Saya menyesal selama monyet itu mengaruk pantat kehadapan saya dan bila saya melihat monyet itu saya terus di ejek-ejek sama Erie. Begitu saya pulang saya merasa lelah dan ketiduran di mobil saya ingin bertemu kalian lho. Jadi begitu aku sampai di Indonesia saya akan menelpon kalian. Terima kasih.	Dear all, I am fine here, yesterday I went to the zoo with my family. We saw elephant, giraffe, monkey, crocodile, kangaroos, lion, tiger, turtles, koala, and others. When I bought an ice cream, suddenly a monkey took and brought it to the tree. I was sad because the monkey scratched his body in front of me. When I saw the monkey, I was teased by Errie. After going home, I felt tired and slept in the car. I really want to meet you all. So when I arrive in Indonesia I will call you straight away. Thank you.
Hormat saya	Love,
Lukman (Portfolio, 12/6/2004)	Lukman
	(Translation)

In the third and fourth terms Lukman became very creative and enthusiastic in his writing, drawing on what he had seen and experienced to recount this in his L1 and

L2 texts.. For example, when he saw snow and experienced how he felt at the snow, he put it into an Indonesian text:

Australia Salju	Snow in Australia (translation)
Di Australia saya pergi ke salju di sana saya bermain Tobogan. Saya bermain dengan sahabat saya yang bernama Wahyu. Kita bermain sehingga lupa dengan lapar dan haus dan membuatnya lagi lebih tinggi. Setelah membuatnya kami makan siang. Lelah jadi kite tertidur selama perjalanan. Dan kami bermain lagi kita bermain perang perangan kita melempar snowball sampai mengenai orang dimukanya akhirnya kita memutuskan bermain toboggan lagi. Kita berbalapan siapa di luar yang dibawah dan yang tertabrak atau kalah harus berhenti saya yang lama bertahan tetapi cuma saya yang tersisa dan wahyu. Jadi kami berlomba siapa menang dan saya kalah. Setelah itu saya pulang ke rumah dan tidur nyenyak (Portfolio, 31/7/2004)	In Australia I went to the snow to play Toboggan. I played with my friend whose name is Wahyu. We enjoyed playing that game so that we forget to have food and drink. We played very hard. After having lunch we were very tired so that we took a nap during the journey. We also played a war game, we threw snowball that hit a person's face so that we decided to stop the game. Finally we played Toboggan again. We competed each other until we found the one who lose, out or crashed would lose the game. At the end, I and Wahyu competed for the winner. Wahyu won the game and I lost. After that I went home and had a very good sleep (Translation).

This text contains long complex sentences. Looking at the title, Lukman was influenced by the interaction of his L1 and L2. He preferred to write it as 'Australia Salju' rather than the more common expression in Indonesian of 'Salju di Australia'. Lukman's second classroom teacher provided space for Lukman to develop his skills and enjoyment in literacy in both his emerging L2 and more established L1.

Lukman's Bilingual Writing Development at Home

The same aspects of writing considered in the school context were also considered in examining Lukman's L2 writing at home. He usually brought homework on book reports or projects. His writing record at home gradually improved over the four terms as his confidence and knowledge of English improved. Lukman's contextual

understanding in writing also improved step by step from Term 1 to Term 4 and he improved in his structuring of his texts and in the formal features of his writing.

Lukman's L1 writing development in the home context mirrored his development in this area at school and was observed in Terms 3 and 4 after his classroom teacher Lawrence started encouraging him to write in Indonesian. The interaction of L1 and L2 writing development in the school context discussed earlier was partially the consequence of the support he received at home from his parents for his L1 literacy activities. The L1 texts produced by Lukman and discussed above in the school section were initially drafted at home and this activity was encouraged by his parents. Lukman then finished the drafts at school with the assistance/encouragement of his non-L1 speaking teacher as well as producing pieces of L2 writing based on the L1 drafts. This interaction of activity at home and school was evidence of how biliteracy learning can be productive for the development of skills and confidence in both languages.

Lukman's Bilingual Writing Development in the Community Context

At the community centre, Lukman was exposed to the CST community activists who emphasised the importance of teaching religious literacy using both L1 and L2. Like Fasya (younger brother), Lukman was actively involved in the community literacy practices once a week and in this process he used L1 and L2 in interactions to learn the religious materials conducted in the community centre. Since he was a new arrival and had not found some friends to play with, his father accompanied him to join any L1 literacy activity in the community and the community tutor approached him using L1 and L2 interchangeably to make sure that everybody understood because of the variety of levels of language competence of the community literacy learners. The multiage group of Indonesian background children ranged from 5 to 14 years old was one of the reasons for the tutor needing a combination of languages (Community observation, 6/7/2003). His L2 literacy development was mostly related to his receptive language skills such as listening and reading (as discussed earlier in

chapter seven), and no writing in either L1 or L2 was produced by him in the community centre.

In Summary

These five Indonesian children in the process of becoming bilingual demonstrate some marked individual differences in their bilingual writing development in the three intersecting Australian social contexts. These differences appear to relate to the types of support and encouragement the children have at school, home and in the community and the attitude of their teachers, parents, and community members toward the use of L1 in each context.

All the children developed their L2 writing skills over the year they were studied. In the case of one younger child, Fasya, his literacy acquisition in English was occurring simultaneously with any informal literacy learning that was occurring outside school in Indonesian. All the other children had some level of literacy knowledge in Indonesian prior to learning English and were developing their literacy in English as an L2 successively to literacy in L1. Virtually all the writing-focussed literacy activities, whether at school or at home, were focussed on literacy activities that had been initiated at school and extended into the home through homework tasks. All the children produced writing in L2 at school and engaged in out of class homework activities at home in L2.

Whilst L1 and L2 were regularly used in interactions around religious learning and religious literacy in the community centre, none extended into writing in either language. All engaged in pre-writing activities in the centre, such as drawing pictures to represent aspects of religion. Overall, though, the community centre did not play a major role in supporting written literacy development in either language.

The evidence of use and development in L1 writing was much more mixed. Only two of the children, Haris and Lukman, were encouraged by their teachers (Robinson and

Lawrence – who in each case only taught each for part of the year) to write regularly in L1 at school. This opportunity, in each child's case, appeared to be associated with a major uplift in the quantity and quality of their texts in L2, as well as leading to them enthusiastically embracing the opportunity to express themselves in writing in L1. The teachers' lead in fostering biliteracy appears to have been quite critical, in that whether the parents' approach was parent-directed whilst also being supportive of bilingualism and biliteracy (as in the case of Haris), or child-focussed (as in the case of Lukman), each received reinforcement from their parents at home of the directions their teachers' were encouraging.

There was no evident writing in L1 being undertaken by the other three children. In the case of Wendy, whilst she had the capacity to write in L1 due to her previous schooling in Indonesia, her parents, mainly her mother, had chosen to proactively encourage the use of English at home and clearly saw developing L2 writing as the priority. In the absence of a teacher who encouraged her L1 writing at school, Wendy was not provided with contexts in which to develop her L1 writing whilst in Australia. Her experience and lack of opportunity to develop herself in L1 writing contrasts with the experience of Haris, who was at the same grade level as her, but who spent 6 of the 12 months in which he was observed being taught by a teacher who was strongly supportive of biliteracy and bilingualism.

The two younger children, Nanda and Fasya, experienced a classroom context that recognised their L1 language backgrounds by allowing their use of L1 in interaction and supported their reading in L1 as well as L2. Both had teachers who were transitionally supportive of bilingualism and biliteracy, but this did not extend to active encouragement of writing in L1 at school. For the whole year their attention in writing seemed to be virtually entirely focussed on learning the basics of English literacy and developing themselves as writers in English. Fasya's child-focussed parents, whilst being supportive of Lukman's efforts in writing in L1 at home in response to his teacher's encouragement, did not automatically transfer an

expectation of writing in L1 onto their younger son, possibly feeling that doing this may impact on the progress he was making in L2 writing.

Chapter Nine

Revisiting the Ecological Approach to Researching Biliteracy Development in Australian Social Contexts

This chapter will bring together the findings about the role of the mainstream teachers, parents and community activists in supporting children's biliteracy development and the child individual differences in biliteracy development which have been reported in the previous chapters. I shall provide an overview of biliteracy development in the context of Australian school, homes and community by assessing the ecological approach and framework to account for the data. In particular, I will consider the practices that supported language ecology and the practices that detracted from language ecology in highlighting the most important findings to emerge from this study. To begin I will summarise the distinctive differences in the three intersecting contexts and then review how this impacted on the outcomes for the children.

School

The mainstream teachers in the children's school demonstrated some marked differences in both their attitudes to children's bilingualism and biliteracy and in their classroom teaching practices in teaching children from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds. Their approaches fell into three categories: Strongly Supportive of Biliteracy and Bilingualism (SSBB); Transitionally Supportive of Biliteracy and Bilingualism (TSBB); and English Literacy Oriented (ELO), and led to some quite distinctive differences in both teaching styles and strategies in how they encouraged each child's language and (bi)literacy development. Most importantly, the teachers who strongly supported biliteacy and bilingualism were those that created the greatest opportunities for the development not just of receptive skills in L1 and L2 literacy, but also in the development of productive skills (writing) in both languages within the school context. In contrast, children exposed to the transitionally supportive teachers

felt comfortable in developing and applying their receptive skills in L1, but only developed their productive skills in one of their languages, English, in the Australian context.

The differences in the teachers' attitudes and approaches did not seem to relate to the length of their teaching experience, or the era in which they received their teacher training, although both teachers who were English literacy oriented (ELO) had 5 years or less teaching experience and may have been influenced in their approach by the move away from 'whole language' and other constructivist approaches to ones that include more teacher directed activities and a stronger focus on explicit teaching of phonics and knowledge about language. In contrast to these ELO teachers, Lawrence, in the group of Strongly Supportive Biliteracy and Bilingualism (SSBB), and Lily, in the group of Transitionally Supportive of Biliteracy and Bilingualism (TSBB), were also relatively newly trained but exhibited very positive attitudes to the use of L1 in their classrooms.

Home

The parents in the four families demonstrated some marked differences in both their attitudes to their children's bilingualism and biliteracy and in their home literacy practices in supporting the language development and in interacting with their children. Their approaches were distinguished and classified into two family types, based on parental style: Child Focus Family and Parent Directed Family. These styles did not seem to relate to the length of their living experience in Australia, or their own level of education or familiarity with the Australian education system. All had lived for a relatively short period in Australia, although some were very new (egs. Lukman/Fasya' parent) whereas others (eg. Wendy's mother, Andriani and Haris' family, had spent earlier time in Australia) and had more direct personal experience of Australian approaches and expectations. In addition, the differences in their expectations/plans in relation to return to Indonesia may have impacted on their attitudes and approaches toward encouraging and supporting their children's

biliteracy development and bilingualism. However, such factors influenced each family in different ways. For example, Lukman's parents were more concerned to support him in L1 reading and writing because they knew, given his age and grade level, that he would need this when he returned home, whereas for Fasya, being younger, it was not such an issue. In contrast, Haris' parents, who were staying in Australia as permanent residents, appeared to have a stronger motivation than some of the other parents to encourage L1 literacy within the family, recognising that the home for them needed to be seen as the primary site for the transmission of L1 literacy. Interestingly, the attitudes of both Lukman's and Haris' teachers were quite critical to supporting the directions that these respective couples chose to pursue for different reasons at home.

The two sets of parents operating with what has been characterised as a Parent Directed Family (Haris' and Wendy's) were both highly educated and had made a deliberate choice not to adopt a child centred approach, but rather one that included a strong focus on parent directed micro-level language planning with careful attention to home activities and practices that were driven by their strong parental desire and chosen direction for the language and literacy development of their children. For Haris' family this desire and direction was associated with positioning family and home as the site of maintenance and transmission of traditional heritage cultural and religious values and practices, including L1 language and literacy. For Wendy's family (particularly her mother, Andriani) the desire and direction involved creating home and family as a gendered language space with separation of language practices in L1 and L2 depending on the parent the child was interacting with, and with L2 language and literacy associated with mother. In the (normally) all female household L2 (English) was used to transmit and reinforce 'modern' values associated with women's equality and rights and a positive attitude to Australian society and cultural values. L2 literacy activity at home was fairly narrowly focussed around school required expected home literacy tasks.

In contrast to these Parent Directed families, Nanda's and Lukman and Fasya's parents, also all relatively highly educated, appeared to value L1 and L2 similarly in the home context. These parents tended to be more responsive to each child's personality and interests in language and literacy choice and activities, whilst nevertheless encouraging both L1 and L2 literacy at home. They were comfortable and tolerant of their children mixing L1 and L2 and adopted parental roles that were fluid and not necessarily in line with traditional Indonesian role expectations and use. Both L1 and L2 were used for literacy at home, but the focus was dictated by the perceived needs and interests of the child. They were proactive in extending children's enjoyment in literacy through encouragement and activities at home, as well as encouraging the use of 'translanguaging' in interactions around text (where the child's levels in each language made this possible) to check for the child's understanding of material and to facilitate greater engagement.

Both approaches, parent directed and child focussed, appear to have been quite effective in achieving the goals that the parents aspired to for their children. What is evident is that the more creative and involved the parents were in the process of supporting biliteracy development and bilingualism at home, and providing opportunities for biliteracy engagement and learning, the better the immediate results in terms of the children's outcomes both in L1 and L2 literacies. However, importantly, the home practices seemed to be most effective when the same message and encouragement for bilingualism and biliteracy was coming also from the school.

Community

There were marked differences that led to the activists being broadly classified into two groups based on their attitude to language in relation to the religious literacy teaching and learning they were engaged in. These differences seemed to be influenced by the extent to which they wanted to reproduce the rigid and formulaic approach to religious literacy learning that they themselves had been exposed to (as was the case for the CRT group). This group of activists seemed to have had less

contact with Australian pedagogy or to have rejected conceptions of learning (such as enjoyment, flexibility) that underpin such pedagogy, being committed to the modelling and transmission of traditional Indonesian values and morals. In contrast, the CST group, having generally been longer term (permanent) residents, seemed to be better acculturated to and more sympathetic towards Australian approaches to teaching and learning. For them religious learning is for religious practice so it needs to adapt and to be able to connect with the children, both in the nature of learning and literacy activities and in the languages used to ensure that understanding is achieved.

Individual Differences in Biliteracy Development

Having reviewed the experiences in each of the three intersecting contexts it is instructive to review how these can be related to the outcomes for each child in terms of their literary development in L1 and L2, considering reading (receptive skills) and writing (productive skills) as different manifestations of biliteracy. The table below summarises these outcomes.

Table 9.1: Summary of the Children's Literacy Exposure and Outcomes

Name	Summary of exposure	Reading Development		Writing Development	
		L1	L2	L1	L2
Fasya Age: 5.1 Grade: Prep/ 1	At school: TSB/ SSBB teachers	Marked development of L1 reading	Significant L2 reading development	No L1 writing development was observed	Significant L2 writing development
	At home: child-focussed	Significant L1 reading development	Significant L2 reading development	No L1 writing development was observed	Significant L2 writing development
	At community centre: CST activities	Significant L1 reading development	Significant L2 reading development	No L1 writing development was observed	No L1 writing development was observed
Nanda Age: 5.2 Grade: Prep/ 1	At school: TSB/ SSBB teachers	Marked development of L1 reading	Significant L2 reading development	No L1 writing development was observed	Significant L2 writing development
	At home: child-focussed	Significant L1 reading development	Significant L2 reading development	No L1 writing development was observed	Significant L2 writing development
	At community centre: CST activities	No L1 reading development was observed	Significant L1 reading development	No L1 writing development was observed	No L2 writing development was observed

Haris Age: 8.1 Grade: 3/4	At school: ELO/ ELO/ SSBB teachers	Marked L1 Reading development	Significant L2 reading development	Marked L1 writing development	Significant L2 writing development
	At home: child-focussed	Marked L1 reading development	Significant L2 reading development	Marked L1 writing development	Significant L2 writing development
	At community centre: CST activities	Significant L1 reading development	Significant L2 reading development	No L1 writing development was observed	No L2 writing development was observed
Wendy Age: 8.3 Grade: 3/4	At school: ELO/ TSB teachers	No L1 reading development was observed	Significant L2 reading development	No L1 writing development was observed	Significant L2 writing development
	At home: parent directed	No L1 reading development was observed	Significant L2 reading development	No L1 writing development was observed	Significant L2 writing development
	At community centre: CST activities (but little involvement)	No L1 reading development was observed	Significant L2 reading development	No L1 writing development was observed	Marked L2 writing development
Lukman Age: 10.4	At school: TSB/ SSBB teachers	Marked L1 Reading development	Significant L2 reading development	Significant L1 writing development	Significant L2 writing development
	At home: child-	Significant L1 reading	Significant L2 reading	Significant L1 writing	Significant L2

| Grade: 5/6 | focussed

At community centre: CST activities | development

Significant L1 reading development | development

Significant L2 reading development | development

No L1 writing development was observed | writing development

No L2 writing development was observed |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|

The children show some marked individual differences in their biliteracy development and bilingualism. These differences appear to relate to the types of support and encouragement they have at school, home and in the community and the extent to which the attitudes and practices of their teachers, parents, and community members in each context toward the use of both L1 and L2 align in fostering their biliteracy development in both reading and writing. In making sense of the interaction of different contexts of language learning and use, it is important to note that virtually all the reading and writing-focused literacy activities, whether at school or at home, were focussed on literacy activities that had been initiated at school and extended into the home through homework tasks. All the children demonstrated significant development in reading and writing in L2 at school and engaged in out of class homework activities at home in L2. However, in the home observations across the year in all the homes there was little of evidence of spontaneous writing activities and engagement with written texts in L2 and L1, other than literacy in relation to media viewing/activity and associated discussions (of various types of programs, internet), reinforcement of religious literacy (as an adjunct to the community literacy activities) and some interest in wider reading of books and magazines (both in L2 and L1), especially in the case of Nanda and Haris and Lukman.

The two younger children, Nanda and Fasya, experienced a classroom context that recognised their L1 language backgrounds by allowing their use of L1 in interaction and supported their reading and writing L1 as well as L2. Both had teachers who were transitionally supportive of bilingualism and biliteracy, but this did not extend to active encouragement of reading and writing in L1 at school. For the whole year their attention in reading and writing seemed to be virtually entirely focussed on learning the basics of English literacy and developing themselves as readers or writers in English. Nanda, already a reader in L1 when she entered school, continues to develop as an independent and avid L1 reader both at home and at school, whilst not seeming to develop any strong interest in writing in L1. Fasya's child-focussed family, whilst being supportive of Lukman's efforts in reading and writing in L1 at

home in response to his teacher's encouragement, did not automatically transfer an expectation of reading and writing in L1 onto their younger son, possibly feeling that doing this may impact on the progress he was making in L2 reading and writing. Whilst Fasya was interested and able to access some L1 texts this was mainly through his activities at home and in the community.

Lukman and Haris who had teachers (for at least part of the year) who were strongly supportive of biliteracy, parents, who were either proactively supportive or willing to support their child's interests, and community members, who projected supportive and positive attitudes to L1, have a consistent development both in L1 and L2 literacy. The biliteracy development shown over the four terms indicates that their spoken and written communication develop significantly from term to term over one year both in L1 and L2. Lukman, for example, produced continuously both L1 and L2 literacy in the school context, home, and community. He was able to communicate well both in L1 and L2 as well as to relate his L1 and L2 in reading and writing. He was able to help his brother and other Indonesian children in the lower grade level reading L1 story book in the Buddy program at school. His sample reading and writing in term 4 indicates his high quality products in both L1 and L2 reading and writing at his age when benchmarked with Indonesian children. Haris, on the other hand, who has a very strong support from parents to use L1 at home and community activities, has been able to develop his spoken and written communication both in L1 due to the daily and weekly contact with parents and other Indonesian friends and families around his house and community and the rapid development of his L2 is due to the daily contact with L2 native speakers mostly at school and in the community.

In the case of Wendy, whilst she had the capacity to read and write in L1 due to her previous schooling in Indonesia, her parents, mainly her mother, had chosen to proactively encourage the use of English at home and clearly saw developing L2 reading and writing as the priority. In the absence of a teacher who encouraged her L1 reading and writing at school and her limited engagement with the community

centre (and then only with the CRT activists), Wendy was not provided with contexts in which to develop her L1 reading and writing whilst in Australia. Her experience and lack of opportunity to develop herself in L1 reading and writing contrasts with the experience of Haris, who was at the same grade level as her, but who spent 6 of the 12 months in which he was observed being taught by a teacher who was strongly supportive of biliteracy and bilingualism.

All the children developed their L2 reading and writing skills over the year they were studied in the school and home contexts, but the interaction of L2 and L1 literacy skill development was more evident for some of the children than for others. If we consider the case of one of the two younger children, Fasya, his literacy acquisition in English was occurring simultaneously with ongoing informal L1 literacy learning that was occurring outside school in Indonesian. All the other children had some established level of literacy knowledge in Indonesian prior to learning English and were developing their literacy in English as an L2 successively to literacy in L1. All the children who had some background knowledge and basis of L1 literacy seemed to be able to draw on this in assisting them in developing their L2 literacy, concurrently with learning English as a second language. As his literacy in English became established, Fasya, similarly, was able to apply his L2 decoding strategies to develop his facility in reading at home and school in L1. His confidence to do this was very much enhanced by the way his classroom teacher signalled her support and encouragement for L1, including through her assistance in establishing the cross-age Indonesian buddy reading program and involvement in the COTE program. Similarly, as the children who were developing their English literacy successively grew in their skills and strategies for decoding English texts, both in identifying words, but also in comprehension, they were able to transfer these skills back into their L1 literacy learning and became increasingly confident readers in tackling some quite challenging and abstract L1 religious and moral texts.

Whilst to a greater or lesser extent L1 and L2 were regularly used in interactions around religious learning and religious literacy in the community centre, none extended into writing in either language. This religious literacy was an example of literacy use for confirmation (Heath, 1986) and was more or less formulaic in approach dependent on the style of the instructor. All the children engaged in pre-writing activities in the centre, such as drawing pictures to represent aspects of religion, discussions of the religious texts and oral story telling. In reading, all engaged in the activities such as reciting the 'Qur'an', reading the meaning of the 'Qur'an both in L1 and L2, reading L1 and L2 religious books to represent aspects of religion. Overall, though, the community centre plays a role primarily in supporting the transmission of Islamic and Indonesian cultural values and in promoting a positive attitude towards reading development in one or both languages. There was no evidence that the community centre activities played any role in supporting written literacy development in either language. It is also relevant to note that the impact of the community centre activities on the children's literacy development seemed to be partially related to the frequency of their participation in the centre and the extent to which their parents' views about religious and social values (eg. gender roles) aligned with the ideological position and religious orientation of the centre activists. Overall, the female children, Wendy and Nanda, seemed to find the ideological orientation of the centre activists and the religious learning being presented less well aligned with their interests and experiences and this seemed to contribute to the lesser impact of that context on their development.

Overall, the study has provided some specific evidence in support of Hornberger's (2002, p. 30) concept about the potential for educational policies and practices that preserve and develop language diversity, rather than suppressing it. This study has shown that the better aligned and more supportive the attitudes of teachers, parents, and community members were toward the use of L1 in literacy related activities, the more biliterate the individual child became in Australia. The evidence of the marked biliteracy development and bilingualism of Indonesian children in Australian social

contexts also supports the concept of learning within the ecological approach to research biliteracy "the more their learning contexts and contexts of use allow learners and users to draw from across the whole of each and every continuum, the greater are the chances for their full biliterate development and expression" (Hornberger, 1989, p. 289). As outlined earlier in the thesis in relation to the overarching directions and theoretical perspectives, Hornberger's continua of biliteracy approach was helpful and informative as a heuristic in contextualising the study of biliteracy development and bilingualism in the three intersecting contexts. It has proved to be a useful framework to assist not only in understanding each context, but also in teasing out the range of contextual factors that may be impacting on individual experience and outcomes.

The framework of the continua model of biliteracy proposed by Hornberger (1989, 1990, 2002, 2003 & 2004) emphasises the notion that every continuum is connecting and intersecting with the others and the interrelationships of all points within the continua are also interconnected four dimensionally. The case of the five Indonesian children who have marked individual differences in their biliteracy development and bilingualism provide evidence to support this interconnectedness. For example, Lukman, Fasya, and Haris, who were exposed to biliteracy interactions in all three intersecting and interconnecting contexts of school, home and community within my study became more biliterate than some of the other Indonesian children, such as Wendy, who was exposed and experienced less opportunities to develop biliteracy in different contexts. The development of biliteracy in the continua model focuses on considering reception and production, oral and written, and L1 and L2 (Hornberger, 1989, 1991, 2002, 2003 & 2004). This has assisted in that it has focussed this investigation towards examining the breadth and interaction of each child's language activities and outputs considering the context, content, and media of biliteracy.

In reflecting on the outcomes of the study, there appears to be a particularly critical link between what is valued at school and at home. This was very much an interactive two-way dynamic. The extent to which the parents reinforced school literacy strategies and expectations in their literacy-related activities, whether in L1 or L2, at home, seemed to impact on the children's level of engagement and enthusiasm for literacy learning and use in both languages at home and at school. Conversely, some teachers made particular efforts to demonstrate to the children their valuing of L1 literacy and culture at school and this was pivotal to the children settling into the school and blossoming in their biliteracy. Some of the parents and teachers were particularly committed to strengthening the links between home and school. For example, the school initiated the COTE program and encouraged parents to get involved in L1 literacy activities to prepare for the COTE celebration. The parents participated and through this supported their children in sharing and taking pride in Indonesian language and culture at school. Another example is the way that through parent-teacher interviews some parents and teachers discussed and shared techniques for use at home and school to build confidence and skills in L1 and L2 text comprehension.

The critical link between home and school supports Cummins' (1984a, 1996) framework and reinforces his contention about the importance of the patterns of interaction of the school and educators with language minority children and their families in empowering such children in their learning.

This study has sought to expand on scholarly understanding of biliteracy development in the early, middle and upper years of primary school for children who are in the process of becoming bilingual, and for whom their home language has assumed a different status through the process of migration. It has highlighted the value of an ecological framework that seeks to preserve and nurture language diversity and demonstrated how, with the right conditions and support, children can become biliterate to a comparatively sophisticated level in quite a short time,

particularly where the two languages have convergent scripts, are positively valued and the learners are in a supportive and nurturing environment both at home and at school.

In linking the findings from this research Haugen's (1972) ecological question "What are the attitudes of its users towards the language, in terms of intimacy and status, leading to personal identification?"(p. 337), it was evident that the predominant attitude influencing parents to support L1 at home were not necessarily the same. For example, parents, such as Nurmin and Suroto accounted for their commitment to use L1, Indonesian, at home because their children, Fasya (grade 1/2) and Lukman (grade 5/6) would be going back to Indonesia where their L1 has a status and is critically important for success in the society. In contrast, parents such as Warda and Emil who have their permanent residence in Australia were committed to using their L1, Indonesian, at home with their children (Haris, Hasyim, and Halim) predominantly because of their strong affective bond to the language and their desire to maintain intimacy within the family in their daily life interactions through adherence to traditional values expressed by use of L1. These two different attitudes and approaches from parents provide evidence of the value of Haugen's ecological framework in understanding in greater depth the values, orientations and factors that impact on bilingualism and language ecology of minority languages.

An obvious area for further research within the language ecology framework is the investigation of what happens over time to the five children we have come to know through this research. Some were sojourning children who have returned home to Indonesia, where the status of their two languages have been reversed, whereas others remain in Australia and are becoming more settled into their Australian school/s. It would be particularly valuable to investigate further the extent to which different family language and literacy strategies have impacted on longer term language and literacy outcomes. For example, how has Wendy's family's approach to their language planning and use in Australia affected her reintegration into an Indonesian

school and social context? To what extent was she disadvantaged or advantaged by the one parent-one language approach and her very strongly English-competence-focused learning and literacy in Australia in maintaining and developing her Indonesian-English bilingualism and biliteracy when back home in Indonesia? Furthermore, how were her experiences and outcomes similar or different to those of some of the other children as they continued to mature either within Australia (eg. Haris) or in the very different school system in Indonesia (eg. Lukman, Nanda and Fasya). Until we have the opportunity to study language development and use over an even longer period, it will not be possible to fully assess the value of an ecological approach to bilingualism and biliteracy development.

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Glossary

CFF   - Child Focused Family

CRT   - Centre for Religious Transmission

CST   - Centre a Site for Translanguaging

ELO   - English Literacy Oriented

ESB   - English Speaking Background

MCO   - Moslem Community Organisation

IIS   - Indonesian Islamic Society

NESB - Non-English Speaking Background

NU   - Nahdlatul Ulama

PDF   - Parent Directed Family

PR   - Permanent Resident

RCTI   - Rajawali Citra Televisi Indonesia

SSBB - Strongly Supportive of Biliteracy/Bilingualism

SCTV - Surabaya Citra Televisi

TPI   - Televisi Pendidikan Indonesia

TSBB - Transitionally Supportive of Biliteracy and Bilingualism

TVRI   - Televisi Republik Indonesia

TR   - Temporary Resident

YIMSA - Youth Indonesian Moslem Association

Appendix 1:

Approval letter from Department of Education and Training of Victoria.

Department of Education & Training

Office of School Education

SOS 002309

29 January 2003

Muhammad Basri Jafar
2/31 Eldridge Street
FOOTSCRAY 3011

Dear Mr Jafar

Thank you for your application of 16 December in which you request permission to conduct a research study in Victorian government schools titled: *An ecological approach to researching biliteracy development of Indonesian children becoming bilingual in Australian social contexts.*

I am pleased to advise that on the basis of the information you have provided your research proposal is approved in principal, subject to the conditions detailed below.

1. You obtain approval for the research to be conducted in each school directly from the principal. Details of your research, copies of this letter of approval and the letter of approval from the relevant ethics committee are to be provided to the principal. The final decision as to whether or not your research can proceed in a school rests with the principal.

2. No student is to participate in this research study unless they are willing to do so and parental permission is received. Sufficient information must be provided to enable parents to make an informed decision and their consent must be obtained in writing.

3. As a matter of courtesy, you should advise the relevant Regional Director of the schools you intend to approach. An outline of your research and a copy of this letter should be provided to the Regional Director.

4. Any extensions or variations to the research proposal, additional research involving use of the data collected, or publication of the data beyond that normally associated with academic studies will require a further research approval submission.

2 Treasury Place
East Melbourne, Victoria 3002
Telephone: 61 3 9637 2000
DX 210083

GPO Box 4367
Melbourne, Victoria 3001

Victoria
The Place To Be

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5. At the conclusion of your study, a copy or summary of the research findings should be forwarded to me at the above address.

I wish you well with your research study. Should you have further enquiries on this matter, please contact Louise Dressing, Senior Policy Officer, Schools, Communities and Networks, on 9637 2349.

Yours sincerely

Judy Curson
Manager
Schools, Communities & Networks

encl.

Appendix 2: L1 children literacy

Wilson Pramantari

Hari sabtu saya pergi ke wilson pramantari dgn teman-teman saya. kita bermain pasir dan air yg dingin kita membuat sandcastl yang besar dan membuat lobang yang sangat dalam dan kita memanggdarungan yang sudah keliling yang panjang setelah bermain kita makan siang kita makan burger dan hot dog kita makan sambil berenang dan setelah selesai kita menangkap ikan banyak ikan tapi masih kecil kecil kita tidak bisa menangkapnya karena di bawah batas peringkapan setelah mancing kita pergi ke pantai setelah kita berenang sambil lari dgn berkar dikaki setelah itu kita pulang dan berolanga alai menceritah semuanya

AUSTRALIA

SALJU

Di Australia saya pernah pergi ke salju di sana saya bermain TOBOGAN. Saya bermain dgn sahabat saya yg bernama Wahyu kita bermain sehingga lupa dgn lapar dan haus.

dan kita membuat snowman yg besar setelah itu kami hancurkan dan kami membuatnya lagi, lebih tinggi, setelah membuat lebih besar dan lebih ~~....~~ ~~....~~ kita makan siang.

Bermain lagi kita tertidur di perjalanan kita merasa lagi bila kita bermain perjalanan dan kami. kita melempar snow ball mengenai orang di mukanya sama pun akhirnya kita memutuskan untuk bermain Toboggan lagi, kita bertaruhan siapa di luar yg di bawah dan yg terlambat atau telah harus berhenti. saya yg lama bertahan tetapi cuma saya yg tersisa dan Wahyu jadi kami bertaruhan siapa yg menang, dan saya kalah. setelah itu saya pulang ke rumah dan tidur-nyenyak

TUHAN SAYA ALLOH.
ALLOH TUHAN SAYA.
KALAU BUKAN ALLOH.
BUKAN TUHAN SAYA.

SIAPAKAH TUHANMU. APA AGAMAMU
SIAPAKAH NABIMU APA KITABMU
    TUHANKU ADALAH ALLOH
    AGAMAKU ISLAM
    NABIKU NABI MUHAMMAD
    KITABKU ALQUR'AN
YA YA YA YA ALLOH TUHANKU
YA YA YA YA ISLAM AGAMAKU
YA YA YA YA MUHAMMAD NABIKU
YA YA YA YA ALQUR'AN KITABKU

CHERY PICKING

Saat hari Sabtu kita pergi ke tempat yang banyak cherry nya. Kita menuju ke tempat itu sekitar 3 Jam. Begitu kita sampai kita langsung mengambil. Berk untuk cari aku dan Rowanda, Bolih mengambil 2 Buah masing masing, kita mengambil yg Banyak. lalu kita .... dikumpulkan setelah itu kita makan Bersama teman2. setelum cari kita terbis, kita mengambilnya lagi, ... sesudah itu kami Berbincang di .... sambil memungut yg lain. Soat itu kami ketiduran jadi kami di bangunkan untuk pergi ke pantai. Di Perjalanan kami Berhenti untuk istirahat dan ke toilet. Saat menunggu yg lain kita membeli fish and chips untuk camilan. Sesudah itu kita pergi ke pantai. Saat di pantai kita mendapatkan ubur-ubur lalu kita lempar kan ke satu sama lain. lalu kami membuat SanDcastle yg Besar selam' ... kita sudah selesai membuatnya kita tiba tiba kita di suruh pulang. kita segera mandi dan siap siap pulang. Begitu sampai dirumah saya tertidur dan Besoknya saya pergi ke sekolah untuk menceritakan semuanya.

Appendix 3: L2 children Literacy

Monday June 21st Term 2 Week 10
On Saturday I went to Dand- rong Optomertrist to check my glasses The doctor said my eye is getting worst. At 12 00 I went back home and had lunch.

On Sunday my family walked to Clayton becquse my mums friend borrowed our car. I t's really heavy to push the trolley. At 12 00 I had potatoes and chicken for lunch. ✓

Amanda came for the sleep over. We had spaghetti for dinner and junk food including lollies and chocolate for dessert. While we're eating dessert, we watched Shrek. We all slept at 10.30 and Jess and I woke up again and watched Buffy at 11 o

In the morning Amanda and I had Milo for breakfast. Jess didn't eat any. Jess and Amanda were really naughty pulting underwear on my sisters head while she sleeping

Tuesday June 15th Term 2 Week 9

On Saturday I went to Coles with my sister. I bought some lollies chips for the sleepover. We also bought meat and spaghetti so is for dinner. After Coles, we went to rent some videos videos.

On Sunday, my mum, Dita and I cleaned the house. I vaccumed the car, my mum clean the kitchen and bathroom and Dita cleans the living room and my bedroom and mums It was really hard to clean the car. After cleaning the car i helped mum and Dita cleaning the living room At 5:00 Jess and

Mike, Nigel and Kyle.

On Sunday I went to Clayton to go to Coles and Bakers De light Then Nadira came to watched the Mary-kate and Ashley videos. At 5.45 I went to Nadira's house to do her project Instead I did the whole thing. At 7.35 I went to Dita's Friend house across the street. My mum went to a Theatre. so I had to had dinner there.   Read again!   ∅

21/06/04

is   is   a   four   wheel
ri.ve. It is going through the water.
is sort of a brown car.

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we played a little joke on Nadira and her sister Shafira. At night my family walked to my mum's friend house we had dinner there. ✓ I'm pleased your better'

Monday May 3rd Term 2 Week 3
On Saturday, I stayed at home and did my project. I did caravan, igloo and castle I also helped my sister do my extra project It's different house from Indonesia At night my family and I went to Konyen Konyen is in St Kilda. Inside there's a stage. My sister lance this traditional Bali dance.

On Sunday I stayed at home and continue on my project

Then my family went shopping.
After that Nadira, Nabila and
their sisters came. ✓

Do you learn dancing too? <s>I go</s>

Thursday May 6   Term Week3

Making Bracelets.

Last Thursday 3/4 H did art. ^29-9-09
Jenny thought something nice
for Mothers day, so Jenny decide
d to make bracelets. Jenny gave
us memory wire and we get to
design and choose the beads
The beads were just beautiful. ^they were sparkling
On our table there's small plasti
c bags, container lid and five
cloth. Then Jenny told us we can ^on each table
start designing on the cloth The
lid was for beads so the beads
wont fall everywhere.

This week everybody's bracelets look very nice.

Monday May 10th Term 2 Week 4

On Saturday I went shopping to Morrabin to buy new pyjamas. Because my old ones got holes on two of my pyjamas. So mum told me to buy two. After that we went to Just Jeans because mum wanted to buy brown pants While my mum was looking for the pants I was looking at this light blue bracelet Then we went to the pyjamas shop. I bought a rain bow and the other on was pink with penguins on it The one with the penguin on it was a three piece pyjamas because it had this kind of singlet

Then we had a break then we went home. –Your p.js sound lovely

On Sunday I gave my mum the bracelet And she taught | *thought* bought it. Th~ at 5·30 my mum picked up her ? : friend Her name was ·rva Sr's *after dinner,* going to cooked for us. Then ↑ we sang some songs. ✓

Tuesday May 11th   Week 4   Term 2
Today we had a performance in the Multipurpose Room. The band was called Walks Rocks. They were *and* two guys singing rock songs. *great introduction* *their names were Felix and Shane* There were also comedy, costum instruments and dancing.

For some people it was boring som

people thinks it's fun. They made it more fun by leting us get in and dance.

They told us the instruments they use And they used funny costumes Then they sang another song at the end.

Monday May 17th Term 2 Week 5

On Saturday my family and I went to a BBQ party. I had hot dog and then I had salad.

While I was talking to my sister Nadira came with her family Then I showed her the way to get the food.

It was Christina's birthday today on nine in April and she was turning 17. She was 18 a smart girl. She got from her birthday a t-shirts and a dock and a pret and a bag. She was so happy that she had a lots presents. On the night she saw an angel and the angel said "Happy Birthday" with a nice voice, but Christina was not scared. So she said "hdlo" with a nice voice. So the angel said "I have to go, and you are ... said "Christina ...

21/06/04

On Sunday I went to a garage sale.
and I bought books and a pillow. and my
sister had t-shirts and bubbles. On Satu
rday night I wrote 2 storys for my mum
It take a very long time. It take me
for 2 hours. I was Stella and 2 was
Flying Mice. And on Sunday Afternoon I
watched Lizzie M'guire movie. It was fun.

stories

Go Noah

1-5-03

Noah: Build a mighty ark let all the animals goes in the ark so they don't get wet.

Mrs Noah: Helping Noah build the ark bigger.

Angles: Tells Noah that he have to build a mighty ark for the rainy day.

Families: They agree what Noah says.

noah   mrs noah / Terrific Widyu!

You have worked very well today!"

Making Pikelets 22/6/04 Term2 Week10

Ingredients:
1 cup of self rasing flour
1/4 teaspoon of Bicarb soda
1 egg
1 tablespoon of sugar
1/2 cup of milk.

Method:

1. Put the flour in a bowl.
2. Then add in the bicarb soda
sugar and egg and milk.
3. Then stir the mixture until
there is no lumps left.
4. Grease the frypan and
wait until its warm.
5. When the frypan is warm,
get a spoon and scoop.

ZH05IM

schr: On Saturday I ~~watE~~ watche

2   d two movies. I watched ~~for~~

dogs Forrest Gump and Professor Nutty.

and After I watched the two movies

and I ~~soo~~ bought a pencelcase with the pictur

They is barbie.

dog

Friday, 6, Feb, 2004 06/02/04

It is Mrs. Chamama's birthday.
happy birthday. Hip Hip hurry.

✓

Yesterday our teacher was fimitra
Wed did measuning with straws. It was
fun. I measured the bookshelf, the table,
the trolley and Talleta. When it was Art
Jenny was not there. So Mrs. Burke pre ten
ded to be Jenny. We also play Pat men.

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19/04/04

On the holidays I went to Philip Island, but it was too late so I went to Clayton and I saw Sheena and her family. On the night I watched 2 movies, the movies are: The Simpsons and American Idol. And in the morning I and my family and Faishal's family went to Basri's house. It was very far. It was in Footscray. I was having a little party at Basri's house. I and my family had a wonderful time.

Monday April 26th

On Saturday, I was sick. So I stayed at home. I read my library book and I watched my dvds and video. I watched Looney Tunes Back in Action, Mary-Kate and Ashley Passport to Paris and I also played on the computer.

On Sunday, I stayed at home again. I continued reading my library. It was Two of a kind Two's a crowd. It was a Mary-Kate and Ashley book. At 2:00 Nadira came to cheer me up. We watched Holiday in the Sun. Surething goals. They are Mary-Kate and Ashley movies. An