

BECOMING CANADIAN: PUNJABI ESL LEARNERS, NATIONAL LANGUAGE
POLICY AND *THE CANADIAN LANGUAGE BENCHMARKS*

by

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Abstract

Drawing on the voices of Punjabi-speaking immigrants enrolled in a government-sponsored ESL program, this study sheds light on how a contemporary sample of adult ESL learners are constructing new national identities in the context of the challenges associated with coming to Canada. In particular, it traces how the common threads among their conceptions of citizenship compare to those embedded within national ESL assessment and curriculum documents and illuminates how these documents construct and position idealized conceptions of second language learners. As this study establishes in some detail, there are significant gaps between the principal national assessment and curriculum documents used in this context and the views expressed by the learners polled in this study.

Based on this research, the author outlines the implications associated with second language citizenship education in terms of research priorities, national curriculum development, and pedagogical treatment options. In addition, three specific recommendations are made in regards to curriculum content: that citizenship content be made more explicit within our national curriculum and assessment documents; that this content emphasize positive representations of learners in our curriculum documents as being active and socially-integrated; and that this content be centered on the legalistic aspects of citizenship and avoid the use of singular normative cultural standards.

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Chapter 1. Introduction: Purpose, Context, and Organization

This dissertation examines the nature of alignments and gaps between the conceptualizations of Canadian citizenship that are expressed in official national assessment and curriculum documents and those that are articulated by a community of adult ESL learners. Drawing on the voices of Punjabi-speaking immigrants enrolled in a government-sponsored ESL program, the study sheds light on how a contemporary sample of adult ESL learners are constructing new national identities in the context of the challenges associated with coming to Canada. In particular, it traces how the common threads among their conceptions of citizenship compare to those embedded within national ESL assessment and curriculum documents and illuminates how these documents construct and position idealized conceptions of second language learners.

As this study will establish in some detail, there are significant gaps between the principal national assessment and curriculum documents used in this context and the views expressed by the learners polled in this study. The participants described Canadian citizenship predominantly in terms of human rights, multicultural policy and the obligations of being citizens. The documents, however, rarely referred to citizenship in these terms. Instead, they tended to describe being Canadian in terms of normative standards, including various forms of social behavior, which tended to imply the existence of a dominant and singular culture to which second language learners have to conform. As Young has said about similar curricula in the general education context in Canada, it

would seem that these national documents could be interpreted as helping to maintain "the dominance of some social identity (a certain patriarchal Englishness) against and under which... all others are subordinated" (1984, 10-11).

This research raises serious questions as to the nature and purpose of adult English language programming in Canada. Despite what multicultural policy statements might claim to the contrary, these key curriculum and assessment documents tend to position ESL learners as relatively powerless, passive and atomized recipients of programming designed to normalize them into a dominant culture. These curriculum documents, in effect, deny full citizenship rights to adult second-language learners by focusing on normative and not legalistic references to what it means to be a Canadian. There has been, as I outline below, a general shift historically away from the concept that one can define what constitutes a normal citizen of this country in official policy documents and in governmental practice. However, the curriculum and assessment documents related to second language education still lag behind the expectations and understanding that immigrants have of citizenship as primarily a legalistic entity.

Although the implementation of the curriculum and assessment documents in classrooms falls outside the purview of this study, I can attest to the fact, given my status as a long-time practitioner in the field and a teacher at the particular site under study, that curricular content related to citizenship is rarely informed by the documents in question. In fact, much of what is taught in this regard is strongly informed by a desire to reinforce Canadian multicultural

policy that seems to contradict the normative tendency contained within the documents.

This research is important because it critically addresses the key issue of how best to address the concepts and concerns of immigrant second-language learners around what it means to be part of the Canadian nation state.

Recognizing and facilitating the contribution of newcomers is one of the most pressing challenges facing Canada in light of globalisation and the unprecedented number of migrants on the move world-wide. Increasingly, developed countries are competing with one another to attract skilled immigrants and take advantage of these vast diasporas in ways that preserve and strengthen democratic institutions and economic vitality (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2002a; Herriman & Burnaby, 1996; Mitchell, 2001). More particularly, there has been some recent discussion of revising a major national ESL curriculum and assessment document by policy-makers.

One thing I wish to make clear at the outset is that my purpose in writing this dissertation is not to demonise the writers and stakeholders who contributed to the development of these national curriculum documents. Indeed, I myself have worked on curriculum projects that informed their construction and can fully appreciate the challenges involved. Elsewhere (Fleming, 2007), I have favourably compared Canadian ESL curriculum development to processes in other countries. However, there is still much to do. I offer this study in the spirit of intellectual debate and in the hope that it will contribute to our work.

Immigration Policy in Canada

Almost all economically developed countries are reassessing the benefits of immigration in the face of declining birth rates, ageing populations and globalisation (Churchill, 1996). This trend is occurring at the same time that at least 150 million people are on the move around the globe at any one time (Human Rights Watch, 2007), more than ever before in human history. Many of these emigrants are fleeing increased levels of war and violence, while others hope to escape the grinding forces of poverty that is deepening in many parts of the world. Increasingly, developed countries are competing with one another to attract skilled immigrants and take advantage of these vast diasporas (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2002a).

In the present day and age, Canada's experience as a site for multilingualism is hardly unique. A brief survey of the history of Canadian immigration, however, can provide the reader with an appreciation of the role language has played in determining Canadian identity(ies). Immigration has always played a major role in Canadian demographics. According to the latest census data (Statistics Canada, 2003), out of a total current population of 31.5 million, only a little more than one million Canadians claim some form of aboriginal heritage. The vast majority of Canadians, on the other hand, have either descended from immigrants or are immigrants themselves.

Large language minorities have always been an important aspect of life in the Americas. Outside of the Mayan, Aztec and Inca empires in South and Central America, no one language developed a dominant status in the Americas

prior to European contact. In the area that was to become Canada, pidginized varieties of some languages, such as Iroquois or Chinook, were developed primarily for trading purposes (Suttles, 1987), a process that continued after European contact.

In the aftermath of European contact and the devastation of native populations, however, this situation changed. In what would become Canada, the historic rivalry for dominance has long been, of course, between French and English. Even after the conquest of Quebec in 1759 and the expulsion of the Acadians soon after, the outcome of this struggle was in doubt. It was only after the resettlement of Loyalists at the end of the American revolutionary war that English speakers made up of the majority of those people living in what would become Canada.

By 1900, the English-speaking majority made up of 57% of the total Canadian population of 5,374,026. French speakers, both in and out of Quebec, amounted to 30%. Native peoples, who possess a plethora of distinct languages, made up only 2.4% of the population (all figures, Natural Resources Canada, 2005). The remainder were principally immigrants from Central Europe recruited to populate the western prairies and those Chinese labourers (possibly up to 15,000) brought in to build the trans-continental railways (Knowles, 2000).

Much of the history of 20th century Canadian immigration makes for upsetting reading. European immigration to Canada far outweighed that from other parts of the world. Up until 1961, in fact, European immigration accounted for 90% of all newcomers to the country. These figures began to change as a

result of the immigration policies outlined below, so that Asian immigration matched that of European by the 1970's. By 2001, immigrants from Asia accounted for 58% of the total, whereas those from Europe amounted to 20%. Most Asian immigrants to Canada settle in the western provinces, a fact which has placed increasing strain on existing ESL services within these provinces. (all figures, Statistics-Canada, 2004).

Knowles (2000) makes clear in her authoritative history of Canadian immigration that there was a strong policy preference expressed throughout most of Canadian history for British immigrants through the use of recruitment officers, and awards paid to shipping companies. Those from Ireland or continental Europe were accepted for strategic reasons if those from the United Kingdom could not be found, particularly when the Canadian government moved to counteract American expansionism and Métis separatism in the west. These immigrants were often provided with significant land grants as incentives to immigrate. On the other hand, Asian applicants were either explicitly excluded or subject to prohibitive entry fees and regulations, even when holding British passports. The notorious "head tax" created a significant economic barrier to Asians who wished to enter the country or reunite their families. In the 19th and 20th centuries, "administrators devised careful procedures to ensure that most applications submitted by black people were rejected" (Knowles, 2000). Other immigration procedures (rather than explicit policy measures) also made it nearly impossible for Jews fleeing Europe during the Second World War to enter the country (Knowles, 2000). Even those racial minorities already in Canada faced

serious forms of discrimination. Many racial groups were bared from practicing some professions, living in certain neighborhoods or explicitly denied voting rights. Native peoples, to cite the worst example, only gained the federal franchise in 1960.

This sad history is littered with violence and the capricious exercise of power by government officials. A few of the worst examples demonstrates that Canadian history has not been as rosy a story as has sometimes been described. In 1907, white men rampaged through Chinese and Japanese neighborhoods in Vancouver, threatening its residents and smashing storefronts. Later in the century, most Canadians of Japanese descent had their possessions confiscated and were interned during the Second World War because they shared the same ethnicity as the enemy of the time.

During this historical period a major international incident took place that was often talked about by the Punjabi-speaking respondents during the interviews conducted for this study. The Komogata Maru, a ship containing 440 emigrants from India, was refused entry to British Columbia under various arbitrary pretexts in 1914 even though it had adhered to the regulations used at the time to prevent the entry of South Asians, even if they held British passports. In my experience as a teacher at this site, I would say that the Punjabi-speaking students in this school were fairly familiar with this incident. Since several of those who sailed on the Komogata Maru later became prominent in the Indian independence moment, it is probable that the incident is an important aspect of the school curriculum in the Punjab. Certainly, whenever I covered this topic in

class, many of Punjabi-speaking students have made me aware of aspects of the incident that were new to me.

In 1947, a long process of change in citizenship and immigration policies was inaugurated. Chinese and South Asian citizens were allowed to vote in that year, and Japanese citizens two years later. Canadian citizens were made distinct from British subjects. Married women gained the right to citizenship separate from their husbands. The ability to claim dual citizenship, a privilege enjoyed particularly by British citizens, was restricted. Residency requirements were instituted for all applicants, including those from Britain. In the 1960's, Canada removed quotas and racial criteria from its immigration selection process and adopted a point system, in which applications were assessed on the basis of a set of objective criteria.

These changes in immigration policy occurred in the context of important demographic changes in Canadian society that started soon after the end of the Second World War. After the short but significant jump immediately following 1945, the Canadian birth rate has steadily declined (Natural Resources Canada, 2005). The growth rate in births now stands at less than 1% annually and continues to fall (Statistics Canada, 2003). In the 1990's it became apparent that the Canadian labour force and tax base were declining to such a degree that it threatened the pensions and other state supports, such as state-run medical insurance, for the *baby-boomers* born just after the war. To answer that threat, significant increases in immigration were inaugurated (Knowles, 2000).

These trends are continuing. In 2003, Canada again increased its

immigration targets to between 220,000 and 245,000 newcomers. Immigrants now account for over 70% of the total national labour force growth. If current trends continue, immigration will account for 100% of total labour force growth within ten years and all population growth by 2031 (all figures, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2002a). The government's ability to account for expansion or inflation will thus soon be totally dependent on immigration.

It is important to note that these new immigrants increasingly tend to come from countries where the dominant language is neither English nor French. In recent years, up to 43% of all immigrants arriving in Canada have not been able to speak either official language beyond a marginal level. There have also been changes in the ethnic origins of immigrants. In 1966, 87% of all immigrants to Canada were from Europe. Today, 80.3% of all immigrants originate from Asia and the Pacific, Africa, the Middle East, and South and Central America. The need for adult language education is also clear, given the fact that over 70% of all immigrants to Canada are adults (all figures, Statistics Canada, 2003).

These immigrants arrive at a time when over 16% of the country's population already claim a mother tongue other than English and French. Recent immigrants make up large percentages of the population of the three largest urban regions: Toronto (42%), Montreal (18%) and Vancouver (35%). These percentages will only increase if current trends continue (all figures, Statistics Canada, 2003).

These newcomers will face many of the challenges previous generations of immigrants faced, not the least of which will be racism. This is because racism

is not simply a historical fact in Canada. As a number of scholars have made quite plain, it is still very much part of the nation's present condition (Bannerji, 2000; Henry, Tator, Mattis & Rees, 2000; Li, 1990; Ng, 1993).

Bilingualism and Multiculturalism

Since the 1970's, the Canadian government has embarked on two major policy initiatives to remake the nation-state: bilingualism and multiculturalism. The first of these, bilingualism, is a central part of the federal strategy to maintain national unity in the face of one of the greatest political challenges facing the modern Canadian nation state: Quebec separatism (Esses & Gardiner, 1996). The second, multiculturalism, is designed as a way to integrate the increased numbers of immigrants discussed above. Few nations have ever before attempted a project on this scale. Some have argued that Canada is a nation which has, in fact, remade itself in the contexts of post-modernism and globalisation. As Fulford (1993) puts it, in Canada, "we recognize the indeterminacy of our history and utterly reject, as all good post-modernists do, one agreed-upon master narrative that would enslave all of us to a single vision" (p. 22).

Before the advent of bilingualism and multiculturalism in Canada, language policies centred on the interactions (or lack thereof) between the two *founding peoples*, the English and the French. In most jurisdictions across the country, separate school systems were introduced for both language groups and little interaction occurred. The particular language education needs of other

linguistic populations were not taken into account and they were simply expected to assimilate.

Bilingualism was instituted as official government policy as a result of the 1969 *Official Languages Act*, and was enshrined in the *Canadian Constitution Act* and *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* in 1982. It strengthened the role of both English and French as the official languages for the country, ensured equal access to government services and regulated the labelling of consumer goods in both languages. Bilingualism also financed the creation of English and French second language education programs in elementary and secondary schools throughout the country.

Bilingualism was in answer to the *silent revolution* that occurred in Quebec during the 1950's and '60's. Long-simmering grievances on the part of the French-speaking majority in the province led to movements for greater autonomy and even independence. Many Quebecois expressed bitterness over the discrimination they faced in the workplace and government, noting the degree of privilege enjoyed by the English-speaking minority. More importantly, they expressed fears about their eventual complete assimilation into an English-speaking continent, citing the slow decline of French in other parts of North America where it was once more commonly spoken, such as Louisiana, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and northern Ontario.

Bilingualism developed in the context of the violent 1970 October Crisis in Quebec and the elections of separatist provincial governments in that province not long afterwards. As federal policy, bilingualism was designed to make

French-speaking Canadians feel more at home in their own country by providing equal access to power structures. After the adoption of bilingualism, for example, it became difficult to have a career in the top levels of the federal civil service without a working knowledge of both official languages.

Multiculturalism, launched only one year after the October Crisis in Quebec, was developed quite clearly within the framework of bilingualism. It was adopted in response to increased immigration, the need to develop a distinct national identity in the face of an increasingly aggressive American cultural presence and the discontent expressed by immigrant groups to the designation of French and English as official languages (Esses & Gardner, 1996). In speeches at the time, Prime Minister Trudeau (1971, October 8) explicitly made the links between creation of an officially bilingual and multicultural state to national unity and economic development. Principles related to multiculturalism, such as respect for diverse cultures and races and the full and equitable participation of all ethnic groups in Canadian social life were also subsequently enshrined in the *Canadian Constitution*. On a practical level, multiculturalism released funds for the support of cultural activities and, more importantly, advocacy organisations in a multitude of ethnic communities.

Given the historic and political contexts that went into the creation of the policies of bilingualism and multiculturalism, it is not surprising that multilingualism was not part of the agenda (Corson, 1990). Bilingualism, given the strategic role it plays for policy makers in maintaining Canadian national unity in the face of Quebec separatism, is the senior of the two policies.

Multiculturalism is subordinate to it, because it was primarily designed as a way of selling bilingualism to ethnicities other than the French and English (Esses & Gardner, 1996). Multiculturalism was not in any way designed to compromise the privileged position enjoyed by French and English, the languages of the two *founding peoples* or their corresponding cultures. Multilingualism can not therefore be seriously considered in this context by policy makers for official adoption because it would threaten this arrangement, thereby providing significant ammunition to the separatist movement within Quebec. Adopting multilingualism as official policy would undermine the very foundation of the modern nation-state called Canada.

The Development of National ESL Programming

The crucial importance of adult English as a Second Language (ESL) programming for the integration of newcomers has been acknowledged in a plethora of teaching materials and curriculum guidelines (Ilieva, 2000), government policy documents (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2002a), and the academic literature (Wong, Duff & Early, 2001). Clearly, the importance of efficient and effective adult ESL programming for Canadian polity can not be underestimated.

Major changes to Canadian language policy and planning have been undertaken in recent years in an attempt to overcome previously identified financial barriers to participation. The federal and provincial ministries concerned have also invested considerable time and effort in significant program,

assessment, curriculum and materials development. In recent years, the federal government has pledged to increase the \$334.6 million currently budgeted for immigrant integration. Despite these measures, however, participation rates in adult ESL programming remain low (Statistics Canada, 2003). Although firm statistics are difficult to compile given the multitude of jurisdictions involved, the data indicates, as I have argued elsewhere (Fleming, 2007), that no more than a third of adult newcomers to Canada take advantage of ESL programming. This has major implications for the success of newcomer integration.

As is evidenced in a perusal of official websites, the Canadian government often highlights the fact that the nation recognises the importance of high levels of immigration. Individual Canadians do indeed seem to be generous and welcoming to immigrants, as is shown in polling (Migration News, 2002). However, these tendencies should not mask the fact that the national government's policy developers support high levels of immigration primarily because this is vital to their perception of Canada's long-term economic and political interests.

Canada obtains the full financial benefits of immigration only if newcomers can participate in the fabric of the nation's economic life. In that regard, second language education programs are central to the removal of barriers to this participation (Wong, Duff & Early, 2001) especially the inability to speak either English or French, the country's two official languages.

However crucial the economic contributions provided by these programs might be, it is also important to note they play a crucial role in identity formation,

both in terms of what it means to individuals (Harris, Leung & Rampton, 2002; Ilieva, 2000; Kubota, 2001; Morgan, 1997; Norton, 2000) and the nation-state (Anderson, 1983; Burt, 1986; Courchêne, 1996; Fleming, 2004; Hall, 1992; Kaplan, 1993; Kymlicka, 1992; McNamara, 1997; Mitchell, 2001; Murphy, 1971; Schechter & Bayley, 1997; White & Hunt, 2000). This dissertation will discuss in depth below the highly complex nature of identity formation conceptually and in terms of the implications for the group under study. It is suffice to make note here that the ability of these programs to foster identity construction is being limited by funding decisions that limit English language learning to basic levels of proficiency and increasingly place greater emphasis on the limited goals of job preparation.

Canadian national identity is a highly contested and notoriously slippery entity. Up to the present time, most English as a Second Language (ESL) programs have, in my estimation, served to strengthen the privilege enjoyed by British-based culture in the ways identified by Young (1984) on page 2 above. The current challenge is to break this mould and design programming that helps recreate Canadian national identity in a truly egalitarian manner and fulfils the real promise of multiculturalism, in its more critical forms.

No priority was given to the development of national ESL programs, either for children or for adults, prior to the Second World War (Ashworth, 2001; Burnaby, 1996). Separate jurisdictions, such as individual school districts or provincial ministries of education administered second language programs, but usually on an ad hoc basis.

There are some interesting historical examples of how non-official languages, dialects and cultures were treated by educational institutions as things to be eradicated from Canadian social life. Assimilation, in fact, was one of the principles adopted by the first school in what would become Canada, founded in 1632 by the Jesuit order in Quebec, when it exposed its multicultural student body to explicit Christian indoctrination (Tomkins, 1978).

This assimilationist trend in much of Canadian multicultural education has many parallels with residential schools, the notorious system in which aboriginal children were forcibly taken from their parents and communities for the express purpose of eradicating their languages and cultures (Abele, Dittburner & Graham, 2000). Residential school systems, responsible for an enormous amount of abuse of natives and their communities, were administered by various Christian churches and supported by government ever since first European contact. Even though the last residential school closed in 1983, assimilationist attitudes in regards to first nations persist in much of Canadian schooling (Hebert, 2000; Fettes & Norton, 2000).

The racist attitudes of many administrators have been in evidence in every part of the country. In 1844, Egerton Ryerson, the first Chief Superintendent of Schools in what would become Ontario, helped found an educational system explicitly mandated to assimilate the newly arrived Catholic Irish and promote protestant and Anglo-centric cultural values (Tomkins, 1978).

On the prairies, one of the most influential educators of new Canadians, James Anderson (1918), emphasised the need for teachers to adopt what he

described as a *missionary spirit* for the task of stamping out bilingualism and promoting Anglo-Canadian values and culture. Anderson, later elected premier of Saskatchewan, headed a notoriously conservative government that restricted French and minority language rights until being defeated at the polls in 1934, accused of corruption and having links with the Ku Klux Klan.

As Ashworth notes (2001), multicultural policy quickly opened the door for programs that promoted heritage languages for children, but did not lead immediately to the systematic provision of adult ESL. Many difficulties arose over conflicts between federal and provincial jurisdictions. Under the Canadian Constitution, education is a provincial responsibility. Immigration and citizenship is federal. Both jurisdictions have claimed that adult second language education was the responsibility of the other. Ontario and Quebec developed provincial funding formulas that allowed various bodies, such as school districts, colleges and community agencies to provide limited access to English and French language education, respectively. This led to some innovative and far-reaching program planning, most notably by the Toronto School Board, which had to cope with the enormous demographic changes of a city subject to a massive influx of immigrants. Few other jurisdictions in the country acted.

As Burnaby (1998) has documented, in recent years, the federal government has developed various language-training programs linked to the need to integrate immigrants economically and socially. This long and involved process of trial and error started in 1978, when Employment and Immigration Canada (EIC) created the first national language training project as part of the

Canadian Job Strategies (CJS) program. This program provided language training for adult migrants and native Canadians who could not find employment because they lacked proficiency in English or French. It did this through the use of *training seats*, where the federal government purchased the rights to enrol students they sponsored from the ranks of the unemployed. This training was usually full time with basic living allowances or unemployment insurance benefits provided to trainees who meet certain criteria. The instructors, typically hired through community colleges, provided language instruction at a basic level of proficiency. Institutional providers applied for the funds, hired instructors, determined curricula, selected materials and conducted assessments on their own, sometimes on an ad hoc basis (Ashworth, 1992). It is interesting to note that many of these programming features are still extant in current Canadian language training programs (Cray, 1998). Canadian governments, whether federal or provincial, have provided the funds but have not provided much direct guidance historically on ESL methodology, curriculum development or teacher training. As I discuss below, however, this situation could be changing.

Over time, several deficiencies of the Canadian Job Strategies (CJS) program became apparent. The total number of students enrolled in its language training components was never very large, rarely numbering more than 15,000 in any one year. This was far fewer than the estimated number of people in the country who needed language training, a fact undoubtedly due to the restricted nature of its eligibility requirements. More importantly, due to the fact that the program was geared for reemployment, only *heads of households* (i.e., the

principal family wage earner) were eligible. Given the long-standing wage gap between the genders, this meant that almost all the participants in the program were men.

As a result of a court challenge sponsored by several immigrant organisations in regards to these inequities, the federal government created three new language-training programs that had broader community foci. Two of these, the Secretary of State Citizenship and Language Training Program and the Citizenship and Community Participation Program were short-lived. They subsidised the wages of instructors in selected citizenship programs and provided money for textbooks. Both programs were part-time and offered no living allowances for participants.

The third program, the Settlement Language Training Program (SLTP), was more substantial. Created in 1986, it was designed to meet the needs of adult immigrants, primarily women and seniors, who are not destined for the labour force. The SLTP had the advantages of being flexible and the ability to provide onsite childcare and the reimbursement of out-of-pocket expenses such as bus fare. Immigrant organisations received substantial funding to enter the field with school districts and colleges as language training providers. Many formed alliances with already existing providers in the development of new and innovative programming, particularly in the Toronto region with the local school boards.

Over time, deficiencies also became apparent in the SLTP. Many immigrant organisations and providers complained that the program was

chronically under funded, with a variety of inequities in application, inferior facilities, poorly trained staff, and inconsistent curricula and methodology (Health and Welfare Canada, 1988).

The string of events that led to the creation of the current structure of adult ESL programming in Canada started in 1990, with the release of the federal government's four year *Immigration Plan* (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1990). The Plan was the result of an extensive and unprecedented set of consultations and garnered a great deal of press at the time chiefly because it dramatically increased the numbers of immigrants allowed into the country (from 200,000 to 250,000).

The *Plan* was a major change in direction for the federal government and came at a time when the demographic changes in Canadian society discussed above were becoming more evident. The rhetoric within the document is quite interesting, as it is deliberately placed in the context of the constitutional negotiations then under way between the federal and provincial governments that culminated in the *Charlottetown Accord* and a national referendum that went down to defeat in the fall of 1992. Significantly, the document talks of "nation-building" and "building a new Canada" (p. 3). More concretely, the *Plan* prioritised the procurement of immigrants who had particular business and career skills within the immigration point system, called for a streamlining of the immigration process and an ending of the tremendous backlog of applications then being processed by Citizenship and Immigration Canada. As alluded to above, however, the most significant concrete measure the *Plan* outlined was that it

identified immigrant language training as a major national priority for the first time.

Responding to the need for greater provincial/ federal cooperation, Quebec negotiated an accord with Ottawa in 1991 that gave the province immigration selection powers and the responsibility to provide integration services and French language training. The federal government turned over the funds apportioned for immigrants in Quebec to the province and retained only the power to set general guidelines.

In the rest of the provinces, however, no agreements regarding language policy were immediately forthcoming. In 1991, the federal government took the initiative and formed a special advisory council made up of various stakeholders in immigration and settlement. This body provided a set of recommendations that called for greater consistency in adult ESL provision, the development of professional development and training standards for teachers, valid language assessment tests, an increase in training periods, limits to class sizes, and national curriculum documents.

The following year, two adult immigrant training programs were initiated that attempted to implement the recommendations of the advisory council: Labour Market Language Training (LMLT) and Language Instruction to Newcomers to Canada (LINC). LMLT focused on higher levels of English proficiency and was modelled on language training programs in Australia that were career specific. It was short-lived, however. LINC and the provincial counterparts it has spawned, however, has become the dominant adult ESL

structure in Canada. It has gradually replaced almost all other English training programs in the country and has been instrumental in the development of a myriad of national assessment and curriculum projects.

The program under study in this dissertation is sponsored and funded by the federal government through an arrangement with the province of British Columbia. It forms part of a national language-training program that goes by different names in different provinces. The provinces administer the programs under these fiscal arrangements with the national government. In British Columbia these programs are known as English Language Services to Adults (ELSA). In most other jurisdictions nationally the programs are referred to as Language Instruction to Newcomers to Canada (LINC). ELSA and LINC differ only in terms of funding. The curricular aspects of both remain the same, as is evidenced by the fact that materials and curriculum guides for one is the same for the other. The site in question, for example, extensively used materials specifically designed for Ontario schools, often adapting texts and curriculum guidelines that contained references to such things as the Toronto Transit Commission.

However much I would like to comment on regional inequalities, given the fact that I was born and raised in British Columbia myself, I shall refer to these programs in my discussion below as LINC in the interests of making comment on them from a national perspective. I hope that my western Canadian colleagues will forgive me this and not suppose that my preference for using LINC is due to my long-standing (former) employment with the Toronto School Board.

As Cray and Currie (2004) note, LINC was originally designed for basic language training. The program can be accessed by any recent landed immigrant (official resident) of Canada, features better levels of funding than existed in previous programs and more consistent assessment and placement procedures. A greater degree of accountability in regards to attendance and record keeping has also been set up. Like in other programs that preceded it, LINC providers have to apply yearly for funds, hire instructors, arrange classroom space and determine curricula and materials. However, important differences in the funding application processes have led to a much wider range of providers. Community agencies (especially in Ontario), and for-profit businesses (especially in British Columbia) have become bigger participants in second language provision (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2006a). In order to compete with these new players, traditional providers have had to cut costs to survive, principally by restricting the salary demands of their professional staff (Hague & Cray, in press).

Except in rare and isolated instances, LINC learners are not eligible for living allowances or significant subsidies. In some jurisdictions, learners are provided transportation allowances and access to childminding. A very small minority, with the cooperation of other government service agencies, can draw on welfare or unemployment benefits while attending classes. The vast majority, however, either attend evening classes while working during the day or depend on the financial resources of family members while taking day programs. (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2006a).

LINC learners generally participate in the program roughly 900 hours of instruction (close to one year of full-time classes or three years of part-time classes) from the time they start (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2002b). They are assessed prior to entering the program by an independent agency and placed in one of three levels of English language proficiency. These levels correspond to the most basic of those described in the *Canadian Language Benchmarks* (Pawlikowska-Smith, 2000) a 12-level assessment instrument discussed at length in Chapter 6 of this dissertation (hereafter referred to as the *CLB*).

Some variation in program delivery models exist. In recent years, for example, some LINC programs have featured higher levels of English language training (up to CLB Benchmark 7 in parts of Ontario), greater stability and have been augmented with information technology components. In some cases, circumstances permit the same instructor at all levels, and staggered or semestered enrolment. Occasionally, classes are tailored for particular ethnic communities or groups of learners, such as women, youth or seniors (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2006b).

Although some of these programs are sponsored by community agencies and have a good grounding in neighbourhoods and workplaces, as can be gleaned from ministry reports (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2006a), the vast majority of LINC programs are housed in institutional settings, such as secondary schools and libraries. Programs often set college or university entrance as eventual goals for its learners. This begs the question as to whether

or not the model used most often emphasises individualism and personal achievement.

LINC provided only limited amounts of guidance in terms of methodology and delivery, also much like previously existing programs. There have been a few exceptions, however, such as when the Ontario region of Canada Immigration and Citizenship sponsored the development of province-wide curricula and materials. This development culminated in the creation of a computer-integrated curriculum based on levels 1- 5 of the Canadian Language Benchmarks (Toronto Catholic District School Board, 2000).

Since the creation of LINC, several provincial and territorial governments in addition to Quebec have signed formal agreements with the federal government in regards to language policy. The federal goal is to have agreements in place with all provinces in the near future. At the time that this study was being conducted, the Yukon, Saskatchewan and Prince Edward Island had signed general agreements around processes of consultation and planning. British Columbia signed an agreement in 1998 that transferred federal responsibility for settlement services to the province. As noted above, LINC programs in B.C. are now known as English Language Service to Adults (ELSA) and operate under a different funding structure. Manitoba signed a similar agreement in 1996, renaming its programs Adult English as a Second Language Services (A/ ESL). At the time of writing, Ontario is about to conclude a similar agreement with the federal government.

These transfers of responsibility have been controversial. In Canada, most tax revenue is collected by the federal government, which transfers a large percentage of these funds to the provinces. Many disputes have occurred about whether or not these funds should be earmarked for specific purposes. For example, in regards to healthcare, a provincial responsibility constitutionally, federal/ provincial agreements state that money transferred to the provinces is to be spent in that area. In the case of immigrant services such as language training, however, no such stipulation exists. The provinces of Manitoba and British Columbia put funds transferred for these programs into general revenue and then allot the money to ELSA and A/ ESL that they feel is appropriate. In British Columbia, the provincial government provides a significantly smaller amount of money per capita than provinces such as Ontario..

According to Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2002c), the total national cost of integrating immigrants at the time that this study was conducted was \$323.4M per year. LINC accounted for \$106.2M of this total. The remaining funds were earmarked for funding the *Canada-Quebec Accord*, which funds French as a Second Language (\$101.7M); the Host program, which matches volunteers with second language learners (\$2.6M); the Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program, which provides temporary living allowances for refugees recognized by the United Nations (\$18.1M); transfer payments to provinces providing ESL training (\$47.8M); and contributions to international refugee agencies supporting landed immigrants before their arrival in Canada (\$47M). At the time of writing, immigrants paid a substantial portion of the costs of these

programs themselves, as part of a cost-recovery process, principally through payment of the Canadian permanent residence fee, which stood, at the time that this study was conducted, at \$975 each.

At the same time as LINC was being developed, the federal government initiated a process that led to the creation of the *CLB*. This, and a set of related documents, is the focus of Chapter 6 below.

In response to recommendations made by the immigration advisory council and a wide-ranging set of consultations conducted subsequently, the federal government set up a representative national working group in 1993 to facilitate the creation of a set of language proficiency benchmarks to inform assessment and curriculum development (Pierce & Stewart, 1997). The benchmarks were released as a working document in 1996 and finalised in 2000. As I mentioned at the beginning of this dissertation, there have been some recent discussion of revising the document by policy-makers.

The *CLB* covers the full range of English proficiency (from beginning to full fluency), incorporates literacy and numeracy, emphasises tasks and situation, feature stand-alone descriptors per level, encourage local curriculum development, and include proficiencies related to learning strategies, socio-cultural and strategic competencies. Associated with the *CLB* are implementation documents, curriculum guidelines, instructional resources pertaining to literacy and numeracy, sets of assessment materials and a representative national centre in Ottawa that coordinates a wide-range of language training curriculum

initiatives. Publishers have also used the *CLB* as a basis for a wide variety of instructional materials.

It is difficult to determine the exact number of programs that exist and learners serviced in Canada. The only attempt to collect data was conducted by the federal government in 1999 (Statistics Canada, 2001). Unfortunately, the principal focus of the survey was the large commercial market that provides academic English training to overseas students on temporary visas to Canada. Projections completed by the researchers indicate that something in the order of 177,000 Canadian citizens and immigrants are taking English language training at any one time. LINC practitioners often cite anecdotal evidence related to high dropout and low attendance rates. It is difficult at the time of writing to ascertain hard facts about these claims, however. Better statistical gathering processes, being put in place for both LINC and its provincial equivalents, should provide us with a better picture in the near future.

Adult ESL programs, as they currently exist in British Columbia, are designed to bring most newcomers up to a minimal level of English language proficiency. Some consideration has been recently given to the provision of instruction beyond levels 3 and 4 of the *Canadian Language Benchmark's* 12-level scale. Most newcomers without independent means have had difficulty accessing programs that could give them the English language proficiency to gain non-menial employment. Higher levels of training and education have been available, but at increasingly greater costs. In addition, like in other social service sectors, financial cutbacks in the last decade have been common to all

government funded adult ESL programs. These cuts have had devastating effects, which include lower wages for teachers, larger class sizes, restricted programming options, and fewer subsidies for learners taking classes (Hague & Cray, in press).

There has recent increased pressure to expand ESL programming to train and re-licence immigrants in specific professions in which labour shortages are developing. The demographic trends I have outlined above are having their effects. A major development occurred in 2002, when the Ontario provincial government earmarked \$15 million for *bridge training projects* to re-licence and train newcomers in the specific fields of health care, education, the machining, millwright and tooling trades, financial services programming, engineering, life sciences and welding (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2002). There has also been an expansion in funding for workplace specific literacy training that goes beyond a survival needs (Preparatory Training Program of Toronto, 2002). At the present time, these are the kinds of programs that are receiving increases in government funding.

These examples are part of a trend in adult ESL programming that emphasises skills and work-related training. Government funding priorities in adult ESL is clearly turning to workplace specific programming. While these programs are certainly practical, I would argue that they atomise learners into sets of marketable skills. This is a shift that has occurred in both Canada and Australia from learning skills and educational service models to an undesirable rationalised industry orientation (Cumming, 1998).

Why is this detrimental? Helen Moore (1996) criticises this trend towards rationalisation in the Australian ESL context for the way in which it homogenises programming, and ignores individual learner differences. I also contend that these programming policy decisions fail to take into account the entire individuality of our learners and their identities. The multifaceted and complex process of identity construction in these types of educational settings can not be fully realised without opportunities for intermediate and advanced language learning that engages the entire individual. Basic level language learning and work specific training may be practical, but they are severely limited.

Local Context

This study focused on working-class Punjabi-speaking adult learners attending the evening ESL classes provided at Strawton Continuing Education by the Kikait School District (please note that these two names are pseudonyms). Kikait is an eastern suburb of the Greater Vancouver Regional District (GVRD) and is the largest and fastest growing municipality in British Columbia. According to the 2001 Census, the city as a whole has close to 400,000 residents. Strawton, the neighborhood from which these students were drawn, has the highest concentration of Punjabi speakers in Canada, where they make up one out of every three of the neighborhood's 91,000 residents.

According to the last census (Statistics Canada, 2003) there are 201,785 Punjabi speakers in Canada as a whole. Among the non-official languages, (neither English or French) only Chinese, Italian, and German are spoken more

significantly nationally. The Punjabi-speaking community is the second largest and fastest growing immigrant group in British Columbia, where the vast majority of its members live.

The Punjabi-speaking community in Strawton had a number of important traits that made conclusions made about it generalizable to other immigrant communities in Canada. Although the Punjabi-speaking population at the time of this study had not been established in Canada for as long a time as some other immigrant communities, it was as stable as any other in the country. Another trait this community shared with other immigrant groups (in particular those from Asia) was its very rapid growth in recent years. Strawton's immigrants also came from a relatively impoverished country in which war and civil conflict have been historically commonplace. Although the Punjab has enjoyed relative affluence in comparison with the rest of India (it produces the vast majority of the grain products consumed in the country as a whole), residents in the region have been subject to a long history of discriminatory and racist practices (Singh & Talbot, 1996; Singh & Thandi, 1999). Several of my respondents, for example, told me about being harassed by Indian police during anti-terrorist operations in the Punjab. Violence in India was a common topic of conversation when the students talked about their country of origin. Crime seemed endemic and memories about the 1984 attack on the Golden Temple in Amritsar seemed fresh. As Singh (2001) points out, Punjabi speakers have been victimized by racism in both India and Canada.

It is important to note that the categorization of the Punjabi speakers in this study as members of a racial minority is problematic. *Race*, as Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin (2000) point out, is a socially-constructed concept that is of recent origin rather than a firm biological entity. Said (1979) carefully documents how the concept of race has been used to categorize *the other* and further colonial agendas.

People who historically originate from the five-river basin which forms the geographical region known as the Punjab have a host of disparate allegiances to language, religion, and national origin. Thus, calling someone a Punjabi can denote someone is commonly Islamic, Sikh, Hindu or Christian. Such a person can speak Hindi, Urdu or Punjabi as their first language and originate from either Pakistan or India. Most of the immigrants to Canada from the Punjab are, in fact, Sikhs from India who speak Punjabi. However, other members of the South Asian community in Strawton do not exhibit these common traits. For the purposes of this study, I selected interview participants who self-identified themselves as speaking Punjabi.

Punjabi speakers are not the only minority group to be targeted for racist treatment in the province. British Columbia, in fact, has had a long history of racial conflict over education. The most important example of this is the local school authority's 1922 attempt to segregate Chinese-Canadian children in Victoria, the provincial capital. The Chinese community in that city, one of the oldest immigrant enclaves in the country, organized a boycott that ended the practice a year later (Stanley, 1991). The Vancouver School Board opened the

first ESL programs for children in British Columbia in 1907, but no provincial body sponsored adult ESL programs until the advent of federal multicultural policy, over sixty years later.

The Punjabi-speaking community also had many traits that are common to other local neighborhoods. Household size, family income, and education levels were all average in comparison to other communities within the GVRD. Like many other immigrant communities in Canada, however, it was unique in the sense that it has a distinct language makeup.

Punjabi-speakers have historically been subject to discriminatory and restrictive practices embedded in Canadian immigration policy. In ways that were similar with the experiences of Chinese immigrants, and very different from those coming from Europe, male Punjabi newcomers were often forced to leave their families behind in order to seek better-paying employment in their new country (Dhillon, 2001, McGillivray, 2000, Sanga, 1999, Singh, 2001). Punjabi speakers living in British Columbia numbered less than 3000 up until 1907 (Redway, 1984). In 1907, a series of measures further restricted Asian immigration to British Columbia and severely limited the rights of those already in the province. These immigrants were denied the vote and bared from a number of professions up until 1947 (Sandu, 1972).

The Importance of this Research

This dissertation examines the nature of alignments and gaps between the conceptualizations of Canadian citizenship that are expressed in national

curriculum documents and those that are articulated by a sample community of adult ESL learners. Drawing on the voices of Punjabi-speaking immigrants enrolled in a government-sponsored ESL program, the study sheds light on how a contemporary sample of adult ESL learners are constructing new national identities in the context of the challenges associated with coming to Canada. In particular, it traces how the common threads among their conceptions of citizenship compare to those embedded within national ESL curriculum documents and illuminates how these documents construct and position idealized conceptions of second language learners. This research is important because it critically addresses the key issue of how best to integrate immigrant second language learners into the Canadian nation state. The integration of newcomers is one of the most pressing problems facing Canada in light of globalisation and the unprecedented number of migrants on the move world-wide. Increasingly, developed countries are competing with one another to attract skilled immigrants and take advantage of these vast diasporas in ways that preserve and strengthen democratic institutions and economic vitality (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2002a; Herriman & Burnaby, 1996; Mitchell, 2001).

Organisation

The dissertation is organized in the following way: Chapter 1 lays out the dissertation's purpose, contexts, both historical and contemporaneous, and organization. Chapter 2 reviews the pertinent literature related to language policy

and planning; citizenship theory; and concepts of motivation, identity and investment. Chapter 3 describes the research methodology used for the study. Chapter 4 reports the results of my background questionnaire. Chapter 5 reports the interview findings. Chapter 6 examines the key national ESL curriculum documents in this context and reports the results of an alignment/ gap analysis between them and the data gathered from the respondents. Chapter 7 concludes the dissertation with a discussion of implications and recommendations.

Chapter 2. Literature Review: Language Policy and Planning, Citizenship Theory, Motivation, Identity and Investment

This chapter reviews the relevant aspects of the theoretical and research literature that inform this dissertation. I have framed this literature in three broad categories: literature related to Language Policy and Planning (LPP); literature related to the intersections between LPP and Citizenship Theory (CT); and the literature related to the concepts of *motivation*, *identity* and *investment* in the context of second language education (SLE). Given its central place for this dissertation, I devote more space below to LPP literature than to the other two and have divided my discussion in this regard into the following sections: an overview of LPP, conception of the nation-state as imagined community, early LPP scholarship, and later LPP scholarship.

Both Citizenship Theory (CT) and Language Policy and Planning (LPP) have featured important debates about the proper place of the individual second language immigrant in the modern nation-state. LPP, as I demonstrate below, has shifted from an emphasis on large scale studies on nation building to that of the task of conceptualizing individual and group language rights within these states. Current CT has a similar shift in emphasis that problematizes what it means to be a citizen in a post-structural world. As I hope to make clear below, post-modern conceptions of the individual in terms of *motivation*, *identity* and *investment* go a long way in helping clarify how the two fields are linked in this regard.

Language Policy and Planning: Overview

The literature related to Language Policy and Planning (LPP) is particularly relevant to this study since I have chosen to compare the ideas expressed by my respondents with documents that are explicitly designed to enact the language policies espoused by the Canadian government. As I outline below, official and explicitly stated language policies are not as widespread or as recent as one might suppose given the international tensions that often surround questions of language. The academic literature that traces the impact and development of language policy is even more recent.

As indicated at the outset of this dissertation, the research I have conducted documents serious gaps between the way citizenship is viewed by my participants and way it is represented in the *Canadian Language Benchmarks (CLB)*. In addition, however, there are serious gaps between this document and stated federal policy. Despite what multicultural policy statements might claim to the contrary, these key curriculum and assessment documents tend to position ESL learners as relatively powerless, passive and atomized recipients of programming designed to normalize them into a dominant culture. At one time, federal second language policy emphasized assimilation, as is most colorfully evidenced through the quotes attributed to James Anderson (1918) that I cite in my previous chapter. As I also indicated, however, second language policy is currently built on the legalistic frameworks associated with federal multicultural policy. This development is both mirrored and informed by LPP. In outlining the

LPP literature, I hope to provide my reader with a fuller appreciation of how the curriculum documents examined in this study fail to fulfill their policy mandates.

Language Policy and Planning (LPP) is a relatively new field that has experienced rapid growth in recent years (Tollefson, 2002). It has been defined variously as "the activity of preparing a normative orthography, grammar, and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in an non-homogeneous speech community". Haugen, 1959; p. 8), as "organized efforts to find solutions to language problems in society" (Fishman, 1972; p. 186), and alternatively, as a "broad, overarching term for decisions on rights and access to languages and on the roles and functions of particular languages and varieties of language in a given policy" (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1995; p. 434).

As are reflected in the three quotations above, LPP has developed in three distinct stages (Ricento, 2000). In the first stage, language was viewed uncritically as both a tool for the unification of the nation state and as an exploitable resource. A growing awareness of the ideological nature, negative impacts and limitations of language policy characterized the second stage, extant in the 1970's to 1980's. This led to the third and current stage of LPP, in which the focus has shifted to the influence of massive migration, globalization and the interaction of ethnic and nation-state identities. The development of LPP has been so rapid that many of the scholars who participated in the first stage of the field, such as Fishman and Haugen, have been instrumental in its development into the second and third. I discuss various aspects of this history below.

This history, in my estimation, is a description of a shift in dominant paradigms within LPP and is centered on evolving notions of the proper role of the state in regards to its citizens in general and linguistic minorities in particular. Much of the debate within the field turns on what constitutes *normative* standards of citizenship within a modern nation state. Accordingly, my argument below first deals with what constitutes *normative* in sociological theory. I then provide some background on the history and functions of the modern nation-state and how it relates to its citizens by drawing on aspects of Benedict Anderson's influential work on *Imagined Communities* (1983). Anderson's work has been an important source for scholars working on postcolonial theory (Bhabha, 1990; Loomba, 1998). This latter scholarship problematizes the notion that citizenship is exclusively linked to single sovereign nation-states. With that background covered, this chapter then returns to examinations of the positions taken in regards to citizenship by first earlier and then later LPP scholars. I contend that current LPP scholars now place greater importance on the notions of *identity* and citizenship than on nation-state unity. This chapter then concludes with a discussion of pertinent aspects of citizenship theory, focusing particularly on how the concept of being a citizen has been problematized in the literature.

Language Policy and Planning: *Normative* Concepts

Integral to my argument is the conception of *normative political theory* as is manifested in this age of globalization. At the risk of taxing my readers' patience, let me first here provide a definition of *normative*, a term which often

seems to me to be employed rather vaguely in the social science research I've encountered. Normative conceptions are sets of beliefs that are commonly accepted as constituting acceptable practice. In second language education (SLE), for example, *normative grammar* constitutes the grammatical forms which are socially accepted as correct. It is interesting to note that *normative grammar* is a term originally coined by Gramsci (Hoare & Nowell-Smith, 1971) in his discussions of *hegemony* and is closely linked, according to Helsboot (1989) to Wittgenstein's *forms of life*. In sociology, to cite another well-known example, *normative* behaviour is that which is commonly accepted, a phenomenon that Durkheim called a *social fact*. *Normative* practices are to a large degree prescriptive in the sense that individuals are expected to conform to established and accepted norms, even if these norms change over time and space. In short, *normative* practice sets norms, rules for what people should or should not do, and are reinforced with positive and negative sanctions (Segwick & Edgar, 2002).

As is stressed by Russell (1946), establishing and studying normative codes of correct conduct, or ethics, has been an integral part of western philosophy since Plato and Aristotle. Current philosophers, such as John Rawls (1971), have attempted to apply normative principles of justice as a way of applying ethics to politics. Kymlicka & Patten (2003), however, maintain that political theorists have not dealt with the normative aspects of language policy until recently and express the desire for a fully elaborated and explicit normative theory of language rights.

Language Policy and Planning: The Nation-State as Imagined Community

Starting from an examination of three important contradictions in how the modern nation-state is perceived, Benedict Anderson (1983) builds a convincing argument that citizenship and nationalism depend on what he terms *imagined communities*. These contradictions are: 1) that despite the fact that the modern nation-state is a recent phenomenon historically, most citizens exalt the particular country in which they are citizens to an ethereal or timeless quality subjectively; 2) that nationalism is usually thought of as a formal aspect of identity, like gender or race, in spite of the fact that many different forms of national allegiance exist throughout the world and that countless individuals, especially now, change citizenship in the course of their lifetimes; and 3) that the current political power of nationalism is almost completely paramount despite the relative poverty of its philosophical foundations.

Much of Anderson's (1983) work is aimed at what he describes as a fundamental transformation of Marxism. In reference to the fundamental contradictions outlined above, Anderson cites Nairn (1977) to the effect that Marxism's greatest failure has been its inability to come to grips with the ideological power of nationalism (which Nairn calls the greatest of modern neuroses). Anderson provides a close examination of the series of wars between nominally Marxist states in Southeast Asia in the second half of the last century as evidence of the power nationalism holds over people, even if they have other allegiances. To put it simply, Anderson argues that nationalism is a far greater force in modern life than class-consciousness.

Anderson's main point is the modern nation-state is an imagined community in the sense that its citizens form bonds between each other that are in large part acts of imagination. He points out that an individual citizen never meets or interacts with any significant percentage of the total population of the nation state to which they have allegiance. Under these circumstances, a sense of citizenship is more of an act of the imagination than a physical reality. Through symbols and ritual, the citizens of a particular country commune with each other and imagine themselves as part of a unified mass. This unity is limited, however, since the boundaries of the nation state are usually firmly set geographically. Beyond these boundaries other nation states exist, with which there is often a relationship filled with tension. This national unity is also a community in the sense that there is a horizontal camaraderie that usually psychologically transcends exploitative and unequal divisions, such as those related to class, race, sexual orientation or gender.

Language is a key element in the construction of imagined communities. Anderson (1983) notes that Robespierre, Napoleon and the other French rulers who followed consciously exported the Parisian dialect into the hinterland of the new geographically defined state, where it had not been spoken before. This parallels Ivan Illich's well-known 1980 examination of how Nebrija and Queen Isabella used a standardized form of Castilian to help unite the new Spanish nation-state and launch empire (Illich, 1980). Print was integral to this process since it unified fields of exchange and communication, fixed forms of language, and gave an air of antiquity and legitimacy to the dialects newly favored as

national languages. Anderson traces how research in comparative philology, such as Jones' work on Sanskrit, strengthened the power of the vernacular languages of the European nation states by providing them with pedigrees.

Modern builders of the nation-state and empire have also long recognized the power of privileging one dialect or language and employing it for the reinforcement of rank and status. The currency of the fact that privileged forms of speech confer heightened status is exemplified by the importance an ambitious Margaret Thatcher placed on replacing the lower middle class accent of her youth with an educated one from Oxford (McCrum, Cran & MacNeil, 1986).

One other example will suffice here. The privileging of one dialect of English, as Willinsky (1998) and Pennycook (1998) have outlined, was used by builders of the British Empire to establish claims of superiority to other local dialects, Scots and Irish, European languages, and those of peoples conquered overseas. In that regard, language education, of both English and of the local vernacular, was an integral part of British colonialism. This was originally part of the work performed by missionaries, but was soon adopted on a large scale by secular authorities. Huge resources were put into developing universal systems of education for the local population in each of the British colonies in order to integrate the political and social systems of colonies into the empire.

The imagined communities of the modern nation-state strengthened throughout the 20th century in Europe and elsewhere. Tensions between countries have intensified to the point where there are now more national divisions and global conflict than at any other period in human history (White,

1999). This could very well be due to the fact that nationalism, as a force, did not lessen for colonized people with the demise of classical European empires in the 20th century. As Anderson documents, new national territories emerged out of colonial administrative units in large part thanks to the ideological imperatives of Creole functionaries in the departing imperial regimes. These intellectuals, in many cases anti-imperialist revolutionaries educated in the colonizing country, did not abandon the notion of the modern nation-state. In fact, they by enlarge consciously embraced nation-state building in ways that were more intense than intellectuals in Europe, harnessing the administrative tools left over from empire. These new leaders have strived to instill patriotic sentiments for these new states, regardless of ideology.

Individual people now form a great deal of their identities as members of modern nation-states. As I shall describe in my section on citizenship theory below, one's sense of belonging to a modern national state involves aspects that are both legalistic and normative. In a legalistic sense, being "Canadian" involves enjoying the rights and having the responsibilities of citizenship, such as holding a passport and voting. Being Canadian in a normative sense means that one falls within the parameters of what is (very loosely) considered normal. One's allegiance to the nation is often regarded as integral to the self as other identity constructs such as class, race and gender. Citizens will characteristically identify so strongly with their country that they will help wage war on people with whom they share other similarities. As Anderson points out, they are prepared to kill,

and even more significantly, sacrifice themselves for the sake of the imagined community to which they belong.

Language Policy and Planning: Early LPP Scholarship

Examinations of the role of language in nation-state construction figured prominently in the newly emerging academic field of LPP in the early 1960's. Ricento (2000) notes that the availability of fresh field research opportunities in countries newly independent after the Second World War was a major contributing factor in the development of LPP as a distinct discipline. LPP scholars commonly took the view that they could contribute to these newly emerging states by helping governments import or strengthen the presence of a western language or in the modernisation of one that was indigenous. According to Ricento, these efforts tended to view languages as ideologically neutral resources subject to planning and were tied to the desire to help effect national unity and industrial modernisation.

In the early work of Fishman (1966), Fishman, Ferguson and Dasgupta, (1968), Haugen (1966), Kloss (1971), and Tauli (1968), scholars maintained the view that LPP should be utilized primarily as an important tool for nation-state unity, particularly within developing countries. These theorists focused on how the unity of the state could be maintained using the mechanism of a single common language that provided logistical and ideological cohesion. These scholars shared a particular view of what constituted citizenship, one that

stressed the importance of individualistic liberal notions of equality and the absolute sovereignty of the modern nation-state.

The first of these scholars was Haugen (1966), who coined the term *language policy* in the course of his studies of the language use of Norwegian immigrants to the United States. He developed a language-planning model that stressed efficiency, adequacy and acceptability. The model consisted of a series of planning steps that selected language norms, codified them, implemented them into the general population and made necessary elaborations and corrections.

Kloss (1971), who did exhaustive work compiling the legal formulations of language policy in the United States, developed a *typology of multilingualism* that differentiated between *status planning*, which was the social, and political position a language is assigned and *corpus planning*, which was the standardisation of elements within the language. Kloss was a contradictory character who advocated the linguistic rights of minorities in the United States while developing an ethno-centric hierarchical taxonomy of languages that ranked them according to their supposed ability to promote economic development. He also maintained that linguistic tolerance was a hallmark of American history, but was blind, as Wiley (2002) notes, to the informal and ideological methods that promote unilingualism, such as discriminatory hiring practices and social exclusion.

Fishman (1972) was famous for his defense of second language rights, nevertheless stressed the need for developing nation-states to adopt singular

ethnic, geographic linguistic and cultural unites. As Ricento notes, Fishman "believed the language problems of the old developing countries were different from those of new nations" (2000; p. 12). In his early scholarship, Fishman advocated that developing countries adopt languages that were in what he termed the *Great Tradition*. These languages were those that had developed in the western world. Fishman argued that these western languages were best suited to modern economies and democratic ideologies because they were written, standardized and adaptable to technological development. He urged developing countries to adopt these western languages or adapt their own languages to them and thereby integrate themselves more quickly into modern economic political structures.

To my mind, Tauli's (1968) set of taxonomic principles is the best example of the ideological (and subjective) nature of these kinds of language typologies. Besides his work on distinguishing between the ends and means of language planning, Tauli is known for his definition of an ideal language as being one that was aesthetic, adaptable, economical and effective. As several scholars at the time pointed out (Jernudd & Das Gupta, 1971), these criteria are deeply problematic. How can one make an objective judgment, for example, on the aesthetic beauty of a language? How does this square against its supposed effectiveness (assuming that one can determine this)? What are the criteria for judging a language's adaptability that is independent of its supposed economic and political benefits and contexts? In reference to the supposed economic usefulness of a particular language, Phillipson (1992) pointed out that there is the

chicken and egg question here. What come first, the technological vocabulary found in a language or the imperialistic and hegemonic control its users exercise over technology?

It is significant the Fishman abandoned many of his typological precepts as his scholarship developed into further examinations of minority language rights. Incidentally, he is still very active academically and a strong defender of bilingual education. As a more recent interview (Holt & Dolson, 2001) attests, he now places a great deal of emphasis on the responsibility of the state to assist immigrants in their assimilation into the polity of the nation, noting failing to do this results in social alienation and crime.

It is also notable that Haugen later became one of the first to advocate *language ecology* (also coining this phrase), the branch within LPP that studies the power interactions between various language groups internationally (Haugen, 1972). *Language ecology* has a close relationship to linguistic human rights, the focus that I turn to now.

Language Policy and Planning: Later LPP Scholarship

Current LPP scholarship has shifted the field's concern to a focus on the importance of linguistic human rights. For most of these scholars, the unity of the nation state is no longer paramount. They use a different definition of citizenship, informed by post-structuralist notions of trans-national group rights in which other forms of allegiance also hold sway, such as those to class, race or gender.

In one of the most influential articles in LPP, Skutnabb-Kangas, Phillipson and Rannut (1995) provide a comprehensive history of the development of linguistic human rights in the context of overall human rights. They note that prior to the 1885 Treaty of Berlin, which condemned slavery in the African colonies held by European states, international law was restricted to relations between sovereign states. Each (European) nation-state was considered autonomous and firmly beyond criticism of its internal policies. Formal legal recognition of human rights, inaugurated during the French and American Revolutions, were meant to be universal in the sense that they pertained to idealized individuals within national boundaries. This began to change in the 20th century with the creation of international political and economic organizations. Slavery was condemned in the first international human rights treaty, declared by the League of Nations in 1926.

Skutnabb-Kangas, Phillipson and Rannut (1995) contend that linguistic human rights have had a history that has been somewhat separate and slower to develop than that of human rights in general. Prior to the 1815 Congress of Vienna, which concluded the Napoleonic wars, there were no restrictions to the ability of nation-states to impose languages on their subject populations. The Treaty of Vienna extended the protection that had been granted in previous documents to religious minorities to a restricted number of ethnic and linguistic minorities. It did not, however, attempt to set up an international standard. This did not occur until the end of World War 1, when various peace treaties and changes to national constitutions contained clauses protecting the rights of linguistic minorities within the various nation-states of Europe. To a certain

extent, this was further codified by the League of Nations. The end of World War 2, on the other hand, saw no such development. Skutnabb-Kangas, Phillipson and Rannut (1998) note that the United Nations Charter does not contain any references to national minorities and that there was a general neglect of minority and linguistic human rights for approximately 30 years. This period ended in 1979, when the United Nations published the *Capotorti Report*, recommending the development of a set of international linguistic human rights. The UN finally adopted these in 1996 as the *Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights (UNDLR)*.

Matos, a prominent Brazilian LPP scholar, in an interview conducted in 2003 (Martel), summarizes the rights found in the *UNDLR* as being:

- the right to be recognized as a member of a language community;
- the right to use one's own language both in private and in public;
- the right to one's own name;
- the right to interrelate and associate with other members of one's language community of origin;
- the right to maintain and develop one's own culture;
- the right for one's own language and culture to be taught;
- the right of access to cultural services;
- the right to have an equitable presence of one's language and culture in the communication media;
- the right to use one's own language with government bodies and in socio-economic relations.

Matos makes the important observation that the document defines linguistic human rights both collectively and individually. When one considers how human rights have been traditionally framed in terms of abstract individuals living in nation-states, this reflects a major shift in outlook. It indicates that the policy

developers who framed the UNDLR have conceptualized people as having allegiances that are independent of the nation-state to which they belong.

As Ricento points out (2000), this shift in outlook has been duplicated in every aspect of applied linguistics. Recent scholarship has called into question such abstract and positivistic notions as *native speaker*, *linguistic competence*, and *mother tongue*. Sociolinguists, in particular, have moved away from conceptions of autonomous languages, each supposedly possessing intrinsic values and qualities. In lieu of this, scholars are examining the interrelationship of language communities in specific contexts.

The most prominent theorists now working in current LPP scholarship have generally taken rather strong positions in favor of minority language rights and often highlight the injustice that often occurs when a nation-state's policies promote or privilege a single language within its boundaries. Linguistic minorities are often subjected to what Phillipson (1988) calls *linguicism*, discrimination based on language and inequitable power relations.

In terms of English language scholarship, these inequitable ideologies and structures have been well documented in a variety of nation states. This scholarship has focused on Australia (Davison, 2001; Moore, 2000), Canada (Burnaby, 2002; Corson 2001), Great Britain (Harris, Leung & Rampton, 2002), Hong Kong (Pennycook, 2000), Israel (Spolsky & Shohamy, 1999); India (Sonntag, 2000), Japan (Kubota, 2002), North American aboriginal peoples (Crawford, 1998; Fettes, 1998), Sri Lanka (Canagarajah, 1999), South Africa

(Ridge, 1999), and the United States (Baron, 1990; Cummins, 1995; Hernandez-Chavez, 1995; Ricento, 1998; Schmidt, 1998; Tollefson, 2002; Wiley, 2002).

Much of current LPP scholarship has also examined how various languages interact at an international level. Scholars working on this aspect of LPP have examined how ecological principles could be applied to the field (Fettes, 2000), and the interrelationships between globalization, second language teaching and imperialism (Phillipson, 1992; Block & Cameron, 2002). Some of the emerging scholarship has challenged common assumptions within the field that "treat language users as carriers of national (or national minority) rights and... abstract from their membership in other types of sociological groups, most prominently, socioeconomic class" (Brutt-Griffler, 2002, abstract).

One of the most influential macro level analyses in the field is the typology developed by Schmidt (1998), in which he describes how nations approach language policy. *Domination/ exclusionist* policies are those that promote a single dominant language to the exclusion of other languages within the boundaries of the nation-state. *Assimilation* policies tolerate users of other languages only if these users are in the process of adopting the single dominant national language. Schmidt cites the United States as an example. *Pluralist* policies encourage linguistic diversity and promote long-term tolerance of various languages within national borders. The former Yugoslavia is Schmidt's example of this policy orientation. *Linguistic federation* policies are those that legitimize various languages within specific geographic regions within the nation-state. None of these models are exclusive, in the sense that countries have used

several orientations or variations of them at different times and in various contexts.

According to Schmidt, Canada is an example of a country in which the debates over language policy have revolved around *pluralist* and *linguistic federalist* policy orientations. This is in contrast to the United States, where the struggle is between *pluralist* and *domination/ exclusionist* tendencies. These orientations have very important normative functions.

Citizenship Theory

Problematized notions of citizenship have been central to the concerns of LPP scholarship. This problematization has also been central to citizenship theorists since the inception of the field. According to Isin and Wood (1999), the founding document in modern Citizenship Theory (CT) is T. H. Marshall's *Citizenship and Social Class* (1950). Marshall noted that national citizenship formally confers equal status to all members of particular societies but stands independent of the inequalities of class. He decided to examine the relationship between the two parts of this contradiction by developing a typology of citizenship. Marshall divided citizenship into three distinct types: *civil* (which included individual freedoms such as those of speech, movement, religion, and property), *political* (which consisted of the right to participate in political decision-making), and *social* (which was a broad category of rights to security, general welfare and one's own heritage). He limited his typology to the modern nation-state, noting that these forms of citizenship were fused prior to its development.

Marshall (1950) traced the evolution of citizenship alongside that of class, which he also classified into a typology. Class, according to Marshall, can be divided into that of *order* (which correspond to pre-industrial forms of immutable social rank), and *modern class* (which is a post-industrial economic conferring of status that is changeable and temporal). In this formulation, modern citizenship has a close relationship with modern class. The basis of the latter is found in the former. According to Marshall, "modern citizenship conferred the legal capacity to strive for the things one would like to possess but did not guarantee the possession of any of them" (as cited in Isin & Wood, 1999; p. 28). In other words, the formal equality found in the concept of citizenship promotes and obscures the inequality of class.

According to Giddens (1995), three critiques of Marshall subsequently emerged in the literature. The first of these (championed by Giddens himself) faulted Marshall for not taking into account the place of struggle and resistance in the development of citizenship rights. The second criticised Marshall for having represented the development of citizenship and class in a linear fashion that did not represent reality. The third took Marshall to task for underestimating the importance of other forms of inequality besides class, such as race and gender.

In subsequent years, as Isin and Wood (1999) emphasise, Marshall took these critiques into account as he introduced an elaborated treatment of the influence of power into his theoretical formulation. What is most interesting, from my standpoint, is the way in which Marshall came to think of citizenship as "constitutive of subjectivities, rather than a passive status" (Turner, 1994; p. 159;

cited by Isin and Wood, 1999; p. 31) and the relationship he came to see between civil rights and social movements.

Since Marshall, citizenship theory has moved into a deeper concern with group rights. Much of this work has been informed by the *identity politics*. Not uncoincidentally, the field has had to contend with the emerging forces of globalization and intense migration. These forces are quickly reshaping most nation-states throughout the world into either actual or formally recognized multicultural and multilingual entities (Favell, 2001; Fulford, 1993; Guiraudon & Joppke, 2001; Spencer, 1997).

Although some scholars in citizenship studies have predicted the end of citizenship in an age of globalization (Falk, 2000), many other scholars (Boli & Thomas, 1999; Campbell & Rew, 1999; Mathews, 2000) have declared that citizenship is now acquiring a transnational dimension that might even eventually replace its old ties to exclusive territoriality. Some of this new scholarship is recasting citizenship as a form of *caring* (White & Hunt, 2000), *peoplehood* (Smith, 2001), or in special reference to *class* (Crow & Longford, 2000), *gender intimacy* (Plummer, 2001) or *queer theory* (Seidman & Alexander, 2001).

What is common to this new scholarship is its post-structural nature. The citizen is no longer a static and unitary figure who has a highly individualistic relationship with the state. The citizen is increasingly being viewed as a multifaceted figure with complex allegiances to various identity groupings within the state.

As one can see, identity has become a major concern for both citizenship theory and, as I outlined above, LPP. All of these scholars make use a conception of individuality that is highly informed by post-structural definitions of *identity*. Like the contemporary citizenship theorists I referred to above, these LPP scholars view people as multifaceted, with complex allegiances to various identity groupings. As Schmidt (1998) emphasizes, "identity must be understood as having multiple facets: It is constitutive and relational, contextual and mutable, ambiguous and contestable. Because language is sometimes experienced as a core aspect of personal *identity*, it can become a highly explosive fuel motivating political conflict in struggles over collective *identity*" (p. 51).

Motivation, Identity and Investment

The participants in this study are refashioning their place in society and their concepts of themselves in the context of their experiences as immigrants. Their motivations in this regard are central to this process and help explain the operationalization of the forces being exerted on my individual participants as they define what citizenship means to them. Identity and motivation models, which are currently very much in vogue in second language education, thus have an explicatory force that is unparalleled for my purposes here. In my discussion in this section below, I examine each of the concepts of motivation, identity and investment in turn.

The first of these concepts, *motivation* is derived, naturally enough, from Motivational Psychology (MP), a field which has exerted a profound influence on

education as a whole and second language education in particular (Dörnyei; 2001). MP is a specialized field within the larger discipline that examines "the direction and magnitude of human behavior, that is: the choice of a particular action, the persistence with it and the effort expended on it" (Dörnyei; 2001, p. 9). Influenced by Freud's separation of the mind into *id*, *ego* and *superego* and Piaget's constructivist conception of personality development, motivational theory has long been at the heart of the psychological paradigm. MP is a large field of study that has had a great number of theorists, most notably Maslow (1954), most famous for his *hierarchy of needs*. According to Scholl (2002), most general motivational psychologists hold that there are five sources of motivation: *intrinsic* (simply for enjoyment); *instrumental* (for material reward); *self-concept: external* (for group status); *self-concept: internal* (for empowerment) and *goal identification* (for accomplishment).

In his comprehensive and authoritative review, Dörnyei (2001) notes that MP has had to deal with six conceptual challenges: distinguishing between conscious and unconscious motivation; explaining the interrelationship between cognition and affect; mapping the complexity of influences on human behavior into understandable constructs; accounting for the parallel multiplicity of these influences; establishing the context for behavior; and taking time into account when explaining motivation. It is the latter two of these challenges that is of particular interest to SLE theorists, and to which I concentrate on in my argument below.

Motivational Psychology (MP) entered Second Language Education (SLE) thanks mainly to the efforts of two prominent researchers: R.C. Gardner (1985), who developed a motivational theory specific to second language learning; and J.H. Schumann (1978), who elaborated on this to develop a model he called *acculturation*. Central to Gardner's work (1985) was what he called *integrative motivation* (which parallels *self-concept: external*, above). This form of motivation can be summarized as being the desire to learn the target language based on positive feelings for the community to which that language belongs. When combined with the interest one has towards language learning and integration into new communities in general and the desire to integrate into the specific community in question, *integral motivation* forms what Gardner (1985) called *integrativeness*. This, in turn, can be summarized as being one's general aptitude towards learning the target language in the new community in which one finds oneself. Other factors do play a part, such as one's attitude toward specific and general learning situations, and factors paralleled to *instrumental motivation* (above), but they are all secondary to *integral motivation*.

Schumann's *acculturation model* (1978) is an attempt to outline the factors involved in whether or not groups of learners, principally ethnic minorities, have a propensity to learn the language of the majority population. Schumann built on research into the development of pidgin and interlanguage to develop two important concepts, *social distance* and *psychological distance*, which he used in an effort to explain the internal barriers minority groups have that prevent their full integration, or *acculturation*, into dominant language and cultural

communities. If the *social and psychological distances* are too great between the subordinate and dominant language and cultural groups, progress to full fluency in the L2 will not occur for members of the minority. The factors that Schumann identified as responsible for *social distance* and *psychological distance* are: attitudes toward social dominance/ resistance; desires for assimilation/ preservation; enclosure (isolation); cohesiveness of the minority group; size of the minority group; and a number of individual factors such as intended length of residence. What is important for my argument here is that, unlike the broad sociological perspectives that inform the concept of *identity*, the factors that Schumann identifies focus on the barriers created by minority groupings. The barriers erected by dominant language and cultural groups are not taken into account in his model.

Gardner and Schumann's influence on SLE has been considerable. Ellis (1985) has described the *acculturation* model as one of the seven most significant second language acquisition theories. *Motivation* and *acculturation* have been one of the key elements informing oft-cited theories about the *good language learner* (Naimen, Fröhlich, Stern & Todesco, 1978) and learner strategies (Oxford, 1990). Their work has also been important in SLE curriculum development (Brown, 2000). It is interesting to note that Gardner is still active academically and has just co-written a major *meta-analysis* of his contribution to the field (Masgoret & Gardner, 2003).

Dörnyei (2001) notes that Schumann's model has come under fire as of late, a development he terms an *educational shift*. This shift is due to the greater

emphasis being placed on the educational application of *acculturation*. Larsen-Freeman and Long (1991), for example, have criticized Schumann for being unclear as to the importance attached to the various variables in his model. This factor, they contend, makes the model unusable for classroom teachers.

The second concept I examine here, *identity*, has been closely associated with critiques of motivational models since it emphasizes the multitude of variables that go into personality development. As I sketch below, this aspect of *identity theory* is part and parcel of its post-structural character and explains much its current popularity. As early as in 1958, the eminent social psychologist and historian Helen Merrell Lynd observed that "the search for *identity* has become as strategic in our time as the study of sexuality in Freud's" (1958; p. 14). Even allowing for the hyperbole in this statement, the importance of Lynd's emphasis is quite justified when one considers how often the term *identity* is now being employed in both academic and everyday discourse. A Google search for the word *identity*, for example, brings up over 14 million web site references, as much as for that old mainstay of psychology, *ego*. *Identity* has also deeply informed current social movements, and in recent years activists (and many academics) have taken great pains to characterize themselves in terms of the such constitutive factors as race, class, gender, and sexual orientation. It has become important to position oneself in terms of what has become known as *identity politics* (McLaren, 2001).

The importance of *identity theory* has also been increasingly felt in social science research generally (Mathews, 2000) and in overall education research

more particularly (Bernstein, 1996; Cummins, 1996). This has also been especially true in the field of second language education (SLE) (Davison, 2001). As a search of the ERIC database reveals, there has been a flood of recent studies in SLE that use *identity* as a keyword. Studies have examined learner *identity* as a key element in second language acquisition (Leung, Harris & Rampton, 1997; Norton & Toohey, 2001; Parks, 2000; Schecter & Bayley, 1997; Thesen, 1997), as pertaining to the purposes of SLE (McNamara, 1997; Wong, Duff & Early, 2001), in the context of teacher education (Amin, 1997; Duff & Uchida, 1997; Tang, 1997), and as informative in the design of classroom activities (Morgan, 1997). In addition, many theorists have recently tried to extend concepts of *identity* by concentrating on the links between personal *identity* and larger social frameworks such as culture (Bhabha, 1996; Hall, 1992).

According to Giddens (1995), the concept of *identity*, and the related terms of *self* and *individual* have enjoyed a central place in the sociological literature, all the way up to the present. Much of this literature revolves around how personality is shaped through interaction with others, a principle first explored in depth by Cooley, who believed that the chief goal that people have is to construct a desired place in the thoughts of others, a concept he called *the looking glass self*. Giddens (1995) contends that Mead developed Cooley's insights into what he called *the generalized other*, in which we make generalized assumptions or predictions about how other people perceive us. Mead's insights, in turn, influenced Goffman's notion of *dramaturgical* social behavior, which explores the notion that people are social actors, Foucault's insights into how

dominant cultures appropriate and control others, and Said's (1979) contention that western perceptions of Islam has been a process of constructing the *Other*. Giddens (1995) also contends that Mead's work, largely through Dewey's emphasis on the regulatory function of the imagined reaction of others, has also exerted a strong influence on educational theory.

It is important to note, however, that the term *identity* is more closely associated with post-structural critiques of the autonomous individual. According to Langbaum (1997), the word *identity* was "first used to mean personal *identity* by the empiricist philosophers Locke and Hume, who use the word *identity* to cast doubt on the unity of the self" (p. 25). The concept of *identity* is thus closely connected to post-structuralist concerns associated with the multiplicity of elements that make up the individual.

Space does not permit me to go into the various contexts associated with identity, the self and individuality in greater depth. What is important for my argument here, however, is that concepts of the self and individuality have changed significantly over time (Tuchman, 1978; Baumeister, 1986) and across cultures (Hinkel, 1999).

In the context of Canadian adult English as a Second Language (ESL), there has also been considerable discussion about *identity* in regards to multicultural treatment options (Courchène, 1996), developing analytic frameworks for cultural content (James, 2000), recommendations for the development of cross-cultural awareness (Murray & Bollinger, 2001), and the

need for learners and teachers to explore different attitudes towards culture (Ilieva 2001).

In terms of SLE and *identity*, one of the most often cited scholars in the current literature is Bonny Norton (2000). She uses the term *identity* "to reference how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed over time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future" (p. 5). She also uses the term investment to signal "the socially and historically constructed relationship of learners to the target language, and their often ambivalent desire to learn and practice it" (p. 10). Norton also notes that post-structuralist theory depicts individual subjectivity as non-unitary, "diverse, contradictory, dynamic and changing over historical time and social space" (p. 125). Any theoretical analysis along these lines, must "develop a conception of *identity* that is understood in reference to larger, and frequently inequitable, social structures that are reproduced in day-to-day social interaction" (p. 5).

The third concept I examine in this section, *investment*, was developed by Norton (2000) as a way of explaining how second language learners make decisions about whether or not the target language is worth investing time and effort in acquiring. *Investment*, "signals the socially and historically constructed relationship of learners to the target language, and their often ambivalent desire to learn and practice it" (Norton, 2000, p. 10). This concept is explicitly derived from Bourdieu's (1977) concept of *cultural capital*, which describes how one develops a set of resources that one brings to the social fields in which one lives.

In addition to the more commonly known concept of *economic capital*, which is the set of material resources one has access to, Bourdieu posited *social capital*, which consists of the total number of social network resources at one's disposal, and *cultural capital*, which consists of the resources related to the construction of meaning. It is this third resource that is of importance in my discussion here.

Cultural capital is a set of non-materialist resources related to family background, social status (as opposed to economic class) and education that is passed down from generation to generation. Different values are found within hierarchical forms of *cultural capital* that can be variously transformed into the more tangible material forms of *capital*, such as money and power.

Norton does not dispute Schumann's (1978) contention that learners progress largely to the extent that they identify with, or acculturate to, the target language community. Her essential critique, however, is that "differences between language learners and target language speakers are not theorized in terms of power, which compromise efforts by language learners to interact with target language speakers and promote second language acquisition" (Norton, 2000, p. 119).

Norton explicitly places herself in the sociological tradition I sketch above in her use of the term *identity* because she defines it as a depiction of individual subjectivity as "non-unitary, diverse, contradictory, dynamic and changing over historical time and social space" (2000, p. 125). The value in using this term for researchers is that it allows one to conceptualise "how a person understands his

or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed over time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future" (2000, p. 5). By committing themselves to learning the target language immigrants, "do so with the understanding that that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources" (2000, p. 10).

The implications of the concept of *investment* are profound. Since each learner enters the second language classroom with different agenda, the abstracted notion of the *good language learner* has little value. On the basis of an extended study into the learning processes of four students, Norton argues "that the learning of a second language is not simply a skill that is acquired through hard work and dedication, but a complex social practice that engages the identities of language learners" (p. 132). These identities are not static or one-dimensional, as Norton demonstrates in her close examination of her learners' experiences. They often contain contradictions, changed over time and space, and most importantly, show the impact of how power relations. In terms of the classroom, Norton's work show that teachers must provide directions and critiques to help learners examine cultural issues critically in the context of their own experiences, both before and after immigration. To put it simply, teachers must go beyond simple descriptions of different cultures in order to indicate how culture is produced.

It would seem that Lynd (1958) was correct in emphasizing the importance of *identity*, at least in so far as SLE is concerned. As I have discussed above, the concept of *identity* has recently informed many theorists and researchers in the

field. It is, as I've emphasized, a product of post-structuralist sociology and is from a very different tradition than *motivation* and *acculturation*, two psychologically-based theoretical foundations that have dominated research on second language learning processes to date.

More importantly, Norton's concept of *investment* is particularly relevant in the context of my study here. Immigrants such as my participants have made a long-term commitment to Canada that is best conceived of as an *investment*. This *investment* is not simply financial. In fact, given the socio-economic status of my participants the financial investment they make upon arrival is minimal. Investing in their new nation-state by becoming citizens is an investment in their identities as they refashion themselves as part of the immigrant experience.

Chapter Summary

The three broad categories of literature I have reviewed in this chapter are clearly interrelated. In framing my research, I have noted how the concepts of *motivation*, *identity* and *investment* found in Second Language Education (SLE) provide useful links within this context between Language Policy and Planning (LPP) and citizenship theory (CT). Developments within both CT and LPP have centered on what to make of one's place within the modern nation state. Post-modern notions of *identity*, particularly in the context of what it means to be an individual in these modern state structures, underline the fact that conceptualizations of belonging and citizenship are highly complex. Second language learning forms an increasingly important aspect of these theoretical

notions in the face of the very real challenges associated with massive immigration and Diaspora.

Chapter 3. Methodology

This research is a qualitative case study that employs semi-structured interviews and data analysis as the principal methods of data collection and fits into the case study *tradition* (Creswell, 1997). As I shall detail below, the methods were carefully chosen in light of the fact that this study was designed to examine the nature of alignments and gaps between the conceptualizations of Canadian citizenship that are expressed in national curriculum documents and those that are articulated by a sample community of adult ESL learners. As such, the study is focused on developing a new theoretical understanding of complex patterns of human interaction.

As Bryman (2001) makes clear, the divide between qualitative and quantitative strategies is ambiguous and a topic of intense academic debate. Particular lines of inquiry, such as the case study *tradition* can be either quantitative or qualitative. In addition, specific studies can make use of elements from both. In general, however, quantitative inquiry focuses on measurement, internal validity, deductive reasoning and the testing of theory. Qualitative inquiry is less concerned with measurement and internal validity and instead focuses on inductive reasoning and the generation of theory.

There is also an important distinction in the ontological orientations of the two strategies. Quantitative inquiry, with its concern for measurement, views human society as an objective reality external to the actors involved. Qualitative inquiry, on the other hand, views human society as a construction that is constantly emerging and changing. As I shall demonstrate in my discussion of

the data for this study, my respondents were actively engaged in the construction of meaning during the interviews.

According to Bryman (2001), qualitative research strategies are best suited to the generation of theory. Qualitative methods allow the researcher to probe and explore various aspects of phenomena as new issues arise, unrestrained by the need to maintain restrictions commonly found in quantitative methods. Although qualitative methods do have drawbacks related to the difficulty in corroboration and replication of previously conducted studies, these were not central to my inquiry. Quantitative methods might very well be appropriate for future research in this context, but my choice of qualitative methodology serves my purposes well in this instance. My goal is to develop new understandings of how conceptions of citizenship are viewed by a specific community of recent immigrants in a particular context. Since this research examines the alignments and gaps between two conceptualizations of citizenship, there was no impetus to isolate and manipulate independent variables as one would with a quantitative experimental design. There was no need, therefore, to address ethical questions pertaining to the setting up of control groups or introduction of independent variables such as a series of purposefully provocative questions.

One of the traditional strengths of qualitative research is ecological validity, the relevance a particular study has to the daily lives of its participants Bryman (2001). In this regard, I believe that my study shares this strength, particularly in view of my previous discussions with educational leaders in the

community. In these series of informal interviews, my respondents corrected a number of misconceptions and elucidated a number of issues facing the community of which I was previously unaware.

A case study is a detailed examination of a "phenomena of some sort occurring in a bounded context" (Miles & Huberman, 1994; p. 25). As such, it is concerned with the specific nature and complexities of these phenomena. Detailed quantitative treatment of particular cases, using such methods as questionnaires, surveys, and statistical analyses are popular forms of research. It is sometimes hard to distinguish quantitative case studies from cross-sectional or social survey approaches. Even so, case study research is most commonly associated with qualitative strategies, which employ such methods as semi-structured interviews and observation (Merriam, 1990). Case studies have been employed for a considerable length of time in medicine, law and political science.

Defining the Case

As Creswell (1997) points out, defining the case is the first, and in some ways the most important, task of the researcher. This is not as simple as it first appears because, contrary to widely-held belief, it does not necessarily have to refer to a physical entity. A case could in fact be a role or a group of amorphous individuals. However, even if the case is defined in terms of a specific physical location, the exact boundaries are difficult to fix.

This study concentrated on working-class Punjabi-speaking adult learners attending the evening ESL classes provided at Strawton Continuing Education by

the Kikait School District in the province of British Columbia in Canada. The Punjabi-speaking community in Strawton, from which these students are drawn, had a number of important traits that made conclusions made about it generalizable to other immigrant communities in Canada. Like many other immigrant communities in Canada, however, it was unique in the sense that it has a distinct language makeup (Please note that all of the proper names above are pseudonyms). Although the Punjabi-speaking population at the time of this study had not been established in Canada for as long a time as some other immigrant communities, such as the Chinese, it was as stable as any other in the country. Another trait this community shared with other immigrant groups (in particular those from Asia) was its very rapid growth in recent years.

Every immigrant community in Canada faces the same issues connected to the notions of nation, citizenship and identity identified by the four Punjabi-speaking educational leaders in the preliminary interviews described above. It is common for immigrants to note generation gaps, economic difficulties and complex problems related to politics, family roles, class membership, and discontented youth. As I outline in my literature review above, these issues of identity and allegiance become very complex, given the shifting definitions of citizenship within the Canadian nation in the midst of massive demographic change.

I did not, however, propose to examine the Punjabi-speaking community as a whole as part of an ethnographic study. My focus was narrower, in the sense that I examined the way in which a specific set of education practices

represented the process of identity and citizenship formation, and how those processes, in turn, were reflected by the participants in those educational practices. Adult ESL programming, to my mind, fulfils a very strategic role in terms of identity formation and the nation state. As Wong, Duff and Early (2001) make clear ESL programs have an important impact on the employment, identities and integration of immigrants.

It is difficult to assess to what degree this particular group of learners were integrated into Canadian life. As will be shown in the data, most worked for firms or shopped in businesses in which Punjabi was the language most often spoken. Culturally, most spent the majority of their time with family or in social and religious gatherings specific to the community. Based on my long experience as a teacher in that community, I would say that most of these students were relatively familiar with issues and events in the larger community and were not reticent about venturing out into it. However, I have occasionally come across students, particularly women, who have little social contact outside the local community. A few women, for example, have told me that they have never been to downtown Vancouver despite having lived in British Columbia for over a year.

In an attempt to discover how familiar these students were with Canadian culture outside of the local community, I asked each one of them how they felt about hockey, seen by many Canadians as an archetypal symbol of their country. The local NHL franchise was in the championship playoffs at the time of the interviews and the entire school had recently watched a televised game.

When asking about attitudes about hockey, I took pains to make plain the oft-touted relationship between the sport and Canadian identity. I explicitly told the students that many people said that hockey was the national sport and that enjoying it was an important part of being Canadian. Even with this prodding, however, none of the students showed an enthusiasm for it as a national symbol. Several said that they liked hockey, although further probes indicated that they had enjoyed playing grass hockey in India. These students saw nothing particularly "Canadian" about ice hockey. The majority of my respondents, in fact, expressed little or no interest in the sport, such as in this exchange I had with one of the respondents:

D: Do you think you have to like hockey or something like that? I mean this is what many people say that hockey is being a Canadian. Do you think that's true?

S: Yeah. Hockey. I am not interested. (27)

In another exchange, one of my respondents was even more blunt when asked if Canadian citizenship was associated with hockey:

D: Is [a Canadian] somebody who likes to play hockey?

S: No. (14)

As is discussed in the literature review for this dissertation, identification with the symbolic representations of the nation state is an important aspect of citizenship integration. Tensions between legalistic and normative aspects of citizenship is a marked aspect of current debate within the academic literature and reflects struggles over what constitutes the nation state, especially in the current age of globalization. Given some of the limitations of this research, it is difficult to assess how these students identified with national symbols in general,

especially in view of the fact that many of them were relatively isolated from general Canadian life. I can say, however, that one central symbol of the Canadian nation state, hockey, had little importance for them.

The particular pedagogical site within which this study took place had important revelatory power because it was an example of the structure of Canadian adult ESL programming. Most of the classes for both the day and evening programs were funded through English Language Services to Adults (ELSA), part of the largest nationally mandated and government-funded ESL programming in the country. The largest sector of contracted providers nationally of ESL instruction through this structure is that of public schools. At the time of this study, the Kikait School District was the largest public school provider within British Columbia. The specific site in question, Strawton Continuing Education, was the largest one in the district that provided ESL programs exclusively and was geographically situated in the middle of Strawton. The ESL classes at this site provided instruction at the three basic levels of English language proficiency common found in ELSA and LINC, which I have described in my section on the current state of ESL provision in Canada above. The learners in these programs met the requirements set out by government for participation in the program that I have outlined above. This means that they were all landed immigrants or recent citizens who were at a basic level of English language proficiency. I studied the students who were enrolled in the evening program since the vast majority of the learners who attended these classes were Punjabi speakers and held working-class jobs (principally in construction and agriculture). As I describe in more

detail below, I decided to interview all of the Punjabi-speaking learners who volunteered after my administration of the questionnaires. This amounted to 25 participants out of the total Punjabi-speaking school population of 83. The total school population (both Punjabi and non-Punjabi speakers) amounted to approximately 140. These classes were held from September to June, Monday to Thursday from 6:30 to 9:30 p.m.

Several classes in both the day and evening programs provided instruction that was slightly higher than the proficiency levels normally provided in this context through Language Instruction to Newcomers to Canada (LINC) or ELSA and were instead funded directly through the Ministry of Education. The mandate, composition, and teaching conditions of these latter classes, however, were identical in all essential aspects. All of the classes at this site were designed to provide general settlement language instruction in English and referred to the same curriculum documents. None of the classes, either in the Ministry or ELSA/ LINC streams, were designed for foci on job search or other career objectives. Indeed, based on my own extensive teaching experience in both programs, I believe that the only significant pedagogical difference between these classes and the ones funded through LINC or ELSA was their higher level of English language proficiency. Indeed, the classes were redesignated to reflect this precisely when funding for these classes were changed several months after the collection of data was completed. At that time, ELSA/ LINC funding ended and the entire program then came under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education. Since some other jurisdictions in this context currently offer LINC or

ELSA instruction at the levels that these latter classes provide, I believed that it was important to include these Ministry of Education funded classes in the research I conducted at this site.

The site was housed in a large portable classroom complex on the grounds of the largest secondary high school in Strawton. There were seven classes in both the day and evening programs with approximately one hundred and forty students in each. Although not opulent, the physical facilities and pedagogical supports were better than most of the other LINC/ ELSA I had seen in the Greater Vancouver area. In recent years, government funding cuts had resulted in the closure of several classes in both the day and evening programs, a measure that had increased waiting lists and the ability of the program to expand as the demand for ESL classes increased. At the time of the study, students were waiting up to six months for a seat opening, a situation that was criticized by many students and teachers on staff as being unnecessary and inefficient.

It is important to note that I did not in any way attempt to make generalizations about how typical this group of learners was nationally. As I found when conducting my masters research (Fleming, 1998), statistics on Canadian ESL training courses is extremely difficult to obtain, due to the multitude of jurisdictions involved. From my own considerable personal knowledge about ESL programming in Canada, I can express an impression that many of the traits of the program under study can be commonly found throughout the country. However, there is no way to verify this statistically.

As Haque & Cray (in press) note, LINC programs in Ontario have been marked by inadequate funds and access to resources. The teachers at the site under study worked in conditions that were somewhat better than the conditions described by the respondents in Haque and Cray's study (in press) that examined other continuing education ESL programs in Canada. They had full access to photocopiers, audio-visual equipment, computer labs, and a wide range of classroom resources. Although somewhat reduced by recent government funding cuts, the program still had the ability to take classes on neighborhood field-trips and purchase new teaching material. There was a principal on site who was responsible for supervising the teaching staff, co-ordinating applications for funding, conducting registration and intake, submitting reports to government and maintaining statistics. There was also a coordinator and several teaching aides who provided support. Like in other similar programs, Strawton Continuing Education had continuous enrolment and voluntary attendance. Although there is a minimum expectation for enrolment, learners often left and entered the program at any time during the term. Teachers were expected to keep class lists, monitor attendance and submit monthly curriculum reports to the principal. They were also expected to develop their own learner-centered curricula based on guidelines provided to them by the government and informed by the Canadian Language Benchmarks. The teachers were full members of the B.C. Teachers Federation and drew salaries that commiserate with their colleagues in the K- 12 system, wages that were better than in most other adult ESL programs outside the community college system. As I have

discussed above, I taught in this program and, after I took significant pains to explain the purpose of my research, had ease of access.

It bears pointing out that this study did not examine the programming or curriculum implementation. Since I was a teacher at the site, I did not feel that I could ethically delve into this area of interest. A recent study by Haque and Cray (in press) does examine this question. Even though they were asked not to make reference to issues related to programming, several participants did in fact make highly complementary comments on the quality of instruction. Some negative comments were made about the lack of financial support the government offered to those attending ESL classes and about specific programming issues such as the class schedule. However, as was repeatedly stressed during the data collection process, the participants were actively discouraged from commenting on the quality of instruction.

Even though the question of curriculum implementation is not central to this study, it is interesting to note that, historically, most second language education theorists and program administrators have regarded instructors as technical implementers of fully developed curricula with few formal responsibilities for curriculum writing. Unlike in general education, as Stern pointed out (1983), language teachers were only able to discard simple curricular formulas since the relatively recent break with 'methods approaches'.

Curriculum development, task design, and assessment have been integral to each other from time immemorial. In the modern period, ever since Tyler's *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction* (1949), outcomes and objectives

have been the starting point for most formal models of curriculum development processes (Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery, & Taubman, 1995). These objectives might very well be of one's choosing as an educator. However, as Mathison & Ross (2002) have made plain in terms of general education, standardized assessment shapes curriculum. Even though one might not explicitly "teach for the test," the fact that one's students must negotiate externally derived assessment criteria shapes everything one covers in one's curricula.

Within SLE, as Brindley noted when describing the impact of these national assessment documents on teacher autonomy in a number of national jurisdictions such as ours, "when assessment takes the form of constant observation and monitoring in relation to standards, it can become a form of surveillance" (Brindley, 1994, p.8). It is interesting to note the key part played by assessment in the new national ESL programs of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and England. As Brindley (1994) described it, this is not an accident.

Although the goals and curriculum for the day and evening classes at this research site were the same, the composition of the student bodies was different. The day classes tended to be comprised of learners with independent financial means or supports. The evening students, on the other hand, tended to work during the day or have extensive family responsibilities. Given the economic opportunities that existed in the community, day work was usually the only type employment available to these latter students. In addition, the lack of better paid employment for those without higher levels of English language proficiency meant that these students were usually employed in such working-class

occupations as agriculture, (non-union) construction, taxi-driving, trucking, domestic labor, or cleaning. As the data presented below outlines, most received little more than the minimum wage and complained that their employers routinely violate minimum provincial standards of employment. These violations included those related to work safety, overtime, holidays and vacation pay. In my experience, despite efforts that are often risky, these learners have little power to effect change.

Procedures and Instrumentation

The questionnaire surveyed the opinions held by the learners enrolled in the school at large. A total of 114 students from all levels and classes in the school were involved. This was for the multiple purposes of determining the general attitudes held by all the students in the school population about issues and difficulties surrounding the immigration experience, the role played by second language education in this process, soliciting potential interview respondents, and informing the development of a list of issues and topics to be explored in subsequent interviews. The questionnaire was anonymous, but did indicate the gender, first language background, length of time living in Canada, and level of English language proficiency of the respondents. The questions were open-ended. That is to say, the questions asked the students to write out their answers in prose and did not provide options for responses. The students from various classes were put into pair groupings in order to allow those who had higher levels of English language proficiency to assist those who had limited

English language skills. The questionnaires took approximately one hour to administer in each class.

The questionnaires were distributed to all the students in the six classes under study and completed on a single evening. Out of the total enrollment of approximately 140 students, 116 were in attendance. This was "a common daily attendance figure for a program of this sort," said the program's Coordinator, who also confirmed that the demographics reported below in regards to the questionnaires were in line with overall enrollment statistics in terms of gender, first language and level of instruction. Out of the 116 questionnaires distributed, only 2 were returned without being answered, representing a 98.3% response rate. Although translation was not provided at this stage of data collection, the respondents completed the questionnaires in an informal atmosphere, in some cases being paired up with more advanced speakers of their first language so as to ensure a full understanding of what they were being asked to answer.

Volunteers for the semi-structured interviews were solicited at this time on separate forms. Completed forms were assigned numbers for the purpose of ensuring anonymity. These forms, the only ones that link the actual names of participants to assigned numbers or pseudonyms, were carefully secured. The volunteers were then asked to read a translated summary of the goals and nature of the research to be conducted through the interviews and to sign consent forms.

As described below, thirty-one Punjabi-speaking volunteers initially came forward. All were selected for interviews. However, for various reasons, six later

declined to participate. A preliminary start list of interview prompts appears as Appendix 1 in this dissertation. These prompts, augmented and adapted in light of the topics that arose out of the questionnaire responses, consisted of a general list of issues and topics that were to be explored and were used as a checklist to ensure that the topics are completely covered in each interview. The participants had full access to these lists before and during the interviews. Each respondent was interviewed once at a place and time of their choosing for sessions that lasted between 45 minutes and an hour and a half. Seven participants took advantage of an offer to have services of an interpreter made available to them. While reference was made to the prompts as the interviews progressed, the focus was on conducting inquiries in a conversational manner in which participants were encouraged to explore their own ideas. These interviews were audiotaped, transcribed and then analyzed using qualitative research software.

To ensure that the research would be conducted in ways that avoided racial or ethnic stereotyping, I spoke with four educational leaders within the Punjabi-speaking community prior to the collection of data. I discussed my intended focus and methodology, gaining important suggestions as to how to avoid bias (however unintended) in the way I approached the research. So, for example, they corrected my misconceptions that caste and class were equivalent, that Indian life was bereft of media influence, and that Punjabi farmers lived some kind of idyllic rural existence. One of these leaders cautioned me to not assume that educational standards, such as bachelor degree

requirements, were the same in India as those in Canada. Another made the point that I should pay close attention to the educational and occupational backgrounds of the students since these factors would strongly influence how they viewed possibilities in Canada.

Through these discussions I also gained invaluable insights about the issues facing the community. These four leaders spoke at great length about the divisions within the community in regards to religious fundamentalism, an independent Kalistan (the traditional Punjabi homeland), and attitudes towards womens' rights, arranged marriage, first language maintenance, and how cultural beliefs could be passed down to the next generation. Weighing heavily upon these conversations were the two issues that related to violence: the Air India bombing (the trials of two suspects were just about to get underway at the time of our discussions), and the fact that many young men in the community had recently been murdered in gang-related violence.

In the implications chapter of this dissertation I shall refer generally to many of the issues that these community leaders raised in our discussions. However, it is important to note that these discussions were for background information only and do not constitute data. I did not, in fact, take anything more than rough notes while talking with them.

It is also important to note that during the collection of data, there was no attempt to assume the role of counselor or caregiver. Although the possibility of respondents experiencing stress was not high given the subject under study, a well-known community-based counseling organization was available that could

provide such assistance. One referral to this agency was in fact made because the respondent in question asked the researcher for advice about family conflict. Another respondent was referred to educational referral material after asking about career retraining.

The twenty-five respondents were interviewed over a three-week period immediately after the questionnaire had been administered. These were semi-structured interviews that solicited the attitudes and opinions of my respondents along the lines suggested by Merriam (1990). As I note above, this method of data collection best suited the two-fold purpose of exploring the topics previously dealt with through the questionnaires in greater depth and to responding to situations as they arose. I wanted especially to pay close attention to new ideas and fully appreciate the emerging opinions about citizenship that my interlocutors chose to share with me.

All of the students who completed questionnaires were briefed about the possibility of participating in the follow-up interviews. In an effort to limit variability and place the data in the context of the local setting discussed above, I interviewed only those volunteers who spoke Punjabi as opposed to other first languages. I made great efforts to explain my rationale for this to all of the students at this site in the class presentations I made prior to initiating data collection. Thirty-one Punjabi-speaking students came forward when I requested volunteers for the interviews at the times at which I conducted the questionnaires. Each of these was then provided with a consent form and a detailed outline of my research goals, both of which had been translated into

Punjabi. These volunteers were then assigned code numbers that replaced actual names for the remainder of data collection

Out of the thirty-one who originally volunteered to be interviewed, six withdrew before the collection of data for a variety of reasons. Some withdrew from the program. Others decided that they did not feel comfortable being tape-recorded. Thus, the remaining twenty-five students who volunteered represented all of the available Punjabi speakers who consented to being interviewed at this site. I conducted the interviews in a conversational manner, while referring to the start list of topics and issues generated from the first questionnaire and described above.

The interviews were conducted for the most part in English. For any student who requested it, I provided the help of a bilingual colleague who assisted in clarifying questions and facilitating answers for the students being interviewed. Only remarks made in English will be treated as data, however. I shall elaborate further on issues related to translation in a separate section below.

Each respondent was interviewed once, for approximately 45 minutes to an hour at a time, and audiotaped. Given my focus on the opinions of my respondents, videotaping these interviews was not necessary. As described in my section on data management below, the transcriptions of the interviews were entered into a QSR NUD*IST qualitative research software database for coding and analysis. In the interests of simplicity, turns in conversation were used as the unit of discourse segmentation for the purposes of analysis. An inter-rater

reliability check was conducted at the beginning of my data management in which a Ph.D. student and I each independently coded a large portion of the data.

For ease of analysis, I personally copied the handwritten questionnaire responses into typewritten formats. Each of the 114 completed questionnaires were thus replicated into short summaries and loaded into QSR N*dist qualitative research analytic software.

After experimenting with several versions of transcribing software, a professional transcriber was engaged to provide a written record of the interviews. I felt that the state of computing software at the time at which I conducted this study was not as accurate as using an experienced human transcriber. I did carefully transcribe several interviews myself in order to check the accuracy of the professional I engaged and found her abilities to be far superior to my own. At the end of this process, I was left with 210 single-spaced pages of interview transcripts.

Using the QSR N*dist software, the interview and questionnaire data were coded separately in reference whenever a participant discussed such topics as family, life goals, citizenship, discrimination, immigration, country of origin, jobs and careers, language and culture, learning English, reasons for coming to Canada or issues related to women. The coded data was cross-referenced and multiple-coded across the categories and against demographic information for the participants. Processing the data in this way assisted in getting an overall picture of the interrelationships within it.

It is interesting to note that I made an unsuccessful attempt with a fellow Ph.D. student to categorize all instances where participants referred to citizenship into those that were normative and those that were legalistic. I have referred to definitions of normative and legalistic conceptualizations of citizenship in my literature review above. This attempt proved futile because of the difficulty in ascertaining clear operational definitions as they appeared in the data. A further attempt was made to apply discourse analysis to the data excerpts in question, but the fact that most of these excerpts were short and often ambiguous (in terms of the framework being applied) made any conclusion tenuous at best, and misleading at worst. I am greatly indebted to my colleague for making the attempt with me, but I was forced to abandon using normative and legalistic definitions of citizenship in the process of analysis. Instead, as I discuss in my findings chapter below, I decided to utilize the full and unambiguous responses that my participants gave about citizenship (of which there were plenty) and comment about them outside of a normative/ legalistic framework of analysis.

I believe that it is important to note that the difficulty in categorizing the data in the way I have described above has made me hesitant to represent what my respondents say about citizenship as "definitions". I feel that it is better to represent their utterances as conceptions of citizenship. In this way I hope to avoid giving the impression that my respondents are coming to a definitive set of conclusions as to what citizenship means to them. As qualitative methodology

allows me to illustrate in the discussion of data below, my respondents were actively grappling with the concept during the course of the interviews.

It is also important to note that I am a teacher in this program. However, I do not grade, mark or in any way impose sanctions or provide rewards on the learners in this program, given its non-credit nature. In addition, my colleagues do not have any reason to fear any conclusions that result from this study, given the fact that it is not focused on making judgments on their pedagogy. Nevertheless, in accordance with the ethical review protocol that was adopted none of the students enrolled in my particular class were interviewed in the interests of further protecting all those who participated. I believe there is no conflict of interest in regards to me conducting research at this site.

Chapter Summary

This research draws on the strengths associated with the qualitative the case study *tradition* in that it is an exploratory inquiry aimed at developing a new understanding of a complex pattern of human interaction. Specifically, my goal in conducting this research was to develop new understandings of how conceptions of citizenship are viewed by a specific community of recent immigrants in a particular context. I have endeavored, as my description of interview data will show, to let my respondents tell their own stories and give their own opinions.

It bears noting, however, that my role as a filter is not unproblematic. The data must be viewed as having been gathered by someone who enjoyed a position of power *vis-à-vis* the respondents. However I might wish it otherwise,

the fact that I was a teacher at this site can not be dismissed as being unimportant or accounted for. I was often pleasantly surprised, as I describe below, at the trust many of my respondents displayed. They often volunteered intimate information about themselves that was humbling. Nevertheless, the reader should bear these dynamics in mind in assessing the data I present herein.

Chapter 4. Background Questionnaire: Difficulties in Immigrating to Canada and the Role of ESL Classes

In order to understand how these adult ESL learners conceptualize citizenship in their new nation-state, it is important to understand the context of their immigration experience. To that end, I decided to conduct an open-ended questionnaire of all the learners at this site. As discussed above, although I invited the participation of all of the learners enrolled at this site in this questionnaire, only Punjabi-speakers were interviewed subsequently. It bears repeating, however, that the vast majority of learners at this site spoke Punjabi as their first language.

The immigration experience was a difficult one for the vast majority in this study. It involved a considerable amount of personal sacrifice and, as I argue in the implications chapter that concludes this dissertation, was marked in almost all cases with a substantial reconstruction of personal identity.

My conceptual goal in surveying a broader sampling of opinion through the questionnaires was principally to help place the interview data in perspective. Methodologically, the open-ended format of the questionnaires informed the development of a list of issues and topics to be explored in those interviews. The questionnaire has been reproduced as Appendix 2 in this dissertation.

It is important to note that the information reported in this chapter can not be described as a set of findings. Although the information gathered through the questionnaire was important for the a fuller understanding of the context, my respondents did not make significant comments about questions related to

citizenship, which is, of course, the focus of this dissertation. Thus, I prefer to call the results gathered through the questionnaire as background information. This study's findings, *per se*, are more properly thought of as coming out of the interviews.

Demographic Information

Demographic information was also gathered as part of the questionnaire filled out by the respondents, which I shall now detail, prior to my discussion of the actual information gathered. The most noteworthy facts in this regard to emerge were that 57.8% of the 114 respondents were women; 72.8% spoke Punjabi; the average length of time in Canada was 1.9 years, and that the vast majority of respondents had laboring or semi-semi-skilled trades and occupations in both Canada and their countries of origin. The majority (53.6%) had arrived in Canada within two years of participating in the study, whereas few (18.2%) of the respondents had immigrated to Canada before 1999. In the interests of clarity, I present below a series of five tables that detail these demographics:

Table 1

Numbers of Questionnaire Respondents by First Language (N=114)

First Language	No.
Arabic	1
Cantonese	1
Farsi	5
Mandarin	1
Punjabi	84
Romanian	1
Russian	2
Singalese	1
Spanish	8
Tagalog	1
Urdu	6
Vietnamese	3

This table illustrates the predominance of Punjabi speakers as participants in the background questionnaire and at this research site.

Table 2

Numbers of Questionnaire Respondents by Level of Instruction (N=114)

Level of Instruction	No.
Pre 1	19
1	18
2	35
3	15
4	7
5	20

This table illustrates that no single level of instruction predominated.

Table 3

*Numbers of Questionnaire Respondents by Time since Arrival in Canada
(N=114)*

Time since Arrival	No.
Less than 1 year	27
1 year	23
1- 2 years	11
2 years	7
2- 5 years	28
5 years	8
More than 5 years	10

This table illustrates the relative even distribution of questionnaire respondents in terms of length of time in Canada.

Table 4.

Numbers of Questionnaire Respondents by Occupations in India (N=114)

Occupation in India	No.
High school or college student	35
Homemaker	19
Farming	15
Unemployed	10
Electrician	3
Other (dental assistants, beauticians, mechanics, pharmacists, shop keepers, tailors, teachers, communications, sales, real estate or business)	32

This table illustrates that the majority of questionnaire respondents held working class or skilled trades occupations in India.

Table 5.

Numbers of Questionnaire Respondents by Occupations in Canada (N=114)

Occupation in Canada	No.
Unemployed and/ or second language student	21
Construction Trades	15
Greenhouse laborer	10
Factory Laborer	10
Food Packing Laborer	8
General Laborer	5
Homemaking	5
Truck driving	4
Restaurant Laborer	3
Warehouse Laborer	3
Farm Laborer	3
Lumber Mill Laborer	3
Other (carpet cleaners, gas fitters, beauticians, medical support workers, nursery workers, salespersons, cashiers, first language teaching assistants, truss makers, welders, or auto body repair)	24

This table illustrates that the vast majority of the questionnaire respondents held working class occupations in Canada.

Results: Immigration Challenges

In my discussion below, I examine the topical areas in which I have grouped participant responses in order of those most commonly expressed. Thus, the first category I examine is the most commonly reported category. However, it is important to note at the outset that 96.5% of the total number of respondents reported encountering what I interpret as significant difficulties in immigrating to Canada, using such phrases when answering the questionnaires as "big problem" or "important difficulty". This should give pause to those native-born Canadians who might claim that current federal immigration policies provide newcomers with ease of entry into their new country (Mitchell, 2001). These policies and service provisions, which Strawton Continuing Education stands as an example, are indeed designed to promote integration. However, these policies do not, of course, necessarily adequately address the challenges and difficulties immigrants face that I discuss below.

Although it is, of course, difficult to evaluate and compare the challenges people face in various historical periods, I have heard friends and acquaintances argue, for example, that immigrants in earlier periods in Canadian history didn't have the advantage of the state-sponsored ESL classes that now exist. Current newcomers are thus considered lucky (or at least more fortunate). However, as has been documented by Bell and Goldstein (1993), it is also true that the acquisition of English by newcomers is more important than previously due to a greater lack of well-paid unionized employment in "language ghettos" as was previously more common. As will be outlined in the next chapter that discusses

the interview findings, some of the Punjabi-speaking participants in this study did find employment in work sites where they could speak their first language almost exclusively. However, these work sites usually employed people in poor (and/ or dangerous) working conditions and at minimum wage (or less).

Difficulties involving English communication with people outside their first language community were mentioned by 87.7% of the respondents. Most of the participants made general comments that did not go into too many specifics. I have thus not provided a further breakdown of this category other than to note here that these respondents commonly referred to having problems making friends outside their first language communities and completing daily tasks such as shopping and banking, for example.

The second highest type of difficulty reported related to employment. The comments made in this category, which involved 65.7% of the respondents, tended to be more specific. Almost all of the questionnaire participants in the study referred to difficulties in finding work soon after their arrival in Canada. All of those with professional training ($n = 14$) complained that they could not find employment in the professions for which they had had training and experience and had to be content with jobs that didn't make use of their previous work experience or education. Another common complaint ($n = 22$) was that the work they did find had low levels of pay. Many ($n = 13$) said that they were currently employed in jobs that involved hard physical labor, such as farm work or factory assembly tasks. Yet another complaint ($n = 4$) was in regards to employer violations of provincial standards of employment. As a teacher in this milieu, I

have often been asked by students to help write letters to employers or to provincial regulatory bodies that seek redress in employment situations. Students in my classes have accused employers of withholding wages, condoning unsafe working conditions, sexually harassing female workers, firing without due cause, lay-offs without notice, and refusing to pay overtime or vacation pay. Many of these specific complaints were mentioned in the data. Closely related to this were complaints that several students made about recent changes in provincial legislation that had reduced the minimum wages for new workers. The new legislation had established a two-tier minimum wage system where new workers only qualified for the higher of the two minimum wage standards after they had accumulated enough hours. As mentioned by the participants and corroborated by community leaders, the so-called "training wage" tended, according to the participants, to encourage employers to fire workers before they had accumulated enough time to qualify for the higher minimum wage. According to many of the participants in the subsequent interviews, older workers were hurt most by this, particularly those in farm work or in other physical and/ or low-skilled jobs.

Other than in regards to learning English and employment, there was no other clearly and easily demonstrable category of difficulty that was mentioned by the majority of the participants. The remaining complaints included those related to obtaining drivers' licenses (mentioned by 31.5% of the total number of respondents); understanding Canadian culture or customs (14.9%); obtaining suitable housing (11.4%); enduring very great financial hardship (9.6%);

encountering discrimination of various types (7.0%); waiting for provincial medical insurance coverage to take effect (5.2%); dealing with high levels of taxation in Canada (5.2%).

I am hampered in making a deeper analysis of the responses here by the fact that many of the responses were not elaborated on by the questionnaire participants in any great detail. Nevertheless, these responses (particularly in regards to the complaint above about understanding Canadian customs) served to inform the interviews that followed. So, for example, the interview respondents frequently also mentioned difficulties in obtaining drivers' licenses. I personally found the frequency of this complaint surprising. What was more interesting about this category, however, was that most the students making this same complaint in the interviews still supported a tough standard for obtaining Canadian drivers' licenses.

The context is important in evaluating the other categories listed above. Given the nature of the data collection, for example, it is not surprising that deeply personal matters, such as family life, were not mentioned to any great extent. I have separated listed severe financial hardship whenever a participant gave specific examples that appeared to be beyond a simple reference to "money" or the like. Housing seemed to me to be an important type of financial hardship worth mentioning separately. Discrimination often referred to that against older members of the community. The mention of health coverage refers to the fact that there is now a waiting period before any newcomer to the province can qualify for Medicare. The lack of complaints about childcare access

should not be surprising given the fact that this was an evening ESL program and that most participants could rely on family support during class time. Canada does have high levels of taxation when compared to India, where one gets, according to several students interviewed subsequently, very little benefit for the little tax that is levied. Several students mentioned climate, possibly because the data collection took place during the heavy rains of November and December in the Lower Mainland. Although I cannot be certain, it is possible that many of the participants might have been linking Canadian tax rates (including general and provincial sales tax) with the current level of fees levied on newcomers. These fees can be considerable (the landing fee alone is \$975), and have been described as a "head tax" by critics (Canadian Council for Refugees, 2000) as a way of comparing them with the notorious and exorbitant immigration fees levied against Chinese immigrants for most of the last century.

Each time the respondents were asked to identify and comment on the difficulties they had encountered, they were asked if the English as a Second Language classes they were attending assisted them in dealing with them. Without a single exception, the learners indicated that their classes were helping them learn English. Please note, as was mentioned in the previous chapter, that the participants were actively discouraged from commenting on issues related to specific programming or the quality of instruction at this site.

There were no prompts offered as to which, if any, aspect of language learning was the most important for the participant responding to the questionnaire. Accordingly, most learners did not specify any particular language

skill in their responses. Such is one disadvantage in using an open-ended format for this form of data collection. However, it is notable that speaking and listening were specifically cited as being important for 22.8% of the respondents. Writing and reading skills were only specifically noted as being important by 8.7% of the respondents. As mentioned above, most were concerned with practical and immediate difficulties involving face to face communication.

Significantly, the vast majority of learners (97.4%) noted that their classes were helping them immigrate to Canada in more ways than simply teaching them English. Over a third (35.0%) specifically noted that their classes helped them by supplying information about Canada and Canadian culture. Over a third (34.2%) specifically noted that their classes helped them find their first job in Canada or obtain better subsequent employment. In addition, the respondents noted how their ESL classes helped them communicate on the telephone, socially and on the job. Many commented on how they had been helped in obtaining drivers' licenses and preparing for higher education and training. These were major pieces of information that significantly informed the design of the subsequent interviews. Probes were developed that attempted to determine the exact nature of the assistance provided by ESL classes in terms of understanding Canadian culture and obtaining better employment. These points shall be elaborated upon in Chapter 6.

Even though specifically asked for them, most learners did not volunteer any long-term solutions to the problems they had encountered while immigrating. Of those who did, most indicated that learning English, knowing more about

Canada or relying on themselves would solve their problems. Only six respondents (5.2%) believed that government programs would be significantly instrumental in finding solutions to their problems. Several (4) made explicit reference to the need for self-reliance.

Even though this aspect of the information collected was not central to the concerns being investigated in this study, it did yield at least one interesting result. It is clear that the vast majority of participants did not expect government assistance to play a large role in the integration process. Immigrants such as the ones under study are marked (both historically and currently) on a lack of reliance on social welfare or other forms of government assistance (Knowles, 2000), much to the chagrin of critics who claim that immigrants such as these are a drain on the public purse (Mitchell, 2001). This aspect of the data collection corroborates this fact in terms of the attitudes shown by these students.

Chapter Summary: Emergent Themes

When taken together, a number of themes emerged from the reflections that the students volunteered when answering the questionnaires. As the participants made abundantly clear with example after example, leaving one's home and immigrating to Canada is a difficult experience. However, much of the pain associated with this process can be mitigated when one has support from friends and family already established in the new country.

The most oft-mentioned set of difficulties these respondents referred to was the fact that they did not have a fluent command of English. This lack of

fluency had a significant effect on self-esteem and levels of confidence. Learning English is closely related to getting good employment, keeping jobs and achieving financial security. ESL classes were helpful in this regard not simply because they were instrumental in the acquisition of the target language, but also because these classes provided content that helped learners adapt to Canadian life, gain self-confidence and understand Canadian law, history and their own rights.

Another set of difficulties that these learners referred to was in regards to obtaining good employment. Working hard and relying on oneself is seen as the key to success in Canada by most of the respondents, who closely associated a strong work ethic with independence and self-esteem. This trend was especially true for women, who saw coming to Canada as a major positive shift in gender roles.

There are also many references to changes and tensions within the family, especially in terms of shifting intergenerational roles. Several of the respondents commented on the fact that these tensions were exacerbated by a language gap, the fact that older members of the family had difficulty in acquiring English and that younger members of the family the young had difficulty in retaining the first language. In this regard, the vast majority of respondents felt that the first language and culture of the family was important to retain.

What is clear from these responses is that these learners did not believe that coming to Canada was simply a matter of seeking financial benefits or security. The process of immigration also involved making a commitment to the

new country that entailed making changes to aspects of one's culture and identity. This commitment was seen as risky, since it was difficult to know if one would eventually find acceptance and a place in the larger community. However, it was clear that these respondents felt that the risk was worth taking.

These themes provide a portrait of the learners at this site that indicates that they have had experiences that are common within this context. The fact that immigration to Canada is a difficult experience, for example, has been reported in various studies (Guardado, 2003; Knowles, 2000). The themes above also corroborate widely reported findings in other studies to the effect that having support from friends and family already established in Canada is important (Anisef & Kilbride, 2000; Dyck, 2003), that understanding English has a significant effect on self-esteem and levels of confidence (Wong, Duff & Early, 2001), and that these learners inhabit a *borderland* between cultures (Anzaldúa, 1987) or occupy a *third space* (Canagarajah, 1993). When combined with my own personal experience as a long-standing teacher in the field, comparisons between the information gathered above with those in other studies, I come to the conclusion that this research site exhibits traits commonly found within Canadian ESL programming. These themes, as I shall demonstrate in my next chapter, helped to shape the topics discussed in the interviews.

Chapter 5. Interview Findings: Living in Canada and Being Canadian

The presentation of the interview findings below has been divided into two sections. Both sections illustrate their respective themes with quotations from the interview data. In the first section, I explore the themes that emerged from the interviews related to the general challenges of immigration and the importance the participants gave to English language training. Much of what my respondents say about the immigration experience sheds light on the reasons why they hold the opinions they do in regards to Canadian citizenship. As is indicated in the methods chapter above, the content of the interviews covers much of the same ground in this regard as was reported in the questionnaire data but go into the topics in far greater depth. The second section of this chapter is devoted to a discussion to the themes that emerged from the remarks the students made specifically about citizenship. This latter section represents the main findings from this study and is compared to how citizenship is represented implicitly within the *Canadian Language Benchmarks (CLB)* in the next chapter.

Please note that in the discussions below (both in terms of immigration challenges and citizenship), I have occasionally inserted words within square brackets that clarify the subject being remarked on by the respondent. Generally speaking, however, I have minimized my insertions and have not corrected grammar. Please also note that I have often provided quotations in which my own contributions to the conversation are noted. This is in the interests of providing the reader with the full context of the topics discussed in the interviews. In such cases my own remarks are indicated with a [D] and the student's remarks

with a [S]. The numbers that follow each quotation refers to the code designation given to the respondent and correspond to those that appear in Appendix 3. Prior to the presentation of the data below, however, I provide the reader with an overview of the demographics related to the interview participants.

Demographics

The demographics for each of the interview respondents appear as Appendix 3 in this dissertation. From this information, it may be discerned that 69.2 % of the respondents were women, all but three were between 19- 29 years of age, all but two were landed immigrants, that the average length of time spent in Canada was 2.8 years; and that they held working class, laboring and semi-skilled jobs in their new country. Before I turn to the themes that emerged from the data, let me clarify four points in regards to the demographics in the hopes of preventing possible misconceptions.

It is important to note that the levels of education ascribed to the respondents might be misleading. Indian education, especially in the rural areas from which all of these students came, is marked by inconsistencies and disruptions. As was stressed by one of the educational leaders from the community I interviewed earlier, many rural districts are served by itinerant teachers who do not keep regular schedules or standardized curricula. Many resign mid-year and are not replaced. Many programs are also often suspended during key agricultural seasons. As a result, Canadian and Indian degrees are not necessarily equivalent. According to the community leader I spoke to, it

would be better to think of a bachelor's degree as equivalent to a Canadian high school diploma and a master's degree as corresponding to a two-year college degree. As can be noted from Appendix 3, only one of my respondents had taken courses at what would be the equivalent to those at a university level in Canada.

Another related possible misconception might be made in terms of Indian occupations. Thirteen of my respondents self-identified themselves as students in India. Upon investigation, it became clear that for these participants, this meant that all of these respondents were referring to the fact that while in India they were still living at home with their parents and dependent on them. Six of the thirteen claiming this status were indeed taking courses. Seven, however, had completed their public school education, such as it was, and were working on the family farm.

A third point that should be stressed here is in regards to class and caste affiliation, which are not the same, as one of the educational leaders I interviewed earlier stressed. Although possibly not as stratified as in southern Indian Hindu communities, the rural regions of northern India are marked by a complex social structure at the pinnacle of which stands the Jatts, represented as either an ethnic identity or a caste in the literature (Singh & Talbot, 1996). Although it might be regarded as being related to other identity formations, one's membership in the Jatt community is usually seen as being distinct from one's possible identity as a Sikh (religion), Punjabi (culture) or Punjabi-speaker (language). For my purposes here, it is important to note that two of my

respondents said that their families encouraged them to stay in school because they felt that Jatt tradition placed a strong value on higher education.

My final point of clarification in regards to the interview demographics has to do with land ownership and socioeconomic status. All but three of my respondents came from families who owned agricultural land, of varying degrees of value. Land ownership in India is very important. Indeed, land in the Punjab is especially prized because the state is the most important food-producing region in India. Several of my respondents referred to the pride they felt in coming from families who had economic means based on land ownership and pointed out that their family employed laborers during key agricultural seasons. They noted that they themselves had enjoyed relatively comfortable material lives in India. These same respondents were quick to note that their lives in Canada were far from leisurely.

Themes related to the Immigration Experience

In terms of the challenges these immigrants faced, the same themes came up in the interviews that had emerged earlier in the questionnaire data. Without exception, the students talked about the difficulties that they had experienced both in terms of communicating in English and obtaining gainful employment. The links between these two difficulties were explicitly made by ten of the respondents. In addition, they discussed many of the other difficulties that had been mentioned in the questionnaires earlier, such as obtaining drivers' licenses, gaining suitable housing, encountering discrimination of various forms,

and the like. I enjoyed many full and fascinating conversations with my respondents on a wide range of topics. In my discussion below, however, I provide summaries only of the pertinent information that helps provide a fuller understanding of this background in terms of Canadian citizenship. These remarks, listed in order of frequency of mention, have been categorized below and dealt with sequentially in the following sections:

1. Communicating in English in the wider society was often described by the students as difficult but not always necessary for daily life;
2. Learning English was seen as an important part of integrating into the larger Canadian society;
3. The students made strong links between learning English and obtaining better employment;
4. Family goals often took precedence over individual goals;
5. Most of the students strongly emphasized the importance of maintaining their first language and culture;
6. All the respondents volunteered the view that the classes they had attended were good, especially in the way that their classes helped them integrate into Canada;
7. Some students said that they had faced or were aware of various forms of discrimination since coming to Canada;
8. Women experienced immigration in ways that were different from men.

1) Communicating in English in the wider society was often described by the students as difficult, but not always necessary for daily life.

Approximately half of the respondents provided concrete examples of their difficulties in communicating in English in the wider community. These remarks included references to shopping, going to the doctor, accessing community resources and socializing.

Many of the respondents said that they got along just fine in their daily lives with their limited English abilities. As one respondent remarked, "A lot of people in Punjab be here... the bank, anywhere place to talk to Punjabi..."

Punjabi in stores. When I talk to Punjabi, I don't have to speak English" (15).

Again, this finding is corroborated by other studies within immigrant communities where the first language is concentrated.

Several of the respondents were not happy about this concentration of the first language, however. Surprisingly, given the fact that this teaching site was in the heart of Punjabi community, one of the respondents lived outside the neighborhood in large part because she wanted to be part of the wider community. She said that she did this because in her neighborhood there is "not too much Indians", and that in Strawton there was "not a chance to improve our language [English]." (1). She still came to the community for school, to visit friends and family, shop, and attend temple.

What is especially interesting in terms of this study, however, is that there were a variety of views expressed about the relationship between gaining fluent command of English and Canadian citizenship. It is to this that I now turn.

2) Learning English was seen as an important part of integrating into the larger Canadian society.

All of the respondents equated learning English with integrating into Canada. This process of integration usually, but not always, was discussed in terms of acquiring formal Canadian citizenship status. Much of the time I spent with them in conversation revolved around the specific difficulties they were having learning the language and the importance they ascribed to achieving a higher level of English proficiency. As was also indicated in the questionnaire data, learning English was the most commonly cited problem they had

encountered through immigrating to the country. This challenge was frequently mentioned in tandem with goals such as buying homes, passing the citizenship test, and employment.

However, as indicated above, there were a variety of views expressed about whether one could be a Canadian in the fullest sense and not have fluent command of English. On the one hand, many respondents felt that fluency in English was a requirement for Canadian identity. One went so far as to say that once "you do all [in] English, then you Canadian" (18). This was not unanimous, however. One respondent (9) was adamant that identifying oneself as a Canadian did not depend on English fluency.

At times, the views expressed seemed to be contradictory. The most concrete evidence of this was the fact that all of the respondents who were Canadian citizens indicated that they were very proud of their status, despite the fact that many also expressed frustration at their lack of English fluency. So, although one of the participants indicted, as is discussed below, that: "being a citizen means that he belongs to the country. If he travels anywhere and people ask him, what is your citizenship he will say it is Canadian", he also said that "English is the only problem he has" (23).

Although the fact that Canada is a bilingual country was stressed in much of the teachers' work at this site, French was only mentioned once by my respondents, when one student who had once lived in Montreal said that French was analogous to Punjabi in India. This was in the sense that both languages were those of minority populations in their respective countries. As this

respondent said, "The Montreal living people that they have problem with English. Same just like us" (16).

3) The students made strong links between learning English and obtaining better employment.

The third thing to note about the interview data is that the vast majority of students made strong links between learning English and obtaining employment. Several went so far as to say that "without English no work" (10) or that "without English nothing you can do. I say without air we no live" (27). Others, although not as dramatic in expressing their opinions, did say that although marginal or poorly paid work was possible without much English, a higher level of proficiency was necessary for better employment. As one put it, "because you not good English, not get good job." (25). Another student, a woman who had spent 14 years in Canada as a poorly paid laborer, emphasized that getting better employment was not simply a matter of being persistent, but was linked to training and experience. As she put it, "I try lots of time to find good job. The problem is they say no English, no experience. So it is very hard to find job without training" (1).

Some respondents also made the point that the English they were learning in class was strongly reinforced when put into use on the job. As one student expressed it, "right now I work with white guys... Before then, I work with East Indian guys, but now I feel better because I learn good English (at) work" (16).

As has been remarked on by other studies (Basran & Zong, 1998; Grant, & Benarroch 2004), the ability to re-license professionally in Canada and using the training obtained in one's first country is dependent on a number of complex factors. The chief one of these is the ability to devote enough time to develop one's English language proficiency. One of the respondents in this study, a skilled plumber (23), said that he could not consider taking his licensing exams until his English is improved by taking ESL classes. Another respondent noted (24) that he would soon have to abandon his profession (electrician) and take up driving truck if his English language proficiency did not soon improve. Both of these two respondents worked long hours in laboring positions and were very pessimistic about the prospects of having the time needed to seriously improve their English, given the fact that they felt that they had to put immediate family financial needs first. This seems to be strong support of many of the points Spigelman (1998) makes about the fact that immigrants are often ground into poverty because they have to address serious and immediate financial responsibilities soon after arrival and cannot pursue long-term goals such as re-licensing.

4) Family goals often take precedence over individual goals

This practice of putting off long-term goals in the interests of short-term necessity is very common in this milieu, if my experience as an ESL teacher is any indication. I have often encouraged my students to pursue their own expressed goals of obtaining higher education so as to enhance their ability to

gain better long-term employment, only to find that few actually do so. As I discussed in the literature review above, this trend has also been noted by a number of recent studies. Their failure to enter college or university (or even higher levels within the same ESL program) is not a matter of lack of effort or entirely due to the reality of systemic barriers, such as the lack of child care spaces or the cost of transportation. As is indicated by the respondents under study here, adult ESL learners usually have enormous family responsibilities that supplant their personal ambitions.

To put it bluntly: the needs of the family come first. Individual members of the family are often expected to work as much as possible in order to sponsor relatives from India, contribute to the down payments on homes, or financially support the education of other members of the family who are seen to have better opportunities. This can be exemplified by one of my respondents, a young and ambitious woman with a bachelor's degree from India with the desire to reenter university in this country. Her frustration was clearly evident during the interview as she related her experiences since coming to Canada three years before. For the entire time, she had been working long hours at minimum wage jobs, most recently as a kitchen cabinet assembly worker. In response to my surprise at the fact that she had started her first job within a week of arrival, she told me that at that time, "Nobody working in my house. I needed money and food. That's why I working the first week... I support my family because my family is a big. Only me" (11). She went on to tell me that two of her siblings had or were attending university. Given time, she might, as well. In the meantime,

however, her role in the family was to postpone her own ambitions (including those related to marriage) and support others in the household. In a very real sense, she was the bridge for her family's emigration to Canada. Her only outlet for her own ambitions were attending ESL classes after her long shifts at work.

For many of the students under study, coming to Canada was as much, if not more, for the younger generation than for themselves. Without exception, the students who were parents said that their children had a better future in the new country and that the younger generation preferred Canada to India. This had to do with more than better economic opportunities. Many of the respondents talked about the importance in Canada of personal freedom, safety and security and a greater respect for law (traffic regulations were often cited). One student said that his family had come to Canada so that his children could live in a place where there was a relatively pristine natural environment, "without pollution" (12). All of the parents, even those who seemed to express personal regret at emigrating from India, said that they had made the right choice in view of their children's future. Nevertheless, some of the parents expressed the opinion that young people had too much freedom in Canada, especially when it came to being obedient or responsible. Several of the mothers complained, as did this one, that, "we can't say anything" (1). I was told several times that Canadian-born Punjabi children didn't listen to parents as much as they might do if they had been brought up in India. This might be due, said one, to the fact that parents don't have enough time, given the multitude of pressures in their lives, to supervise their children properly. Several others blamed the public school system for not

placing more emphasis on the need for students to be responsible and serious academically, citing the example of a lack of homework assigned in the neighborhood secondary school.

For these learners, then, learning English had important instrumental purposes that stood in addition to questions of identity or citizenship. Obtaining better employment and acting on family and personal material ambitions were of paramount importance to them. As can be seen in the examples from the data provided above, there were often tensions between personal and family goals and between long-term and short-term goals.

5) Most of the students strongly emphasized the importance of maintaining their first language and culture

All but two of the students who were interviewed strongly held the view that it was important for families to maintain the Punjabi language and the Sikh culture in Canada. Many argued for the intrinsic worth of the first language and culture, noting that they were very proud to pass down the Sikh tradition to the next generation. As one student said, "we don't forget our past culture... I want my children to be Sikh" (16).

Most also made the point that first language maintenance was important for inter-generational communication. Most pointed out that the grandparents in their families found it very difficult to acquire English and it was therefore very important to ensure that the grandchildren had some rudiments of Punjabi. One student gave an example of the difference this can make for the older generation when she said that "my son speak Punjabi, so it is very easy because if my

father-in-law wants to talk with my children he understands because he always phone my son and they both talk, each of them. He is happy. My father-in-law is very happy if they speak Punjabi" (1).

Maintaining Punjabi was also important to several of the respondents because they occasionally went back to India to maintain property or to visit relatives. As one student explained, "Sometimes if we go to visit, if they speak English and in India everybody speak Punjabi, they don't understand right. They are not like us before but we can interpret" (26).

All of the respondents were clear about the fact that the younger generation would acquire English through school and the wider community. They also said that one's language was maintained principally through the home. As one remarked, "We speak Punjabi to the children at home. When they go to school they can learn English" (20). Even though a few said that they were aware that some members of the community had abandoned the use of Punjabi in the home, all but one of the respondents said that they believed that first language maintenance in the home was of the highest priority.

Passing down the Punjabi language was a challenge, however, as many respondents pointed out. Several said that their Canadian born children "cannot speak good Punjabi because they born here and this is a difficult for us." (16). One remarked that "it is very hard to learn Punjabi because we have no persons on the outside the house" (20). Several said that the priority was on speaking Punjabi and that writing was a secondary goal that often wasn't met. As one woman remarked, "At least they can speak. If they cannot write that's good" (20).

As can be seen through these quotes, immigrating to Canada has its costs. For the generation that bridges the gulf between the first and second countries, one of these costs might be that of linguistic isolation from subsequent generations.

One other respondent (28) indicated that he thought that it was much more important to maintain the Sikh religion than the Punjabi language. He did have the desire to keep Punjabi alive in the family, but was more insistent that the morality of the Sikh religion be passed down. As he expressed through the interpreter, "as long as they have good thinking and they are good human beings that's more important" (28).

These views on the importance of the first language and culture were not universal, however. One respondent appeared to have ambivalent feelings, at least about language. She seemed to say that that learning English, which she gave priority to, was mutually exclusive to learning Punjabi:

Yeah, I'm meeting new friends and but there are so many Indian people and they cannot speak English. They can speak Punjabi. Because if you speak English you something you speak wrong... Because Punjabi education is too much problem. If they live here they speak properly. English is too important. (9)

The same respondent seemed to say that Canadian citizenship means that one adopts Canadian culture. As she expressed it, "If you are citizen, you take the culture" (9). However, she also indicated an understanding as to why some of her family members wanted to keep the first language alive when she said, "they think Punjabi is their language and our grandfather and grandmother can't understand English. When they are in family they speak Punjabi" (9).

Another student was clearly against the maintenance of the first language and culture, however. He was very much in variance with the majority of the other respondents. He indicated that in coming to Canada one must abandon aspects of one's first culture and adopt new ones:

when you go other culture when you left your country when you go other country. I get immigrant in Canada and maybe up to three years I get citizenship. So this is my new, my second country and I had to accept this culture. The little bit I had to change in my culture I accept. I have to accept Canadian culture. (16)

This same respondent provides a concrete example of what he meant:

In India, people think Indian man thinks that this is the main problem because this is the law's problem in Indian men because divorce cause all our problems. The same now me. I am not believe it. I already told it. My [ex-] wife bug me. You cannot do this. You cannot do that. You cannot move. Every time you can this or you cannot this. She bug me. I'm not believe I am stronger. I no think that. (16)

In these two quotes above, I believe that my participant is indicating that he is prepared to abandon the attitude that he is, as a male, superior to women. He represents his sexism as being something that he inherited as part of his Indian culture and which is incompatible with the culture of his new country. Although one might very well disagree with these characterizations of Canadians or Indian culture (neither of which can lay claim to highly egalitarian societies, in my opinion), my respondent's remarks clearly imply that he well understood that culture is malleable and that the process of immigration involved finding middle spaces between one's first and second countries.

As indicated above, the vast majority of the respondents felt strongly that the first language and culture should be maintained. At least one disagreed with

this, as noted above, however. Another expressed an ambivalent opinion on the matter. There was also some variation about the relative importance of religion and language. To my mind, what emerged from the data is the fact that the vast majority of these students believed that the preservation of their first language and culture fell well within the parameters of what constituted Canadian citizenship.

6) All of the respondents volunteered the view that the classes they had attended were useful, especially in the way that their classes helped them to integrate into Canada

The students made quite a number of comments about the way in which the ESL program they were attending was assisting them in integrating into the wider community. All of the respondents said that their experiences in the program were positive in this way. As discussed in the methodology chapter, the research at this ESL work site purposely avoided any attempt to examine the quality or attributes of the teaching at this program. The students did indeed compliment the program and its teachers profusely, contrasting Strawton Continuing Education quite positively to their previous learning experiences in India and elsewhere. Their comments in this regard will not be dwelt on here. The comments they did make about how the program helped them integrate into the wider community are very pertinent, however, since they help deepen our understandings of how citizenship is concretely actualized. It is to this aspect of the program that I now turn.

Very few of the comments that the students made about the program's value to them were limited to discussions about English alone. The vast majority said that their classes linking their English learning with other needs in their lives. Many referred to the fact that the practice they received in class helped them communicate when doing things such as shopping or accessing community services. As one student said in reference to her class, "It help me a lot. About everything, learn English, about community, about everything" (2). Another said that, "ESL class is helped the new immigrant. And is common ESL class is perfecting English and many things in learning here, geography and lots about Canada and workers rights and many things" (27). A third student said that, "English class are so help me because I got a lot of knowledge about Canada, Canadian history, Canadian culture and also Canadian politics" (17).

The most striking aspect of the comments the students make about their classes is the number of references made to how they now understood the multicultural aspect of Canadian life, both in terms of policy and practice. As is also indicated in the questionnaire data, most of the students seem quite aware that multiculturalism is official Canadian policy and express positive feelings about this. Unfortunately, I was not able to discern from the questionnaire responses how exactly how the learners had come by these viewpoints. On the practical level, many students expressed appreciation for the opportunity to mix in class with students from other ethnic backgrounds. This is best exemplified by this comment:

Yeah, English class help us too. ESL allow us to speak to other peoples. They train us normally like mix up in cultures, Canadian cultures and they allow us to speak and we can if we learn good and we can speak good English we get good job and ESL learn about Canada. It helps us learn about Canada, Canadian culture, Canadian history, Canadian peoples, everything. (16)

As alluded to in several of the comments quoted above, many students mentioned that they felt more self-confident in looking for better employment as a result of attending English classes. The following exchange between one of the respondents and myself makes this aspect of the experience as being an ESL learner clear:

D: Has it made you feel more self-confident as a person?

S: Yes.

D: How has it done that, do you think? How has it made you feel better about yourself?

S: I give interview three companies and they are English people.

D: O.K.

S: The main problem and I have confidence. I talked with them before the ELSA [ESL] class I am very afraid. (27)

7) Some students said that they had faced or were aware of various forms of discrimination since coming to Canada

As has been discussed in the literature review for this dissertation, facing discrimination severely impacts one's identity, both as an individual and as a member of a group. It is important, therefore, to consider whether discrimination has had an effect on how these second language learners view membership in the Canadian state.

It should be stressed here that the conditions under which the discussions of this topic took place were not particularly ideal. It is highly doubtful, however much I would wish otherwise, that my respondents were very

forthcoming in discussing discrimination, given the fact that I was member of dominant white culture in Canada and that my respondents were not. Even though my interpreter was a woman from a different culture and background, it would also be highly unrealistic to suppose that the students felt that they could ignore my male gender, class, or status as a teacher (and thus a quasi representative of the nation state). Now, I take pride in the rapport I built with my respondents and the fact that a number did comment on discrimination in what appears to be an open and free manner. However, nothing should be made of the fact that the majority did not comment on specific cases of discrimination that they had faced or of which they were aware.

Some of the comments made by the students about discrimination were very frank about physical abuse. One of the students, for example, said that, "Some white people hate brown peoples. They throw something on the Indian peoples. I think that they think that we are not the same" (18). Another student told me that "Sometimes there be problem... Canadian sometime try and beat on me, sometime white guy" (25).

Others made reference to being discriminated against by employers because they were relatively powerless as new immigrants. As one student, describing immigrants doing farm work, put it, "they are very hard work on the farms because they no get good wages, no water, no washrooms... And they no give breaks, no lunch break, no coffee break. Like if they are working 14 hours, so they get two breaks. One is 15-minute coffee break. One is half hour lunch break. They are working 14 hours, so that is very hard" (26). Interestingly, some

of the students claimed that they had been poorly treated by both English and Punjabi-speaking bosses. One went so far as to specifically criticize Chinese-speaking employers, using language that was itself full of racial stereotypes.

Even though the majority of the students at this site came from nonprofessional backgrounds, the few who did have felt that their "education like not important here" (31). As can be seen by the demographic information for both the interviews and the questionnaires provided in the methodology chapter above, most of the students at this site had faced downward job mobility since coming to Canada.

The majority, however, did not say that they had been the victims of racial discrimination. Some clearly and unambiguously said this, as in this example: "When I go outside no discrimination of me" (29). Others said that, although they had not been victims themselves, they knew people who had been, as in this example: "And I heard from some people the people do discrimination here, mostly the white people but I didn't see in entire three years" (29). One of the respondents placed discrimination in an historical context, saying that when a number of relatives had immigrated they "had seen bad situation in 1920 at that time. Now times have been changed" (29). The same respondent mentioned the role that local schools played in combating racism by describing that, "In the schools that my family [go] we view the other types of customs, our culture like schools. Our own ladies mostly they don't want to put on the Canadian suits and costumes so the other people, the Canadians, they identify us we came from India from another country, so they don't discriminate" (29).

Several respondents compared Canadian race relations favorably with those in India. As one of the respondents explained through the interpreter, "he says he feels everyone is treated equally here in Canada and the laws are the same for all and he said it is not like India where there is difference" (23). Others told stories about being harassed by Indian police during anti-terrorist operations in the Punjab. Violence, in fact, was a common topic of conversation when the students talked about India.

Some of the students made special reference to discrimination against older members of the community, saying that they were often held up to ridicule because of their lack of formal education or paper credentials. For one respondent this was especially unjust because many older members of the community had valuable skills that were ignored. As she explained it, "our old people, they have no education. We know what this, this one is paper [credentials] but old people don't know about anything [to do with formal education]. That's why, maybe people make fun of them because they don't know. But, that's too bad" (31).

Discrimination against the older generation was especially bad in regards to finding work and obtaining pensions. One young woman complained that government pensions for recent older immigrants like her mother were so low that she could not stay home even though she was quite elderly. Her mother had to find work somewhere. As she explained it, "They don't get pensions, right, like maybe like \$200.00. Not enough" (26). Finding good employment, like at the respondent's workplace, was not possible because, "If I say ah, my mother she

needs a job right, can she work with me. [the employer asks] so how old she is?

Like 40 years or 45, [the employer says] no no, we want a younger ladies" (26).

As a result, at a time of life when they would normally be enjoying the rewards of retirement in India, older members of the community are doing poorly paid physical work on farms. This was very frustrating to many of my respondents, in part because they had made major sacrifices to sponsor their aging parents for landed immigrant status.

8) Women experienced immigration in ways that were different from men

An important theme that emerged from the data had to do with the unique challenges related to the experiences of my female participants. These gender differences were abundantly clear from the very beginning of my analysis of the data even though the consideration of gender did not form an explicit part of my theoretical framework. Although I am fully aware of the importance of a feminist perspective in research, I did not feel that I could properly give this a central place in my theoretical framework, given my own subject position. Nevertheless, I did code the data by gender and as a consequence discovered that women clearly represented the immigration experience differently than men.

Almost all of the female respondents said that coming to Canada was a liberating experience. As one simply expressed it, "girls are free here" (31). Much of this feeling of liberation had to do with having jobs. Another respondent was quite blunt in her assessment in this regard, saying that, "There is more freedom [in Canada] because in India girls don't work" (9). This was in great contrast to

what occurred in India, where, as one respondent put it, "Boys have a job, girls have no job" (11).

Some of the respondents said that even when women receive better than average education in India, they still faced a difficult time getting jobs. As one expressed it, women "not get good jobs [because of] study. They get the labour jobs, the farming jobs" (18). However there was a difference of opinion on this point, at least in terms of the effect of education, as is evidenced by this response to a question put to one respondent about women in India: "But it is the same thing like boy or a girl... I think it is in I think 60% Indian families in India. No difference in a boy or a girl. Those families who are educated and same standard." (1).

The differences between Canada and India were not simply in regards to employment, however. Much of what the women talked about was in reference to escaping general living conditions in India, particularly in relationship to marriage. Some children, "sometimes they do get married, boys is 9 years and girls is like 7 or 8, so they get married, that's not right, they don't understand it" (26). Arranged marriages were also an important topic for these respondents, of both genders. On this point, the respondents were quite divided as to the merits and drawbacks of arranged marriages, with many expressing opinions in favor and many against. None, however, seemed to have strong opinions either way and appeared to be prepared to compromise with their children (or parents) in the event of conflict. Most seemed to hope for a lucky combination of *arranged* and

love marriages. As one mother said, "I like both. I think arranged marriage. My son [however] like the girl so I can do it" (1).

Immigrating to Canada meant for most of these women that they would marry later, have children when they wanted, and devote more of their lives to school and employment. Respondents of both genders also spoke in positive terms of the way that immigrant women enjoyed more equality in the home and in the family.

One of the participants (17) described her own experience in a manner that is highly exemplary of the unique way that coming to Canada is viewed by the women in this study. This young woman had come to the country to join her new husband in an arranged marriage a year and a half before our interview. She had left her own family in the Punjab, who enjoyed a very comfortable life materially, in order to start a new life with her husband. Within two weeks of her arrival she had her first job as a manual laborer in a greenhouse, working for minimum wage. She described the work as hard, but her life with her husband's family as good. However, within a month of my respondent's arrival, her new husband was thrown into prison, charged and then convicted of drug trafficking. At the time of our interview, he was still in prison and they were divorced.

I asked my participant why she did not choose to return to India and her family, especially in light of the way that she emphasized that no disgrace normally associated with divorce would fall on her. I was curious as to why she would remain in Canada, making minimum wage at a difficult job and living alone and relatively isolated in a basement apartment, when she could resume a

comfortable life with her own family. Her answer was that in Canada she had "more freedom" (17). She provided me with a concrete example by saying that "in Canada we can wear every types of clothes. We can do hairstyles. We can do every hairstyle but not in India" (17). It is interesting to note, in this context, that this same respondent also emphasized that attending English classes represented one of the few social outlets available to her.

Themes Related to Citizenship

At this point in my discussion, I now turn to my core findings: the specific comments that the respondents made directly in relation to citizenship. My discussion above has mainly been provided to set the context for my central concern: the conceptualizations of Canadian citizenship that are articulated by this community of adult ESL learners. In my next chapter, I will turn to the nature of alignments and gaps between those conceptualizations and those expressed in national curriculum documents.

In organizing the comments made by my respondents, I have attempted to draw as much as possible from the literature I have reviewed in my earlier chapter. I have thus grouped together remarks related to such topics as identity and legalistic definitions. Accordingly, for example, I have grouped together references to what I take to be normative manifestations of what constitutes moral citizenship for these learners, such as when they say that good Canadians, "don't hurt for anybody" (26). Please note that none of the responses are mutually exclusive, that is to say that many respondents express opinions in a

variety of topical areas and some responses relate to several topical areas. For each of the topic areas, I have indicated the number of respondents who expressed similar opinions on the topics in question and illustrate with appropriate quotations. Given this methodology, frequency of mentions has no statistical value in this context.

The themes that emerged that relate directly to citizenship are as follows:

1. Becoming Canadian was a major shift in identity for most of the participants that involved a strong commitment to their new nation;
2. Access to citizenship rights was seen by most as a key element in how they referred to what it means to be a Canadian and contrasted this to their experiences in India. They most often talked about the right to meaningfully participate in the political process;
3. Multiculturalism was viewed as an essential aspect of Canadian life;
4. Respecting the rule of law was seen by most as the central responsibility of citizenship.; Some participants said that morality was related to being Canadian;
5. In contrast, however, a few participants stressed instrumental purposes in obtaining citizenship;
6. Few noted that fluent command of English was necessary to becoming an integrated Canadian.

1) Becoming Canadian is a shift in identity

Coming to Canada, as the data gathered through the questionnaire revealed, entails enormous concrete changes in terms of daily life, work, family roles, and plans for the future. The interview data makes it very clear, however, that for the majority there are also major psychological shifts associated with immigration. Although, as I discuss below, two of my respondents claimed that the immigration experience had little impact upon them in this regard, the remaining twenty-three participants made remarks indicating that their self-perceptions had been profoundly affected as a result of this process.

For these students, a large part of coming to Canada meant shutting the door to India. Although most said that they planned to go back occasionally to visit friends and family (or even to get married), immigrating entailed a shift of allegiances to their new nation state. As one of the participants put it:

In my opinion my past in India. I left that country right. Now I'm still forever and living in Canada right and if I think. We should first when we get Canadian citizenship, right and we think Canada is my country now. Right. It is my country. I live here in Canada forever. (16)

This change in national allegiance was something to be stated publicly and without room for doubt. As another respondent said through the interpreter, "being a citizen means that he belongs to the country. If he travels anywhere and people ask him, what is your citizenship he will say it is Canadian" (23).

Comparisons with life in India were often made during the interviews in which the students told me that they felt discriminated against in India. This discrimination was not restricted to dramatic public events, such as when the Golden Temple was attacked by the Indian army in 1984. Many of the students also cited examples from daily life in which they had been fearful of the local police and frustrated with an inability to access better employment opportunities. Through the interpreter, one respondent indicated,

He says there is no fear and it is very peaceful [in Canada] and [he says if he walks at] 10:00 at night feels safe; unlike in India if he is walking at 10:00 and a cop stops him and harasses him, he has to bribe him to get out of the situation. (24)

Accordingly, Indian citizenship suffered in comparison, as when one of my respondents bluntly said that, "[Canadian] government good. India has no good government" (7).

In this context, it is easy to see why some of the participants described their commitment to the new nation in ways that could be very enthusiastic and relatively unconditional. One respondent, for example, said that being a citizen meant that one "will do anything for his country" (2). For others, however, the satisfaction in becoming Canadian was tempered by the fact that citizenship did not necessarily solve economic difficulties. This attitude was expressed in this way by one respondent: "I feel very happy that time [when he took the citizenship oath], but when I can't find a job then I feel sad, because job is very important for my life because we don't have, we can't enjoy our life" (1).

This commitment to the new nation was not simply in terms of themselves alone. One of my respondents wanted to stress how this shift in identity and commitment should be passed down to the next generation. As she said, "I think of my children to think of Canada, good thinking and country good and something improvement in Canada" (12).

Becoming Canadian meant that there was a change both in terms of how you viewed yourself and how others viewed you. The way in which others perceived you could be quite profound. One of the participants put this quite graphically when describing how they would be treated and viewed by Indian immigration officials if they ever returned for visits to the old country. She said that, "Yeah, if we are Canadian citizen then everybody behave good with us like if we going to India; they make two lines, one for immigrants, one for citizens. They good behaving the Canadian citizens" (31). In the same vein, another

participant said that when you obtain your Canadian passport, "you feel much more respectful person, a respectable person" (18).

Being a citizen meant for one respondent that she would have an enhanced sense of self-worth and be equal to anyone else if she "went to any white peoples' office right, like, or where special appointment I went to apply to my job, so I am very Canadian" (26). Even more profoundly, a change of citizenship could have a deep impact on how one believed the world should be interpreted, as in this example:

we have to change the new. My state's peoples [Punjabis] they have to change... they should think that woman and man same... This is the main change, change the culture from my culture [to] Canadian culture. (16)

Another common feeling among the respondents was that responsible citizenship entailed gaining knowledge of the new country. This echoed many of the remarks found in the questionnaire data which indicated the need for ESL classes to feature settlement information as well as language training.

Finally, I would be remiss if I neglected to note that the vast majority of the respondents looked upon Canadian citizenship in highly positive ways. This is exemplified by the response I received when I asked one student how she thought she would feel when she took her citizenship oath. She simply said that she would be "grateful" (26).

2) Access to citizenship rights

During the interviews, 17 of the 25 respondents mentioned that one gained better access to citizenship rights, in their various forms, when one

obtained Canadian citizenship. This was the single most important element in how these respondents, as a group, referred to Canadian citizenship. As I've indicated above, gaining citizenship rights had profound implications in terms of identity for many of the respondents. In this section, I lay out more specifically how citizenship rights were described in the data.

In this context, some of the respondents spoke about citizenship rights simply in general terms, as when several of them associated Canada with the word "freedom" or in quotes such as this: "Nation? Citizen nation. Yeah, citizen nation. This is very important because and important the rights" (12).

Sometimes these general remarks seemed to be in purely legalistic terms, in the sense that these rights were recognized as coming into play only after one swore the citizenship oath. These rights were most often concretely described in terms of the electoral rights. So, for example, one woman simply stated that "You vote if you are citizen" (9). On the other hand, electoral rights were often linked to becoming an equal member of Canadian society, as in this (albeit sexist) example, "I think if I got the citizen, I get citizen I'm same right, get rights and vote as a man" (27). Electoral rights were also not simply regarded as the right to vote. In the following example, full participation in the electoral process was also regarded by the respondent as being important: "because I [will be] citizen, right. Yeah, I do the voting and other activities" (25).

Other examples of purely legalistic interpretations of citizenship rights were in reference to freedom of speech, the frequent use of the word "democracy", or the occasional reference to the right to unionize. Many of these

remarks were in reference to equality and in the context of comparisons to the situation in India, such as in this opinion expressed through the interpreter, "he says he feels everyone is treated equally here in Canada and the laws are the same for all and he said it is not like India where there is difference" (23).

On the other hand, it wasn't always clear as to whether the student was referring to citizenship rights as a purely legalistic entity, or something wrapped up in Canadian culture. This is exemplified in this quote: "we can get rights of the nation if we are citizens. We are really attached to that culture" (17). This lack of distinction between the legalistic and normative aspects of citizenship rights is even more clearly exemplified in the following example:

Canadian culture is good, good because it is a democrat country, freedom. Nobody is nothing... Canadian culture is good. I don't think white people say that we should accept Canadian culture. Right. Because we live here. We child born here. Life is same. That's why we have to accept Canadian culture. (16)

3) Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism was referred to by nine of the respondents during the course of the interviews, all of whom described it in positive terms. This was not manifested by abstract references to government policy. Much more frequently, in fact, the respondents talked about multiculturalism as the principle of respecting other people and their cultures, such as in this example: "Every culture [we] should respect and [be a] good citizen of Canada" (15). Respecting the multicultural make up of Canada was often linked to being a good citizen, as when this student said, "Yeah, everybody, yeah in this country and the culture.

Every culture should respect and good citizen of Canada" (15), or to general morality, such as in this quote: "[To be a Canadian] like you do good job, no like crimes, nothing... Respect other cultures or peoples... because... Canada is multicultural" (19).

The benefits of living in a multicultural nation were seen as a two-way street. As one respondent said, "We have to respect other people, then they give us respect" (2). This principle was applied to daily life by one of the respondents in the following:

We follow the laws and we respect everybody. We respect everybody's language and cultures and respect everything is right. We no speak rudely right. If you are Chinese and I am East Indian... We respect everybody and everybody respect us...Canada is multicultural country and also people rights and we don't ignore anybody, right. (26)

However, despite the fact that multiculturalism is a core aspect of federal policy, problems with discrimination still exist. As I discuss below in a separate section, the students were well aware that concrete manifestations of racism are common in Canadian society. They were also aware that discrimination is in variance with stated government policy, as was noted by this student when she said, "Canada is multicultural country but [everyone] not treated equally" (18) or by this student, who said that, "Canada is multicultural because there are so many religions here but there is not equality" (9).

4) The rule of law

The second most commonly expressed opinion about what it meant to be Canadian had to do with the rule of law. To a certain extent, the students

recognized that adherence to the law was part of being a member of any nation state, a sentiment expressed thus by one student: "When you follow any country you right then we are citizens of that country. You first follow their rules and rights. I am Canadian" (27).

However, Canadian law was thought of differently than the law in India. As was discussed in my treatment of the questionnaire data, the students at this site were very appreciative of what they perceived as the stability and consistency provided by the rule of law in Canada. This was in contrast to the Indian legal system, which was often described as being arbitrary and corrupt. Several students, for example, told me that bribery was common and for the right price one could arrange to have someone murdered by the local police.

In my estimation, the stability and consistency that these students prized was due to their perception that *equality* was as a key principle in the way Canadian law was framed. As one of the students stressed (through the interpreter), "here in Canada the laws are the same for all" (23). This was in contrast to India, which has a multiracial makeup, where the same student said that between the races "there is difference" (23). This is not to say, however, that the students were blind to inequities in the way Canadian law was applied. Although, as one student said, "Here is laws too good" (15), she believed that for South Asians in Canada "it is not equal" (15).

These students did not simply look upon the Canadian legal system as the arbiter of a set of rights to which they were entitled. An analysis of the interview data revealed that many of these students (nine out of the twenty-five) stressed

that respect for the rule of law was a large part of what it meant to be a responsible citizen. Most references in this regard were clear and adamant, such as in this example: "[Canadians] follow the laws, right, and we don't do any crime, criminal and don't sell drugs, right" (26). This sentiment is also clear in the following exchange:

S: You know the rules.

D: So you want to follow the rules?

S: Follow the rules.

D: Follow the law, I guess, the rules of the country. Yeah.

S: And make a good citizen. (14)

This sense of responsibility to respect the law was linked to general morality and the family. As one put it,

[To be Canadian means] we follow the laws right and we don't do any crime, criminal and don't sell drugs, right, so we want keep education, we can have a job, make money and spend money on our family. We guide our family to go to crime and be responsible. (26)

A full interpretation of these remarks must include a careful assessment of what was happening in the larger community at the time of these interviews. As one of the educational leaders from the community I interviewed prior to the start of data collection stressed, crime and conflict were at the forefront of everyone's concerns. While I was conducting these interviews, for example, the Air India mass murder trials were commencing. These trials, in which prominent members of the community stood accused of a terrorist bombing of an Air India flight in support of an independent Kalistan, were causing great schisms within the community. Also at the time, the first of a series of public meetings were taking place on the issue of youth violence. In unprecedented numbers, young men in the community were being murdered in what police and media described as

being the result of involvement in drug-related crime. Conflict in the community was also evident in a number of high profile (and sometimes violent) struggles over the control of religious, financial and educational institutions. In light of these issues it is perfectly understandable that many in the community, like many of the students I interviewed, would stress adherence to law as an attribute of good citizenship.

Respecting the law was not simply an intellectual exercise that stood in isolation. Some linked following the law with emotions and moral precepts, such as in this statement [provided through the interpreter]: "being a Canadian citizen means to love all people and to follow the law" (23).

5) The moral aspects of being a citizen

Although most of my respondents seemed to focus how they described Canadian citizenship in terms of the legalistic precepts of adhering to law, accessing citizenship rights or respecting multiculturalism, six students centered their discussions on what I consider to be the normative aspects of being good citizens. I mean this in the sense that they saw that a moral attitude was a central part of being Canadian.

Of course, the distinction between legalistic and normative references to citizenship is not always clear. When does respecting the law cease to be a purely legalistic concern and become a moral imperative, for example? Needless to say, my intention here is not to rehash arguments that have been central to philosophical debates for centuries. What I present here, however,

several quotations which seem to stress a moral sense of what it means to be Canadian.

The best example within the data of how morality finds itself into the way citizenship was conceptualized by the students can be seen in this quotation: "He makes Canadian, a Canadian citizen, good, good behavior, not fighting, not secret things" (11). Similarly, another student described being a good citizen as being someone who, "Understands everybody like, don't hurt for anybody" (26). Again, the issues faced by the community I have enumerated above provide an important context in the consideration of this reflection.

With this ideal version of a citizen in mind, one of my respondents spoke of the need for immigrants to acculturate into a polite society. Newcomers have the responsibility (as she described it through the interpreter) to "speak respectfully... freedom means to be respectful of other people" (6).

6) Instrumental purposes of citizenship

Although the vast majority of the comments I gathered in regards to citizenship encompassed large social concerns, several were in relation to narrower descriptions of citizenship that I have interpreted as being rather instrumental. All in all, however, this amounted to only five of the twenty-five respondents. Of course, all of my respondents have come to Canada in order to better the lives of themselves and their families. However, here I am highlighting comments that seemed to emphasize the immediate personal benefit that one gains through becoming a Canadian citizen.

One of my respondents, for example, emphasized her goal of obtaining a Canadian passport so that she could travel more freely. Another said that her primary concern was to have access to government medical insurance. A third said that she liked having access to Canadian government services and to live in a country with less pollution than in India. In the same vein, two students described coming to Canada as being important for their own personal betterment in terms of gaining better education and making money.

As mentioned above, only two of the students felt that coming to Canada made little difference to their outlook. At least one explained this attitude in terms of his comfortable economic status in both Canada and India. Given his relative wealth he was able to travel back and forth between the two countries frequently and said (through the interpreter) that, "[one's citizenship] doesn't make a difference. You could be a citizen of India or you could be a citizen of Canada. But...life is better in Canada and there are more facilities in Canada. It's good to be in Canada". (28)

7) Attitudes toward English

Although, as noted above, English was considered key to gaining access to better employment and material well-being, only two of the twenty-five students felt that having a fluent command of English was essential to being Canadian. One of these respondents explained it this way: "Canadian's language is English (sic) everybody's ... [should] learn the English" (10). The other student

was more adamant, declaring that "I think you do all English. Then you Canadian" (18).

The vast majority of my respondents, however, felt that knowledge of English had more of an instrumental purpose than as a vehicle for integration into the wider community. None of these students saw anything incompatible with conducting the greater part of their daily lives in Punjabi and being good Canadian citizens. As noted above, most of the students put greater stress on preserving the Punjabi language and the Sikh religion and culture. One of the participants, for example, mourned the fact that his brother-in-law had lost much of his Punjabi culture. The participant described his brother-in-law as a culturally integrated Canadian, despite the fact that he had not learned much English in the twenty years he had lived in Canada.

Chapter summary

In this chapter, I have presented the major findings of this study. The data makes it clear that becoming Canadian involved a major shift in identity for almost all of the participants, who noted that access to citizenship rights was a key element in how they referred to citizenship in their new nation state. They spoke most strongly about the right to meaningfully participate in the political process and contrasted their hopes to their experiences in India. Multiculturalism was viewed as an essential aspect of Canadian life that conferred real benefits to them. In addition, respecting the rule of law was seen by most as the central responsibility of Canadian citizenship. Some participants said that morality was

related to being Canadian and a few participants stressed instrumental purposes in obtaining citizenship. However, these two latter groups, who evaluate citizenship in somewhat opposite ways, were definitely in the minority. Finally, it is clear that only a few of the respondents believed that fluent command of English was necessary to becoming an integrated Canadian.

In presenting these findings, I have taken great care to contextualize how my respondents referred to Canadian citizenship in the interviews by providing the reader with samples from both the interview and questionnaire data that indicate how they characterized the immigrant experience in general.

To briefly summarize, although Canadian citizenship made little difference for some, becoming Canadian was a shift in identity for most of the respondents. Most stressed access to citizenship rights as a key benefit and linked this to the rule of law and the right to participate in the political process. Often remarks were made in this regard when contrasting life in India with life in Canada. Respecting multiculturalism was also seen as a key element of what it meant to be a Canadian. Some felt that were aspects related to morality to being a citizen of their new country. A few stressed instrumental purposes in obtaining citizenship. The importance of learning English fluently did not seem to be a major concern to most of the respondents. The lack of emphasis the students placed on English fluency, for example, is best understood when one realizes that family goals take precedence over individual goals. Thus, learning English fluently takes second place to what are perceived to be more immediate financial goals such as sponsoring relatives, purchasing homes, and supporting the education of the

younger generation. Although the findings of a longitudinal survey of immigrants to Canada (Statistics Canada, 2001) established the need for newcomers to learn one of the official languages in order to fully integrate both socially and economically, the learners in this study did not see complete fluency in either English or French as an overriding goal. As I know from my own personal experience, the arguments often made by teachers and counselors as to the importance of learning English in the interests of personal advancement do not carry much weight in light of the pressures these learners face.

Chapter 6. Alignment/ Gap Analysis: *The Canadian Language Benchmarks*

In this chapter, I focus on an analysis of the citizenship content found within the *Canadian Language Benchmarks* (Pawlikowska-Smith, 2000) and a number of closely associated documents in an effort to compare the assumptions about Canadian citizenship found within them to those expressed by my interview respondents. As I have taken pains to express at the introduction to this dissertation, my goal here is not to demonise the writers and stakeholders who contributed to the development of these national curriculum documents. I offer my remarks below in the hope that they contribute to our work as second language educators.

I also wish to note at the outset that I am very much aware of the debates that have been conducted within the profession as to whether or not the *Canadian Language Benchmarks (CLB)* and their related documents function as curriculum development instruments. This is a complex question to which I devote a section below.

As I described in the first chapter of this dissertation, major changes to Canadian language policy and planning have been undertaken in recent years that attempt to systematize and strengthen adult ESL programming. The creation of the *CLB* was a major part of this process. The *CLB* covers the full range of English proficiency (from beginning to full fluency), incorporates literacy and numeracy, emphasises tasks and situations, features stand-alone descriptors per

level, encourages local curriculum development, and includes proficiencies related to learning strategies, socio-cultural and strategic competencies.

CLB development is overseen by the Centre for Canadian Language Benchmarks (CCLB), a non-profit organisation founded in 1998 and funded by the federal government. It is "governed by a nationally representative, multi-stakeholder board of directors including representation from government, ESL and FSL experts and language assessors" (CCLB). The official character of the *CLB* is attested to by this government support for the CCLB and the fact that the *CLB* was painstakingly developed in a long series of consultations and draft formulations facilitated by federal agencies (Norton Pierce & Stewart, 1997).

As a search of the ERIC database reveals, there have been very few scholastic examinations of the *CLB* of any sort. Those that do exist examine it in terms of test validity (Stewart, 2005); task progression (Fox & Courchene, 2005); its adaptation potential in specific testing situations (Epp & Stawychny, 2001); how its linguistic components compare to other assessment tools (Ho, 1998); and, as I have mentioned in my first chapter, an example of second language assessment policy development (Norton Pierce & Stewart, 1997). Although Cray (2003) has written a brief critical review of the *CLB*, there have been no full-scale studies that critically examine the contents of the *CLB*. In view of this lack of research, my examination of the *CLB* will thus be broad.

However, before I proceed to an examination of the *CLB* and its related documents, I wish to review some issues related to the nature of task-based assessment and hidden curricula. These issues pertain closely to the place

content plays in a document of this sort and to the relationship between assessment instruments and curricula. It is my contention, especially in view of the fact that no competing national curriculum document exists, that the *CLB* is not a set of randomly chosen assessment criteria. Because of the *CLB*'s nature as a national curriculum document, the content found within it (and excluded from it) takes on an official character.

Curriculum development and assessment instruments

I believe that that the *CLB* does, in effect, act as a means of informing curriculum development on a national scale, despite the intensions of those who framed it and claims to the contrary made within the principal document. My contention is mirrored within some of the secondary officially sanctioned documents I shall examine below that do, in fact, claim that the *CLB* is a curriculum document. More importantly, however, I believe that the *CLB* acts as a curriculum document due to its very nature as a task-based centralized assessment instrument.

To my mind, this is an important question. If the document is conceived as being no more than a set of randomly selected assessment indicators framed as leveled tasks, then the content found within can be regarded as simply exemplary of what can be used to determine a learner's English language proficiency. Teachers and assessment officers, if one takes this viewpoint, can simply extract the language embedded within the sample tasks and are free to add other content as they see fit. Shortcomings in the content found within *CLB*

can thus be explained away by claiming that the document is no more than an assessment instrument and that teachers need to augment missing content. However, as I outline below, this viewpoint is contradicted by documents that are closely related to the *CLB*. Moreover, as I discuss below, this viewpoint is based on faulty assumptions in regards to what has been called the hidden curriculum (Anyon, 1980; Apple, 2004; Jackson, 1968), and the relationship between pedagogical tasks and curriculum development.

Curriculum development, task design, and assessment have been integral to each other from time immemorial. In the modern period, ever since Tyler's *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction* (1949), outcomes and objectives have been the starting point for most formal models of curriculum development processes (Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery, & Taubman, 1995). These objectives might very well be of one's choosing as an educator. However, as Mathison & Ross (2002) have made plain, standardized assessment shapes curriculum. Even though one might not explicitly "teach for the test", the fact that one's students must negotiate an externally derived assessment criteria shapes everything one covers in one's curricula.

It is important to note that even though LINC instructors might take the *CLB* into account when designing their curricula or assessment procedures, the stakes are usually low in this context. At this point in time, there are few situations in which *CLB*-based assessments are used as summative tools. In other words, most of the testing that is based on the *CLB* is for placement and not gate-keeping purposes. However, this situation might be changing. The

largest provider of ESL instruction in British Columbia, for example, has recently published a set of test materials based on the CLB which are explicitly summative (Vancouver Community College, 2006). These tests, which are being marketed across the country, are used for high stakes gate keeping purposes within the college. In addition, the Canadian Centre for Language Benchmarks has contracted out a projects for the development of exit assessment instruments for CLB levels 5 and 6 and a gate keeping test for workplace training opportunities at benchmarks levels 7- 10. At the time of writing, these projects had not been concluded.

Tasks have been commonly employed, as both criteria for assessment and as ways to organise pedagogical activities, since the broad currency of *experiential learning* was established in general education. This form of education, which is generally taken to mean "learning by doing," had its early roots in the mid-19th century shift from formal, abstract education in schools to practice-based education and has been notable elements within the pedagogy of both Dewey and Freire (Lewis & Williams 1994).

Although the term *task* has had a long history in general education theory, it is important to note that it was not common to use the term in describing SLE classroom objectives and activities prior to the late 1980's (Long & Crookes, 1992). Stern (1983), Ellis (1985) and Howatt (1984), in their authoritative surveys of the field do not refer to tasks in any great detail, for example. In second language education (SLE), the use of the term *task* has been closely associated with assessment since the advent of the communicative approach. In one of the

first discussions of the communicative approach in curriculum design, Johnson (1979) makes the links between curriculum development, tasks and assessment very clear:

Fluency in the communicative process can only develop within a 'task-orientated teaching'- one which provides 'actual meaning' by focusing on tasks to be mediated through language, and where success or failure is seen to be judged in terms of whether or not these tasks are performed. (p. 200)

Thus, within the communicative approach, the choices a SLE teacher makes about what to teach are made in light of the outcomes and objectives their pedagogy is meant to achieve. In other words, one first sets one's learning goals and then determines what sequence of tasks best achieves them. Achieving these tasks is the criteria used by teachers to determine whether or not their learners have successfully mastered the material and can thus proceed to the next level of instruction.

Today, tasks are prominent in many popular ESL teacher education manuals and course texts (Brown, 2000; Larsen-Freeman, 2000; Ur, 1996). Many SLE scholars have elaborated task-based curriculum models, among these Ellis (2003), Skeehan (2002), Long & Crookes (1992), Breen (1987) and Nunan (1988). Tasks have also been significant elements developed within many curriculum and assessment benchmark projects undertaken by national governments (Brindley, 1994; Moore, 1996; Luke & Kraayenoord, 1998), including those in Canada. Given the fact that the *CLB* is quite clearly task-based, it is no wonder that some scholars and curriculum resources centers have

referred to it as a curriculum document (Pennsylvania Department of Education, 2006; DeVoretz, Hinte & Werner, 2002).

Even though the author states in its introduction that the *CLB* is "not a curriculum guide" (Pawlikowska-Smith, 2000, V111), she does say, in the very next paragraph, that the *CLB* does describe "what adult ESL instruction should prepare adult ESL learner to do". Thus, the *CLB* quite clearly sets up tasks which learners are meant to perform in order to advance to the next level of instruction. Teachers, as the document plainly states in no uncertain terms, are expected to organize learning opportunities for the successful completion of these tasks. To my mind, the claim that the *CLB* is not meant to inform curriculum development (or even testing) is rather dubious. As Fox and Courchene (2005) point out,

although the *CLB* is neither a curriculum or test according to its developers, providing details regarding text length and sample tasks leads anyone using the document to use these as guidelines for task development. (p. 13)

This point is reinforced by a study of LINC teachers recently conducted by Haque and Cray (in press), in which their respondents confirmed that the *CLB* was something they could not ignore as a set of reference points for curriculum development.

Why is this an important point to make? If practitioners use the *CLB* as a set of guidelines to inform pedagogical choices, as the above quote indicates, then the sample tasks the document provides is of crucial importance in determining classroom content. In effect, given the official nature of the *CLB*, the document officially sanctions content found within the sample tasks they provide. Content not included in the sample tasks will thus not enjoy official sanction. This

latter content, while not prohibited (depending on the pedagogical situation), will not be privileged or necessarily emphasized. As many scholars have pointed out, what is excluded from curriculum documents tells us as much about what is intended in a pedagogical situation as what has been included. The content, both included and excluded, of the sample tasks tells us a great deal about how the framers of the *CLB* view English language newcomers to Canada and what ESL teachers should teach them. The *CLB* specifies what should be given priority in terms of English language training and, in view of its official character, represents itself as an instrument of national language policy.

Please note that I am qualifying my characterization of the *CLB* as an instrument of national language policy. Even though it enjoys an officially sanctioned status, as I believe I have demonstrated above, it does not adhere to many of the precepts found in official policy documents. There is a basic contradiction, in my opinion, between the stated aims of Canadian ESL programming and the content found within the *CLB*. Most importantly, as I shall elaborate upon in my final chapter, the emphasis that national language policy places on citizenship development does not appear within the *CLB*.

Selection of documents

In choosing texts for analysis, I decided that I should not limit my analysis to the *CLB* itself. In light of the controversy as to whether or not the *CLB* can be described as a curriculum document, discussed above, I decided to consider all related publications that enjoy some form of official status. Accordingly, I

examined all fourteen of the official publications produced by the CCLB and listed on their website (Centre for Canadian Language Benchmarks [CCLB], 2007), reasoning that these publications, by virtue of their appearance on this website, held official status in this context. Upon examination, six of these publications were found to be simplified versions of the principle documents (such as posters and checklists) that contained no additional content. They were thus rejected for consideration. As a result, the eight documents listed below were selected for examination. These documents were:

- *The Canadian Language Benchmarks 2000: Theoretical Framework* (Pawlikowska-Smith, 2002a);
- *The Canadian Language Benchmarks 2000: English as a Second Language for Adults* (Pawlikowska-Smith, 2000);
- *The Canadian Language Benchmarks 2000: ESL for Literacy Learners* (Johansson, et al., 2002);
- *The Canadian Language Benchmarks 2000: A Guide to Implementation* (Holmes, Kingwell, Pettis & Pidlaski, 2001);
- *Summative Assessment Manual - SAM* (volumes 1 and 2) (Pawlikowska-Smith, 2005);
- *The Canadian Language Benchmarks 2000: Additional Sample Task Ideas* (Pawlikowska-Smith, 2002b);
- *Developing an Occupation-Specific Language Assessment Tool* (CCLB, 2004);
- *Integrating CLB Assessment into your ESL Classroom* (Holmes, 2005).

Another set of resources posted on the CCLB website (CCLB, 2007) are provided to teachers in the form of sample lesson plans. These lesson plans cover settlement topics that are found in many ESL programs and teaching materials, such as going to the bank, weather, employment, cooking, and renting an apartment. Some topics have what I consider to be unusual content, such as

those that feature Glen Gould, international clothing, and the refugee experience in Canadian literature. One lesson plan, on government responsibilities, deals with citizenship explicitly. I shall turn to these lesson plans after I have given an account of the *CLB* and its related documents.

It should be noted that I examined hundreds of other documents and texts found in an extensive database of resources kept (but not vetted by) the CCLB (CCLB, 2007). These documents included commercially-produced texts, curricula produced by educational bodies receiving government funding, and descriptions of recommended teaching practice by teacher trainers. Some, such as *On Target* (Mitra, 1998), and *The LINC 4 & 5 Curriculum Guidelines* (Toronto Catholic District School Board, 1999), enjoyed wide usage. An on line search of the CCLB database (CCLB, 2007) revealed that citizenship was a topic that was treated by many of the documents found within it. However, having a document included in the database is simply a matter of notifying the CCLB web master. Therefore, given the fact that the CCLB in no way endorsed any of these documents found in its database, I could not determine which of the hundreds I considered truly reflected official policy.

Of special note, in terms of how difficult it is to determine the official character of CLB documents, is the Toronto Catholic District School Board's (2000) *LINC 1 - 5 Curriculum Guidelines*. The official character of the *Guidelines* is suggested by its endorsement by the Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants on its settlement.org web site (OCASI, 2007) and the fact that the

document is distributed free of charge to LINC programs in Ontario by the provincial branch of Citizenship and Immigration Canada.

However, because the document enjoys no official endorsement (or even mention) on the Canadian Centre for Language Benchmarks web site (CCLB, 2007), I am at a loss at determining its official character. Like other documents found within the database that the CCLB maintains but does not vet, the authors of the *Guidelines* explicitly claim that its development was based on the CLB and had the benefit of advice from an official from the CCLB. Certainly, I am not personally aware of the document being widely used in British Columbia. It would seem that the *Guidelines* have an official character in terms of Ontario LINC programming, but the same can not be said about its nature as a national curriculum or assessment document.

As I have take great pains to emphasize, my research goal is to determine the nature of alignments and gaps between the conceptualizations of Canadian citizenship that are expressed by my participants and those found within official national curriculum documents. However I might wish otherwise, my goal in conducting this research is not to look at implementation or classroom treatment. There is a pressing need for research in this area, as I discuss in the implications chapter that concludes this dissertation. Thus, given these limits to this study, I felt I could not consider any document, however much its author might claim to follow the *CLB*, unless that document had been given an official status that had been confirmed by the CCLB through copyright claims or inclusion on its website (CCLB, 2007).

I now turn to a discussion of each of the eight documents I have chosen in turn, highlighting each reference found that could in any way be connected to citizenship content. Please note that in each of the sections below (unless otherwise noted), pagination refers to the specific document mentioned in the title of that section.

The Canadian Language Benchmarks 2000: Theoretical Framework

Before turning to the *CLB* itself, I wish to briefly examine aspects of the theoretical framework upon which it is based. *The Canadian Language Benchmarks 2000: Theoretical Framework* (Pawlikowska-Smith, 2002a) is an impressive text and a highly ambitious undertaking, attempting to do no less than fuse the various models of communicative competence that have been proposed since Hymes (1971) and to mold them into a set of assessment principles centered on tasks. The principle model the author uses Canale and Swain's (1980) four-part competency model (linguistic, strategic, socio-cultural and strategic) as her principal source. It is important for my argument below to note that her framework, like the competency models she cites, uses an expanded notion of language that includes a socio-cultural component. Language is not confined to grammar, vocabulary or pronunciation. This expanded notion of language, as I demonstrate below, is by and large missing in the sample lesson plans that appear on the CCLB website (CCLB, 2007). This has consequences for the potential inclusion of citizenship curricular content.

The *CLB* is nothing if not a task-based document. Tasks, which have been a hallmark of general education since at least the emphasis on experiential learning espoused by Dewey (1938), entered second language education (SLE) with such scholars as Prabhu (1987), who recommending learning language through such problem-solving activities as map reading. Although pedagogical tasks in SLE have been variously defined, the one I prefer is provided by Willis (1996): "tasks are always activities where the target language is used by the learner for a communicative purpose (goal) in order to achieve an outcome" (p. 23). As Nunan (2004) points out, tasks now occupy a central place in SLE. According to Littlewood (2004), tasks within SLE can be characterized according to the degree they are meaning focused or form focused; and the degree to which they engage learner interest. The relevance of the content found within the task is the key element that determines the degree to which a learner's interest becomes engaged and the degree to which the learner can focus on meaning. In light of this, my question in regards to the model proposed by Pawlikowska-Smith becomes: what role does relevant content play in her conception of how tasks should be constructed?

The *Theoretical Framework* (Pawlikowska-Smith, 2002a) defines *task* as a practical application and demonstration of language abilities in a structured unit of communication, complete with a particular content of language data, purpose, procedures to be carried out on the language data, objectives and defined successful outcomes. A practical activity/ action, which results from using language. A unit of language teaching or assessment in task-based instruction. (p. 70)

Although there is no further clarification in the glossary as to what is meant by "a particular content of language data", the author does provide a definition of

content. This is to the effect that content consists of nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs as opposed to function words such as conjunctions, articles, prepositions, and pronouns (p. 70).

More importantly for my purposes, the glossary defines *content-based instruction* in a way that helps clarify the author's orientation:

second language instruction which centres on themes and topics (instead of language points) around academic content (subjects such as science, math, citizenship) or around vocational technical content areas (e.g. computer assembly or sale; warehousing and shipping; patient care). (p. 70)

So, I believe I can say that the author endorses a view of content as being topical and corresponding to types of lexis. However, even having said that, it is important to note that Pawlikowska-Smith does not characterize the *CLB* as content-based instruction. Certainly the *CLB* is task-based, as I shall show concretely below.

Since my study's purpose is to compare the citizenship content within these documents with what my participants have told me, this could be a potential problem. Since the role of content is ambiguous in the theoretical document, a lack of citizenship content in the *CLB* and its related documents could simply be a lack of content in general. However, upon examination, these documents are filled with content (at least in Littlewood's [2004] sense), covering a multitude of commonly-treated settlement topics such as shopping, housing, banking and the like.

The Canadian Language Benchmarks 2000: ESL for Adults

The Canadian Language Benchmarks 2000: ESL for Adults (Pawlikowska-Smith, 2000) is made up of over 200 compact pages. The bulk of the document consists of the actual benchmarks, arranged in 12 levels, from basic English language proficiency to full fluency. It is on these pages, naturally, that my attention was focused.

Let me first describe the preface and introductory chapters, which provide an interesting segue into the rest of the text. In an obvious reference to the original policy initiatives that gave rise to the *CLB*, the Board of Directors for the CCLB make use of the preface to tell the fictional story of a 25-year old immigrant from Indonesia who is confused about how his English level had been assessed by his previous school when he changes institutions. According to the preface, this situation is occurring less and less frequently. In addition, so the preface emphasizes, immigrants are now able to refer to the *CLB* in such high stakes situations as demonstrating their English language ability to employers and to gain entrance to educational institutions. This shift is described by the authors of the preface as no less than a "revolution."

Even more tellingly, the preface also states that, thanks to the *CLB*, learners will be able to "plot out for themselves, in advance, their own paths of language learning to attain their goals" (p. v). This is an important point. If learners can predict how their learning will progress upon entrance into the "*CLB* movement" (as the preface characterizes programs that have adopted the *Benchmarks*), then is this document not more than simply a description of the

English language at a particular level of proficiency? Leaving aside the problem of whether “one size fits all,” does this document not now become a set of learning objectives meant to inform curriculum development?

This ambiguity continues into the text’s introduction, which says that the *Benchmarks* are “a national standard for planning second language curricula for a variety of contexts” (p. viii), while stating categorically that it is “not a curriculum guide: they do not dictate local curricula and syllabuses” (p. viii). The document even attempts to “have its cake and eat it too” in terms of methodology. Even though the author states that the *CLB* is “not tied to any specific instructional method” (p. viii), the introduction emphasizes the need for instructors to adhere to common hallmarks of the communicative approach (Brown, 2001): learner-centered instruction, task-based proficiency, and communicative competency.

Personally, I have no argument with intelligent and nuanced applications of the communicative approach. However, putting aside the long-standing ambiguous use in the field of such terms as *approach*, *philosophy* and *method* (Stern, 1983), I think that it is important to note that the *CLB* does, in fact, imply that teachers should adopt a particular way of approaching curriculum planning. This implication becomes explicit in the other documents that I discuss below.

The bulk of the content found in the actual *Benchmarks* is arranged for each level in a series of matrixes that correspond to the four language skills. Each of the benchmarks found within the *CLB* contains a general overview of the tasks to be performed upon completion of the level, the conditions under which this performance should take place, a more specific description of what the

learner can do, examples, and criteria that indicates the task performance has been successful. These are complex matrixes, as one might expect from a document purporting to describe English language proficiency from basic competency to fluency. I do not intend to provide the reader with any more detail as to the general nature of the document as this would be outside of my purposes. Let me therefore turn to the matter at hand: an account of the language descriptors in which elements pertaining to citizenship are found.

Unfortunately, there aren't many. In the entire document, there are only three references that I consider being associated with citizenship. These are: "understand rights and responsibilities of client, customer, patient and student" (p. 95); "indicate knowledge of laws, rights, etc." (p. 116); and "write a letter to express an opinion as a citizen" (p. 176).

I must say that it is very disappointing to see such a small number of references to citizenship in such an important document and, in many ways, it is very revealing to note what is missing. The word "vote", for example, does not appear in this, or in any of the other documents I examined. This is odd, given the fact that the language skill for the physical act of voting requires (at least in Canada) simply marking a box against a name of a person and a political party in a voting booth. At the very highest levels, at the point at which one is writing research papers at universities, there are general references to developing opinions about current events, writing letters to the editors of newspapers and participating in meetings.

So, what is the implication here? Does the document imply that one must have extremely high English language skills to exercise one's voting rights as a citizen? Does it imply that opinions not expressed in English have little value? Or does it imply that voting is an activity that does not warrant much engagement with the community outside one's first language group? I'm afraid that I can not venture a guess on this point.

In addition, issues related to trade unions and collective agreements are only mentioned twice (again, at the stage at which one is able to write research papers). Labor rights, such as filing grievances, recognizing and reporting dangerous working conditions (situations that the students in this study often faced in their daily lives, incidentally) were nonexistent in the document. Employment standards legislation, such as minimum wage legislation is mentioned only once and again at a relatively high benchmark. At the same time, however, a lot of space in the document was devoted to participating in job performance reviews, giving polite and respectful feedback to one's employer, and participating in meetings about lunchroom cleanliness.

I also find it disconcerting to note the limitations placed on these few references to citizenship and the manner in which they have been couched. Only one of the three quotes above (writing a letter) provides a view of citizenship as active engagement (albeit fairly limited). The other two are decidedly vague, passive and intellectual (understanding or indicating knowledge). There is no content linking collective action, group identity, debate, or investigation to citizenship rights.

It would also appear that the document views English language learners as having rights and responsibilities that pertain primarily to being good consumers. In the first example above, for instance, the learner is to understand one's rights and responsibilities as a "client, customer, patient and student" (p. 95), but not as a worker, family member, participant in community activities, or advocate. As I discussed in my findings chapter, workers' rights were some of the major concerns of the learners I interviewed. Many of the respondents complained about how they were consistently denied overtime pay, access to benefits, forced to work statutory holidays, fired without cause, or the like. However, in the *CLB* there are no references to understanding standards of employment legislation, workers compensation, employment insurance, safety in the workplace, or any other work related provision. However, there are plenty of references within the document about shopping and consumerism.

The Canadian Language Benchmarks 2000: ESL for Literacy Learners

The next document I examined, *The Canadian Language Benchmarks 2000: ESL for Literacy Learners* (Johansson, et al., 2002), is one especially written to support programs with students who have very limited written skills in English.

In its introduction, there is a description of a typical ESL literacy learner as someone who often does not know the Roman alphabet (or any other written code), lacks formal education experiences, or has experienced disruptions to their previous language learning. The text goes on to provide concrete examples

of literacy learners, emphasizing their potential limited mastery over cognitive learning strategies or metacognitive abilities.

The text also contains references to what constitutes a typical ESL literacy class. These classes are described as being "slower paced and collaborative" (Johansson, et al., 2002, p. ii), and holistic. Experiential methodology is explicitly recommended to ESL literacy teachers and the *Benchmarks* are clearly tied to instruction. So, for example, the text talks of teaching cognitive strategies "explicitly using the *Benchmarks* as a guide" (p. xiii). Recommended treatment options even get down to the level of choosing teaching material and which size font to use in self-made instructional texts.

More significantly, in terms of this study, *ESL for Literacy Learners* (Johansson, et al., 2002), contains much more citizenship content, than the *CLB*. However, the conceptualization of what constitutes meaningful curricular topics and tasks for a typical learner in this context is sometimes problematic.

Active citizenship (albeit vaguely described) does find a place within *ESL for Literacy Learners* (Johansson, et al., 2002). So, for example, one of the tasks has a learner writing "a letter to an editor about a political decision discussed in class" (p. 62). Another gets a learner to produce "a short editorial expressing an opinion and stating reasons" (p. 63). Even though much of the content centers on consumerism more than I might like, there is one concrete task that depict learners as more active in this regard, such as when one is expected to write "a letter of complaint to gas company about how much a bill is" (p. 58).

The only concrete examples of larger political issues meriting debate or expressions of opinion, however, are those associated with government budgets (p. 63) and taxation (p. 68). Conspicuous in their absence are many of the issues that the respondents in this study raised in the questionnaires or interviews, such as racism, women's rights, ageism, social programs, or cuts to government services, war, environmental degradation, unionization, unemployment, and the like. Social justice content is scant; references to voting non-existent.

ESL for Literacy Learners (Johansson, et al., 2002), does set workplace tasks to a far greater extent than the *CLB* itself. So, included are such tasks as, "understanding work schedules" (p. 35), participating in "employee evaluations" (p. 36), "giving advice to a friend going to a job interview" (p. 42), "the do and don't for a job interview" (p. 42), understanding "employer pamphlets and flyers" (p. 54) and "pay slips" (p. 56), writing "a note to a relieving employee about the tasks completed on shift" (p. 62), "a memo to employees regarding safety" (p. 62), or "a thank you letter for a job interview (p. 62), completing "a daily log book" (p. 62), understanding "an organizational chart" (p. 62), or checking "pay stubs and deductions" (p. 63).

However, these tasks shy away from any mention of unions (even in terms of payroll deductions) or protecting one's rights as a worker. Moreover the tasks tend to depict normative behavior that reflects British-based culture (in the emphasis placed on direct eye contact during job interviews, for example). In the two references to the evils of smoking, there is an attempt to write tasks that could be characterized as progressive. However, these rather safe references to

this (almost) universally-deplored habit are as controversial as the document gets.

ESL for Literacy Learners (Johansson, et al., 2002), also describes some general socio-cultural and linguistic conditions to take into account for second language learning. Unfortunately, the text tends to be rather vague on this point. So, teachers are advised to include Canadian "sociocultural symbols and traditions, such as holidays, history and citizenship" (p. 30). Rather more disturbing, to my mind, is the advice teachers are given to stress the "importance Canadians place on being involved in the community (church, parent council)" (p. 50). Noticeably absent is a Canadian's potential involvement in unions, political organizations, community agencies, or the like. It is also disturbing, in my opinion, to note that employers are depicted in the tasks as being somewhat frustrated individuals with whom it is imperative to overcome any miscommunication.

I would say that this second document shows considerable improvement, in terms of citizenship content, than the *CLB*. Although *ESL for Literacy Learners* (Johansson, et al., 2002), is based on the *CLB*, especially in terms of its organization, it had different authors and advisory committees. It also had a later publication date. Undoubtedly, the differences between these two documents are accountable, in large part, to the fact that *ESL for Literacy Learners* (Johansson, et al., 2002), deals with learners at a more basic level of English language proficiency. However, it is also true that *ESL for Literacy Learners* (Johansson, et al., 2002), comes out of a different pedagogical tradition than the one that

informs the *CLB*. Literacy education has always had a strong social justice focus and has been preoccupied with citizenship formation (Walter, 2003).

The Canadian Language Benchmarks 2000: A Guide to Implementation

The third document I examined was *The Canadian Language Benchmarks 2000: A Guide to Implementation* (Holmes, Kingwell, Pettis & Pidlaski, 2001), a document designed by its authors to assist classroom teachers in curriculum writing. Despite claims found within the original document that the *CLB* is neither a curriculum guide nor a test, this *Guide to implementation* (Holmes, Kingwell, Pettis & Pidlaski, 2001) characterizes the *Canadian Language Benchmarks 2000* as providing “a useful and informative basis for curriculum and syllabus development, lesson planning, materials development, resource selection, student assessment and reporting” (p. 1).

The *Guide* (Holmes, Kingwell, Pettis & Pidlaski, 2001) devotes considerable space to interpreting the *CLB* in terms of the latter’s assumptions about language, social context, learning and teaching. So, for example, the *Guide* (Holmes, Kingwell, Pettis & Pidlaski, 2001) notes that the *CLB* endorses concepts of communicative competence, negotiating meaning, critical awareness of language, and the importance of tasks in the pedagogical situations. The *Guide* (Holmes, Kingwell, Pettis & Pidlaski, 2001) is explicit in its promotion of the communicative approach and makes specific recommendations at the macro level in terms of staff development, programming, and implementation of the *CLB* nationally. The *Guide* (Holmes, Kingwell, Pettis & Pidlaski, 2001) is no less

specific at the level of the programming and classroom treatment. It makes specific recommendations in regards to needs assessment, developing learning objectives, methodology, selecting resources, assessment and planning curriculum, courses, modules and lessons. There is no doubt, given the specific recommendations above and official nature of the *Guide* (Holmes, Kingwell, Pettis & Pidlaski, 2001) that this document and the *CLB* itself are intended to shape national language programming.

More importantly, in terms of my purposes here, the *Guide* (Holmes, Kingwell, Pettis & Pidlaski, 2001) also explicitly refers to the need for instructors to teach learners "social values, norms and conventions" (p. 5) and the fact that "language instruction should focus on the needs of learners for settlement and integration, including social, work-related, educational, vocational and community access" (p. 5). Thus, the *CLB* is also partially designed to be an enculturation instrument for newcomers to Canada.

So, in view of all this, what does the *Guide* (Holmes, Kingwell, Pettis & Pidlaski, 2001) recommend in terms of enculturation content? This is best seen through the classroom examples provided for six of the eight chapters of the text. These are meant to illustrate the points it makes about recommended methodologies and planning. The focuses of these sections are on the approaches teachers should take towards doing such things as needs assessments or lesson planning. The content, unfortunately, is sparse.

The most substantial citizenship content in the *Guide* (Holmes, Kingwell, Pettis & Pidlaski, 2001) can be found in the section the learner-centered

approach, where there is a model set of questions to include in a settlement based needs assessment. Conducting a needs assessment is touted as the basis of curriculum development in this context. Along with model questions in regards to medical issues, housing, and banking (and other well-known settlement topics), there are two which pertain to citizenship. The first asks learners if they want to study "information about Canada (what's in the news, aboriginal people, government, history, geography, customs and everyday life)" (p. 35). Then second asks learners if they want to "understand rights in relation to the law and police (individual rights and responsibilities, zero tolerance, traffic laws)" (p. 35). Even though these references to citizenship rights and responsibilities are vague and abstract, it is encouraging to see their inclusion of at such a prominent place in this document's curriculum development schema.

Unfortunately, however, there is not much else that is concrete in this regard within the *Guide* (Holmes, Kingwell, Pettis & Pidlaski, 2001). A pictorial representation of a needs assessment for a community-based ESL program does feature a Canadian flag as a way of soliciting the learners' interests in citizenship. The document provides other examples of tasks, such as making appointments with doctors (p. 53), responding to greetings and leave-takings (p. 93), interacting with a child's teacher (p. 104), contributing to a class newsletter (p. 117), negotiating the Canadian banking system (p. 119), engaging in small talk (p. 125), asking for verbal clarification (p. 125), filling out business forms (p. 125), asking a friend to be a job reference (p. 126), or describing local recreational opportunities (p. 127).

The *Guide* (Holmes, Kingwell, Pettis & Pidlaski, 2001) does provide two lists of possible topics for curricular treatment that pertain to citizenship. Unfortunately, these lists are never elaborated upon in any great detail. So, for example, in the first of these lists, the only detail provided about a unit on Canadian government is that it should include "Constitution, Government structures, Systems and Process, Customs, Traditions and Rituals" (p. 103). In the second list, the details are even sparser. Canadian culture, for example, is comprised of three unelaborated topical headings: "Social Conventions and Small Talk; Leisure and Recreation; and Family and Relationships" (p. 111).

The conceptualization of the adult second language learner that is embedded in the document is very interesting in terms of what is absent. There is no indication that immigrant language learners are members of any kind of organization. There are no references to community agencies or ethnic, religious or cultural organizations. Trade unions and political organization are never mentioned. This individualization is mirrored in the descriptions of *CLB* stakeholders at the beginning of the *Guide* (Holmes, Kingwell, Pettis & Pidlaski, 2001). The listing of who will benefit from using the *CLB* includes individual learners, teachers, ESL programs, funders, employers and post-secondary educational institutions. Again, community agencies, ethnic organizations, trade unions, political organizations, advocacy groups are not mentioned.

The descriptions of learners rarely depict learners as active participants in communicative situations. In what I believe to be a revealing example, the *Guide* (Holmes, Kingwell, Pettis & Pidlaski, 2001) describes how an ESL teacher went

about designing a workplace language training course using the *CLB* as a guide (p. 38). The first step the teacher took was to interview the workplace supervisor concerning his workers' language performance. Not surprisingly, the supervisor described his workers' language needs almost totally in terms of the need for the employees to understand the instructions he gave them. What is surprising, in my estimation, is the fact that the teacher seemed to place less priority in determining the language needs of his learners from their own perspectives. Indeed the perspective provided by the supervisor is quite detailed in close to two pages of point-form notes. The perspective of the learners is covered in little more than several sentences of prose.

In sum, the *Guide* (Holmes, Kingwell, Pettis & Pidlaski, 2001) is more forthcoming than the *CLB* in terms of recommended teaching methodology. It clearly characterizes the *CLB* as a national curriculum document and contains much more citizenship content than is found in the original document. However, the *Guide* (Holmes, Kingwell, Pettis & Pidlaski, 2001) constructs immigrant English language learners as relatively passive and isolated individuals who have little contact with group formations. Potentially controversial issues, such as those related to current events, trade unions, or social justice have little place in the *Guide* (Holmes, Kingwell, Pettis & Pidlaski, 2001). Indeed, this document seems to replicate the emphasis on consumerism found within the *CLB* and once again neglects many of the issues the respondents in this study raised in the questionnaires or interviews, such as racism, women's rights, ageism, social

programs, or cuts to government services, war, environmental degradation, unionization, unemployment, and the like.

Summative Assessment Manual (Volumes 1 and 2)

The next document I looked at was the *Summative Assessment Manual* (Pawlikowska-Smith, 2005). This was a set of assessment procedures and tools in two large volumes designed to assist teachers in determining when to graduate students from particular *Canadian Language Benchmark* levels. Upon completion of each assessment task, the student was moved to the next benchmark level. This document provided examples of these assessment tasks. Four themes were used as examples in each volume for the first four levels of the *Benchmarks*: food and nutrition; home and community; health and safety; and work. I found four sets of assessment tasks within this document that were somewhat related to citizenship. I have outlined each in turn below.

The first example of a task set in this document called for the student to read and understand a notice placed by a landlord that tells potential tenants that they cannot have children or pets. The task quite clearly is passive in the sense that one has only to understand the notice. There are a number of problems that I see with this particular task as it has been written. The first is that it is not concrete or demonstrative. In other words, there is no indication of how the learner could demonstrate successful completion of the task. The second problem is that it is of dubious value in the situation in which the task is constructed. The students of my acquaintance have far more pressing

communicative needs (and conflicts) in regards to landlords than the one contained within this task. Finally, there is no content within the task that addresses the questionable legality (at least in many jurisdictions) of such a notice or how one might contest it. In other words, the learner is not asked to take any concrete action in regards to the situation specified by the task, or even account for the social situation in which it is found.

The second set of example tasks is in relation to job search. The tasks within this topic included looking for work and writing covering letters. In this case, the tasks are concrete and active. Discerning the completion of the tasks in this case would not pose a problem. However, conspicuous in their absence are such things as ageism, standards of employment, unions, sexist and discriminatory hiring practices, or illegal job interview questions.

In the third sample task, students were asked to comment on an eviction notice given to another tenant, certainly a more pressing communicative task than the first one referred to above. As in the first example above, however, the onus is on understanding the notice. As a result, I have the same concerns in regards to the concreteness or how successful completion can be demonstrated. More importantly, to my mind, however, is the fact that there is no mention of the fact that the notice used as an example would not be legal if used in several legal jurisdictions in Canada, such as the cities of Toronto or Vancouver (where eviction from rental accommodation is a far more complex and lengthy affair than the task depicts) or how one might contest such an eviction. Again, we have a rather passive learner of English in view.

The fourth task I examined was meant to cover issues in the workplace. Unfortunately, the example that was used, keeping the lunchroom clean, seemed extremely trivial given the issues that the students in my study actually faced. However, in fairness, this task was demonstrative and depicted the learner as an active communicator.

To my mind, some of the other assessment tasks in this document seemed to be designed to deal with some of the classic pet peeves of teachers. For example, one task requires that the student understand regulations regarding staff/ student parking and smoking. Another addressed the issue of students coming in late for class. In these cases, learners were placed in situations in which they seemed powerless. Certainly, they were depicted as having unknowingly violated basic regulations that they were expected to adhere. In the case of the student being late, the situation seemed rather humiliating, given the admonishing being dealt out by the teacher. Were these adult learners?

In sum, this document presents examples of tasks in which the learners are depicted as generally passive and powerless. It is also sometimes difficult to determine the relevance the tasks have to students like the ones in my study. Indeed, given the situation in which my respondents often lived, the tasks seem almost trivial.

The Canadian Language Benchmarks 2000: Additional Sample Task Ideas

This volume (Pawlikowska-Smith, 2002b), which is described as being a "companion document to the CLB" (p. 1), provides additional sample task ideas

in three areas: community access tasks; study/ academic tasks; and workplace tasks. It concentrates on reading tasks for the first four levels of the *CLB* and speaking, listening, reading and writing for the rest. This document, published two years after the *CLB*, was developed after feedback was gathered from the field about the principal document. Unfortunately, I could find no explanation as to what makes these tasks “additional”, either in the document itself or in related sources. Certainly there is no added focus on particular skills or levels within these sample task ideas. The theoretical structure and organization of this latter document seems to be identical to the *CLB*.

Although *Additional Sample Task Ideas* (Pawlikowska-Smith, 2002b) is a much slimmer document than the *CLB*, citizenship content is much more substantial. Most of this content is found in the study/ academic area. Tasks in the academic/ study area tend to emphasize traditionally academic topics, such as dictionary use. However, much of the content refers explicitly to citizenship. So, for example, one of the level 6 tasks in this area asks learners to “research and present a topic on Canadian citizenship, government, social issues” (p. 5). Another study/ academic task, this time at level 8, asks learners to “present an analysis of one or two issues about Canadian culture (interestingly represented as a singular phenomenon) and other cultures” (p. 7). Citizenship participation becomes more active and explicit as the level of English language proficiency increases. So, for example, one of the study/ academic tasks in level 9 has learners “participate in a student union/ association debate” (p. 17).

Although most of the content found in the community access tasks corresponds to traditional settlement consumer themes such as shopping or housing, there is also much citizenship content contained within them. This occurs, for example, when a task in level 8 has learners to "take minutes of a semi-formal meeting (e.g. community league, club, small organization) or when another asks learners in level 9 to "gather information from a radio/ television program featuring a panel of experts discussing a complex social or political issue" (p. 19). These tasks can place stress on active citizenship as well, when, for example, a task in level 9 has a learner to act "as a volunteer co-organizer of a community conference" (p. 25) or when another has a learner "form an action plan after reading local council or government letters, community league or citizen association letters" (p. 21).

The workplace tasks are interesting in the way learners are depicted. In contrast to the *CLB*, this depiction tends to represent learners as far more empowered and less isolated. In level 5, for example, the tasks have learners warn co-workers of safety problems, ask for days off, and describe workplace problems (p. 5). As one progresses up the levels of English language proficiency, the content of these tasks no longer feature trivial concerns, such as those about lunchroom cleanliness found in the principal document. Learners now actively voice opinions in team meetings (p. 6); negotiate with supervisors about work tasks and safety problems (p. 7); present complaints to co-workers and resolve conflicts (p. 7); and read "adjudication decisions in labor union disputes and grievances" (p. 24).

It is interesting to ponder on why this document should be so different than the *CLB* in terms of citizenship content. The authorship is the same. Although I could find no clues in this regard on the CCLB website (CCLB, 2007) or in any of the policy documents to which I had access I would venture a guess that the changes I saw evidence for are due to the consultation process that helped prepare *Additional Sample Task Ideas* (Pawlikowska-Smith, 2002b). This is a very constructive development that merits note and not surprising in view of the amount of consultations that took place after the development of the *CLB* itself. However, speculations on the development aspects of these documents fall well outside the parameters for this present study, but is grist for future research. Certainly, as I argue in my implications chapter, the citizenship content of *Additional Sample Task Ideas* (Pawlikowska-Smith, 2002b) are much more closely aligned with the concerns expressed by my respondents.

Developing an Occupation-Specific Language Assessment Tool

This document (CCLB, 2004), prepared four years after the *CLB* was published, is designed to guide in the development of assessment instruments that feature career specific language content. As the summary provided at its beginning states, this document, "addresses issues related to the recognition of the English language proficiency of internationally trained professionals" (p. 4). According to *Developing an Occupation-Specific Language Assessment Tool* (CCLB, 2004) the need for this kind of testing is not a problem for just the

professionally-trained immigrants themselves. Canada cannot utilize "a rich source of human capital" (p. 4), unless these tests are in place.

The vast bulk of the document is given over to such questions as determining stakeholders, conducting feasibility studies, analyzing the language needs for specific professions, assembling teams of writers and so on. There is no specific reference to determining cultural or citizenship content. Language needs are presented in ways that seem rather instrument and no explicit mention is made of cultural content. This can be seen, for example, when participants in a needs assessment are asked to scale the importance of the ability to "identify and explain values and assumptions in letters and/ or memos" (p. 60).

This is a document concerned with process and very little space is devoted to actual curriculum content. Instead, this document refers to a specific curriculum development project as an example of how the principles found within *Developing an Occupation-Specific Language Assessment Tool* (CCLB, 2004) can be applied.

Integrating CLB Assessment into your ESL Classroom

This document (Holmes, 2005), the most recently published at the time of writing of all I examined, is described in its introduction as an assessment planning framework. It provides a discussion of current principles of classroom-based assessment, examples and guided exercises.

Given the central place that it assigns assessment, this document is clearly meant to strongly inform curriculum development. This is graphically

depicted using a mind map on page 13. In this graphic, designed in the shape of a wheel with four spokes, the key feature of *identifying learning objectives and outcomes* leads to *setting up learning and assessment tasks*. This, in turn leads to *assessing learner attainment* and then to *modifying future lessons*. The wheel is completed when *modifying future lessons* leads to *identifying learning objectives/ outcomes*. What is particularly revealing is the fact that learning tasks and assessment tasks are not differentiated in this graphic or the associated text. Curriculum modification is clearly the result of analyses of task completion. Thus, in this model, assessment is clearly interpreted as being the most important aspect of curriculum development. This is a major revision from the claim made in the original document that the *CLB* is not a curriculum guide.

The bulk of this document is devoted to four examples of how to apply this framework to a community-based program, a settlement ESL class, a general ESL class covering a preparation for employment theme, and an academic bridging program.

In the community-based program example, the theme covered is shopping. The principal topic for this theme is returning an item to the store for refund or exchange. The tasks that are assigned to the learners consist of: answering comprehension questions about a fictionalized account of someone returning an item to a store; reviewing clothing-related vocabulary; identifying problems with clothing items; using polite greetings; asking for information; and participating in a role play activity in which one returns a shopping item (p. 23).

None of the tasks in this example featured any content that had to do with citizenship.

In the settlement ESL example, the tasks are found within a theme covering dating and marriage. They consist of: prioritizing the desirable qualities of a mate; comparing cultural norms for wedding ceremonies; describing others; answering comprehension questions in reference to an audio taped conversation about dating and marriage; summarizing descriptions of other people (p. 39).

Although cross-cultural norms were referred in the tasks, there wasn't much information about how this was covered in the classroom. There was an assumption that all of the learners were simulating the freedom of choosing their own mate, something that would fall outside the norm for most of my interview respondents. Same-sex or common-law marriages were not covered.

The tasks found in the ESL class covering employment consisted of: inquiring about a job advertisement over the telephone; relating job experience to a job being applied for; participating in a job interview; using an index to locate a job vacancy; completing a employment history form; writing a follow up letter to a potential employer. In this example, Anglo-centric norms, such as direct eye contact, were privileged. By this I mean that there was no indication within the text that Anglo-centric norms of behavior, although arguably dominant within Canadian society, are but one of many possibilities for social interaction. In addition, there were no discussions of discriminatory (or illegal) job questions.

The tasks found within the academic bridging program consisted of: discussing articles and case studies about immigrating to Canada; interviewing

other students about their opinions in regards to settlement; and summarizing a lecture dealing with culture shock using an information chart (p. 74). In this example, albeit at an intellectual level, acculturation and settlement were explicitly part of the task content. In this interesting example of an advanced ESL class, the learners were engaged in asking others about the emotional stages associated with immigration and attempting to draw general conclusions based on interviews and questionnaires. Although there were no explicit references to citizenship, culture was referred to in a sample of student writing. In a discussion of *culture shock*, for example, the writing describes stages of adjustment in ways that make use of Gardner's (1985) acculturation model. For my purposes here, it is significant that the writing sample described Canadian culture as singular and relatively monolithic when it emphasized that immigrants "are trying to learn and beginning to accept the new culture" (p. 90). There is no mention in the sample of negotiated forms of culture. The remainder of the document is devoted to incorporating assessment into learning tasks, concrete methods of linking in-class assessment to the *CLB*, giving feedback and error correction, and developing portfolio assessment records.

Website lesson plans

The sample *CLB* lesson plans that are posted on the CCLB website (CCLB, 2007) are the concrete examples of how the *CLB* is meant to inform curricula. They are explicitly touted as models of good practice. Voluntarily submitted by teachers across the country, the lesson plans are updated monthly

and vetted by a consulting firm hired by the CCLB. According to a notice on the website that introduces the plans, the lesson plans are selected for posting "according to how well they demonstrate:

- the use of *CLB* to establish appropriate learning outcomes for learners;
- use of themes and topics relevant to adult learners' needs;
- selection of realistic and meaningful tasks for adult learners;
- focus on Canadian content and themes;
- integration of all four language skills in lesson planning;
- use of both skill-building and real world tasks;
- reflection of functional, linguistic, textual, socio-linguistic and strategic language items and use in the tasks;
- sequencing tasks to help learners better achieve the outcomes;
- use of community contact task ideas for language use outside the classroom.

As mentioned above, these lesson plans cover settlement topics that are found in many ESL programs and teaching materials, such as going to the bank, weather, employment, cooking, and renting an apartment.

The most important thing to note about these plans is that, despite the criteria listed above and importance placed on an expanded notion of language by the theoretical framework of the *CLB*, socio-cultural competency is largely ignored. This is made abundantly clear in the matrix framework in which the plans are displayed to the reader. These matrixes list themes, topics, timing, suggested resources, community contact assignments, and refer to *CLB* stages, levels and outcomes. More importantly for my purposes, a box at the bottom of the first page of each matrix displays the "language focus: Grammar, vocabulary, pronunciation". There is no explicit reference anywhere in the matrixes to strategic, discorsal or socio-cultural competencies, important components of the

competency framework (Canale & Swain, 1980) that the *CLB* claims as its foundation.

This narrow notion of language is also apparent in the sets of tasks and procedures that make up the second page of these matrixes, which usually exhibit minimal socio-cultural content of any sort. So, for example, in a lesson plan devoted to the topic of "winter in Canada", learners are guided through a set of tasks, such as identifying vocabulary items, completing a model text, and listening to an audio-taped set of instructions on how to build snowmen that are devoid of socio-cultural information. The tasks in question could be tackled in any English-speaking context. Where socio-cultural content is embedded, the tasks are usually presented unproblematically in terms of socio-cultural context. For example, one lesson plan that focuses on the topic of "preparing to find a job," emphasizes, once again, direct eye contact during interviews.

There are some notable exceptions to this dearth of socio-cultural content in some of the model lesson plans be sure. In one, for example, a task appears in which students compare international styles of "traditional clothing". Another centers its content around Canadian parliamentary institutions. However, these exceptions are rare in the twenty or so sample lesson plans I examined.

Chapter Summary

Ever since the *1990 Immigration Plan* (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1990) that I alluded to in the first chapter of this dissertation, federal language policy has stressed the importance of linking English programming with

newcomer integration. In the most recent *Report to Parliament* tabled by the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2006c), for example, English training programs, such as LINC, “provide basic language training to adult newcomers... aimed at facilitating social, cultural and economic integration into Canada”. Citizenship is the ultimate goal of this process of integration since, as this same document notes, it “signifies full participation in Canadian life”. In this way, official government policy links English language training and citizenship preparation. This is a fact I wish to stress. It is *not* the goal of official government policy to teach English in isolation. Rather, at the policy level, it is clear that citizenship preparation is meant to be integral to English language training.

The *CLB* is *not* just another document. It is, in fact, the very foundation for Canadian English language training programming, a point that is clearly expressed in other federal policy documents in no uncertain terms. The *Government Response to the Report of the Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration* (Citizenship and Immigration, 2003), for example, states unequivocally that “newcomer language training is based on the *Canadian Language Benchmarks*”. How well, in view of these documents, does the *CLB* fulfill its role as an instrument of policy implementation?

As a foundation for English language training that is not linked to content, I would say that the *CLB* fulfills its role. Although, as I have shown above, there are fundamental problems associated with removing content in a task-based

document such as this, the *CLB* does makes use of current theoretical models of language competency and shows a clear progression of complexity.

As an instrument for the promotion of citizenship, however, the *CLB* has serious shortcomings. At the very highest levels of English language proficiency, there are indeed limited references to developing opinions about current events, writing letters to the editors of newspapers and participating in meetings.

Unfortunately, newcomers seem to require extremely high English language skills to exercise these limited citizenship rights. Some of the related documents, especially the *Additional Sample Task Ideas* (Pawlikowska-Smith, 2002b) do mitigate some of these shortcomings in the principal document. However, there is a tendency in all of the documents related to the *CLB* to represent learners as somewhat isolated and passive.

When comparing the *CLB* and its related documents to the findings gathered from the respondents in this study, there are some noticeable gaps. As I outlined in my previous chapter, most of my respondents stressed access to citizenship rights as a key benefit of becoming Canadian and linked this to the rule of law and the right to participate in the political process. Much of what they were concerned about did not find a place within the *CLB*. I shall elaborate on these points in my concluding chapter below.

Chapter 7. Implications

This study has established that there are significant gaps between the principal national assessment and curriculum documents used for adult ESL programming and the views expressed by the learners polled through this research in terms of how citizenship and being Canadian are conceptualized. The participants in this study spoke of being Canadian predominantly in terms of citizenship rights, multicultural policy and the obligations of being citizens. The national curriculum documents I examined, however, rarely referred to citizenship in these terms. Instead, they tended to approach Canadian-ness in terms of normative standards, including various forms of social behavior, which could be taken to imply the existence of a dominant and singular culture to which second language learners have to conform. When material pertaining to citizenship was covered in these documents, it tended to be contained only within the higher levels of English language proficiency. These documents thus implied, in how they were organized, that citizenship rights and responsibilities are appropriate only for those learners with exceptionally high abilities in English.

As I have outlined through my reviews of Canadian language policy in the first chapter of this dissertation, citizenship rights and responsibilities are an important stated goal in policy documents related to national ESL programming since 1991 (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2002a; Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2006c). Thus, the gaps I have identified through this study are not simply between the concerns expressed by my respondents and the

curriculum documents in question. The gaps I have identified also exist between these documents and the stated goals of national language policy.

It is important to note that the curriculum documents I have examined are not uniform in how they treat citizenship. Indeed, there seems to be a slight shift in this regard, with more recently published documents exhibiting more citizenship content than those published earlier. These changes are not easy to discern, however, a fact that is in large part due to the subtlety of these changes and the contradictory statements made within them about whether or not they serve as curriculum documents.

In my estimation, there are fundamental flaws in these documents, when taken as a whole, in terms of their basic structure as task-based instruments and in the way they conceive the relationship between assessment and curriculum development. In the first case, the lack of topical content impairs their effectiveness as frames for pedagogical tasks. This flaw affects the nature of the topical content within the documents in general, and the nature of citizenship content in particular. In the second case, the function these documents play as implementers of national language policy is severely hampered by the fact that they often deny their important role as informants of curriculum development. In both cases the flaws in these important documents inhibit the ability of Canadian language policy to meet the needs of adult immigrants striving to integrate into a modern multicultural nation state.

Curriculum documents that claim to be informed by the CLB, such as the *The 1- 5 LINC Curriculum Guidelines* (Toronto Catholic District School Board,

2000) are structured topically and do contain much citizenship content (much of which makes use of critical orientations). However, given the lack of topical content within the CLB, it is hard to say how the CLB actually informs these curriculum documents in terms of content. Of course, as I have pointed out, many LINC teachers develop their curricula without any reference to the CLB whatsoever.

As Haque and Cray (in press) indicate, the LINC teachers in their study recognized the importance of following the CLB in some way because they understood it to be an instrument of official language policy. However, it is interesting to note that these teachers viewed using the CLB in various (and sometimes confusing) ways: as simply a placement tool, as the basis for reporting student progress, or as a set of required content themes for their curricula. There is, as Haque and Cray (in press) point out, a "disconnect" between the policy and curriculum levels (to use Stern's [1983] terminology).

It is also important to note that the attitudes of the learners in this study were not uniform. As I outlined in my discussion of the interview data above, although the vast majority of the learners did conceive of citizenship primarily in terms of rights and responsibilities, more than a few thought of being Canadian in terms of internalizing a singular culture. There is another thing to note about how all of the learners in this study defined citizenship. Most expressed views that contained both normative and legalistic elements. Although most supported definitions that tended to emphasis rights and responsibilities, I do not wish to imply that their opinions on these matters were simplistic or uniform. Indeed, in

this context, it is often difficult to definitively decide when normative conceptions begin and legalistic conceptions end.

As I described in Chapter Five, the data makes it clear that emigrating to Canada involved a major shift in identity for almost all of the participants. In addressing citizenship in their new nation state, these learners spoke strongly about meaningfully participating in political processes that showed great contrast to their experiences in India. Although a few participants in this study did stress instrumental purposes in obtaining citizenship, as when several talked about how obtaining a Canadian passport allowed them to pass through customs and immigration checks, many more linked multiculturalism and the rule of law to a moral sense of what it meant to live in Canada.

Although it is impossible to be certain about such matters without further study into how these national documents were produced, the gap between what these immigrants said about their experience in Canada and what are in effect the national curriculum documents that guide their English language programs can be explained in a number of ways. The existence of this gap might be due to the lack of clarity as to the relationship between overall federal second language policies and the means by which they are implemented. On the other hand, the gap might be due to the particularities and history of how the *CLB* and its related documents were produced.

As can be seen in the history of ESL programming within Canada that I sketched in my introductory chapter, it has often not been clear whether or not federal language policy mandates specific topical content. As noted previously,

federal policy specifies that citizenship preparation is at least as important as the teaching of English in these federally funded programs. However, there are currently no documents that are explicitly described as existing for the purpose of specifying citizenship content. This has not always been the case, however. There have been previous attempts to inculcate strong normative orientations through mandated curriculum guides.

The most notorious of these was the *Source Book* (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1991), a set of teaching guidelines that the federal government commissioned for Language Instruction to Newcomers to Canada (LINC). This document defined a static version of Canadian culture and recommended that teachers instruct their learners in things like proper hygiene and morals. Many instructors (such as myself) refused to use this document because it was filled with condescending stereotypes. Its official status was later withdrawn by the government after a flurry of protest by immigrant-serving agencies.

Despite this history, however, most ESL curriculum documents and teaching guidelines still tend to exhibit the same normative orientation towards culture and learners. Most of the more popular teacher training textbooks used in adult ESL programs in this context (for example: Brown, 2000; Nunan, 1995; Larsen-Freeman & Long, 2000; Ur, 1996), treat culture in a cursory manner, if at all. More to the point, when culture is treated, it is usually described as being expert knowledge that a teacher simply transmits to students. Brown's text, for example, advises teachers that "whenever you teach a language, you also teach

a complex system of cultural customs, values, and ways of thinking, feeling and acting" (p. 25). As is commonly the case, there is no reference to culture as a dynamic or mutually constructed entity in this highly popular and otherwise authoritative training textbook. While it is true that we have a responsibility to ensure that our students are well armed with cultural knowledge for high stakes situations, our teacher training and curricula pay scant attention to the way in which immigrants to Canada contribute to the construction of our national identity. We are often advised to teach culture as if it were a set of immutable facts. In a sense, constructionist pedagogical approaches, commonly found within general education (Bruner, 1966; Piaget, 1950; Vygotsky, 1978) are oddly missing in this instance.

Why is teaching students about a monolithic Canadian culture a mistake? I can best illustrate this by relating an incident I myself experienced as a classroom teacher while covering a job-search component in my level 3 LINC class. I had prepared my learners for a series of *information* interviews I had set up for them with actual employers by going through what I thought of as Canadian cultural expectations. You can probably guess the sort of thing I taught: the importance of direct eye contact; a firm but polite handshake; and no need to display certificates or diplomas. Well, one of my students was angry with me when she returned from her interview. She had been interviewed by a woman of Middle-East descent who had very different assumptions than the ones I had taught my student to expect. Most of the norms I had covered in class were not applicable to the situation in which my student had found herself. I had neglected

to include in my lessons the important points that not everyone follows strict Anglo-centric sets of expectations in job interviews and that one should be flexible in such high-stake situations.

As I outlined in my previous chapter, task-based documents like the *Canadian Language Benchmarks (CLB)* usually contain topical content as essential elements. Tasks are completed by grappling with concrete content within concrete contexts. Given the officially-sanctioned nature of the *CLB* within this policy context and the policy dictates I have referred to above, citizenship content should be expected. However, as I described above, general topical content is often neglected in the structure of the pedagogical tasks found within the *CLB*. Citizenship content is virtually non-existent except for limited references within the higher proficiency levels.

Unconsciously or not, implicit citizenship content can be still found throughout these documents in the way that it refers to singular standards of Canadian culture, such when the *CLB* represents being polite when speaking to one's employer as a characteristically Canadian trait. A hidden curriculum is at work. Notably, there is a tendency in all of the documents related to the *CLB* to represent learners as somewhat isolated and passive. The documents also link English fluency to full citizenship, given the fact that citizenship rights are virtually non-existent in the documents except for some rare allusions at the highest levels of English language proficiency. Given the importance of immigrant integration to modern-day Canada, as I outlined in my introductory chapter, these gaps are serious shortcomings in these important documents.

How can these shortcomings be addressed? In my opinion, we should take lessons from what the adult ESL learners in this study have said about the legal, political, social equity, organizational rights aspects of living in Canada and build them more firmly into our curriculum writing processes. As the data in this study has shown, for these immigrants becoming a Canadian does not mean abandoning one's first heritage in the interests of adopting a normative, monolithic or dominant culture. Instead, becoming Canadian means making a commitment to the citizenship rights and responsibilities that form the foundation of what it means to be a member of our nation state.

Implications for Future Research

There is much to be done in terms of future research. As I noted above, there are many issues related to this study that I could not properly address given its limitations. One of these issues had to do with the development and history of the *CLB* and its related documents. A careful examination of internal documents and a series of interviews with key stakeholders and contributors could shed some light on the particularities of the policy implementation processes that led to specific aspects of these documents.

Another issue that bears examination in this context has to do with curriculum implementation. As I hope was made clear above, the teachers in this study did not follow the official curriculum documents related to the *CLB* or *LINC* very closely. A detailed examination of classroom practices and a polling of the teachers as they made their curricular decisions could inform the planning of

future policy implementation measures. In a sense, this is the largest gap in my research for this dissertation.

A third possibility has to do with how local immigrant or minority language groupings define citizenship. As I hope I made clear in my methodology chapter, this study was limited to the learners at one particular site. Although it is in many ways representative of similar situations, it would be important to expand the focus of this study so as to cover the entire Punjabi community and to go beyond this to other immigrant contexts, both nationally and internationally.

The attitudes that my study's Punjabi-speaking participants had towards English as the dominant language opens up other possibilities for future research that I would like to explore. Few of these participants viewed fluency in English as a strong marker of being Canadian and valued their multilingual abilities. This is an exciting opportunity for the exploration of the bilingual (or multilingual) aspects of living as a linguistic minority in a modern nation state. Although the findings of a longitudinal survey of immigrants to Canada (Statistics-Canada, 2001) established that newcomers "need to be able to communicate in English and/or French to meet their needs for social/cultural integration, economic integration and orientation to the Canadian way of life", a full measure of fluency in either official language is not seen as a major goal. As I know from my own personal experience, the arguments often made by teachers and counselors as to the importance of learning English in the interests of personal advancement do not carry much weight in light of these pressures. In my opinion, we have to

include fuller considerations of the role that family life plays in second language education.

Recommendations for Curriculum Content

I have three specific recommendations as far as curriculum content is concerned that I shall illustrate below using classroom examples from the Strawton site. These examples serve to indicate how classroom practices can be envisioned to address the gaps I have identified within the *CLB*. Please be aware that I do not wish to represent the practices below as being particularly unusual in this context. Based upon my experience, I would say that they are nothing more than what veteran ESL teachers (such as the teachers at the site under study) do on a regular basis. I do offer them, however, as examples of what could (and isn't) included within the *CLB*.

The first of my recommendations is to make citizenship topics more explicit within our curriculum documents. As I discussed in my previous chapter, I believe that this is the direction being taken by the more recently published of the *CLB* documents I examined in the previous chapter. However, I would say that citizenship content should be consistently integrated into all topical content exemplars within each of the *CLB* benchmark levels. So, to illustrate, electoral participation could be provided as topical content within examples of pedagogical tasks. At lower levels of English proficiency, learners could simply identify in which electoral district they live. At intermediate levels, learners could indicate the legal requirements for voting (citizenship, age, residency, etc.). At an

advanced level, learners could participate in debates, hold mock elections or interview actual candidates.

As it in fact happened a few months after the collection of my data, the learners at the site under study engaged in all of the election participation tasks mentioned above. In what was a fairly elaborate, and to my mind highly successful, series of team-teaching exercises, all of the learners at the Strawton Continuing Education hosted an all candidates meeting (featuring actual candidates from the provincial election then under way), debated current issues in the community, wrote letters to local newspapers, and engaged in a mock election using facsimile material provided by Elections-Canada. Learners at all levels participated in these activities. While the learners at higher levels of English proficiency engaged in the actual debates, for example, the learners at the lower levels graded them in terms of content and presentation using prepared checklists. In this way the pedagogical tasks were scaffolded according to level, ensuring the participation of all of the learners on site. The relevancy of the *CLB* would be greatly enhanced, in my opinion, if its task exemplars were augmented with activities such as these.

My second recommendation is to emphasize positive representations of learners in our curriculum documents as being active and socially-integrated. I do not mean to ignore the common reality that immigrants face in terms of the difficulties of integration. However, I think that it is important to provide positive examples and to avoid an overemphasis on depicting learners as being passive or isolated. Thus, when examples of work interactions are provided, one could

include depictions of how to actively deal with some of the conflicts described by the learners in this study, such as encountering violations of employment or safety legislation.

Again, a classroom example of how this could be done occurred at the site under study soon after the collection of data. In conjunction with a visit from safety education outreach workers from the Workers' Compensation Board (WCB), learners at Strawton engaged in simple paper/ pencil exercises that focused on work safety regulations, filled out report forms on violations of the same, and were encouraged to prepare questions about specific cases that were put to WCB officials. This was another set of collaborative teaching exercises in which learners with each other and across classes and proficiency levels. Throughout these exercises, learners were encouraged to be active and to join with others with similar concerns. Task exemplars such as these activities would enhance the relevancy of the *CLB*.

My third recommendation in terms of curriculum documents is that we should avoid the use of singular normative cultural standards. As I outlined in my first chapter, the concept of Canadian culture is notoriously slippery. There is no singular entity that we can definitively describe as such. We do serious disservice to our students if we assume that there is only one form of culture in Canada, as I illustrated in my story about teaching job search above. Thus, we should be careful to open up the possibilities of cultural alternatives within our curriculum documents and classroom practices.

Implications for Teaching

There are many ways teachers can and have opened up possibilities for cultural alternatives in their classrooms (Kubota, 2004; Luke, 2002). At Strawton, the teachers I worked with made real efforts to be all inclusive, from bringing in guest speakers who come from various ethnic communities to ensuring that their teaching materials drew from culturally diverse sources. Significantly, in my opinion, the teachers themselves came from a variety of ethnic backgrounds. Half of the teaching staff at the site at the time of this study were second language speakers themselves, thereby providing positive examples of the diversity found within Canada. The commitment of the center to cultural diversity went far beyond tokenism.

I do not wish to go into any greater detail about the specific pedagogical approaches taken by the staff at Strawton. As I have repeatedly mentioned in this dissertation, my goal is neither to examine specific aspects of the teaching at this site nor to discuss curriculum implementation at any great length. It is sufficient to say, at this point, that many of the tasks developed by experienced ESL teachers do address questions of citizenship and have not found a place within the *CLB*. I am certain readers of this dissertation can suggest many more based on their own experiences that could augment the documents I have examined above. Although there certainly seems to be a need for a new official publication that would collect and disseminate exemplar tasks that focus on citizenship, I would prefer to see citizenship content interweaved with what already exists. Rather than segregating citizenship content into something that

appears to be special (and hence, additional or not necessary), I think it should be incorporated into all of our curriculum materials as a matter of course.

When we write curricula or design classroom activities, I think that it is best to bear in mind that culture is a humanly-constructed entity. Culture is learned, changeable, a universal fact of human life, a network of relationships and values that is transmitted through language (Damen, 1987; Hinkel, 1999; Kramsch, 1993; Lantoff, 1999). As Courchène (1996) advises, teachers should orientate their material so that they provide our learners with a balanced and critically aware view of Canadian culture so that they can "internalize it, transform it and return it to us in a new form that incorporates the content of their first culture" (p. 25). As teachers, we have a responsibility to seriously engage our learners and ourselves in the construction of the kind of Canadian citizenship we want to build.

Teachers and curriculum leaders can turn to a number of resources for help in teaching culture and citizenship. Within the Canadian ESL milieu, for example, Ilieva (2000) has provided an excellent summary of specific adult teaching materials and outlined an interesting methodological approach in which learners and teachers explore different attitudes towards identity and culture (2001). Daniel Schugurensky, a professor at OISE, maintains an excellent website on adult citizenship education (Schugurensky, 2007), much of which is specific to ESL. In the non-adult context, Blades, Johnston and Simmit (2000) have provided an excellent summary of teaching resources and recent research findings as part of their study into Canadian secondary teaching practices.

Beyond the Canadian milieu, there are many web sites that can provide insights into teaching culture and citizenship critically. One of the most comprehensive and up-to-date set of web site links specific to teaching culture is maintained by Ghazi Ghaith, a professor at the American University of Beirut (Ghaith, 2007). In the United States, the National Teaching Forum (2007) features discussion forums on critical multicultural education.

Conclusion

Let me conclude this dissertation with a few remarks on the question of whether education in this context should draw from normative cultural or legalistic conceptions of citizenship. In my opinion, we should move away from cultural definitions of being Canadian and concentrate on the legalistic frameworks upon which our citizenship is based. As I have commented on at length in my literature review, this move is reflected in current citizenship theory, in which legalistic concepts are strengthening at the expense of those that are normative.

Like never before, it is now possible to speak of *global citizens* only because the concept of citizen is now, to a large degree, detached from exclusive references to individual and separate nation states with singular dominate cultures or languages. One can show allegiance to several countries or regard oneself as loyal to the planet as a whole rather than to a specific geographic or political entity. As I indicated in my literature review above, legalistic concepts, such as those enshrined within human rights charters, is

gaining ascendancy over normative conceptions of singular cultures within specific boundaries, both internationally and in Canada.

The learners in this study were well positioned as emergent global citizens and, in a sense, well ahead of the curriculum documents I examined. Not a few of the students in this study, as I recounted in my summary of the data, indicated that they were deeply loyal to both their new and former countries. Some went so far as to say that they regarded themselves as citizens of the planet as a whole. More importantly, was the fact that for the majority of these respondents, the rights and responsibilities they gained through Canadian citizenship are what made coming to their new country worthwhile.

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Appendix 1: Interview prompts

- 1) Could you please tell me about your family?
- 2) What kind of education have you had?
- 3) Please describe your work history.
- 4) What did you do before you came to Canada?
- 5) Why did you come to Canada?
- 6) What ties do you have to your first country?
- 7) What were your first experiences when you came here?
- 8) What is your job and family life like now?
- 9) Please tell me about your career or family plans.
- 10) What is it that makes someone Canadian?
- 11) Is keeping your first language important to you and your family? Why or why not?
- 12) Do you think Canada is a multicultural country in which everyone is treated equally?
- 13) Do you think that part of being Canadian is that you should respect the rights of others?
- 14) How do you feel about becoming a Canadian?
- 15) How would you like your children to think of Canada?
- 16) How is language related to being Canadian?
- 17) How is learning a second language related to being Canadian?
- 18) Have you changed your culture or identity since you immigrated?
- 19) In general, what does it mean to you to be a citizen of a nation?
- 20) Is there anything else that you think would be important for me to know about citizenship and Canada?

Appendix 2: Questionnaire

PLEASE DO NOT WRITE YOUR NAME

English Level: _____

Male _____ Female _____

First Language: _____

Number of Years in Canada _____

Job /profession in your first country _____

Job /profession in Canada _____

1. What is an important difficulty you face as an immigrant in Canada?

2. How does the ESL class you are taking help you deal with this difficulty?

3. What is another important difficulty you face as an immigrant in Canada?

4. How does the ESL class you are taking help you deal with this difficulty?

Please turn over to page 2

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5. What is another important difficulty you face as an immigrant in Canada?

6. How does the ESL class you are taking help you deal with this difficulty?

7. Are there any other difficulties that you think would be important for us to know about? How does the ESL program help you with these?

8. How do you think any of these difficulties might be solved?

THANK YOU!

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Appendix 3: Interview Participant Demographic Information

code	level	gender	yrs/ Canada	job/ India	job/ Canada	schooling	citizenship	age
21	2	M	4	farming	excavator	13	landed immig	19 - 29
23	2	M	7	shopkeeper	truss maker	12	Cdn citizen	19- 29
24	2	M	1	real estate	greenhs wrkr	12	landed immig	19- 29
27	2	M	1	student	mechanic	masters	landed immig	19- 29
10	2	F	3	student	laborer	12	landed immig	19- 29
7	2	F	4	student	greenhs wrkr	12	landed immig	19- 29
6	2	F	1.5	student	greenhs wrkr	12	landed immig	19- 29
9	2	F	1	student	greenhs wrkr	masters	landed immig	19- 29
15	2	F	1	student	greenhs wrkr	bachelors	landed immig	19- 29
25	2	M	3	student	autobody wrkr	12	landed immig	19- 29
4	2	F	1	none	factory wrkr	12	landed immig	19- 29
14	2	F	4	student	student	12	landed immig	19- 29
28	3	M	2	farmer	teach assist.	10	landed immig	50- 59
17	3	F	1	student	packer	bachelors	landed immig	19- 29
11	3	F	3	none	factory wrkr	bachelors	landed immig	19- 29
12	3	F	1	none	homemaker	masters	landed immig	19- 29
2	3	F	5	none	factory wrkr	12	landed immig	19- 29
26	3	F	3	none	nursery wrkr	12	landed immig	19- 29
16	3	F	1	student	student	bachelors	landed immig	19- 29
1	4	F	14	homemaker	laborer	12	Cdn citizen	30- 39
18	4	F	1.5	student	factory pkr	post-grad	landed immig	19- 29
19	5	F	2	homemaker	farmworker	12	landed immig	19- 29
20	5	F	3	student	factory pkr	masters	landed immig	19- 29
29	5	M	3.5	electrician	welder	12	landed immig	30- 39
31	5	F	1.5	student	factory pkr	masters	landed immig	19- 29