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Educational Choices in Immigrant Families**

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Educational Choices in Immigrant Families**

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Abstract: In this paper, we report on initial analyses from our ongoing study of families from different language origins who have opted for French Immersion education. We discuss a few themes that have emerged thus far in interviews with families of South Asian background. More specifically, we focus on parents' experiences of multilingualism and their strategies to promote child multilingualism through French Immersion education and the maintenance of their family language.

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1. Introduction

In our study, we examine the language practices and the transmission of values concerning language and education in immigrant families. In each family, the parents have chosen to enrol one or more of their children in an optional French Immersion program. These youngsters then, learn curriculum content at school through the medium of both the French and English languages. In contexts outside of school, they have also learned their family's heritage languages.

We begin by providing some background information to situate the context of this study. We then briefly explain some of the key concepts that form the theoretical framework of this research and describe the methodological developments in this project. We provide a profile of the participating families as we present some very preliminary findings related to the intra and inter-generational language interaction networks in their homes. Our discussion focusses on interview data provided by three families of South Asian origin who were participants in Berron's recently defended thesis (Berron 1998) conducted within Dagenais' larger study of twelve immigrant families. We examine how this sub-group of parents view multilingualism, how they describe their family practices concerning the maintenance of the heritage language and the promotion of multilingualism as well as French-English bilingualism.

2. Context

Demographic shifts in Canadian metropolitan areas have led to a growing awareness of the presence of multilingual children in all school programs including French Immersion, a program that was traditionally characterized as serving an English-speaking population. While teachers and administrators report an increase in the presence of children of immigrant families in immersion classrooms, and the French Lower Mainland Consortium — a group representing educators from 14 British Columbian school districts —

expressed a pressing need for research in this area, we have as yet no official school statistics on the numbers of these students in the program. Nevertheless, recently the national Consortium of Universities of the Canadian Association of Immersion Teachers has judged that this question is of sufficient concern to commission a study of this school clientele (Lamarre 1997).

Canada is known internationally for its pioneering research and pedagogy in immersion education which is a method of teaching regular school subjects such as social studies and math through the medium of a second language. We have over 30 years of accumulated evidence of the positive benefits of French Immersion programs as a means of promoting bilingual proficiency, cognitive development and learning of school curriculum objectives (Genesee 1987; Lapkin, Swain and Shapson 1990). This research, however, has focused almost exclusively on children whose first language is English. As Taylor (1992) signals “. . . virtually nothing has been documented regarding either the English, French or home-language proficiencies, or the sociopsychological adjustment to schools of HL [heritage language] pupils in EFI [Early French Immersion]” (p.738).

Drawing on the few studies that have looked at children of diverse languages in immersion, Taylor (1992) suggests that French Immersion pedagogy provides trilingual students with instructional support (such as the frequent use of visual aids, gestures and rephrasing) that enables them to make sense of classroom interactions and to experience success in the program. She hypothesizes that trilingual children in French Immersion begin the program on a linguistic basis in French equal to their peers (meaning little prior knowledge of French), which levels the playing field in lessons taught in this language and thus provides them with a few locations where they are not the only novices in a school language.

Another researcher, Hurd (1993), examined the results of studies of minority-language students in contexts other than Canadian immersion as well as the information on this group of learners provided in earlier research in Canada (see for example, Swain and Lapkin 1991). She suggests that children of diverse language backgrounds may benefit

from immersion programs provided they receive support for developing their first language literacy either at home or in heritage language classes.

Some resistance to recommending French Immersion for children of diverse languages has focused on concerns that they will not have adequate opportunities to develop English language competence. This argument, however, overlooks the fact that outside Quebec language learners in Canada are submerged in a larger sociopolitical and educational context where English dominates the social interactions and the media, providing children from all language groups with many occasions to use and learn English.

Dagenais and Day (1998) were able to document the positive gains of three trilingual children in immersion in a recent case study of their school language experiences in French and in English. This research pointed to the need to develop a more complete understanding of these children and their language learning by examining their home language practices. While we know little about the school progress of children of immigrant families in immersion programs, we know even less about their family ecological niche and the reasons why their parents are opting to place them in French Immersion rather than in the English programs.

In order to understand more about the impact of immigration on immersion education and to trace a more holistic picture of the language practices and experiences of children of diverse backgrounds in immersion, we began working with twelve families of four different language groups who have at least one child registered in this program.

3. Key Concepts

Our work with these twelve families is informed by theoretical developments in the study of education and language that emerge from sociocultural theories of learning and constructs of language socialization. Educational researchers have elaborated on a sociocultural theory of human development advanced by Russian psycholinguist Vygotsky to explain interactions in classrooms and community contexts. Learning activities are described as socially mediated transactions involving exchanges of resources and knowledge. Researchers focusing more closely on language learning have also drawn on

Vygotsky's (1986) work, particularly his conception of language as social process, to advance a view of language as negotiation of meaning in social interaction (e.g., Wells 1986).

This perspective rejects narrower interpretations of language learning as acquisition of linguistic and cognitive skills, contributing a broader understanding of this process as complex cultural activity as illustrated in Schieffelin and Ochs' (1986) discussion of language socialization. Language socialization is conceptualized as a process of integration into society whereby the identity of children and adults is shaped as they adopt the social norms and shared meanings of their language groups. Thus, in keeping with researchers such as Reder (1987) and Weinstein-Shr (1990) who investigate language patterns in different social groups, we consider language practices as culturally defined activities.

In addition, following Moll, Diaz, Estrada and Lopes (1992), Pedraza and Pousada (1992) and Gallimore and Goldenberg (1993) who research language practices in multilingual and immigrant families in the United States, we adopt a holistic perspective of language learning that includes both home and school contexts for language use. We are interested in the everyday language, the whole repertoire of languages used by immigrant families and the related cultural practices that are privileged in these homes. Studies have shown that these contexts are highly varied in terms of activities, participants, functions, styles of interaction and degrees of child participation.

We also explore links between the types of language practices adopted in these families and their construction of identity. Our thinking is inspired by the work of Canadian educational researchers such as Klassen and Burnaby (1993), Hébert (1994), Norton (1997) and Toohey (1998) who study social interactions in language learning by examining the relationship between representations of self, identity construction and ethnic attitudes.

Thus, it is within this framework that we have begun to explore the language practices of immigrant families in relation to the family ecological niche and the

transmission of values concerning language education as well as representations of identity.

4. Methodology

Our research is situated in sociolinguistic and anthropological approaches that study language learning as a social process using an ethnographic form of educational inquiry (LeCompte, Preissle and Tesch 1993). Specifically, this is a longitudinal case study that relies on fieldwork methods to collect qualitative information on language education in immigrant family homes and in those of a cohort of non-immigrant English language families. As Klassen and Burnaby (1993) indicate, on the one hand, quantitative data generated from statistical sources on immigrants provide us with information about general trends but they do not reveal much about the details of the daily reality of these individuals and their family lives, such as their perceptions of their experiences of immigration and integration, their aspirations for themselves and their children, the complexity of their situations and the factors that affect their participation in schools and other social systems. On the other hand, qualitative data from recursive field observations, participant interviews and document collection, provide us with some insight into the meanings that immigrants attribute to their social interactions and their experiences.

Ethnographic methods generate a rich description of elements in context by drawing the participants' knowledge about local cultures, language practices and educational approaches.

4.1 Fieldwork

4.1.1 Participant Interviews

In the first year of fieldwork, we conducted three rounds of interviews with each immigrant family (two with the parents and one with the children) and two rounds of interviews (one with the children and one with the parents) with each Anglophone non-immigrant family. One child of South Asian background was not interviewed because her

mother believes that she is too timid to participate in this form of data collection. The families were interviewed in English or in their heritage language, depending on their preference or language proficiency in English. Semi-structured interviewing strategies (Lecompte and Priessle 1993) were adopted to inquire about the family ecology (Gallimore and Goldenberg 1993). The interviews aimed at: 1) situating the family history (parents' educational experiences, the languages they learned and their language contacts, their countries of residence and their immigration experiences); 2) identifying their representations of their identity (the languages, cultures and countries they refer to); 3) describing their representations of their language practices; 4) documenting the strategies they adopt to maintain the family language, and; 5) examining why they have opted for French Immersion education. The data we discuss here were drawn from these interviews.

The interview data have enabled us to draw a schema of the inter- and intra-generational language interaction networks within each family. This knowledge about the family ecological niche provides us with background contextual information that guides our investigation as we embark on the second phase of our study, which focuses more specifically on literacy practices. In addition to interviews, we are employing a few other modes of data collection in the second phase of our study.

4.1.2 Audiotape of Oral Interactions

Some participating parents have begun to audiotape some oral rituals in their family such as prayers, recitations, homework help or simply diner-time talk. All families except one agreed to participate in this form of data collection. In this case, the father was justifiably wary of prying eyes, given his experiences with representatives of public institutions abroad and here. We should signal that intercultural research into people's family life is a delicate process because we are looking into home practices, a location that is normally private and protected from the public eye. These ethical and methodological issues were discussed in a paper we presented at the Metropolis Meeting held within the 1997 Learned's Conference in St. John's Newfoundland. So, it is in the interest of

reducing outsider intrusion that we have elected to have the parents take control of some forms of data collection.

4.1.3 Literacy Charts

We have distributed literacy charts to four focal families so that they may record the types of literacy events their children engage in over a week's time. Heath (1982) defines literacy events as consisting of social interactions surrounding written texts, including oral and audio-visual texts. We hope to document the range of languages and literacy activities the children engage in within their family contexts. We will be collecting samples of texts read and produced by the children during this phase and we will be asking parents to orally provide us with additional contextual information on the literacy events. Contextual information will be examined according to categories that we have adapted from Delgado-Gaitan's (1990, 34) research on literacy practices in Mexican immigrant families in California:

The *who* refers to the persons present during the activity and available to assist the child. The *what* describes the operations that are accomplished and how they are done. The *where* refers to the place of production. The location is largely dictated by the availability of cultural tools. The *when* of the activity accounts for the time, either the length of time or frequency of the activity. The *why* refers to the meaning of the activity to the people involved in the interaction. The participants bring a set of cultural assumptions to the activity which helps to structure their goal-directed behaviour. In each activity the cultural transmission process was operative as adults transmitted knowledge to children or to each other. The home activity setting was selected as a focus of observation because it portrays day-to-day culture.

4.1.4 Other Modes of Data Collection

After analyzing the literacy charts, we will proceed to further rounds of interviews with the families to explore their interpretations of the literacy practices they engage in. We will triangulate this information with further audiotaped oral practices in the families

and we will videotape these events in a few focal families who are more at ease with this form of data collection.

5. The Participants

Each family has a child enrolled in an immersion program in a school district of metropolitan Vancouver that is experiencing growing enrolment due to immigration and migration. In the school district in which most of the participating children are enrolled, it was estimated that in 1996 a total of 88 languages was spoken by children in this district. As well, 14,946 students or 28% of the school population spoke a language other than English at home. The home language spoken by most of them is Punjabi (6,305 students), followed by Chinese (1,898 students) and then Hindi (1,292 students).

The families were recruited through Berron's contacts at the school district in which she teaches. We have three families from each of four language groups: 1) North American; 2) South and Central American; 3) South Asian; 4) South East Asian. The attributes of the South Asian language group are presented in Table 1. They are identified by the pseudonyms they chose for themselves.

Table 1: Families of South Asian Languages

Pseudonyms			
	Singh	Kashia	Smith
Household members			
Number in household	5	7	5
Number of children	2	3	3
Age and grade level of children	1 9 (gr.4)	newborn 6 (gr.2) 8 (gr.4)	6 (gr.2), 8 (gr.4), 11 (gr. 6)
Other family members	paternal grand- mother	paternal grand- parents	
Family languages	Punjabi, English	Punjabi, English, Hindi	Urdu, Gujarati, English
Attributes of parents			
Age range of parents	36-40	31-35	41-45
Country of origin	(m and f) Singapore	(m and f) India	(m and f) Pakistan
Multilingual experience in country of origin	Yes	Yes	Yes
Citizenship (m and f)	Canadian	Indian	Canadian
Years of residence in Canada	11	11	7
Level of education (f)	post- secondary	post-secondary	post-secondary
Level of education (m)	post-secondary	post-secondary	post-secondary
Employment (f)	truck driver	autobody repair technician	unemployed
Employment (m)	receptionist	research assistant, radio host	unemployed

6. South Asian Language Group: Findings and Discussion

After compiling biographical profiles of the families, we examined the language interaction network in each home. To create schemas of these networks, we drew on the work of Depez (1994) who studied bilingual families in Paris, France. Although we are only at an initial phase of analysis, the language interaction networks clearly reveal that these families are multilingual and actively engage in a practice of code-switching (or alternating between languages).

6.1 Language Interaction Networks

6.1.1 The Singh Family

Table 2 illustrates the Language Interaction Networks in the Singh Family.

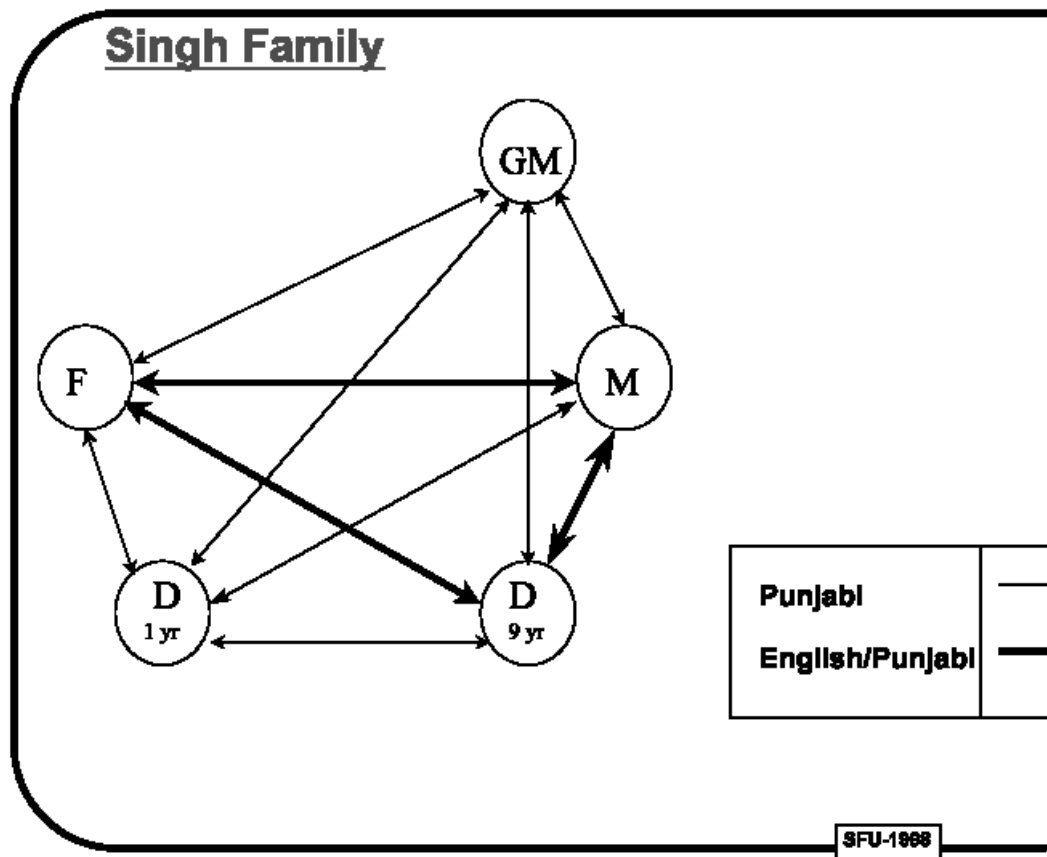


Fig. 1. Singh Family Language Interaction Network

In the Singh family, we can see evidence of code-switching from one person to the other. For instance, the daughter speaks in Punjabi to her grandmother but she speaks in English and in Punjabi to her parents who understand and respond in the two languages. We also observe code-switching between the same conversation partners. For example, this can occur within a discussion or from one sentence to the next. The speakers might, for instance, utter one sentence in English and the next one in Punjabi. Code-switching also occurs within the sentence when one person might start a sentence in Punjabi and complete it in English.

This Table also shows that the mother tongue of the parents is not always the language they use. Indeed, although the parents' first language was Punjabi, they now speak a fair amount of English.

With regard to the language practices with and between the children, we see that the mother speaks only in Punjabi to her youngest child although she speaks in Punjabi and in English to the eldest. The eldest only speaks to the baby in Punjabi. However, we must recognize that this reality is changing. During the last interview, the mother said that she is now speaking more and more English to her youngest child as well. We can postulate that, as the child's interactions with the rest of the community increase, the common language of interaction is increasingly English.

Now, if we were to consider only the child's language network, we would have to add her social interactions at school (occurring mainly in English), those in her classroom (mainly French), those she engages in with her friends (mainly English) and those she participates in during heritage language classes in the Gurdwara, where she mainly speaks Punjabi.

6.1.2 The Kashia Family

Table 3 illustrates the Language Interaction Networks in the Kashia Family.

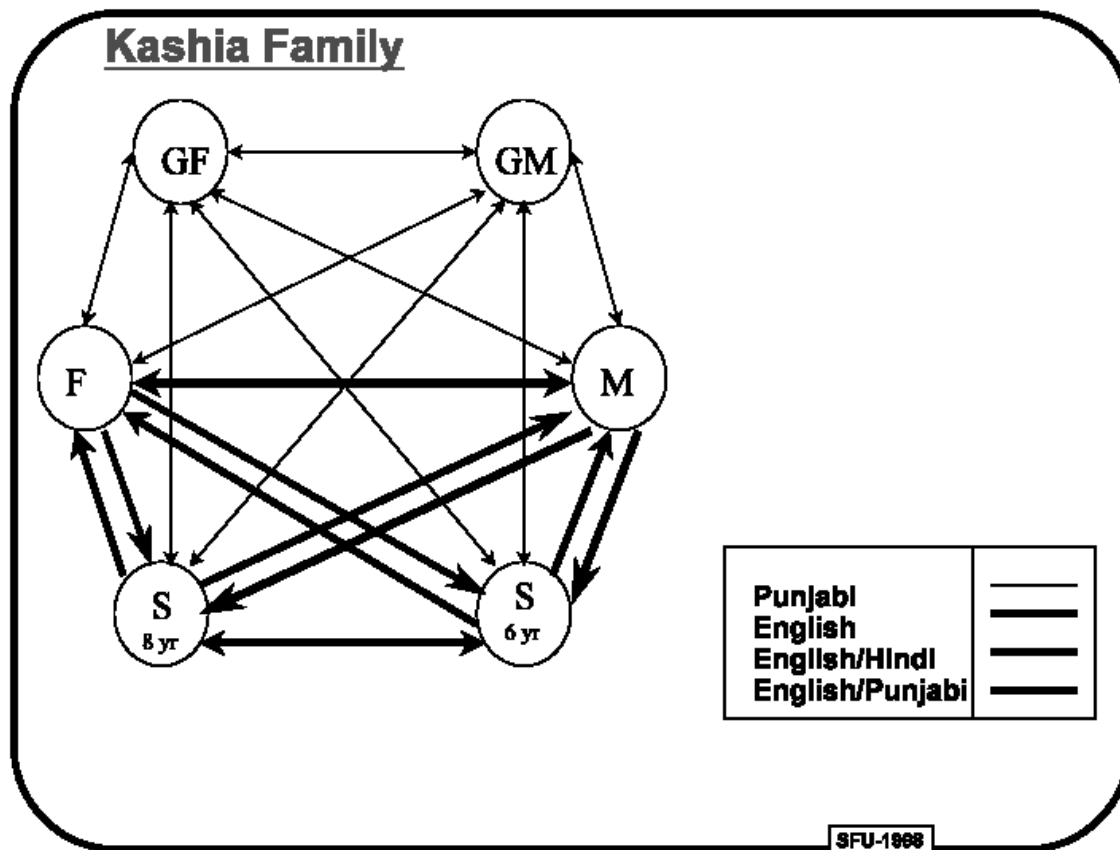


Fig. 2. Kashia Family Language Interaction Network

We observe in Ms Kashia's family-language interaction network a more complex phenomenon of code-switching with the co-existence of three languages in the home. This household includes the grandparents who speak to all other family members in Punjabi.

The father's first language is Punjabi but he also understands and speaks English and Hindi. His wife's mother tongue is Hindi. Although she understands and can speak Punjabi and English, the language of communication between the parents is mainly Hindi. This begs the question as to why they choose to communicate mainly in Hindi. Do they do so to create a zone of privacy that enables them to exclude their parents? Perhaps, but

we can only speculate and will inquire further about this during our next round of interviews.

The father speaks to his children in Punjabi and in English. They answer to him mainly in English. The mother speaks to them in Hindi and in English and they answer her in English. We observe that the choice of one language is linked to certain speakers. For instance, everyone in this family speaks Punjabi to the grandparents because this is the only language they know. Also, code-switching occurs in interactions with the same speakers. For example, the children speak Punjabi and English to their father. We also see an absence of code-switching where the children answer their mother mostly in English even when she speaks to them in Hindi.

This language interaction network also reveals the use of different languages from one generation to the next. The first generation (the grandparents) speaks only Punjabi; the second generation (the parents) speaks English, Hindi and Punjabi and the third generation (the children) speaks mainly English. As we saw in the previous network, the language mostly used by the parents is not their mother-tongue.

6.1.3 The Smith Family

Figure 3 illustrates the Language Interaction Networks in the Smith Family.

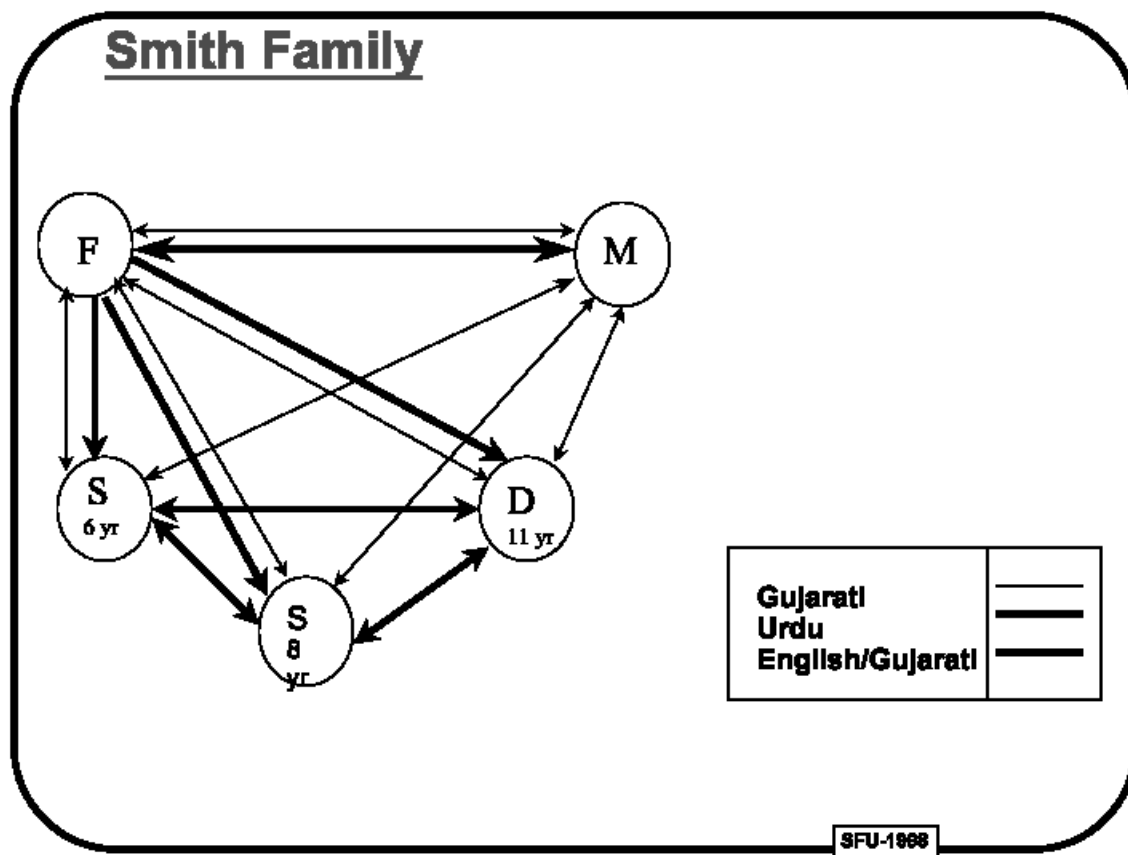


Fig. 3. Smith Family Language Interaction Network

The language network of the Smith family reveals another type of code-switching that is linked to the high value the parents place on the Urdu language. The parents' mother tongue is Gujarati. The parents can also speak Urdu, which is the national language of the country. They value this language more highly than Gujarati because they associate it with the language used by the educated elite of Pakistan. Consequently, the parents have decided to speak Urdu with each other when in the presence of their children so that they may learn that language. The father also speaks Gujarati and Urdu to his children. They respond to him mainly in Gujarati.

According to the parents, the oldest child is more willing to speak Gujarati and Urdu than her two youngest brothers. We wonder whether she is modelling her parents and whether this behaviour is characteristic of the oldest child. We shall pursue this questioning during our next set of interviews.

With this biographical information and the family language interaction networks as background contextual data, we examine the parents' representation of multilingualism and of language learning.

6.2 Representation of Multilingualism

The parents' representation of multilingualism is largely positive as illustrated in the following excerpts from the interviews.

Usefulness of multilingualism:

Mrs. Kashia: I mean it is always great to know another language and you never know when it will become handy. I mean when I came here, I spoke Hindi and it was something I had grown up with and I don't think it was like anything major but now, I am finding that it is very handy to be able to speak another language (Interview #2, p.13).

Multilingual practices:

Mrs. Singh: And we thought that it would be great if she knows other languages besides English and Punjabi. Because in Singapore, she probably would be speaking Chinese, Malay, and Punjabi. So, we thought that if there are four languages that she could pick up there, what is it to have another language here? (Interview #2, p.11).

Multilingualism as commonplace:

Ms Kashia: But that was part of my reasoning maybe on a subconscious level that you know, I felt, well, if I could learn English and also know Hindi and speak it just as fluently, so I am sure that my son will be able to manage (Interview #2, p.10).

Multilingual ambition for their children:

Mr. Smith: Yes, in Notre-Dame des Neiges (Montreal) they had a subject Arabic and she did very well, so I would like them to learn not only two, but many languages. (Interview #1, p.11).

These parents refer to the usefulness of multilingualism in Canada and in other countries. They also refer to the various languages they themselves have acquired and

those the children still living in their country of origin are learning. They refer to the banality of their multilingual experiences. These parents all consider that learning many languages is easy because they themselves have learned several languages. Finally, they want their children to be multilingual.

We would suggest that these parents have a positive representation of multilingualism for a number of reasons. First, they all come from multilingual countries where it is common to encounter speakers of different languages. For example, in Singapore, Malay, Chinese, Tamil, English, South Indian, Hopkin are spoken. In India, Himachal Pradesh, Hindi, Punjabi, Soodi, Pahari are spoken. In Pakistan the languages spoken include Urdu, Gujarati, Punjabi, Sindhi, Baluji, Veramin and English.

Second, the parents grew up as multilingual individuals. In Singapore, Mr. Singh learned to speak Malay, Punjabi, English and Hopkin. In India in the state of Himachal Pradesh, Mrs. Kashia learned Hindi, Soodi, Pahari and English. In Karachi, Pakistan, Mr. Smith learned how to speak Urdu, Gujarati, English and Arabic.

Third, these individuals do not equate multilingualism with balanced bilingualism. In other words, they do not have or expect others to have equivalent skills in all the languages they use. For example, Mr. Singh knows how to speak Punjabi but has trouble reading it; Mr. Smith knows how to read French but cannot speak it. Their knowledge of languages is adapted to real communication needs; they learn as much of a language as they need to survive in daily interactions.

Fourth, these parents all learned English “à la immersion”. Mrs. Kashia did so in a school for girls in India and Mr. Smith in an English Medium school in Pakistan. Finally, they are still using the languages that they have learned and this is evident in the family language interactions, as we have seen.

Consequently, these parents of South Asian language origin all have a positive representation of multilingualism. We suggest that this positive perspective is linked to their experience with many languages and that it explains the educational choices they have made for their children.

6.3 Maintenance of the Family Language

The following excerpts present the parents' discourse on heritage language maintenance.

Heritage Language classes for religious reasons

Mr. Singh: We. . . already knew in our minds that it was absolutely useless putting her in a Punjabi school. Because, first of all, Punjabi is not a recognized language. It's okay to communicate with the older folks, to be able to read the Punjabi bible, but other than that, Punjabi has no significance in the world. So, obviously, it did not even cross our mind (Interview #1, p.7).

Heritage language classes in a religious setting:

Mr. Smith: She is learning Urdu, and Arabic. . . here, in our mosque, our religious place where we go for prayers (Interview #1, p.12).

Refusal of heritage language classes because of religion:

Ms. Kashia: I mean I don't want to overwhelm them and I find that a lot of people who are doing that, and especially here, at least at the temple and at the mosque, it's more like a religious-based studying, even the language. And I don't want to make my kids too religious. I much rather them be more open-minded than just being narrowed down to one religion (Interview #1, p.11).

The children in two families out of three in this language group are taking courses in the heritage language of their parents. Mr. Singh's daughter is taking them in the Sikh Gurdwara and Mr. Smith's daughter has her lessons in the Mosque. Thus, heritage language learning in these two families is related to religious practice. However, because the parents in these families consider their home language as necessary only within their family, language and religious circles, they do not wish to send their children to a heritage language school full time in lieu of the public system. They are satisfied with heritage language classes in the evening. Interestingly enough, Mrs. Kashia does not want her children to take Punjabi classes because she rejects their affiliation with religion.

6.4 Promotion of Multilingualism and French-English Bilingualism

We suggest that these parents have decided to enrol their children in French Immersion because of their view of multilingualism and that this positive representation is the result of their own exposure to many languages. The parents have also given other reasons for opting for immersion education for their children as the following interview excerpts illustrate.

A second language as easier to learn in youth:

Mrs. Kashia: I mean, I certainly think that it would have been easier to learn it as I was growing up instead of trying to learn it now (Interview #2, p.14).

Immersion as unproblematic:

Mr. Smith: Exactly, because, we thought that putting the child starting from Kindergarten or Grade 1, it is not a problem. . . . And they are very good at picking up languages, you know. So, that was I mean, no we did not think that it would be difficult for them at all. (Interview #2, p.7).

English as an easy language to learn:

Mr. Smith: English is very simple to pick up, it's very easy to pick up. And we are there to help them learn that language. And they learn it from their friends. French is more difficult and to get the accent and those sort of things, we could not be helpful to them. So, that was our priority. (Interview #1, p.10).

French as an international language:

Kashia: So, I mean I think if some other languages . . . and then again, French after English is more universal and is spoken in so many countries so why not? And out of all the other language, I can't really think of any other. . . but with French, I find, you go to Europe, and there are so many people who speak French and in lot of African Countries, there is French. So, I just find that it is more universal (Interview #1, p.10).

French as one of the two official languages:

Mr. Singh: And we chose French, okay, English, we knew she will be able to pick up easily, right. And we chose French. We did that because it is Canada's second official language (Interview #1, p.7).

Immersion as an alternative to the English program:

Mrs. Kashia: Because otherwise, you know, (if they) just go through what I saw with my sister-in-law's kids, something not challenging at all (Interview #2, p.16).

Immersion as an opening onto other cultures:

Mr. Singh: I think it's good. I think everybody should know more than one language and not just restrict themselves because when you restrict yourself, you create problems. And when you create problems, you have. . . war! (laughs) (Interview #1, p.11).

Immersion as economic capital internationally:

Mr. Smith: We don't know where our children are going to live. They might not stay in Canada, they may be working who knows where. . . I see. . . it's now the Asia Pacific Region, the Far East, the Third-World countries, the Latin American countries. These are the places for the future. For the next 20 years. They are in a very crucial stage right now. They are emerging as the world nations, slowly. So this is where our future lies (Interview #1, p.11).

Immersion education as an opportunity:

Kashia: I just felt that there was an opportunity so why not? (Interview #1, p.10).

M. Smith: So, they are regretting, you see. Out of that experience, this also gave me the consideration not to make a mistake; when there is an opportunity, take it. (Interview #2, p.12).

These parents all think that it is easier to learn another language at a young age. They trust the immersion method to be efficient, since they all learned English in a similar way, and they believe that English is an easy language to learn. They judge that French should be taught at school because it is a more difficult language to learn and they think this language is useful nationally and internationally. French Immersion is also considered

to be a challenging alternative to the regular English program and a means of providing access to others cultures. These parents believe that French will enable their children to find more interesting work, not only in Canada but anywhere else in the world and finally, they all think that it is an opportunity not to be missed.

7. Concluding Comments

For these three families of South Asian language background and at this particular point in our study, we observe that the parents: a) are from multilingual countries and had contact with several languages; b) continue to be multilingual; c) have a positive representation of multilingualism; d) presume that their children will also become multilingual through immersion education and heritage language maintenance strategies in the family.

We still have to determine through further analysis if the families of the other language groups we interviewed share the same motivation to enrol their children in French Immersion and whether they adopt similar strategies to maintain their heritage language. The information we have gathered so far in the families of South Asian languages provides us with some contextual knowledge that will allow us to pursue our investigation of the children's identity construction and their multilingual literacy practices at home.

As we begin to analyze data from the interviews with the children and collect information on their language and literacy practices from sources other than parent interviews, we will focus on uncovering links that may exist between the children's representations of their own identity and their parents' prior language experiences and representation of multilingualism. Drawing on Schiefflin and Och's (1986) construct of language learning as socialization process, we hypothesize that the participating children have internalized their parents' views of multilingualism and the high value they place on maintaining the heritage language. We anticipate that the children will express self-confidence as language learners and will identify themselves as multilingual second-generation Canadians in positive terms, in keeping with their parents' integrative efforts

and strong affiliations with their heritage language. It remains to be seen whether the data collected and analyzed in the next phase of this study will bear out this hypothesis.

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