

Vancouver Centre of Excellence



Research on Immigration and Integration in the Metropolis

Working Paper Series

No. 03-04

**“Do You Know Your Language?” How Teachers of Punjabi and Chinese
Ancestries Construct their Family Languages in their Personal and
Professional Lives**

June Beynon, Roumiana Ilieva, Marela Dichupa, Shemina Hirji

January 2003

RIIM

Research on Immigration and Integration in the Metropolis

The Vancouver Centre is funded by grants from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, Citizenship & Immigration Canada, Simon Fraser University, the University of British Columbia and the University of Victoria. We also wish to acknowledge the financial support of the Metropolis partner agencies:

- Human Resources Development Canada
- Department of Canadian Heritage
- Department of the Solicitor General of Canada
- Status of Women Canada
- Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation
- Immigration and Refugee Board
- Public Works and Government Services Canada
- Royal Canadian Mounted Police
- Public Service Commission
- Rural Secretariat, Agriculture Canada
- Justice Canada

Views expressed in this manuscript are those of the author(s) alone. For more information, contact the Co-directors of the Centre, Dr. Don DeVoretz, Department of Economics, SFU (e-mail: devoretz@sfu.ca) or Dr. David Ley, Department of Geography, UBC (e-mail: dley@geog.ubc.ca).

**“Do You Know Your Language?” How Teachers of Punjabi and Chinese Ancestries
Construct Their Family Languages in Their Personal and Professional Lives¹**

June Beynon, Roumiana Ilieva, Marela Dichupa

Simon Fraser University

Shemina Hirji

Surrey School District

January 2003

This article has been accepted for publication by the *Journal of Language, Identity and Education*

¹ This project was funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) of Canada through the Vancouver Centre for Research on the Impact of Immigration on the Metropolis (RIIM).

ABSTRACT

This study focuses on how teachers of minority ancestries construct and represent their family language identities. Drawing on poststructural (Hall 1996; Norton 2000) postcolonial (Ang 1994; Luke and Luke 2000) and sociocultural (Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner, and Cain 1998) theory on culture, identity and language we explore the complex nature of the linguistic identities of 25 teachers of Chinese and 20 teachers of Punjabi ancestries. We consider the different ways in which respondents of these ancestries represented their identities in minority languages in various sociocultural settings and the implications of these representations for employment. Accounting for this diversity should contribute to reconstructing authoritative discourses (Bakhtin 1981) regarding employment of racial minorities in public education and thus to making mainstream institutions more equitable and inclusive.

Key words: linguistic identity representation; employment equity in education

INTRODUCTION

If I went for a job I would never say that Chinese language was a skill I had. God forbid somebody would call me on it! To speak it means to speak it perfectly and there is a lot of shame in not speaking it perfectly (Nan, second generation, speaks Cantonese with her family and attended five years of after school Cantonese and Mandarin classes).

I... wrote down that I could speak Punjabi on my resumes ... I thought that if they want to have parent communication ... then they actually need to have people who can speak the other language too...[During my interview] I kept pushing ... “I can speak Punjabi; I can also speak a little bit of Hindi” and I kept saying that ... I went to that school purposely because I knew there was a high Indo-Canadian population. (Sahibjeet, second generation, speaks Punjabi with her family, but has had no formal conversation or literacy instruction).

The complex, multi-faceted nature of (minority) ethnic identities is becoming a prominent concern in theory and research, and language is one salient dimension of identity (Hall 1996; Luke and Luke 2000). Moreover, we see in theory and research regarding language identity specifically, that it is similarly viewed as multifaceted and complex (Norton 2000). Some of the complexity is theorized in relation to how minority language speakers’ engagements with mainstream society are implicated in the process of learning to speak and identify with new (dominant society) languages (Churchill 2000) Other complexities relate to the relative emphasis minority individuals place respectively on reading, writing, speaking and listening, in constructing their identities as learners of a dominant language (McKay and Wong 1996).

In contrast to the research outlined above, which is concerned with individuals’ experiences in learning English, our present research is interested with the complexities of how teachers of minority ancestries with minority languages in their biographies construct and represent their linguistic identities as members of both English and minority language communities. Through in-depth interviews, teachers narrated the complex circumstances implicated in how they construct and represent their linguistic identities. Some of these circumstances relate to relative roles of literacy and conversation in their minority language communities. Some of the complexity relates to their understandings of minority community and family standards (Krashen 1998). Age at which they immigrated, diversity of minority languages in their families, availability of and attendance at formal school programs, and the availability of peer and other social settings for using the language (Tse 1998) may be involved, as well.

In this paper, we inquire into the diversity outlined above with the intention of developing recommendations that will assist employers and teachers to best include the diverse, complex, and rich resources that teachers of minority ancestry could bring to their professional work. It is common

practice for employers to use questions about language as an expedient way of dealing with what they construct as problematic issues in employment equity policy requiring diversity in the workplace. Asking, “Do you know your language?” appears to be a way of responding to this requirement without getting caught up in uncomfortable (to employers) issues of race. However, this apparently “safe and simple” question about language in fact masks a great deal of complexity. It draws employer and potential employee into a frame of reference which not only fails to get at the complexity of language identities, but also fails to acknowledge that minority teachers have valuable experiences to bring to students (of all backgrounds) regardless of their particular conversational and/or literacy skills in their family languages.

This research was part of a larger study undertaken to gain broad perspectives on how teachers of minority ancestry perceived their positions within public education.² In the course of analyzing and interpreting data on a wide range of experiences related to their own education, families, profession, and identities we began to discern that language in particular, and teachers’ perceptions of and experiences with ancestral languages, were a prominent dimension. Thus, while our initial broad focus was on diverse aspects of teacher identity and identity representation and implications of these for employment, through the use of a grounded theory approach to analysis of this data, considerations of construction and representations of linguistic identity and the relation of these to employability were more specifically brought into focus. Within this specific focus on minority language identities and employment we are especially interested in how, and if, minority ancestry teachers of Chinese and Punjabi Sikh ancestry respectively, represent their (heritage) linguistic identities when seeking employment.

The thesis of this research is that these variable constructions and representations, and the ways they are taken up in mainstream institutional discourses of equality in employment, have important implications for racial/linguistic minorities seeking teaching positions in public education (Abella 1984; Henry, Tator, Mattis, and Rees 1995; Omi and Winant 1994).³

² See Beynon, Ilieva and Dichupa (2001), Beynon and Toohey (1995), Beynon, Toohey and Kishor (1992, 1998), Hirji and Beynon (2000). Teachers of Chinese and Punjabi ancestry were selected for this study because they are the two most populous minority language groups (257,000 and 75,000 respectively) both in the province of British Columbia and in the greater Vancouver metropolitan area, with a population of almost 3 million.

³ We recognize that equal employment opportunity legislation or “affirmative action” in the United States may operate in a variety of different ways. In Canada, The Employment Equity Act (1986) is the outcome of research by a Royal Commission on Equality in Employment which examined US policies, among others. A key feature of Canadian legislation is a focus on recruiting and hiring individuals from four designated groups: women, native people, individuals with disabilities and visible minorities. It is not necessary in Canada (as apparently it has been in the US) for discrimination to be proven in court before programs are required. (See Blumrosen 1985).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Language and Identity

Hall's (1996) poststructural theoretical approach to identity and the linguistic dimensions of identity helped us to frame the present research. Hall specifies that language is one potential dimension of how individuals may represent their identity.

Actually identities are about questions of using the resources of history, *language* and culture in the process of becoming rather than being: not “who we are” or “where we came from,” so much as what we might become, how we have been represented and how that bears on *how we might represent ourselves* (p. 4, our italics).

In the same theoretical frame of reference, Luke and Luke (2000) critique the essentialist theoretical notion that minority language “competence” or “fluency” is the *sine qua non* of racial/ethnic/cultural identity. Their research documents that many bi-racial individuals who, for various reasons, were unable to develop skills in Chinese languages when they were youngsters, nevertheless maintained a sense of Chinese identity and selected to learn family languages as adults.

Ien Ang (1994), writing about her experiences in post-colonial Indonesia, Holland, and Australia, also addresses the complex relationships between language, identity and authenticity:

Throughout my life, I have been implicitly or explicitly categorized willy-nilly, as a “Chinese.” I look Chinese. Why then don't I speak Chinese? I have had to explain this apparent oddity countless times (p. 3)... A self-assured, Dutch, white, middle-class Marxist asked me, “Do you speak Chinese?” I said, “No.” “What a fake Chinese you are!” was his ... kidding response. In being defined and categorized ... I was found wanting (p. 11).

Just as Luke and Luke and Ang demonstrate that cultural identity is complex and not reducible to linguistic skills only, we wish to explore the complex nature of linguistic identities and the values ascribed to these by families and communities, employers and the teachers themselves. The data in our present research suggest that the criteria for linguistic identity/competence and the values attached to different kinds of competence (oral, written, etc.) are variable from family to family and community to community. We are intrigued by the apparent differences in linguistic practices experienced respectively by Punjabi and Chinese interviewees within their families and communities of origin and the implications in turn of these practices in teachers' representations of their linguistic identities.

We are also interested to find an apparent difference in the literature on language and identity that seems to be related to the ethnicity of the writers. A few theorists of Chinese ancestry identify the problematic and complex relationship between language and identity (Luke and Luke 2000; Ang

1994), but none of South Asian or Indian ancestry whom we were able to identify appears to do so. We understand that historically/culturally specific circumstances might contribute to these differences in theory, as well as differences in family and community language practices (Gibson and Ogbu 1991; McCarthy 1990). Hence, we make some preliminary inquiries into the post-colonial and diasporic experiences of Chinese and Punjabi Sikh in the geographical location of greater Vancouver, British Columbia in which this research is situated.

POWER AND IDENTITY

The works of Bannerji (1993), Foucault (1980), Mohanty (1991), Henry et al. (1993) contribute to this research a theoretical approach which identifies and analyzes policies and practices by which the “gaze” of mainstream institutions confers positions of relative privilege or powerlessness. Power in educational institutions commonly consists of being in positions to define what is normative and selecting the attributes that will be considered desirable in employees and clients (Apple 1996; Dei 1996; Giroux 1993). Much critique of mainstream institutions in education is directed at the inability or refusal of decision-makers to incorporate minority culture and language into curriculum (Banks 1991; Cummins 1986; Ghosh 1996) or teacher education (Cochran-Smith 1995; Martin 1995; Sleeter 1992). Notwithstanding these critiques regarding inclusion of language and culture, we direct our attention here to possible consequences of attempting to include minority language as a criteria in hiring, but doing so without appreciation of the complexity and diversity of language practices and their relationships to linguistic identities. We see that the complex nature of the relationship between language and identity varies not only between ethno-cultural linguistic “groups,” but within them as well.

LANGUAGE, IDENTITY AND SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXT

The focus of the present research is on individual teachers’ constructions (assessments) and representations of their heritage linguistic identities. We see clearly that these linguistic identity constructions are transacted within family, community, and institutional contexts, or what Holland et al. (1998) refer to as a series of cultural worlds, and we explore these in order to gain some understanding of what factors might be implicated in these differences. Norton’s work on linguistic identity construction (2000) suggests some possibilities for identifying what factors might be involved.

Norton (2000) uses the term investment to describe the intricate, socially and historically constructed, relationships of learners to a target language arguing that,

when language learners speak ...they are constantly organizing and reorganizing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world. Thus an investment in [a] target language is also an investment in a learner's own identity. (p. 10-11)

Norton further specifies this formulation when she says:

investment is best understood in the context of a poststructural notion of identity. When we "invest" in a second language, we desire a wider range of identities and an expanded set of possibilities in the future. Conversely, if we are not invested in a particular target language, it may be as a result of limited options for identification and possibility (Churchill 2002).

McKay and Wong (1996) interpret what Norton says about learners' investments in speaking and apply this notion to all four language skills, arguing that these have differential values for learners in relation to their identities. These studies examine social identity construction of individuals engaged in diverse aspects of language learning. In the present study we look not at language learning per se, but rather at how teachers construct their knowledge of heritage languages and how they represent these constructions. We find intriguing, in the respective narratives of the teachers of Punjabi and Chinese ancestry, indications that their families' (and hence their own) sense of heritage language identity were reflections of varying options and possibilities.

The works of Krashen (1998) and Tse (1998) respectively suggest some useful ideas about the nature of variation in opportunities for formal and informal heritage language use. Krashen identifies a phenomenon that he calls linguistic "shyness." When speakers of a heritage language are criticized for their efforts, they can become shy about using the language. Hence, the speaker becomes unwilling to use the language for fear of being criticized. Complementary to Krashen's work, Tse calls attention to the powerful influence of opportunities to use languages in settings where the speakers feel comfortable as accepted group members.

Norton, McKay and Wong, Krashen, and Tse all research language experiences of individuals; in contrast, we are looking at how groups of individuals represent their linguistic identities and at apparent contrasts between these representations. We keep in mind dangers of essentializing groups; nevertheless our data do suggest some patterns. We consider the possible socio-cultural characteristics of these respective groups that might contribute to the different ways in which teachers constructed and subsequently represented their knowledge of their heritage languages. We see that teachers of Chinese ancestry are inclined to tell us a great deal about whether as children and adolescents they had formal literacy instruction. Punjabi ancestry teachers rarely mentioned literacy instruction in Punjabi; they talked more about their confidence in their conversational abilities. We consider how these different representations may have come about and how they may be more and less advantageous from an employment perspective.

Finally, we consider issues of language identity representation in relation to official Canadian employment equity policy, and the ways in which identity representation may be implicated in employment experiences of teachers of minority ancestry. Bakhtin's (1981) ideas about the struggles between "authoritative" and "internally persuasive" discourses are useful here. Whereas authoritative discourse is fused with political and institutional power (Bakhtin 1981, 343), internally persuasive discourse is "tightly interwoven with one's own words" (p. 345) and is creative and productive. Bakhtin's distinction between and description of the interplay between the two types of discourse suggests ways of analyzing the manner in which teachers' internally persuasive self-descriptions of their (heritage) linguistic selves take up and interact with official institutional discourses, especially when teachers are seeking employment.

Viewing employment equity as an authoritative mainstream discourse helps us to see how teachers' differential success in their struggles with this discourse may be related to the ways they represent, to themselves and others, their linguistic investments and identities. Based on the nature of their investments in their family languages it may be easier for some to successfully engage their own internally persuasive discourse about their language abilities, "with its own gestures, accents and modifications" (Holquist 1981, 424) in the inevitable struggle with mainstream authoritative discourse. These individuals might more easily be able to get jobs.

Policies in mainstream institutions, (for example, employment equity hiring policies, admissions policies to professional programs of teacher education, and credentialing policies of the British Columbia (B.C.) College of Teachers and B.C. Teachers' Qualification service) may be, as Luke and Luke and Ang caution against, reducing minority identity to minority linguistic identity. These mainstream authoritative policy discourses structure the ways in which minority teachers may be able to insert themselves into mainstream institutions, at least in regard to their self-described sense of security in their heritage language identities. Using language as an employment criterion may serve to "control and contain" (Chakrabarty 1993) rather than to include these minority ancestry teachers. Thus, these policies may privilege language skills and devalue the importance of knowledge that is rooted not solely in teachers' linguistic competencies, but in their experiences in their families, communities and as minorities in mainstream schools.

METHODOLOGY

In-depth interviews (Marshall and Rossman 1995) were conducted with 25 teachers of Chinese ancestry and 20 teachers of Punjabi ancestry who responded to a call for volunteers placed in *The BC Teacher*, a publication distributed to all teachers in British Columbia. One and a half hour interviews were guided by a consistent series of open-ended questions on the following topics: family

background, school experiences from elementary to post-secondary teacher education and employment experiences. These questions were formulated from a theoretical perspective on identity issues. Our specific focus in this paper on (heritage) linguistic dimensions of identity reflects a grounded theory approach where data collection precedes theory building (Strauss and Corbin 1990, 23). This theme of linguistic identities was not a specific focus in our initial, more broadly based inquiries regarding teachers' identities and the ways in which family, community, and educational experiences were implicated in professional identities (Beynon, Ilieva, and Dichupa 2001; Hirji and Beynon 2000). However 17 of the 20 Punjabi ancestry teachers and 21 of the 25 Chinese ancestry teachers introduced issues of language in a variety of ways in their narratives. Hence, we turned our focus to this area that they had identified as important.

Inevitably our representations of the interviewees' narratives are reflective of our own subject positions and locations (Patton 1990). Hence, it is important to make explicit that the researchers themselves were of minority ancestry. Interviewers of Filipina, Singaporean, and Ismaili ancestry respectively, established connections with the interviewees by reference to their own experiences of being visible minorities in Canadian society and schools. Similarly, each of the researchers engaged in data analysis and interpretation has occupied subject positions as minorities (racial, linguistic and/or religious), within mainstream Canadian education.

We used a variety of approaches to checking the trustworthiness of the data and our analyses. Transcripts of interviews were sent to the interviewees who were invited to correct, delete, comment, or add to these. After these member checks were completed, each of the two data sets (of transcribed interviews) was read and coded for themes, by three of the four researchers working independently of one another. In this way, we cross checked and verified our analytical work. We then sent copies of previous publications to the interviewees and invited comments on these. Our analysis and interpretations were presented in a conference paper (Beynon, Ilieva, and Dichupa 2000). Professionals of minority ancestry who work in executive positions in Chinese and Punjabi community social service agencies responded with commentary regarding community practices and diasporic histories that might contribute to the respective profiles of language practices documented here (McCarthy 1990). The responses of these key informants (Miles and Huberman 1984) are presented in the following section on the post colonial diasporic context of Vancouver (Rai 2000; To 2000) and provide valuable contextual information to supplement the scant information we were able to find in historical sources (Jagpal 1994; Johnston 1988; Yee 1988).

Post-colonial, Diasporic Context of Vancouver

The century long histories of immigration to the Vancouver area from a diverse array of nations in the Chinese diaspora and the Punjab province of India are the context for our research. The linguistic dimensions of these histories may be implicated in the language experiences teachers narrated.

CHINESE COMMUNITY

The Chinese community is made up of individuals who trace their backgrounds to a wide range of regions and nations and this is reflected in the diversity of languages and dialects in the community. While Cantonese and Toisan predominate, they are not universal. Even community (clan) associations (tongs) important in early settlement were conducted, respectively, in a variety of dialects (Li 1988). The ongoing history of immigration to Vancouver reflects political events in Asia and has resulted in an ever increasing diversity of languages and dialects such as Cantonese, Toisan, Mandarin, Taiwanese, Hakka, Shanghainese (Yee 1988), which may in turn limit the respective teachers' opportunities to learn their family languages in social settings beyond their own households. As well, religious affiliations, as a consequence of overseas religious traditions of a variety of colonizers, are similarly diverse and do not provide a central community activity with a sacred language the same as and, hence, reinforcing the secular language.

After school and Saturday Chinese language programs conducted by a variety of community and church based groups appear to have offered one location outside of the family where children could associate with their peers in a setting designed to focus on the development of their family languages. However, this setting also presented some complexities. Even in the early history of Chinatown there are reports of dissonance between teachers who were instructing in Cantonese and a large group of Toisan speaking families (Yee 1988). Moreover the focus of these schools was on literacy rather than conversation, and developing literacy in the traditional Chinese script of 22,000 characters requires memorizing approximately 3,000 characters (Miller 2001; Ping 1995). Children developing literacy in their mother tongue in Hong Kong and other overseas communities spend their first three school years in formal study before they are considered to have learned the basics of beginning reading and writing (Ping 1995). In Vancouver, the fact that the programs were held at the end of the regular school day or Saturdays contributed to the resistance of many youngsters as they set about this major task. The recent introduction of the potential lingua franca of Mandarin in the public high school curriculum (and in one elementary school) may provide a new opportunity for language learning. However, this opportunity has its own set of complexities relating to the historical/political relationships between Mainland China and the respective Hong Kong and Taiwan diasporic communities.

In past years, when children objected to this formal schooling, parents were likely not to push them, because they felt that English was the more important language for further education and employment (To 2000). Many sources (Hsia 1988; Leong and Hayes 1990; Pang 1990; To 2000) report the very high value that families place on academic excellence which is associated with emphasis on the importance of English language study (sometimes to the detriment of Chinese language fluency).

PUNJABI SIKH COMMUNITY

Conversational fluency in varying degrees in several different languages (Punjabi, the regional language; Hindi, the national language of India; and English, the language of the colonizers) is considered common although fluency in Punjabi is a common denominator. Osler (1997) reports that most of the Punjabi teachers she interviewed had “a level of technical competence required to act as an effective translator or interpreter” (p. 114). Parents stress that it is easy to learn several languages and many parents speak Hindi and English as well as Urdu (Gibson and Bhachu 1991).

In contrast to the diverse political and linguistic histories and the large size of the Chinese population in Vancouver, the smaller size and relative historical, cultural, and social homogeneity of the Sikh community in Vancouver is striking. Religion is a cohesive factor in the Punjabi community (Johnston 1988) and Punjabi language is a vital part of the religion. However, literacy is not a prerequisite for either religious or social activities. In the temple (*gurdwara*), Punjabi is the language in which the services are conducted, but it is not necessary to be literate to join in. On special religious occasions, families are able to hire a reader to hold a continuous reading (*akund phat*) of the religious text (*Guru Granth Sahib*). The *gurdwara* also has an open kitchen (*langur*) accessible to the community and frequented by elders and their pre school grandchildren.

A common family practice, given the wide availability of the VCR in the 1980s, is weekly family gatherings to watch Punjabi and Hindi movies. Conversations about the movie are in Punjabi and parents ask children if they understand the meanings of particular words or events (Rai 2000). Ghosh (2000) also reports this practice in her work with Punjabi speaking immigrants in Australia.

DATA ANALYSIS

Data were analyzed by ethnic group and by gender within ethnic group, although analysis by gender revealed no salient differences. Similarly, while interviewees came from a range of socio-economic

backgrounds, this feature did not appear to be salient. We considered teachers' references to their families' language practices during their childhood and adolescent years. We also took note of their descriptions of their strategic uses of their first languages in seeking employment and substantive uses in their professional work.

Because of length constraints, we will not present here specific data on classroom and school (professional) uses of family languages. Previous research on perceptions of teachers of Punjabi (Hirji and Beynon 2000) and Chinese ancestry (Beynon, Ilieva, and Dichupa 2001) illustrates that in addition to their normative responsibilities, teachers use their minority languages for translation and interpretation between their respective communities and the mainstream education system. They also use these languages to provide instructional assistance to students for whom English is a second language. Holland et al. (1998) theoretical framework on identity and agency in cultural worlds helped us to see how these teachers also drew selectively on their family and community experiences of being a minority in shaping their professional work and challenging institutional barriers to their own and their students' accomplishments.

In the present research, we bring Holland et al. framework on identity and agency to bear on issues of language investment patterns and identity construction. The authors articulate the socially situated nature of identity. In this perspective, identities are shaped in interaction with socially prescribed norms and other actors in a variety of social contexts. We focus on the interviewees' perceptions of the following socially situated contexts or interactional spaces in which family languages are salient: the home, formal childhood schooling experiences, adult experiences with learning ancestral languages, the job market and the place of employment. These interactional spaces were social locations shaped in part by parents and community, in part by educational institutions and in part by the teachers themselves. In the family context, we are interested in the circumstances that teachers perceived as salient in forming their assessments of how and how well they used these languages with their family.

We will also look at the ways individuals from both groups strategically used their knowledge of languages other than English outside of the family to gain employment when they saw that prospective employers would value these language skills. It is in regard to these strategic uses of language that we see important, ordinarily unacknowledged differences for issues of equity and employment. These differences relate to how individuals, in the two groups respectively, describe their capabilities in their family languages. Thus, the focus of our research was these teachers' perceptions of their language use, and not an externally developed academic assessment of language competencies.

The teachers of Chinese ancestry in this study were from diverse national/regional backgrounds including Hong Kong, Mainland China, Vietnam, Taiwan, Singapore, Malaysia, the United States, and Canada and identified a range of family languages/dialects including Cantonese/Toisan (20) and Mandarin (5).⁴ The teachers of Punjabi Sikh ancestry all traced their family histories to Punjab. Teachers of Chinese and Punjabi ancestries had all done their teacher education in western Canada and were employed in public schools in the greater Vancouver metropolitan area, albeit across a spectrum of neighborhoods with varied ethnic/demographic compositions and socio economic circumstances. In addition, there were differences regarding age at immigration, languages spoken, grade level and subject matter of teaching assignments, and length of teaching career but we did not discern that any of these characteristics was an important influence on the teachers' constructions of what it means to know their heritage language

TABLE 1. Demographic Background on Teachers of Chinese and Punjabi Sikh Ancestry

SOCIOCULTURAL GROUP	CHINESE :25	PUNJABI:20
YEARS OF TEACHING		
Beginning	11	7
1 to 5	5	6
6 to 10	7	3
11 and up	2	4
POSITIONS		
Teacher on call	11	7
Elementary	9	5
Secondary	5	8
SPECIALTIES	(specialties are more common in secondary schools)	
ESL	7	3
Math/Science	1	4
Heritage Language	1	1
Other	5	2
AGE AT IMMIGRATION		
Canadian born	14	5
1 to 5	4	9
6 to 10	1	1
11 to 18	3	3
Over 18	3	2
LANGUAGES		
Primary heritage language	21	17
Individuals also reporting	11	4

⁴ Three of those identifying Mandarin also identified Taiwanese and one identified Hakka. Five identifying Cantonese (Toisan) also identified respectively Shanghainese, Fukienese and Vietnamese. Three individuals identified Cantonese and Mandarin.

Language in the Family and Childhood Heritage Language Schooling

Teachers of Chinese ancestry

Many of the interviewees said they retained the ability to converse in a heritage language because of the need or desire of communicating with a parent or grandparent who did not speak English. For example Maureen, born in Canada, whose family speaks Toisan, said, “Because my mom speaks mostly Chinese that's why I've retained my Chinese.” Similarly Lynn, also born in Canada, recalled:

I grew up [until age 5] speaking Toisan. My mom and dad were pretty fluent in English, but because we lived with our grandma, I think they wanted us to learn our own language first.

Paradoxically neither of these individuals considered themselves to have particularly good conversational skills in Toisan. Rather they stressed that their oral language skills were equivalent to those of a five year old (the year they entered mainstream schools).

While the family language was considered important for communication at home many teachers expressed the feeling that parents saw this language as a barrier to developing English language fluency. Sharon was born in Canada and “did not speak a word of English” when she started kindergarten. She reflected on her mother’s motivations regarding Sharon’s use of Cantonese.

For my mum particularly, she wanted us to be schooled exclusively in English because she saw it as the route to integration and success. So there was never any reservation on her part that we're being schooled in English. Nor did she really attempt to press us to retain our native [Cantonese] tongue. One of the drawbacks is that we had a very difficult time communicating [with her] but it's not something she forced.

In the variety of childhood experiences that teachers recounted regarding family language use, the institution of the Chinese (Cantonese) school, with a strong emphasis on literacy, was a prominent feature on the terrain of language learning. These Chinese out of (mainstream) school programs (where available) were salient parts of the teachers’ narratives, whether or not the individual teachers actually spent any length of time in them or learned skills they considered valuable.

Trish, born in Vancouver, said English was the primary language in her family. She attended Cantonese after school programs from age 4 to 12 and describes her Cantonese conversational

abilities as being at a “preschool” level. Her statement illustrates a commonly held perception about the relatively stronger emphasis on literacy rather than conversation in Chinese school, and implied this was a deterrent to spending more time learning conversational Cantonese.

We went to Chinese [Cantonese] school for a number of years ... down in Chinatown; you learned how to read and write but you didn't really learn conversational Chinese. So it was always a problem. My parents said they wanted us to learn the language and immerse ourselves in the culture. But as a child you tend to resent that more than appreciate it. I didn't really learn how to speak it fluently; I learned how to read and write.

Like Trish, Maureen also recalled the emphasis on literacy skills as a deterrent in involvement that would have helped her to learn more conversational skills:

When my parents told me about all those children going to Chinese school I remember watching my cousin doing his homework during the weekend with the brush strokes: the calligraphy of the Chinese characters and I thought “Oh boy! I'm so glad I don't have to do it.” You've got to do pages and pages and pages. But now that I'm older I wish I had taken Chinese school and learnt the characters and how to write and speak it. When you're young, you just don't appreciate things like that. My parents never pushed us. They never did.

In a contrasting account, Gwen, who was born in Vancouver and whose parents were from (mainland) China, spoke confidently about her conversational fluency in Cantonese. She attributed this both to the fact that her parents spoke Cantonese at home and to the fact that:

I had attended Chinese school in my elementary years, right through, in fact, to graduation. I am still quite comfortable with the language.

Nan immigrated to Vancouver as a pre-school child; her parents spoke Cantonese and Fukienese at home. She attended after school and Saturday programs for 6 years. She referred to the development of difficult (for her) literacy skills through the “kill and drill” approach. She attributes this emphasis to inhibiting her opportunities for developing conversational fluency. This contrasts with the experiences of many of the Punjabi Sikh ancestry teachers who did not spend any time during childhood in formal literacy instruction in Punjabi.

Teachers of Punjabi ancestry.

Like their colleagues of Chinese ancestry, teachers of Punjabi ancestry have retained their conversational abilities in Punjabi primarily for the purposes of communicating with their families. Interestingly, some, like Baljeet and Roopinder, for example, “picked up” the language mostly in their adolescence as their families moved to live in closer proximity to other members of the Punjabi community. Despite a far from perfect command of the heritage language, many of these teachers express confidence in their abilities to communicate in Punjabi. As Baljeet, who came to Canada at

age 2 and lived until adolescence in a neighbourhood where his family were “the only East-Indians,” puts it:

I can understand [Punjabi] really well and I can speak it, I would say fairly well. My pronunciation of some words isn't proper, yeah, but people can always understand what I am saying.

Many teachers feel secure in their heritage language (and religious) identities. For example, Satinder, who was born in Kenya and came to Canada from England in his adolescence, began his answer to the interviewer's request to talk about his family as follows: “We're Sikhs and we speak Punjabi.” Similarly, Jane, born in Canada, reported that even though her parents were very fluent in English:

We were brought up speaking Punjabi 'cause it was important that we retain our culture and therefore we still speak a lot of Punjabi in our own home and my parents put in so much effort and emphasis on language. Even when my Kindergarten teacher was concerned that my English wasn't fluent and said she might have to fail me if it didn't pick up by the end of the year, even though my mom was concerned, she didn't speak English with us, she refused to.

Sahibjeet echoed similar views:

I am quite fluent in speaking Punjabi. When we were growing up mom always said, “You're all gonna learn English so you have to speak Punjabi in the home. If we don't stress it now, you guys will forget and you don't know how good of an asset it is.” ...So they always pushed it, amongst my siblings we always spoke English, but with my mom and dad [we] always [spoke] in Punjabi... This has turned out to be an asset in my teaching.

Each of the individuals interviewed, regardless of parents' linguistic backgrounds and their own age at immigration, felt they were competent in oral Punjabi and that they could easily carry on an informal conversation. Comments such as Amanpreet's were common: “I sometimes get worried that I am forgetting [Punjabi], but then I talk to one of the parents of my students, and they seem to understand, so it's O.K.” In one linguistic history after another, in answer to questions about literacy, interviewees reiterated that it was conversation in Punjabi in the family that was important. Only one individual had attended a Punjabi language school and Mundip, who came to Canada at age 3 and teaches Punjabi in secondary school, had literacy education at home, although even he seemed to emphasize conversation rather than literacy because of the communication it allowed with his parents.

I speak Punjabi fluently. It is great because communication with my parents [neither of whom spoke English] would not have been possible for me. I could never imagine myself having gone through life without a second language. I received a lot of Punjabi training, [oral and written] from my mom and dad. They played a big part and then if it wasn't them directly there was somebody at the *gurudwara* [temple] who helped.

A few others who had learned to read and write Punjabi as children had done so in Punjab or Kenya. A few of these individuals also reported that they also spoke one or more of Hindi, Gujarati or Urdu.

Adult Experiences with Learning and Using the Heritage Language

Teachers of Chinese ancestry.

As adults, a number of individuals developed their own approaches (Holland et al. 1998) to improving their skills in their family languages. Trish who felt that in Chinese school she only learned to read and write, has since enrolled in Cantonese conversation courses through a local community college and the Chinese cultural centre. Vincent has begun an informal exchange at home with his mother. He is teaching her conversational English and she is teaching him conversational Cantonese.

Joanne, who emigrated to Canada as an adult, undertook formal language studies. Her family language, in which she feels fluent and literate, is Hakka. Her Canadian University degree is in English literature and she also develops secondary school curricula in Mandarin.

Before going to Canada [from Malaysia] I finished senior Cambridge [Mandarin] Chinese and my father has always been an intellectual and so he made sure I learned my Chinese. I didn't have the confidence to teach Chinese even though I was involved in curriculum development. Then I had a chance to study language in China and it was like a homecoming. I found myself quite fluent again. Everything came back.

Her concern about high standards is prominent in her teaching of Mandarin.

I say to the students, "When you learn a language, you have to do it really well. When I learned English, I wanted to learn it better than a native speaker. Despite the accent, despite whatever. I want to learn it better. In learning Chinese," I told them, "you have to be able to go to Beijing and open your mouth and speak to the locals and people should not know you are a foreigner."

From Joanne's narrative, we gained the impression that considering oneself knowledgeable in Cantonese and/or Mandarin was identified at least in part with literacy skills and that it was perceived as a formidable task to develop competency in these. Wallace, fluent and literate in Cantonese had the following perceptions regarding literacy:

The characters are a very important part of knowing the language ... part of the aesthetics of the language ... learning them is really labour intensive. I am still working on it ... you have to keep working on it.

Another dimension of being considered knowledgeable was articulated by Nan (among others) in the interview excerpt with which we opened this article. Nan said to consider herself knowledgeable meant having nothing less than perfect skills. She told us how, in family gatherings, relatives constantly teased and corrected her efforts. Nadia related her experiences immigrating to Canada at age 9 and knowing no English. School pressures including “English only” classroom strategies quickly led to diminishing use of Cantonese, even though she needed to use the language at home for quite a long time with her monolingual mother. In her early 30’s, she took a university course on multicultural education and read about issues of first language retention and second language acquisition:

I went back home after one class and said to my parents. I want to use my Cantonese. If you keep making fun of me how will I ever learn? And so now I am using it a little more every time I visit them and I keep persisting and telling them they are not allowed to laugh.

Finally, emphasizing the expectations required in Chinese languages and their connection to being accepted as Chinese, Denise, who is a French immersion teacher, compared her adult experiences as a language student in Hong Kong with her experiences in Quebec:

I stayed for 4 months in Hong Kong and worked on my Cantonese. People said this learn more Chinese ways because she’s Chinese and don’t you dare forget it.

In contrast:

The French became a safety net ... a place where I could just be myself, be who I was and not have to hide under all these facades ... *Joie de vivre* ... you just be yourself and be happy ... so then my education all went towards the French.

Teachers of Punjabi ancestry had different stories to tell. For them, becoming literate was not presented so much as a complex identity issue as it was a more straightforward pragmatic consideration in relation to their marketability. Possibly, this difference accounts for the relatively less elaborated narratives of these Punjabi ancestry teachers.

Teachers of Punjabi ancestry

Many teachers of Punjabi ancestry confidently use the language a great deal in their jobs primarily to communicate with parents and, like Roopinder, “feel really good” about it. Some, like Jane, decided to develop literacy skills as adults, as they saw these skills as a professional asset:

I am just now in the process of learning to read and write Punjabi [for the first time]. I decided when I got into a teacher education program that it was important, because if I can read and write it, I can communicate to a lot of parents in writing, ‘cause the English notices [that go home from school with the Punjabi kids] get tossed in the garbage.

Sahibjeet, who counts herself “quite fluent,” related her efforts to develop literacy in Punjabi.

When I was in university I decided to take the reading and writing course because the script is very different [from English]. I was successful there. But I really haven't kept up with it. I can read slowly word for word and I can write it, but I've got lots of spelling mistakes, right, but we can get by, my spoken is very fluent.

Mundip (see earlier quote), who teaches Punjabi in high school, also took classes in university as an extension to the literacy skills he developed at home under his parents' guidance.

Perceptions Regarding Languages and Employment

Teachers of Chinese ancestry

Many of the individuals interviewed were in positions with an ESL component and each of these individuals had taken university course work to prepare in this area. These teachers pointed out that the preparation to teach E.S.L. was advantageous in securing employment. It was a skill that they made prominent in their presentations of themselves to employers. Employers for their part were inconsistent regarding the “language question.” Some asked about language skills in interviews and others did not mention this area. However, only three of twenty-five teachers had “marketed” their abilities in Cantonese as an employment asset: Lucy, several years after she had completed her education, and Vancouver born Gwen and China born Wallace at the outset of their job searches.

Lucy, unable to find a classroom position when she completed teacher education, was volunteering in a school when a white friend suggested she apply for a paraprofessional position as a home school liaison worker for a school district with a high Cantonese enrollment. This friend also suggested that she should highlight her ability to speak Cantonese. In this home school worker position, Lucy interpreted for parents and teachers and after several years, in which she got to know teachers and school administrators, she was hired as an enrolling teacher. This time she took the initiative to make explicit in the job interview that her Cantonese oral and written skills would be a job asset.

Gwen was born in Vancouver and did not want to relocate out of this competitive job market to find a teaching position. She “highlighted [in my applications and job interviews] that I spoke Cantonese fluently [and could also write it].” We note that Gwen linked her confidence to continuous attendance in formal language learning programs she attended in Chinese school (after school programs):

I attended Chinese school in my elementary years right through, in fact, to graduation ... I felt that I was still quite comfortable with the language and could understand the culture to be able to bring that into my teaching as well.

However, a number of individuals who used their family language in informal conversation with their own parents felt insecure in their knowledge of their heritage language in their professional positions. Sandra explained it this way:

All the times, you know, if a [white] teacher is having a problem with communication with the parents, they'll come and ask me, come and translate, you know. And all the times I'll say well, I don't really feel comfortable doing it. And certainly I'm illiterate, I can't read and write Chinese, which I find is a real detriment in some ways.

We will take up these somewhat ambivalent dimensions of Sandra's narrative about minority language use in the school when we consider how employers might best broadly envision the skills that minority ancestry teachers can bring to the mainstream educational system.

Teachers of Punjabi ancestry

Like their colleagues of Chinese ancestry, some of the teachers of Punjabi Sikh ancestry had teaching positions with a strong ESL component, a teaching area for which they had a variety of types of professional preparation. Employers (similar to the cases of Chinese ancestry teachers) did not deal with this area in a consistent way. However, in contrast to their colleagues of Chinese ancestry, all but a few (whether or not they were asked) highlighted, for potential employers, that their conversational fluency in Punjabi was an important skill they could bring to their work. Some, like Sahibjeet and Baljeet, attributed a large part of their success in securing employment to their minority language skills. Baljeet most succinctly articulated a perspective commonly referenced by many of the interviewees:

Just being Indo-Canadian and being able to speak the language, I think that was an asset to get this job. Because with this school having such a big population of Indo-Canadians, I mean they didn't have any Indo-Canadian role model as teacher here, I think that was a big factor in me getting the job.

Punjabi ancestry interviewees unproblematically presented themselves as knowledgeable. The complexities and variations evident in the narratives of Chinese ancestry teachers were not apparent for the Punjabi ancestry teachers and this helps explain the relative brevity of this section.

INTERPRETATION

Issues of Language and Identity

In our earlier research, we saw that both Punjabi or Chinese ancestry teachers were negotiating in similar ways in their professional work sites to creatively use their knowledge of their respective languages as an important (if often professionally unacknowledged) dimension of their roles

(Beynon, Ilieva and Dichupa 2001; Beynon, Toohey and Kishor 1998; Hirji and Beynon 2000). However, analysis of the interview data on family language practices in home and community in the present research highlights differences between the two groups of teachers.

In spite of a range of teacher perceptions about language use, both within and between groups, different notions emerge from the respective groups of what constitutes “knowledge” of their language. We see that individuals in each group have a range of linguistic identities situationally constructed in the variety of family and professional circumstances in which they operate. In this section, we specify these different notions. In the final section, we consider possible implications of these varying notions for the training, employment and professional practice of teachers from these respective groups.

We see that the respondents of Punjabi and Chinese ancestry were diversely engaged in a range of options and identification with their family languages (Norton, forthcoming). In the narratives of the teachers of Punjabi ancestry we repeatedly heard about the ways in which parents emphasized using Punjabi as the primary language of communication in the home. In some instances, this was because the parents could not communicate in English. In other cases, the parents were competent in English but deliberately decided to use Punjabi, confident that their children would learn English in school (even if it took a bit longer). The family’s sense of itself was highly identified with conversational fluency in Punjabi. Most teachers of Punjabi ancestry were comfortable with that identification and used their conversational skills to communicate with parents and students in their schools. Literacy, while a valuable addition, was not an intrinsic part of their sense of identity as persons knowledgeable in their language.

In contrast, Chinese interviewees constructed their linguistic identities largely in relation to their written as well as their conversational skills, and they recounted the high family expectations for what constituted competency. Hence, we heard a great deal about the institution of Chinese out-of-school programs regardless of whether individuals spent much time in these programs or felt they learned much from them. From interviewee accounts it appears that Chinese school emphasized literacy rather than conversational skills and this made it difficult for individuals to easily participate in a social group that used the language, and thus might support the development of identity and security in the heritage language (Tse 1998). Moreover, a variety of narratives (Nan, Denise) affirm Krashen’s notions about language “shyness” in critical environments.

Another important theme relates to the interviewees’ (and their parents’) understanding that learning family languages will interfere with learning English. One way in which the concern about English proficiency was expressed was the issue of English pronunciation consistently present in the interviews with teachers of Chinese ancestry and not present in the Punjabi teacher interviews. In

reflecting on a friend's difficulty in getting a job, one of the teachers of Chinese ancestry remarked, "[my friend] has had trouble getting a job, she still doesn't have a full time job, I think it is because of her accent." Accented English was repeatedly represented as an important negative marker of identity. Therefore, not only was it important to do everything possible to learn English (written and spoken), but also to acknowledge that even grammatically written and spoken English would be undervalued if the individual spoke with an "accent." In some instances, time that might have been invested in becoming literate in Chinese was put into English conversational and literacy skills.

Another factor possibly implicated in, and complicating the opportunities for teachers of Chinese ancestry in confidently representing their heritage language identities, is described by McKay and Wong (1996) when they note the complex political/national historical experiences of the students and their families in their study and suggest that combined with "the fact that Chinese has a single written language but numerous regional dialects (some mutually incomprehensible), it is not surprising to find the immigrant students making delicate maneuvers about "being Chinese." (p. 588).⁵

It is not difficult to imagine a teacher of Chinese ancestry, aware of the complex tapestry of Chinese languages and associated political histories in Vancouver, being reluctant to claim that he/she can easily communicate with students and parents. It seems to us that these overlapping factors regarding diversity of languages, nature of family expectations and emphasis on literacy as well as conversation make it complicated for these teachers to confidently represent themselves as linguistically knowledgeable in "Chinese."

IMPLICATIONS FOR EMPLOYMENT EQUITY POLICY AND PRACTICE

The official authoritative discourse (Bakhtin 1981) of Canadian federal employment equity policy focuses on increasing the numbers of employees of visible minority ancestry to be reflective of the Canadian population (Abella 1984). The Employment Equity Act applies to federally regulated companies; it encompasses universities that receive federal research funds, but does not extend to employment practices in provincial school districts. Henry et al. (1995) establish that among other factors, the voluntary nature of compliance, absence of strong sanctions, and the fact that the federal civil service itself is exempted from the policy all contribute to the weakening of this official discourse and the possible modeling it might provide.

⁵ McKay and Wong (1995) provide a detailed history of the relationships between mainland China and Taiwan in reference to implications for language identification. Use of traditional calligraphy by many diasporic Chinese compared to the pinyin system of mainland China is also a divisive linguistic/political issue.

Few school districts in British Columbia engage in employment equity policies or practices, and even among these few that do, the focus is on voluntary ethno/racial/ identification by potential employees (Fisher and Echols 1989). In spite of this apparent lack of official concern, there appears to be a shared unofficial, but nevertheless authoritative discourse (Bakhtin 1981), of employment equity among educators. These professionals construct their authoritative employment equity discourse around notions of skills and abilities, rather than (official notions of) proportional representation (Henry et. al 1993).

In this unofficial authoritative discourse, minorities are, in the first instance, frequently constructed as potentially “under-qualified.” In the normative gaze of mainstream educational institutions, they are often assumed to be wanting (Ang 1994; Bannerji 1993; Foucault 1979). Many mainstream and minority professionals seem to have shaped a common discourse around the consensus that professionals of minority ancestry must be “as good as” the white mainstream candidates. In regard to the question of language, which is the focus of this paper, this is often implicitly assumed to mean, by all parties, firstly, that minority candidates’ spoken English should conform to mainstream English dialects.

Secondly, growing out of this discourse, comes the following question with which we started this paper: “Do you know your language?” (of your family or ethnic community). The question is based on the notion that these teachers have an “extra” skill that “others” (white Anglos, usually) do not. Like coaching extra mural sports or organizing a drama club, it is considered a legitimate and advantageous asset in a competitive job market. However, the question often also serves another purpose. It functions as a way of avoiding the issue of race as a legitimate consideration in issues of employment. Thus, it becomes “possible to perpetuate racial domination without making any explicit reference to race at all” (Omi and Winant 1994, 7-8).

In the context of this unofficial employment equity discourse, we see that the concerns regarding representations of language identities that we have analyzed in this research provide us with important information about how employment opportunities might be more equitably structured for these minority teachers. We have considered the complexity of factors implicated in linguistic identity representations. On the other side of the dialogue is the employer. We see that informal employment equity discourse among professional educators privileges minority language abilities and (perhaps inadvertently) undervalues or ignores other aspects of minority experience. We see that this informal discourse provides an opening in the employment conversation for teachers of Punjabi Sikh ancestry. Teachers of Chinese ancestry, for the variety of previously outlined reasons, often don’t even want to get into this conversation. Justin spoke only Cantonese before he entered kindergarten, and his mother still speaks only Cantonese at home. He summed it up this way:

When I started in the teacher education program people would say to me, “you have a definite advantage because you are Chinese.” But the way I look at it is I am a minority, but I don’t speak the language so that’s almost a knock against me. But it was never something I brought up even when I wrote my letters of application (to teacher education), I didn’t put down anything about being Chinese.

The research presented here, which focuses on individuals’ family and community experiences with their heritage languages and how, in turn, interviewees represent their internally persuasive discourses (Bakhtin 1981) about their linguistic selves in these languages, has, we feel, important implications for how the discourse regarding employment equity in education might be constructed to be more equitable and inclusive.

Minority Languages are Valued, What about Minority Voices and Experiences?

The data in this research illustrate what many individuals of Chinese or Punjabi language backgrounds have in common. They have conversational abilities, but not literacy skills, in their family languages. They can, for example, use their family language to help a student feel comfortable in the classroom, but they cannot write translations of letters that go home to parents. Rather than asking “do you know your language?” employers might more usefully engage candidates in conversations about their experiences with language learning and how they might be able to build on these experiences to help learners. They could also ask how candidates might be able to use knowledge of languages other than English for a variety of purposes in classroom, school and community.⁶

Teachers of minority ancestries can potentially bring a rich variety of experiences to their work with young people and colleagues. When employers’ authoritative discourses focus on language as a marketable commodity and avoid inquiries into the diversity of teachers’ racial, linguistic, and cultural experiences and identities, these discourses implicitly negate the value of these multifaceted identities (Hall 1996). Avoiding this complexity of identities and experiences becomes a way of silently asserting the power structure of mainstream education. This silencing is a negation of the reality that racial minority professionals have long participated on unequal terms in the racialized environment of the school (Dei 1996).

When minority teachers are encouraged to bring their variety of internally persuasive discourses about their diverse and multifaceted identities and experiences with language learning into classroom discourse, they contribute valuable knowledge to students engaged in the processes of language learning. Moreover, as illustrated in earlier research, (Beynon, Toohey and Kishor 1992 and

⁶ There were no questions about candidates’ experiences as learners. The few queries relating to diversity of ancestry focused on whether interviewees “knew their language.”

1998; Beynon and Toohey 1995; Beynon, Ilieva and Dichupa 2001; Chinn and Wong 1992; Ghuman 1995; Gordon; 2000; Hirji and Beynon 2000; Osler 1997), when teachers of minority ancestry share their own cultural experiences as well as perspectives shaped from their minority positions in mainstream schools, they also contribute a great deal to all students' understanding of the dynamics of power and privilege in North American society. By going beyond the question "Do you know your language?" and exploring more deeply the meanings of various responses to it, we hope to open up the discourse around hiring and employment to include the wide range of capabilities and experiences in which teachers of minority ancestry are conversant. We want to include in the dialogue the diverse voices and identities of minority teachers regardless of their levels of oral or literacy skills in their families' languages.

References

- Abella, R. 1984. *Report of the commission on equality in employment*. Ottawa, Canada: Canadian Government Publishing Centre.
- Ang, I. 1994. On not speaking Chinese: Postmodern ethnicity and the politics of diaspora. *New Formations* 24, 1-18.
- Apple, M. 1996. *Cultural politics and education*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Bakhtin, M. 1981. *The dialogic imagination: Four essays by M. M. Bakhtin*. (Ed.) M. Holquist, (Trans.) C. E. Emerson and M. Holquist. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Banks, J.A. 1991. A curriculum for empowerment action and change. In *Empowerment through multicultural education*, ed. S. Sleeter. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Bannerji, H. 1993. *Returning the gaze: Essays on racism, feminism and politics*. Toronto: Sister Vision Press.
- Beynon, J., K. Toohey, and N. Kishor. 1992. Do visible minorities in British Columbia want teaching as a career? *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 24 (3): 145-66.
- 1998. Do visible minority students of Chinese and South Asian ancestry want teaching as a career? Perceptions of some secondary school students in Vancouver, B.C. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 30 (2): 50-72.
- Beynon, J., and K. Toohey. 1995. Access and aspirations: Careers in teaching as seen by Canadian university students of Chinese and Punjabi-Sikh ancestry. *The Alberta Journal of Educational Research* 41(4): 434-58.
- Beynon, J., R. Ilieva, and M. Dichupa. 2000, November. "Do you know your language?" *Teachers of Punjabi and Chinese ancestries constructions of their family languages in their personal and professional lives*. Paper presented at 5th International Metropolis Conference, Vancouver, B.C.
- . 2001. Teachers of Chinese ancestry: The interaction of identities and professional roles. *Teaching Education* 12 (2): 131-149.
- Blumrosen, A. W. 1985. Improving equal opportunity employment laws: Lessons from the United States experience. In *Research studies of the commission on equality in employment*, ed. R.S. Abella (Commissioner), 423-440. Ottawa: Canadian Government Publishing Centre.
- Chakrabarty, D. 1993. Modernity and ethnicity in India. In *Identity, community*, ed. G. Hage and L. Johnson, 1-16. University of Western Sydney, Nepean: Research Centre in Intercommunal Studies.
- Chinn, P. and Wong, G. Y. 1992. Recruiting and retaining Asian/Pacific American teachers. In *Diversity in teacher education*, ed. M. E. Dilworth, 112-133). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Churchill, E. 2002. Interview with Bonny Norton in *The Language Teacher* 26 (6):3-5.
- Cochran-Smith, M. 1995. Uncertain allies: Understanding the boundaries of race and teaching. *Harvard Educational Review* 65 (4): 541-570.
- Cummins, J. 1986. Empowering minority students: a framework for intervention. *Harvard Educational Review* 56, 18-36.
- Dei, G. J. S. 1996. *Anti-racism education: Theory and practice*. Halifax: Fernwood Publishing.
- Fisher, D. and F. Echols. 1989. *Evaluation report on the Vancouver school board race relations policy*. Vancouver, Canada: Vancouver School Board.

- Foucault, M. 1979. *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison*. (Trans.) A. Sheridan. New York: Vintage Books. (Original work published 1975)
- . 1980. *Power/Knowledge: Selected interviews 1972-77*. (Ed.) C. Gordon Ed. Brighton, England: Harvester Press.
- Ghosh, R. 1996. *Redefining multicultural education*. Toronto: Harcourt Brace.
- . 2000. Home away from home: The Indo-Fijian community in Sydney. In *Alter/Asians: Asian-Australian identities in art, media and popular culture*, ed. I. Eng, S. Chalmers, L. Law and M. Thomas, 68-86. Western Sydney, Australia: Pluto Press.
- Ghuman, P. A. S. 1995. *Asian teachers in British schools*. Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.
- Gibson, M. and P. Bhachu. 1991. The dynamics of educational decision making: A comparative study of Sikhs in Britain and the United States. In *Minority status and schooling: A comparative study of immigrant and involuntary minorities*, ed. M. Gibson and J. Ogbu. 63-96. New York: Garland Publishing
- Gibson, M. and J. Ogbu. 1991. *Minority status and schooling: A comparative study of immigrant and involuntary minorities*. New York: Garland Publishing.
- Giroux, H.A. 1993. *Living dangerously: Multiculturalism and the politics of difference*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Hall, S. 1996. Introduction: Who needs 'identity'? In *Questions of cultural identity*, ed. S. Hall and P. DuGay, 1-17. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications
- Henry, F., C. Tator, W. Mattis, and T. Rees. 1995. *The colour of democracy: Racism in Canadian society*. Toronto: Harcourt Brace and Co.
- Hirji, S. and J. Beynon. 2000. Teachers of Punjabi-Sikh ancestry: Their perceptions of their roles in the British Columbia education system. *The Alberta Journal of Educational Research*, 46 (3): 250-66.
- Holland, D., Lachicotte, W., Skinner, D. and Cain, C. 1998. *Identity and agency in cultural worlds*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Holquist, M. 1981. Glossary in, *The dialogic imagination: Four essays by M.M. Bakhtin*, 423-34, Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Hsia, J. 1988. *Asian-Americans in higher education and at work*. Hillside, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Jagpal, S. 1994. *Becoming Canadians: Pioneer Sikhs in their own words*. Vancouver: Harbour Publishing.
- Johnston, H. 1988. The development of the Punjabi community in Vancouver since 1961. *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 20 (2): 1-19.
- Krashen, S. 1998. Language shyness and heritage language development. In *Heritage language development*, ed. S. Krashen, L. Tse, and J. McQuillan, 41-49. Culver City, CA: Language Education Associates.
- Leong, F. T. L and T.J. Hayes. 1990. Occupational stereotyping of Asian Americans. *Career Development Quarterly* 39: 143-54.
- Li, P. 1988. *The Chinese in Canada*. Toronto: Oxford University Press.
- Luke, A. and C. Luke. 2000. The differences language makes: The discourses on language of inter-ethnic Asian/Australian families. In *Alter/Asians: Asian-Australian identities in art, media and culture*, ed. I. Eng, S. Chalmers, L. Law, and M. Thomas, 42-67. Western Sydney, Australia: Pluto Press.
- Marshall, C. and G.B. Rossman. 1995. *Designing qualitative research*. London: Sage

- Martin, R. J., ed. 1995. *Practicing what we teach: Confronting diversity in teacher education*. New York: Albany State University of New York Press.
- McCarthy, C. 1990. *Race and curriculum: Social inequality and the theories and politics of difference in contemporary research on schooling*. New York: The Falmer Press.
- McKay, S. and S-L. Wong. 1996. Multiple discourses, multiple identities: Investment and agency in second-language learning among Chinese adolescent immigrant students. *Harvard Educational Review*, 66(3): 577-608.
- Miles, M. and M. Huberman. 1984. *Qualitative data analysis: A source book of new methods*. Newbury Park: CA.: Sage Publications.
- Miller, C. 2001. Competing Chinese character systems fuel school board debate. *The Vancouver Courier*, 4 February; p.7.
- Mohanty, C. T. 1991. Under western eyes: Feminist scholarship and colonial discourses. In *Third world women and the politics of feminism*, ed. A. Torres and L. Russo, 51-80. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Norton, B. 2000. *Identity and language learning: Gender, ethnicity and educational change*.
- Omi, M. and H. Winant. 1994. *Racial formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*. New York: Routledge.
- Osler, A. 1997. *The education and careers of Black teachers: Changing identities, changing lives*. Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.
- Pang, V. O. 1990. Asian-American children: A diverse population. *The Educational Forum*, 55, 49-66.
- Patton, M. Q. 1990. *Qualitative research and evaluation methods*. (2nd ed.). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Ping, H. 1995. Chinese attitudes toward learning and reading. In *Thinking globally about language education*, ed. M. Chapman and J. Anderson, 35-48. Vancouver: Centre for the Study of Curriculum and Instruction, University of British Columbia.
- Rai, J. K. 2000. Considerations regarding Punjabi language in Vancouver, B.C. Comments delivered at the 5th International Metropolis Conference, Vancouver, B.C.
- Sleeter, C. E. 1992. *Keepers of the American dream: A study of staff development and multicultural education*. Bristol, PA: The Falmer Press.
- Strauss, A. and J. Corbin. 1990. *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques*. Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications Inc.
- To, L. 2000. Considerations regarding Chinese languages in Vancouver, B.C. Comments delivered at the 5th International Metropolis Conference, Vancouver, B.C.
- Tse, L. 1998. Ethnic identity formation and its implications for heritage language development. In *Heritage language development*, ed. S. Krashen, L. Tse, and J. McQuillan, 15-29. Culver City, CA: Language Education Associates.
- Yee, P. 1988. *Saltwater City: An illustrated history of the Chinese in Vancouver*. Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre.

Working paper series from 2001

No.	Author(s)	Title	Date
01-01	Shahrokh Shahabi-Azad	Immigrant Expenditure Patterns on Transportation	01/01
01-02	Johanna L. Waters	The Flexible Family? Recent Immigration and 'Astronaut' Households in Vancouver, British Columbia	01/01
01-03	David Ley, Peter Murphy, Kris Olds, Bill Randolph	Immigration and Housing in Gateway Cities: The Cases of Sydney and Vancouver	01/01
01-04	Gillian Creese, Robyn Dowling	Gendering Immigration: The Experience of Women in Sydney and Vancouver	01/01
01-05	David W. Edgington, Bronwyn Hanna, Thomas Hutton, Susan Thompson	Urban Governance, Multiculturalism and Citizenship in Sydney and Vancouver	01/01
01-06	Kevin Dunn, Minelle Mahtani	"Adjusting the Colour Bar": Media Representation of Ethnic Minorities under Australian and Canadian Multiculturalisms	01/01
01-07	Ian Burnley, Dan Hiebert	Emerging Patterns of Immigrant Settlement in Metropolitan Sydney and Vancouver: The Need for New Concepts and Models	01/01
01-08	Daniel Hiebert, David Ley	Assimilation, Cultural Pluralism and Social Exclusion Among Ethno-Cultural Groups in Vancouver	02/01
01-09	Harald Bauder	The Visible Minority Category and Urban Analysis	01/01
01-10	Johanna L. Waters	Migration Strategies and Transnational Families: Vancouver's Satellite Kids	01/01
01-11	Dominique M. Gross, Nicolas Schmitt	Do Birds of a Feather Flock Together? The Role of Cultural Clustering in Attracting New Immigrants	01/01
01-12	Diane Coulombe, William L. Roberts	The French-as-a-second-language Learning Experience of Anglophone and Allophone University Students	03/01
01-13	Galina Didukh	Health and Personal Care Consumption Patterns of Foreign-born and Canadian-born Consumers: 1984-1996	04/01
01-14	Carl Mosk	Asian Immigrants to the Pacific Northwest: Canadian and American Experiences Compared	05/01
01-15	Margaret Walton-Roberts	Returning, Remitting, Reshaping: Non-Resident Indians and the Transformation of Society and Space in Punjab, India	08/01
01-16	Parin Dossa	Narrative Mediation of Conventional and New Paradigms of "Mental Health": Reading the Stories of Immigrant Iranian Women	08/01
01-17	Harald Bauder, Johanna Waters and Sin Yih Teo	Impacts of Immigration on British Columbia: Population, Labour Markets, Housing Markets and International Linkages	09/01
01-18	Lin Wang	Household Operations and Furnishings Consumption Patterns of Canadian and Foreign-born Consumers: 1984-1996	09/01

No.	Author(s)	Title	Date
01-19	Laura Beattie and David Ley	The German Immigrant Church in Vancouver: Service Provision and Identity Formation	10/01
01-20	David Ley, Judith Tutchener and Greg Cunningham	Immigration, Polarization, or Gentrification? Accounting for Changing Housing Prices and Dwelling Values in Gateway Cities	08/01
01-21	Shemina Hirji and June Beynon	Teachers of Punjabi Sikh Ancestry: Their Perceptions of their Roles in the British Columbia Education System	11/01
01-22	June Beynon, Roumiana Ileva and Marela Dichupa	Teachers of Chinese Ancestry: The Interaction of Identities and Professional Roles	12/01
02-01	Galina Didukh	Immigrants and the Demand for Shelter	01/02
02-02	Abdala Mansour, Nicolas Marceau and Steeve Mongrain	Gangs and Crime Deterrence	02/02
02-03	Harald Bauder and Emilie Cameron	Cultural Barriers to Labour Market Integration: Immigrants from South Asia and the former Yugoslavia	02/02
02-04	Brian Geiger	Clothing Demand for Canadian-born and Foreign-born Households	01/02
02-05	Dan Hiebert	Canadian Immigration and the Selection-settlement Services Trade-off: Exploring Immigrant Economic Participation in British Columbia	02/02
02-06	David W. Edgington and Thomas A. Hutton	Multicultural and Local Government in Greater Vancouver	03/02
02-07	Steven Vertovec	Religion in Migration, Diasporas and Transnationalism	03/02
02-08	Isabel Dyck	Becoming Canadian? Girls, Home and School and Renegotiating Feminine Identity	05/02
02-09	Parin Dossa	Modernization and Global Restructuring of Women's Work: Border-Crossing Stories of Iranian Women	03/02
02-10	Barry Edmonston	Interprovincial Migration of Canadian Immigrants	03/02
02-11	Handy Gozalie	Immigrants' Earnings and Assimilation into Canada's Labour Market: The Case of Overachievers.	04/02
02-12	Isabel Dyck and Arlene Tigar McLaren	"I don't feel quite competent here": Immigrant Mothers' Involvement with Schooling	05/02
02-13	Geraldine Pratt	Between Homes: Displacement and Belonging for Second Generation Filipino-Canadian Youths	06/02
02-14	Kangqing Zhang and Don DeVoretz	Human Capital Investment and Flows: A Multiperiod Model for China	07/02

No.	Author(s)	Title	Date
02-15	Minelle Mahtani and Alison Mountz	Immigration to British Columbia: Media Representation and Public Opinion	08/02
02-16	Kathrine Richardson	Sieve or Shield? NAFTA and its Influence within Cascadia	06/02
02-17	Don J. DeVoretz, Zhongdong Ma and Kangqing Zhang	Triangular Human Capital Flows: Some Empirical Evidence from Hong Kong and Canada	10/02
02-18	Deirdre McKay	Filipina Identities: Geographies of Social Integration/Exclusion in the Canadian Metropolis	10/02
02-19	Aranzazu Recalde	Recent Latin Americans in Vancouver: Unyielding Diverse Needs Versus Insufficient Services	08/02
02-20	Gillian Creese and Edith Ngene Kambere	“What Colour is Your English”?”	11/02
02-21	Kate Geddie	Licence to Labour: Obstacles Facing Vancouver’s Foreign-Trained Engineers	11/02
02-22	Bernard Henin and Michelle R. Bennett	Immigration to Canada’s Mid-Sized Cities: A Study of Latin Americans and Africans in Victoria, BC	12/02
02-23	Charlton, Duff, Grant, Mountz, Pike, Sohn and Taylor	The Challenges to Responding to Human Smuggling in Canada: Practitioners Reflect on the 1999 Boat Arrivals in British Columbia	12/02
03-01	David Ley	Offsetting Immigration and Domestic Migration I Gateway Cities: Canadian and Australian Reflections on an ‘American Dilemma’	01/03
03-02	Don DeVoretz and Kangqing Zhang	Citizenship, Passports and the Brain Exchange Triangle	01/03
03-03	Johanna L. Waters and Sin Yih Teo	Social and Cultural Impacts of Immigration: An Examination of the Concept of ‘Social Cohesion’ with Implications for British Columbia	01/03

For information on papers previous to 2001, please see our Website

<http://www.riim.metropolis.net/research/policy>

Back issues of working papers are available for \$5 from

Vancouver Centre of Excellence: Immigration, WMX4653, Simon Fraser University, 8888 University Drive, Burnaby, B.C, Canada V5A 1S6. Tel: (604) 291-4575 Fax: (604) 291-5336

E-mail: riim@sfu.ca

<http://www.riim.metropolis.net/>